

METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF HOPE (*NADA*) IN CROATIAN: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY

Ljiljana Šarić
University of Oslo
ljiljana.saric@ilos.uio.no

This study examines the role of metaphor in the conceptualization of hope (*nada*) in the Croatian corpus hrWaC. Employing “metaphorical pattern analysis” (Stefanowitsch, 2006), I analyze metaphorical patterns with the target-domain word *nada* ‘hope’. These patterns were extracted from a random sample of 1000 citations and additional citations retrieved based on the collocation candidates’ list. The analysis shows that the conceptualization of hope in Croatian relates to approximately fifty metaphorical source domains. The most frequently utilized are object, container, and companion, which apply to many other emotions, dispositions, and states. The study builds on relevant research questions and findings on the conceptual representation of emotions and metaphors structuring emotions within cognitive linguistic research. It offers a basis for future qualitative studies about hope as a universal and culture-specific concept.

Keywords: metaphors for hope, Croatian, hrWaC, emotion metaphors

МЕТАФОРИЧКИТЕ КОНЦЕПТУАЛИЗАЦИИ НА НАДЕЖ (*NADA*) ВО ХРВАТСКИОТ ЈАЗИК: КОРПУСНО ИСТРАЖУВАЊЕ

Лилјана Шарик
Универзитет во Осло
ljiljana.saric@ilos.uio.no

Во овој труд се истражува улогата на метафората при концептуализирањето на именката 'надеж' (*nada*) во хрватскиот јазичен корпус hrWaC. Со употреба на методот „анализа на метафорички колокации“ (Stefanowitsch 2006), се анализираат метафорите што го содржат зборот *nada* 'надеж'. Анализарините модели беа издвоени по случаен избор од 1000 употреби и дополнителни употреби од листата на колокации поврзани со целиот збор. Анализата покажа дека концептуализирањето на зборот надеж (*nada*) во хрватскиот јазик е во корелација со околу 50 метафорички изворни домени. Најчестите домени, предмет, сад и придружник, се однесуваат на многу видови емоции, карактерни особини и состојби. Ова истражување се заснова врз релевантните истражувања поврзани со концептуалното претставување на емоциите и метафорите при искажување емоции како дел од когнитивните проучувања во лингвистиката. Трудот претставува основа за идни квалитативни истражувања за концептот надеж како универзален концепт, кој, сепак, има свои културни специфики.

Клучни зборови: метафори за надеж, хрватски јазик, hrWaC, емоционални метафори

1 Introduction and theoretical background

Hope is an intriguing concept that has been thoroughly studied in psychology, philosophy, and theology. Various definitions of hope (e.g., Bovens 1999; Howell and Larsen 2015: 19–20; Lazarus 1999: 653) identify its key features: future-oriented belief, desire, and imagining a valued but uncertain outcome.

A recurring question in psychology is whether hope is an emotion and, if so, what kind. Averill et al. (1990) argued that hope is an emotion similar to love and anger: all are difficult to control, influence thinking and behavior, and are universal experiences. Lazarus emphasized that hope is associated with neither a clear action tendency nor identifiable psychophysiological factors, and is thus “a cognitive (emotion-focused) coping process” (1991: 285). In addition to emotion and coping, hope is also defined as cognition, disposition, state, and virtue (cf., e.g., Lazarus 1999; Snyder 2002). Averill (1991) defined hope as an intellectual emotion, whereas Korner (1970) saw hope as having emotional and intellectual components. The language of hope, including some aspects of figuration, has also been addressed in psychological research (e.g., Averill 1991; Scioli and Biller 2009: 24–25).

This study builds on relevant research questions and findings on the conceptual representation of emotions and metaphors structuring emotions within cognitive linguistic research (e.g., Kövecses 2000a, 2015; Tissari 2009, 2017). Due to space limitations, I cannot do justice to many important contributors by providing a detailed overview of this rich research field.

Kövecses’ (e.g., 2000a, 2015) introspective studies examined the metaphorical and metonymic conceptualization of several emotions, but not hope. He suggested that figurative language permits understanding and describing aspects of various emotions, like their causes and intensity, and our ability to control them, and he linked typical conceptual metaphors for emotions to several source domains, including FLUID IN A CONTAINER, HEAT/FIRE, NATURAL FORCE, PHYSICAL FORCE, SOCIAL SUPERIOR, and OPPONENT.

Corpus-based studies (e.g., Stefanowitsch 2006) have found that many source domains discussed in introspective studies are frequent, whereas others go unnoticed. These studies have shown how entrenched in language particular mappings are, which linguistic metaphors are most common, and which less common.

The linguistic conceptualization of hope has received scant attention, unlike some other prototypical emotions like love and anger (see, e.g., Kövecses 1990, 2000a; Stefanowitsch 2006). The few studies focusing exclusively or strongly on hope discussed this concept in Modern and Old English (Tissari 2009, 2017) and Ancient Greek (Cairns 2016; Fulkerson 2016).

This corpus-based study of the role of figurative language in conceptualizing hope (*nada*)¹ in Croatian presents the procedure and method (see Section 2), examines the most and least frequently utilized metaphors in the corpus hrWaC (see

¹ Hope and *nada* are used interchangeably in this text. Unless stated otherwise, observations about “hope” relate to the Croatian word *nada* and the related concept.

Section 3), and presents some conclusions and suggestions for further research (see Section 4).

The primary aim of this study is to establish a corpus-based inventory of metaphors for hope in Croatian that can serve as a basis for further discourse-oriented studies. The research is guided by a few overall research questions: Regarding its metaphorical conceptualization, is hope conceptualized in Croatian as an emotion, state, or disposition? How is it similar to and different from other emotions, states, and dispositions? How is Croatian similar to and different from other languages with respect to the conceptualization of hope? What do linguistic metaphors tell us about hope as a universal or culture-specific concept? However, because the study is committed to its primary aim, which is establishing and describing a corpus-based inventory of metaphors, it can only provide some preliminary reflections and ideas about these questions, and not exhaustive answers.

Metaphors related to a concept such as hope are dynamic and bounded to concrete usage contexts. This study is descriptive and limited to describing metaphors found in a large corpus. However, it provides a starting point for future analyses considering concrete communicative contexts and insights useful in further comparative studies of figuration. *Nada* can be compared to some other emotions, states, and dispositions in Croatian, while insights into its figurative conceptualization make it possible to account for similarities and differences between Croatian and other languages. Thus, a detailed account of metaphors for *nada* in Croatian contributes to our knowledge of hope as a universal and culture-specific concept (see Averill 1991; Kövecses 2000b). If hope shares features with states, dispositions, and emotions, looking at hope offers insights into these phenomena and the (vague?) border between them.

2 Procedure and method

I employed the method labeled “metaphorical pattern analysis” (Stefanowitsch 2006) – that is, I examined metaphorical expressions (patterns) in corpus citations containing the target-domain word *nada* ‘hope’² in the corpus hrWaC, the largest corpus for Croatian so far, collected by crawling the entire .hr internet domain, yielding about 1.2 billion tokens.³ HrWaC includes a variety of genres available on the internet; these include newspaper articles, literary texts, blogs, and forum discussions. Searches performed in July–August 2019 and April–May 2020 yielded 104,330 tokens (74.6 per million) of the lemma *nada* ‘hope’.

First, a random sample of 1,000 citations (each around twenty words long) and the collocation candidates (CC) list (see Appendix for its beginning, and the search option) were retrieved. Next, the sample and the 1,500 top collocates on the CC list were examined to arrive at an exhaustive inventory of metaphors. In the random sample, I identified all the metaphorical expressions co-occurring with the search word *nada* and grouped them into groups representing different source domains

² Emotion terms can refer to theoretical concepts, long-term dispositions, immediate behavioral reactions, and even artistic/professional practices (Tissari 2009). With *nada*, the first two references dominate in hrWaC.

³ <http://nlp.ffzg.hr/resources/corpora/hrwac/>

(e.g., *topla nada* ‘warm hope’⁴ – WARMTH). Subsequently, on the CC list, potentially figuratively used words were identified and grouped according to their source domains (e.g., *ulijevati* ‘pour’ – LIQUID). All the citations with relevant metaphorical patterns include the target domain lexeme *nada*, as well as one or more units evoking one or more source domains (e.g., in *ulijevati nadu* ‘pour hope’, the verb evokes LIQUID).

Some source domains are represented by a few lexical units (e.g., SLEEPING ORGANISM by four), and some by many (e.g., OBJECT OF TRANSFER/POSSESSION by over one hundred). In addition to the sample and the CC list, the relevant units were also identified in additional concordances, and some were added based on native speakers’ intuition. For potentially metaphorical units on the CC list, I created concordance lists to check whether they are actually used figuratively, and how often.

To verify the validity of my intuitive judgements regarding the metaphorical nature of collocations, I applied the method for metaphor identification proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), which I also used to establish the basic and contextual meanings. The online dictionary HJP (in addition to a few others) was consulted for checking basic and extended meanings. However, Croatian lacks authoritative corpus-based dictionaries, and so many decisions were nevertheless based on intuition.

I was interested in identifying metaphors beyond the random sample and in checking the approximate frequencies for metaphorical patterns in the entire corpus, and for that reason I examined a few thousand additional examples, applying the following procedure.

For each metaphorical pattern (collocation), one or both (dependent upon word-order rules) of the following CQL search queries were applied: [lemma = “xxx”] []{0,3} [lemma = “nada”]; [lemma = “nada”] []{0,3} [lemma = “xxx”], where xxx stands for a dictionary form of a Croatian word. For instance, [lemma = “nada”] []{0,3} returned all occurrences of the lemma *nada* followed by between zero and three random tokens (words). For example, such queries for the verb *usahnuti* ‘wither’ and *nada* resulted in eight instances of the metaphorical pattern *nada je usahnula/usahnula je nada* ‘hope withered’. I manually examined the concordance lists of up to 100 lines in detail (including looking at immediate contexts of around 200 words for each concordance line), I arrived at either exact numbers or approximate frequencies for more than five hundred metaphorical patterns. However, I did not include the frequencies calculated for the entire corpus in the table⁵ (see Appendix 1) because I could not check the exact numbers for concordance lists longer than one hundred lines.

The identification of conceptual metaphors in this study is largely based on individual lexical items collocating with *nada*; however, the analysis was not performed on very short stretches of text only. For each example in the random sample, the immediate context of around two hundred words was taken into account.

⁴ The translations of corpus examples remain close to the originals to better present the source domains instantiated by the original expressions.

⁵ The table includes some metaphors attested in the entire corpus, but not in the random sample (see, e.g., 13-17, OBJECT).

For metaphors, the examination of the immediate context made it possible to gain information about, for instance, discourse participants, structures, and goals. Such a study of the immediate context was also performed for many other corpus examples (see above) to account for the discursive situations they are embedded in. This resulted in a number of preliminary findings (e.g., about the relation of metaphors to specific genres, discourse structures, and discursive goals, and about metaphor combinations); however, space limitations do not permit discussion of all these aspects in a single article.

A limitation of this study is its exclusive focus on the expressions containing *nada*, given that figurative conceptualizations of *nada* relate to some other lexical items, like the verb *nadati se* ‘hope’ and constructions (like the conditional and optative). Metaphors used with a particular target-domain word do not necessarily make up the description of the entire concept. However, this study’s focus still permits a comprehensive image of the figuration because the constructions considered include *pun nade*, a construction equivalent to the English adjective *hopeful*, as well as the phrases such as *izražavati/izraziti nadu* ‘express hope’ that function as synonyms of the verb *nadati se* ‘hope’.

3 Analysis

Table 1 (see Appendix) presents metaphors identified in the random sample (with 758 metaphorical patterns);⁶ these are discussed and further illustrated below. Figure 1 presents a quantitative overview of the data from the table (Appendix 1). Importantly, the following analysis refers to the metaphors and examples identified not only in the random sample, but also in a few thousand additional corpus examples examined at different stages of this analysis.

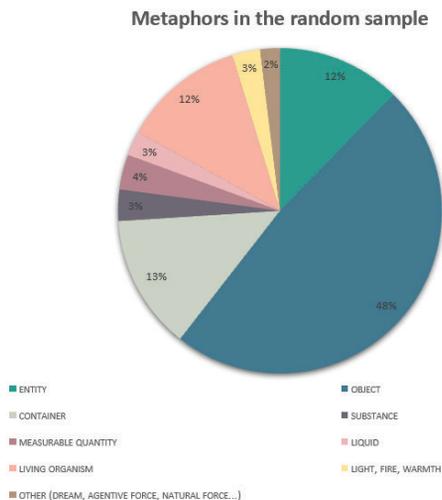


Figure 1. Metaphors in the random sample

⁶ I also identified 110 metonymic patterns with the referential metonymy HOPE FOR PERSONS CAUSING HOPE (e.g., *mlada nada* ‘young hope’).

An important issue in metaphor analyses is generality or specificity levels, which should be posited for a conceptual metaphor instantiated by usage examples. As shown, some metaphors identified for *nada* are general, applying to all emotion concepts (Kövecses 1998: 133) and beyond: these are in fact event structure metaphors verbalizing “states, changes, processes, actions, causes, purposes, and means” (Lakoff 1993: 220). Other identified metaphors of different specificity levels can be captured by the notion of metaphor cascades;⁷ that is, inheritance relationships that link different levels of metaphoric structure. The following discussion starts with general metaphors because excluding them would mean accounting for only a small portion of figurations.

3.1 ENTITY and OBJECT

In a rather general ontological metaphorization, HOPE IS AN ENTITY, *nada* is an animate or inanimate entity, something that exists. The ENTITY domain is utilized in conceptualizing all the emotions and also abstract concepts (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Stefanowitsch 2006; Tissari 2017). Because of its general nature, ENTITY does not allow emotions to be distinguished from each other, nor can it differentiate emotions from states and dispositions.

The conceptualization of *nada* as an ENTITY is attested in constructions like *ima/nema nade* ‘there is (no) hope’. ENTITY is instantiated by a few metaphorical patterns in the random sample (e.g., with verbs like *postojati* ‘exist’), although more patterns may exist in the corpus. Rather than being an independent metaphor, HOPE IS AN ENTITY can be viewed as the metaphor underlying all the other more specific ones.

Somewhat more specific is the OBJECT metaphor. It is primarily instantiated in patterns with verbs indicating transfer and possession, the most frequent being *dati/davati*⁸ ‘(re)give’, *imati* ‘have’, and *nemati* ‘not have’. Being hopeful is conceptualized as possessing an object (*imati nadu* ‘have hope’) and causing hope is conceived of as transferring it (*pružati nadu* ‘offer hope’). Hope as a possessed object can be kept, given to others (making somebody hopeful is thus giving them hope), lost, or returned.

Through the mappings TRYING TO ATTAIN HOPE IS SEARCHING FOR AN OBJECT and ATTAINING HOPE IS FINDING/CAPTURING SOMETHING, the attainment of hope is conceptualized as being the responsibility of the experiencer. These mappings are instantiated by verbs and verbal nouns like *tražiti* ‘search’, *naći/nalaziti* ‘find’, and *traženje* ‘searching’. More semantically specific lexemes than these rarely occur (e.g., *loviti (nadu)* ‘capture (hope)’). The pursuit-of-hope model related to these mappings shows that a significant cultural value is placed on hope. This value is connected to some other conceptualizations. Once found, hope can be fragile and destroyable and should therefore be protected because of its great value (see below).

⁷ A term coined by the Metaphor Analysis Team of the MetaNet project; see Dancygier and Sweetser (2014: 57).

⁸ In similar cases, perfective (first) and imperfective (second) verb forms are provided. The prefix in parentheses in examples like (*iz*)*gubiti* ‘lose’ marks perfective verbs (*gubiti* ‘lose’ is imperfective).

The idea of value is also captured in the evaluative mapping HOPE IS A VALUABLE OBJECT/RESOURCE, which is instantiated in constructions with verbs like *darovati* ‘bestow’, *ukrasti* ‘rob’, and *polagati* ‘invest’.

When qualified as small or big (*velike/male nade* ‘big/small hopes’), hope is conceptualized as a MEASURABLE OBJECT and the intensity of hope as physical SIZE. As shown below, hope’s intensity is also conceived of in terms of QUANTITY, DEPTH, and HEIGHT. The INTENSITY OF EMOTION IS SIZE mapping that applies to a few emotions mainly relates to adjective–noun combinations in hrWaC, like *najmanja/sitna nada* ‘smallest/little hope’.

The focus on intensity links the metaphors HOPE IS A MEASURABLE OBJECT and HOPE IS A MEASURABLE QUANTITY, which together account for 10.7% of the metaphors. MEASURABLE QUANTITY is instantiated by adverbs or nouns in constructions like *malo/puno nade* ‘little/much hope’ and *natruhe nade* ‘surge of hope’. MEASURABLE QUANTITY is connected to VALUABLE OBJECT because the more hope the better – a reasoning that generally applies to positive emotions. Some patterns instantiate other metaphors in addition to MEASURABLE QUANTITY. For instance, *kapljica* (nade) ‘drop (of hope)’ instantiates LIQUID (see Section 3.2).

In some patterns, hope is an object with specific features (e.g., with separable parts), implying more specific metaphors like HOPE IS A BUILDING and HOPE IS A SOLID/DESTROYABLE OBJECT. The former is instantiated by, for example, *vrata/prozor nade* ‘door/window of hope’, and the latter by *čvrsta/labava nada* ‘firm/loose hope’. When solid, we can grasp hope and lean on it, in which case hope is a supporting object (*oslonjeni na nadu* ‘leaned on hope’).

The domain NUTRIENT/FOOD is lexicalized in patterns like *okrijepiti nadom* ‘invigorate sb. with hope’, in which hope is a nourishing, energy-giving solid substance or liquid (see Section 3.2).

In some patterns (e.g., *razbi(ja)ti (nadu)* ‘shatter hope’), hope is a fragile object: some usages suggest objects made of glass and inflated objects (e.g., the innovative pattern *probušene nade* ‘punctured hopes’). Conceptualizing hope as a DEEP and THIN object relates to its intensity. In other conceptualizations, the source domains are COLORED OBJECT, OBJECT THAT CAN BE TASTED, and ANCHOR). Further rarely instantiated sub-domains of the OBJECT metaphor are FABRIC, FRAGRANT OBJECT, SOUND-PRODUCING OBJECT, STONE, TEXT, and SHIELD.

3.2 CONTAINER, SUBSTANCE, and LIQUID

Nada is also conceptualized as a CONTAINER in which experiencers of hope exist and act. This metaphor accounts for 15.3% of the metaphorical expressions. The conventionalized prepositional pattern *u nadi* ‘in hope’ (e.g., *život u nadi* ‘life in hope’) accounts for 99.5% of the examples instantiating this metaphor. The viewpoint linked to CONTAINER suggests that persons experiencing hope are inside hope, where the corresponding general metaphor is ACTING IN AN EMOTIONAL STATE IS BEING ACCOMPANIED BY AN EMOTION.

The container is occasionally specified as a space that can be entered, and the source domain is SPATIAL LOCATION (e.g., *skok/ulazak u nadu* ‘jump/entry into hope’). The location event structure metaphor is a mapping between States and Locations,

and Change or Action and Motion (Lakoff 1993; Dancygier and Sweetser 2014: 45): it is responsible for the general mappings STATES ARE LOCATIONS and its entailment CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION.

Another viewpoint is represented by the metaphor HOPE IS A SUBSTANCE that places hope in human bodies conceived of as containers. The metaphor EMOTIONS ARE SUBSTANCES (INSIDE A PERSON/CONTAINER) has often been discussed among general emotion metaphors (e.g., Kövecses 2000a). This metaphor is instantiated in the frequent Croatian constructions *pun nade*, *ispunjen nadom* ‘hopeful’, but also in patterns like *nositi nadu u sebi* ‘carry hope in yourself’.

It is sometimes unclear whether the substance is solid or liquid because the relevant lexical items can apply to both (e.g., *ispuniti* ‘fill’, *pun* ‘full’). However, 27 lexical units unambiguously instantiate LIQUID. Among these, the most frequent conventionalized metaphorical patterns are *uliti/ulijevati(nadu)* ‘pour (hope)’ (see (1) in which heart is the container for hope), followed by *(is)crpiti/crpsti nadu* ‘pump hope’.

- (1) *Ptice, slavuji u moje srce nade ulijevaju.* ([index.hr](#))
 ‘Birds, nightingales pour hopes in my heart.’

The metaphor EMOTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER is among the most typical emotion metaphors (Kövecses 2015: 157). Relevant inferences of this mapping in the contexts of *nada* are that liquid is a valuable resource, something that sustains the body. Unlike construals of some other emotions, like anger (Kövecses 2000a: 65–68), with *nada* it is not important that liquid is under pressure.

In addition to conventional and frequent units, LIQUID is also instantiated by a number of infrequent verbs, like *provreti* ‘boil’, *(is)curiti* ‘leak’, and the noun *čаша* (e.g., *čаша nade* ‘a glass of hope’); see (2), in which hope is a MEASURABLE QUANTITY of LIQUID, and in which another lexical item from the LIQUID domain (*raspršiti se* ‘dissipate’) is used:

- (2) *Prelila sam čašu nade ... da se rasprši na sve strane.* ([blog.hr](#))
 ‘I poured too much into the glass of hope ... to dissipate it around.’

Nada is most frequently placed in the entire body/person, but also often in a body part. The heart is the most frequent container for hope, as it is for love (see Table 1). Frequent constructions instantiating the metaphor HEART IS A CONTAINER FOR HOPE include *nositi u srcu nadu* ‘carry hope in the heart’. Other containers attested in the random sample are soul (*duša*) and voice (*glas*), yielding the metaphors HEART/SOUL/VOICE IS A CONTAINER FOR HOPE.

Table 1. Body parts – containers for hope

Containers for hope	Random sample
PERSON	14
HEART	1
SOUL	1
VOICE	2

By looking at corpus examples beyond the random sample, I identified three additional containers for hope: *oči* ‘eyes’ (EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR EMOTIONS is a typical metaphor occurring with emotion words; Tissari 2009), *pogled* ‘look’, and *grudi* ‘chest’.

Apart from persons and their body parts, frequent containers for hope in hrWaC are some phenomena related to time (e.g., *dan* ‘day’, *trenutak* ‘moment’).

3.3 LIVING ORGANISM

LIVING ORGANISM is among “source domains that apply to all emotion concepts” (Kövecses 2000a: 36), like sadness and friendship (Kövecses 2000a: 25, 104), which, according to Kövecses (2000a: 36), expresses “increase or decrease in the intensity of ... emotions”.

LIVING ORGANISM accounts for 14% of the metaphorical examples and is rich in lexical units (over 100). Knowledge about the domain LIVING ORGANISM relevant to hope pertains to the fact that living organisms come into existence themselves and are not made. Developmental aspects are also important: beginning, development, and possible ending. The (slow) growth of an organism maps onto hope, and the fact that organisms need to be nurtured maps onto actions that aim to keep hope alive. We know that strong organisms may survive under extreme conditions, whereas weak organisms are threatened in such conditions. This is mapped onto factors that positively or negatively influence hope. Further, LIVING ORGANISM indicates that hope is an entity separate from the self and capable of independent action.

In 12% of the LIVING ORGANISM examples the source domain is PLANTS, in 19% SLEEPING ORGANISM, and in 54% PERSON (75% of these examples are prepositional expressions with *sa* ‘with’ and *uz* ‘by, along with’), to which a few lower-level metaphors relate. In 15% of the citations, the organism is left unspecified, for instance in *nada umire* ‘hope dies’ (often part of the fixed expression *nada umire posljednja/zadnja* ‘hope dies last’), although Croatian primarily uses the verb *umrijeti* ‘die’ with people. Further similar patterns include *ugušiti nadu* ‘stifle hope’, *zakopati (živu) nadu* ‘bury hope (alive)’. In some contexts, hope is depicted as a LIVING ORGANISM that must be cared for and, specifically, fed (e.g., *hraniti nadu* ‘nurture hope’) to develop and stay alive.

Language units from the PERSON domain refer to actions related to people and society. Like people, hope comes and goes. We say goodbye to it and part with it (*oprostiti se s nadom* ‘say goodbye to hope’).

The submetaphor of PERSON, HOPE IS A PARTNER/COMPANION, accounts for 42% of all the LIVING ORGANISM examples. It is instantiated by only a few lexical units,

but these include the highly frequent conventional prepositional expressions *s nadom* ‘with hope’ and *uz nadu*, literally ‘by/along with hope’.

GUARDIAN is instantiated infrequently in patterns like *nada štiti* ‘hope protects’. From a viewpoint opposite the one in which hope is a companion or partner with whom experiencers are in a relationship of trust, hope betrays and cheats (e.g., *Je li vas izdala nada?* ‘Did hope betray you?’, [index.hr](#)). The viewpoint produced by the metaphor HOPE IS A TRAITOR applies to situations in which the object of hope is not reached. TRAITOR is instantiated in the patterns with the verbs *izdati* ‘betray’, *prevariti* ‘deceive’, in which *nada* is an active agent, and in the fixed expression *nada je kurva* ‘hope is a whore’, in which the second meaning of the word *kurva* ‘whore’ is activated: a person prone to cheating and lying.⁹

HOPE IS AN OPPONENT is instantiated in only a few patterns with the verbs *pred(ava)ti se* ‘surrender’.

SLEEPING ORGANISM is lexicalized in only a few patterns, including the frequent (*pro*)*buditi nadu* ‘awaken hope’. Construals with similar verbs emphasize the decisive influence of various agentive forces and phenomena on hope.

The PLANT metaphor is instantiated by the nouns *sjeme* ‘seed’, *cvijet* ‘bloom’, and *zrno (nade)* ‘grain (of hope)’, the frequent verb *gajiti* ‘cultivate’ occurring in the conventional pattern *gajiti nadu* ‘cultivate hope’ (see (3)), and some infrequent verbs (e.g., *klijati* ‘germinate’) and nouns (*latica* ‘petal’, occurring in a few innovative patterns).

- (3) *Znao sam da je sve gotovo, ali sam ipak gajio zrnice nade.* ([blog.hr](#))
‘I knew it was all over, but I have still cultivated a grain of hope.’

Zrnice ‘grain’ in (3) also instantiates MEASURABLE QUANTITY, suggesting that hope is delicate, tiny, and precious.

Through the PLANT metaphor, hope is conceptualized as an organism that begins to develop at some point and under certain conditions. It develops slowly, needs nurturing, and may be delicate. It may become stable and survive unfavorable conditions. This metaphor also suggests that some agents’ actions can influence the emergence and development of hope.

3.4 LIGHT, FIRE, AND WARMTH

The metaphors HOPE IS LIGHT, HOPE IS FIRE, and HOPE IS WARMTH are grouped together because their source domains are activated similarly. Fire gives off light and warmth and objects emanating light often give off warmth. The LIGHT metaphor is based on a more general evaluative mapping LIGHT IS GOOD. Thus, fire giving off light is also good, as are stars and sun(shine) (both associated with *nada*). HOPE IS WARMTH relies on the evaluatively loaded representation of warmth as positive and good – that is, on the more general metaphor WARMTH IS GOOD (see Partington 2007: 290).

HOPE IS LIGHT is frequently used in religious contexts and also in political rhetoric (Charteris-Black 2004: 100). Related to the GOD IS LIGHT metaphor, it emphasizes light as a source of protection, comfort, safety, and happiness (see Kövecses 2000a:

⁹ http://hjp.znanje.hr/index.php?show=search_by_id&id=elduUBM%3D&keyword=kurva

24). Light enables us to see, feel safe or in control, whereas in darkness the lack of sight makes us feel uncomfortable and threatened. Thus, HOPE IS LIGHT also relates to the more general LIGHT IS GOOD and DARKNESS IS BAD metaphors exploited in different modes of expression (Forceville and Renckens 2013), which carry conventional evaluative connotations according to which things are good (light) or bad (dark).

The LIGHT metaphor is frequently instantiated in patterns with the noun *tračak* ‘glimmer’ (the most frequent metaphorically used noun), which is often part of the conventional pattern *tračak nade* ‘a glimmer of hope’ (see (4), in which the general event-structure OBJECT metaphor (instantiated by *dati* ‘give’) co-occurs with LIGHT).¹⁰

- (4) *[to] je tome sektoru dalo tračak nade u skori oporavak.*
[this] gave the sector a glimmer of hope of early recovery.’ (fondovi.hr)

LIGHT is a domain represented by around forty lexical units, mainly verbs and nouns, including *svjetlo* ‘light’, the second most frequent noun, frequently occurring in *svjetlo nade* ‘light of hope’. Others include *zrake* ‘beams’ and *zvijezda (nade)* ‘star (of hope)’ that, together with *tračak* ‘glimmer’, instantiate sub-metaphors of LIGHT – HOPE IS SUN(SHINE)/STAR. The most frequent verbs include *(za)sjati* ‘shine’ and *upaliti* ‘light’ in patterns like *upaliti iskricu nade* ‘light a spark of hope’.

Fire is traditionally related to emotions and EMOTION IS FIRE/HEAT is considered a generic metaphor, often related to the “emotion → response” part of the emotion schema (Kövecses 2000a: 76).

With hope, the emphasis is on the light and warmth that fire gives off rather than on burning and damaging things. The focus is not on the extreme heat (corresponding to strong emotional reactions) that characterizes certain emotions, but on a moderate degree, which is positive. In other words, it maps onto energized hoping subjects that can retain their positive emotional state for some time.

HOPE IS FIRE (see Charteris-Black 2017: 170–171) is instantiated in hrWaC by patterns like *plamen/plamičak (nade)* ‘flame/flicker (of hope)’, and (infrequent) *zgarište nade* ‘rubble of hope’. The most frequent verb instantiating FIRE is *tinjati* ‘smolder’ in patterns like *nada tinja* ‘hope is smoldering’. It maps an image of barely burning fire on the intensity of hope, which is existent, but weak. Much less frequent are *razbukt(ava)ti* ‘inflare’ and *rasplamsa(va)ti* ‘flare up’, with which a sudden burst of flame or a sudden intensity of fire maps onto the emergence and increasing intensity of hope. Among the verbs taking hope as an object are infrequent *raspirivati* ‘spark’ and *potpirivati* ‘fuel’. The metaphorical patterns with these verbs emphasize actions that contribute to the emergence or development of hope.

The metaphor HOPE IS WARMTH is infrequent, instantiated by a few items like *topao* ‘warm’ (e.g., *topla nada* ‘warm hope’). WARMTH often co-occurs with LIGHT and FIRE metaphors, depicting hope as an object emanating warmth and causing feelings of warmth in its experiencers.

¹⁰ Hope is the first item on the CC list (co-occurrence count) for *tračak* ‘glimmer’ (1,219 citations). The next is *svjetlo* ‘light’ (233 citations). Thus, abstract meanings considered metaphorical in metaphor studies are sometimes much more frequent in actual usages than concrete ones considered “psychologically primary and historically prior” (Deignan 2005: 94).

The FIRE and LIGHT metaphors relate to a positive assessment of hope, whereby POSITIVE EMOTIONS ARE LIGHT, NEGATIVE EMOTIONS ARE DARKNESS.

3.5 Infrequent source domains

Among less frequently instantiated source domains are AGENTIVE FORCE, NATURAL FORCE, SOCIAL SUPERIOR, SNOW, INSPIRATION/MUSE, INSTRUMENT, DREAM, and UP (the two last were not found in the random sample, but in the additional corpus examples).

HOPE IS AN AGENTIVE FORCE is instantiated by the patterns that include the verbs *pokretati* ‘move’ and *nositi* ‘carry’. In these scenarios, another metaphor, HOPING PERSON IS UP (see below), is also instantiated.

One of the most typical emotion metaphors – EMOTION IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR – attested in the conceptualization of anger, fear, sadness, love, lust, pride, and happiness (see Kövecses 2000a: 37, 2015: 160), is only rarely instantiated with *nada* in patterns with *voditi* ‘lead’ and *usmjerivati* ‘direct’.

NATURAL FORCE, which is a prominent source domain for some emotions (see Kövecses 2000a: 37) is also infrequently instantiated (e.g., in *dašak nade* ‘gust of hope’). The NATURAL FORCE metaphor is infrequent with *nada* because the consequences of the intensity relevant to some other emotions – causing strong, visible reactions in persons experiencing emotions – are not relevant to hope.

In rather specific metaphorical construals with a few verbs, all meaning ‘to melt’ (e.g., *kopniti*), the source domain is SNOW. It emphasizes the brevity of hope and how various factors influence its stability.

The metaphor HOPE IS UP relates to a few infrequent patterns only, like *visoka nada* ‘high hope’. It is evaluative, emphasizing the positive aspects of *nada*, and based on our everyday experience and orientation in space. UP is a source domain employed in the metaphorical conceptualization of positive states and emotions, like happiness (Kövecses 2000a: 5), health, virtue, and life (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), to which hope shows some similarities. A submetaphor of HOPE IS UP, HOPE IS A BEING WITH WINGS is instantiated in expressions like *letjeti na krilima nade* ‘fly on the wings of hope’, which appear in Christian and other contexts also involving the metaphor HOPING PERSON IS UP.

HOPE IS UP (e.g., *visoke nade*) applies to hope’s intensity. INTENSITY OF EMOTION IS HEIGHT, as a general mapping that can be seen as a specific instance of the MORE IS UP / LESS IS DOWN metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), is frequent with some emotions (e.g., anger in English; see Stefanowitsch 2006: 92). In Croatian, intensity of hope is most frequently related to the source domain SIZE (e.g., *velike nade* ‘big hopes’; see Table 1). DEPTH is more frequently instantiated than HEIGHT.

INSTRUMENT is instantiated in some metaphorical patterns found in searches for verbs co-occurring with the instrumental case of *nada* (e.g., *izgraditi nadom* ‘build with hope’, *nada kojom*_{INSTR} *x* ‘hope with which x’). Rarely identified remaining source domains are PRAYER, EVENT, SKILL, HEALTH, and NAVIGATION.

The ENTITY, OBJECT, and CONTAINER metaphors account for 84.4% of all metaphorical expressions with *nada*. Metaphorical patterns instantiating these metaphors often go unnoticed in introspective studies on emotion metaphors (Stefanowitsch 2006) but play a central role in their conceptualization. The visualization of some

collocates of *nada* in Figure 2 (with attributes in green, verbs taking *nada* as an object in pink) indicate the significance of the source domains OBJECT (OF TRANSFER), VALUABLE OBJECT, CONTAINER, PLANT, LIQUID, and SLEEPING ORGANISM. Some attributes apply to non-figurative aspects (e.g., *kršćanski* ‘Christian’).

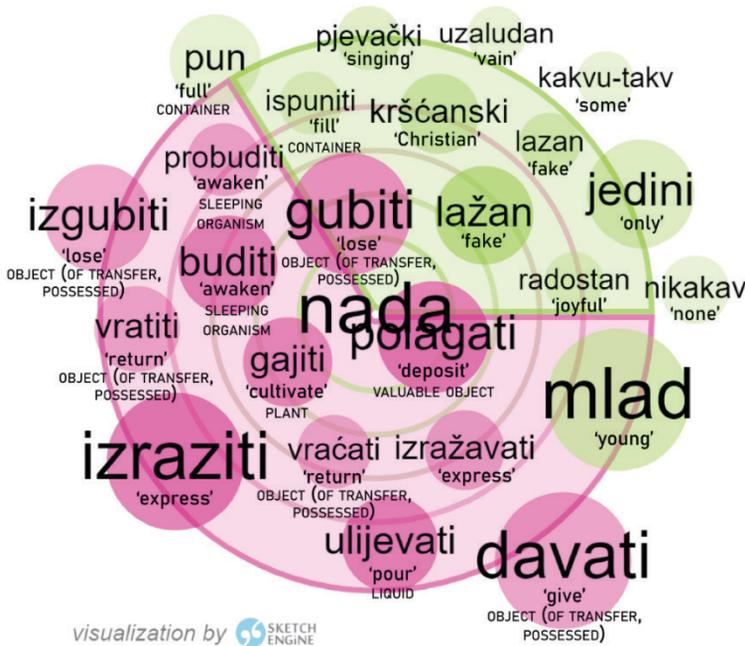


Figure 2. Modified word sketches of *nada* (glosses and domains are added). *Nada* as an object (mainly pink); modifiers of *nada* (mainly green).

4 Conclusions and outlook

Metaphors for *nada* identified in hrWaC apply to many other emotions, dispositions, and states. Methodologically comparable studies of other emotions are required in order to define those strongly associated with *nada* (as Stefanowitsch 2006 did for a few emotions in English). The lack of such studies for Croatian means that no conclusions can be reached regarding which metaphors are most typical for *nada*: this is an important question for a future study. However, the frequencies (see the overview in the table, Appendix 1) and the word sketch (Figure 2) indicate the significance of the source domains OBJECT OF TRANSFER, VALUABLE OBJECT, CONTAINER, COMPANION, PLANT, LIQUID, and SLEEPING ORGANISM.

Among the uppermost metaphorical collocates (LogDice, see Appendix 2) of *nada* are *tračak* ‘glimmer’ and *ulijevati* ‘pour’, instantiating the source domains LIGHT and LIQUID. Native speakers’ intuition also suggests that these two domains are rather significant (perhaps even most typical) for *nada*. Additional corpus evidence also suggests the significance of these two domains: *nada* (followed by *optimizam* ‘optimism’) is the uppermost collocate of *tračak* ‘glimmer’ (the only

other strong collocate designating feeling or attitude, twelfth on the list, is *sumnja* ‘doubt’). *Nada* is the fourth uppermost collocate of *ulijevati* ‘pour’, after *povjerenje* ‘trust’, *optimizam* ‘optimism’, and *strahopoštovanje* ‘awe’; other relatively strong collocates appearing lower than *nada* and indicating states and emotions are (*samo*) *pouzdanje* ‘(self)confidence’, *sigurnost* ‘security’, and *strah* ‘fear’. Methodologically comparable studies of other emotions are needed to make it possible to define the domains most strongly associated with *nada* and show what differentiates *nada* from some similar phenomena (e.g., *optimizam*), and what *nada* shares with some opposite phenomena (*strah*, *sumnja*).

This study confirms that most frequent metaphors for *nada*, whether an emotion, state, or disposition, are those that, as Stefanowitsch (2006) claimed, often go unnoticed, including OBJECT, CONTAINER, and COMPANION, the two last instantiated by metaphorical patterns with prepositions. Their high frequency has a considerable influence on the metaphors’ distribution (see the table in Appendix 1).

Some source domains (like ENTITY) are rather general and thus perhaps lack a significant explanatory value. Some are highly conventional, either with many metaphorical patterns representing them (like OBJECT), or with a few frequent patterns (like SLEEPING ORGANISM). Extremely low frequencies of some metaphorical patterns encountered in searching the entire corpus indicate innovative usages. The degree of conventionality or innovativeness seems to be influenced by genre and text type: innovative uses were often noticed in blogs and forums. Metaphors of hope in Croatian seem to vary across different genres and communicative situations: this issue necessitates a closer future examination.

Regarding the relation of *nada* to figurations of other emotions, among the frequently discussed source domains employed in general emotion metaphors (e.g., Kövecses 2000a), *nada* does not employ BURDEN, CAPTIVE ANIMAL, A FORCE DISLOCATING THE SELF, or INSANITY. The last is connected to intensity of an emotion, and some emotions are “not strong enough to be conceptualized as insanity” (Stefanowitsch 2006: 87). *Nada* is perhaps such an emotion. Less frequently utilized are SOCIAL SUPERIOR, ANTAGONIST/OPPONENT (to which TRAITOR is related), HEAT (to which LIGHT and WARMTH are related), and NATURAL FORCE. Some domains are rarely or never utilized because of the positive value ascribed to *nada*: for instance, the negatively connoted ENEMY, TORMENTOR, BURDEN, ILLNESS, and INSANITY (associated with one of *nada*’s opposites, fear; see Kövecses 1990; Perak 2014).¹¹ Some are perhaps not utilized because of the absence or lesser visibility of bodily reactions that are prominent with some other emotions like fear (breathing rate increases, muscle tightening, etc.). This, however, is also an issue requiring further exploration.

A positive value attributed to hope in psychology is also apparent in its linguistic figurations; *nada* is related to comfort and happiness. If it is linked to a physical sensation, that sensation is certainly pleasurable and related to warmth.

Some identified metaphors are clearly evaluative, emphasizing the positive value of *nada*. Such appraisal is explicitly linked to the domains VALUABLE OBJECT, LIGHT, WARMTH, FIRE and GUARDIAN. Positive evaluation is also observable in non-fig-

¹¹ Perak provides a comprehensive analysis of *strah* ‘fear’ in Croatian. His approach is a good basis for studying emotions in Croatian. However, Perak did not use hrWaC, and his focus was different. Our results are therefore not comparable.

urative contexts with some frequent adjectival collocates, such as *radostan* ‘joyful’ (*radosna nada* ‘joyful hope’) and *dobar* ‘good’ (*dobra nada* ‘good hope’).

The master metaphor list (Lakoff et al. 1991) contains three metaphors of hope in English: HOPE IS A BENEFICIAL POSSESSION, HOPE IS A CHILD, and HOPE IS LIGHT. All these are attested in hrWaC, but the first two were labeled VALUABLE OBJECT and LIVING ORGANISM. In fact, there are many similarities in the conceptualization of hope in English and Croatian. In her modern and early English corpora, Tissari (2017) found eight main source domains for hope: VALUABLE COMMODITY, CONTAINER, FLUID IN A CONTAINER (THE BODY), INSTRUMENT, MEASURABLE QUANTITY, INANIMATE ENTITY (other than CONTAINER and COMMODITY), ANIMATE ENTITY, and UP. All these, including the additional domains Tissari found in Google searches, are attested in hrWaC. Differences pertain to the frequency and changes over time. HOPE IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER – hardly present in the early English data and infrequent in English today – is frequent in Croatian and seems to be among a few metaphors strongly associated with *nada*. The frequency of MEASURABLE QUANTITY in Croatian resembles the situation in early English.

Cairns’ (2016) study of metaphors for *elpis* (hope) in archaic and classical Greek poetry provides some interesting insights into ambivalent views on hope: *elpis* is positively conceptualized as a healer and defender, but also negatively as a companion that leads astray, causing grief. This resembles the situation in Croatian: although many figurative patterns strongly define hope as a positive concept, *nada* is also frequently evaluated negatively as false (e.g., *lažna nada* ‘false hope’), an evaluation that is related to the identified TRAITOR metaphor. The negatively evaluative *lažan* ‘fake’ is the most frequent adjective on the list of collocational candidates for *nada*, and *nada* is the first noun from the semantic field of feelings, dispositions, and states on the list for *lažan*. The positive opposites of *lažan* (e.g., *istinski* ‘true’, *pravi* ‘legitimate’) are far less frequent. Another frequent negatively evaluative adjective is *lud* ‘crazy’, which evaluates a highly uncertain outcome that is nevertheless somebody’s object of hope. Some other evaluative adjectives refer to hope being either justified and well-founded, or unjustified and ill-founded. The future orientation of *nada* may explain why its content is frequently judged as well- or ill-founded. *Nada* is often described as *realna* ‘real’, based upon whether the hoped-for object actually eventuates. In its retrospective evaluations, *nada* is judged as misguided and *naivna* ‘naive’, and experiencers are blamed for hoping naively, especially if their hope has encouraged or misled others into hoping.

These evaluative aspects related to hoping subjects and the future orientation of hope, along with some other phenomena, such as non-figurative patterns could not be dealt here due to space limitations but certainly deserve attention in a future study, accounting, among other things, for *nada* in relation to other, similar (e.g., *očekivanje* ‘expectation’), and opposite (e.g., *strah* ‘fear’) phenomena.

This study, as a first step in the examination of an unexplored phenomenon in Croatian, has revealed a complex image of hope. However, it is limited in that it only accounts for examples containing the target word *nada*. For some emotions and states, contexts in which target words are not explicitly mentioned are frequent and relevant, and it remains to be examined whether the same applies to *nada*. An important future step is a corpus-based study of other lexical units and construc-

tions related to *nada* that will test the results of this study and possibly provide a more comprehensive image. The close examination of immediate contexts of *nada* in a few thousand corpus examples undertaken in this study resulted in a number of ideas and preliminary findings (e.g., on the degree of metaphors' creativity and novelty) that must be further developed in a future study. As Kövecses (2017) argues, corpus-based quantitative metaphor analyses of emotion concepts certainly have drawbacks, and they should be complemented by qualitative studies. The findings gained in this corpus-based study are a basis and starting point for future qualitative research focusing, among other things, on the conceptualization of *nada* in different genres and discourse realms, considering specific discourse types and discourse participants' goals.

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Appendix 1

Table 1. Metaphors for *nada* in Croatian

Metaphors	Examples of metaphorical patterns	No. random sample
1. HOPE IS AN ENTITY	<i>postoji nada</i> 'hope exists', <i>ima nade</i> 'there is hope'	107
2. HOPE IS AN OBJECT (OF TRANSFER, POSSESSED, OBJECT DIRECTED AT X, UNSPECIFIED)	<i>dati nadu</i> 'give (sb) hope', <i>naša nada</i> 'our hope', <i>usmjeriti nadu (na koga)</i> 'direct hope towards sb'	197
3. HOPE IS A MEASURABLE OBJECT	<i>velika nada</i> 'big hope', <i>povećati nadu</i> 'raise hope'	51
4. HOPE IS A VALUABLE OBJECT/ RESOURCE	<i>ulagati nade</i> 'invest hopes', <i>darovati nadu</i> 'give hope as a gift'	30
5. HOPE IS A DESTROYABLE/ FRAGILE OR SOLID OBJECT	<i>poljuljana/čvrsta nada</i> 'fragile/solid hope'	15
6. HOPE IS A BUILDING	<i>vrata nade</i> 'door of hope', <i>srušene nade</i> 'shattered hopes'	7
7. HOPE IS A NUTRIENT/FOOD	<i>okrijepiti nadom</i> 'refresh with hope', <i>hraniti se nadom</i> 'feed on hope'	5
<i>Other specific types of objects</i>		
8. DEEP OBJECT	<i>duboke nade</i> 'deep hopes'	1
9. COLORED OBJECT	<i>paleta nada</i> 'palette of hope'	1
10. OBJECT THAT CAN BE TASTED	<i>slatka nada</i> 'sweet hope'	1
11. FRAGRANT OBJECT	<i>miris nade</i> 'fragrance of hope'	1
12. TEXT; SHIELD; WOOD	<i>čitati nadu</i> 'read hope'	1
13. THIN OBJECT	<i>tanka nada</i> 'thin hope'	/
14. ANCHOR	<i>sidro nade</i> 'anchor of hope'	/
15. FABRIC	<i>krpice nade</i> 'patches of hope'	/
16. SOUND PRODUCING OBJECT	<i>zvuk nade</i> 'sound of hope'	/
17. STONE	<i>stijena nade</i> 'stone of hope'	/
Objects: total		417
18. HOPE IS A CONTAINER	<i>u nadi</i> 'in hope'	116
19. HOPE IS SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER	<i>pun nade</i> 'full of hope', <i>ispunjen nadom</i> 'filled with hope'	25
20. HOPE IS A MIXED/PURE SUBSTANCE	<i>mješavina nade i straha</i> 'mixture of hope and fear'	2

21. HOPE IS A MEASURABLE QUANTITY	<i>puno nade</i> ‘plenty of hope’	30
22. HOPE IS A LIQUID (IN A CONTAINER)	<i>izvor nade</i> ‘source of hope’, <i>ulijevati nadu</i> ‘pour hope into sth’	21
<i>Living organism</i>		
23. HOPE IS A SLEEPING ORGANISM	<i>(pro)buditi nadu</i> ‘wake up hope’	20
24. HOPE IS A LIVING ORGANISM (UNSPECIFIED)	<i>živa nada</i> ‘living hope’, <i>njegovati nadu</i> ‘nurture hope’	16
25. HOPE IS A PLANT	<i>sijati nadu</i> ‘sow hope’, <i>usahnula nada</i> ‘withered hope’	13
26. HOPE IS A PERSON (other than 27–30)	<i>susret s nadom</i> ‘meeting with hope’, <i>pokopati nadu</i> ‘bury hope’	7
27. PARTNER, COMPANION	<i>s nadom</i> ‘with hope’, <i>uz nadu</i> ‘along with hope’, <i>napustiti nadu</i> ‘abandon hope’	45
28. TRAITOR	<i>varljiva nada</i> ‘deceptive hope’, <i>nada je kurva</i> ‘hope is a whore’	4
29. OPPONENT	<i>predavati se nadi</i> ‘surrender to hope’	1
30. GUARDIAN	<i>nada štiti</i> ‘hope gives protection’	/
LIVING ORGANISM: total		106
31. HOPE IS LIGHT	<i>ugasiti svjetlo nade</i> ‘extinguish the light of hope’, <i>tračak nade</i> ‘glimmer of hope’	20
32. HOPE IS FIRE	<i>oganj/vatra nade</i> ‘fire of hope’, <i>nada tinja</i> ‘hope is smoldering’	4
33. HOPE IS WARMTH	<i>nada... grije dušu</i> ‘hope warms one’s soul’	/
LIGHT, WARMTH, FIRE: total		24
34. HOPE IS AN AGENTIVE FORCE	<i>nada (koga) nosi</i> ‘hope carries sb’	5
<i>Other</i>		
35. HOPE IS A NATURAL FORCE (WIND, AIR FLOW)	<i>nada huči</i> ‘hope is howling’	1
36. HOPE IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR	<i>nada (koga) vodi</i> ‘hope leads sb’	1
37. HOPE IS SNOW	<i>nade kopne</i> ‘hopes thaw’	1
38. HOPE IS AN INSPIRATION/ MUSE	<i>nadahnjivati se nadom</i> ‘be inspired by hope’	2
39. HOPE IS AN INSTRUMENT	<i>brisati nadom</i> ‘erase with a hope’	2
40. HOPE IS A DREAM	<i>nade se nisu ispunile</i> ‘unfulfilled hopes’	/
41. HOPE IS UP	<i>visoke nade</i> ‘high hopes’	/
Remaining source domains: PRAYER; EVENT; SKILL; HEALTH; NAVIGATION	<i>uslišiti nadu</i> ‘hear hope’, <i>zdrava nada</i> ‘healthy hope’	5

Appendix 2. The uppermost collocation candidates for *nada* and the search criteria

Collocation candidates

Page 1 Go [Next >](#)

	Cooccurrence count	Candidate count	T-score	MI	logDice
P N izraziti	4,701	116,161	68.437	9.082	9.448
P N polagati	2,514	25,766	50.101	10.352	9.306
P N vjera	3,853	193,036	61.840	8.062	8.729
P N tračak	1,222	3,679	34.949	12.119	8.534
P N gubiti	2,005	100,263	44.610	8.065	8.326
P N ulijevati	998	7,453	31.573	10.808	8.192
P N nada	1,801	104,330	42.254	7.853	8.143
P N davati	3,342	321,707	57.394	7.120	8.005
P N gajiti	776	8,733	27.833	10.217	7.813
P N lažan	1,090	64,051	32.868	7.819	7.723
P N budućnost	1,809	188,089	42.202	7.009	7.663
P N radost	1,033	67,864	31.982	7.671	7.618
P N buditi	1,240	105,532	34.989	7.298	7.597
P N utjeha	638	20,086	25.199	8.733	7.392
P N izražavati	682	32,064	26.023	8.154	7.356
P N mlad	3,967	705,484	62.148	6.235	7.326
P N optimizam	629	24,225	25.007	8.442	7.324
P N umirati	679	35,778	25.955	7.990	7.311
P N spas	635	28,115	25.115	8.241	7.295
P N izgubiti	1,790	280,989	41.812	6.415	7.250
P N ljubav	2,321	404,754	47.549	6.263	7.222
P N sutra	1,115	149,820	33.056	6.639	7.167
P N kršćanski	667	67,524	25.631	7.048	6.990
P N probuditi	572	62,677	23.720	6.933	6.810
P N jedini	1,686	389,788	40.352	5.856	6.804
P N uskrснуće	400	16,677	19.937	8.327	6.759
P N ostajati	968	196,928	30.640	6.041	6.718
P N očekivanje	482	59,781	21.751	6.755	6.588
P N htjeti	24,722	8,327,597	153.279	5.313	6.586
P N pružati	633	119,399	24.805	6.150	6.534
P N želja	961	235,865	30.432	5.770	6.532
P N oporavak	403	44,026	19.911	6.938	6.475
P N ipak	2,283	746,042	46.615	5.357	6.458
P N uliti	297	8,389	17.197	8.889	6.431
P N pun	1,080	305,675	32.169	5.564	6.431
P N vječan	405	51,855	19.932	6.709	6.408
P N pružiti	900	94,246	22.046	6.151	6.366
P N strah	706	177,631	26.071	5.734	6.358
P N svjetlo	580	130,272	23.679	5.898	6.340
P N mir	677	170,266	25.530	5.734	6.335
P N Krist	481	97,649	21.599	6.044	6.286
P N vratiti	1,259	424,543	34.589	5.312	6.285
P N poruka	709	210,133	26.038	5.498	6.207
P N spasenje	275	19,370	16.495	7.571	6.186
P N život	2,758	1,157,583	50.871	4.996	6.162
P N posljednji	1,159	440,968	33.077	5.138	6.121
P N dati	2,640	1,143,199	49.720	4.951	6.115
P N živjeti	1,388	556,971	36.140	5.061	6.103
P N čovječanstvo	282	31,183	16.654	6.920	6.091
P N postojati	1,864	808,437	41.776	4.949	6.064

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Collocation candidates ?

Attribute: lemma In the range from: -5 to: 5

Minimum frequency in corpus: 5

Minimum frequency in given range: 3

T-score

MI

MI3

log likelihood

min. sensitivity

Show functions: logDice

Sort by: logDice