The Comparison of the English Verb, 
*Lead* and the German Verbs, 
*Leiten* and *Führen*

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0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to compare the senses of the English verb, *lead* with those of the German counterparts, namely *leiten* and *führen* and analyze the similarities and differences of their polysemous networks from the point of semantic extension.

1.1 The German Counterparts of *Lead*

Etymologically the German counterpart of *lead* is *leiten*, and naturally it is a subject of this analysis, but compared with *lead*, the German verb has a considerably limited range of uses. *Collins German Dictionary* (henceforth *CGD*) carries *führen* in six out of the twelve senses as the German counterpart of *lead* in its English-German part. Furthermore, *The Concise Oxford-Duden German Dictionary* (henceforth *OGD*) carries *führen* as its counterparts in four out of the seven senses ((1. a), (c), 2. a) b)) under the entry of *lead*. Moreover *A Practical Dictionary of German Usage* (henceforth *PDGU*) says that *führen* expresses the basic sense of *lead*, ‘to take someone somewhere, especially by going ahead, and also that of *guide*, ‘to take someone somewhere’ and the
dictionary enters führen as the English counterpart for four of the seven senses under the heading of lead, guide, and be guided. For these reasons here the verbs, leiten and führen shall be analyzed as the German verbs that are broadly equivalent to lead.

1.2 The Semantic Features of Lead

In its typical literal use lead is used like: Someone (henceforth Leader) leads someone else (henceforth Led) somewhere. The semantic features of the literal uses of the verb listed in Matsumoto (2003) are as follows: (a) Leader takes Led somewhere., (b) Leader (knows and) decides which way to take and where to go., (c) Leader may go in front of Led., (d) Leader may be in physical contact with Led., (e) Leader moves voluntarily and in most cases it may be true with Led., and (f) Both Leader and Led must be animate and they must move.

2.1 The Literal Uses of Leiten

In its literal use leiten has the same sense as lead, namely, ‘Leader takes Led somewhere’:

(1) jemanden durch das Gebäude zur Personalabteilung leiten BWDW

(to lead someone in the building to the personnel section)

This example also has the features (b), (c), (e) and (f). The feature (d) is made explicit in the following:

(2) den Blinden an der Hand leiten KDJW

(to lead the blind person by the hand)

But in this use lead and leiten are different in the speech register. According to PDGU, leiten is more formal than führen. This may be in part due to its appearance in the Bible as is shown in the following:

(3) Wenn aber ein Blinder den Andern leite, so fall sie beide in die Gruben. DW

(And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.)
2.2 The Literal Uses of Leiten 2

Unlike lead, leiten can take a wider range of objects and in the following cases its English counterparts are send or pass:

(4) die Schiffsladung an ihren Bestimmungsort leiten GDJW
    (to send the ship cargo to its destination)
(5) etwas an die zuständige Stelle leiten CGD
    (to pass something on to the proper authority)
(6) Der Beamte hat den Antrag an die richtige Stelle weitergeleitet. 750
    (The civil servant passed the application on to the proper authority.)

Here leiten does not satisfy the semantic feature (f): both Leader and Led must be animate. Apart from the metonymically extended cases, lead usually takes only animate things as its object in its literal uses, so this is a great difference between leiten and lead.²

2.3 The Metaphorical Extensions of Leiten 1: Those Found in the Bible

Both leiten and lead express the same metaphorical meaning in the translation of the Bible:

(7) Er (Der Herr) leitet mich auf rechten Pfaden. BWDW
    (He (The Lord) leadeth me in the paths of righteousness)³

In this case the extension both in English and German could be attributed to the loan translation from Hebrew, but considering the facility with which concrete or locomotive concepts are applied to more abstract domains, it could also be an independent extension based on the metaphor: A life is a journey.

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(1) This is cited from Matthew 15, 14.
(2) According to OED, lead can be used in the sense of carry or convey, usually in a cart or other vehicle, but this use is now dialectal.
(3) This is from Psalms 23, 3.

— 41 —
2.4 The Metonymical Extensions of Leiten

In place of a person lead takes a path (henceforth Path) as its subject as in ‘The street led him to the station.’ In Matsumoto (2003) it was pointed out that this can be regarded as a metonymical extension because Path is in contact with Led and Leader in such usual sentences as ‘He led her along the corridor to the office.’ In the following, the word, instinct appears as the subject, which can also be regarded as a kind of metonymical extension from Leader himself to his instinct (a kind of his part):

(8) Mein Instinkt hat mich an den richtigen Ort geleitet. GDJW
   (My instinct led /guided me to the right place.)

What leads us somewhere can also be used as the subject:

(9) Der Hinweis eines Zeugen leitete die Polizei an die richtige Stelle. 750
   (A witness tip led the police to the right place.)

These uses are metaphorically extended below:

(10) Mein Instinkt leitete mich zum Kauf des Hauses. 750
    (My instinct led/brought me to purchase this house.)

(11) Er hat sich von politischen Motiven leiten lassen GDJW
    (He is led/guided/inspired by political motives.)

(12) Ich habe mich dabei von folgenden Erwägungen leiten lassen. 750
    (I let myself be guided by the following considerations.)

As these examples show, the range of subjects leiten can take is not quite identical to that of lead but it is clear that both verbs show extension in the same direction.

2.5 The Affinity of Leiten with Linear Things

As was explained in Matsumoto (2003), lead has affinity with linear things because in the core sense when Leader leads Led, both of them leave something linear, for example footsteps. In the following a linear thing is used as its objects:
(13) Lead these two wires into the holes provided. *LDPV*

*Leiten* also has the same tendency as is evident from the following:

(14) das Wasser in einen Kanal *leiten* *GDJW*
    
    (to lead the water to a canal)

(15) Das öl wird durch Rohre zum Hafen *geleitet* *CGD*
    
    (The oil is piped to the port.)

In the following not a liquid but a gas is used as its object:

(16) Dampf durch Rohre *leiten* *BWDW*
    
    (to send steam through a pipe)

Here what is linear is not water or oil but the things conveying them such as pipes, canals, etc, nevertheless they take linear forms because of the property liquid has, namely amorphousness. This use is metaphorically extended if the thing in question can be likened to a kind of liquid:

(17) Der Verkehr muß während der Bauzeit über eine Umgehungsstraße *geleitet* werden *GWJW*
    
    (The traffic must be routed on the bypass during the construction.)

### 2.6.1 The Metaphorical Extensions of *Leiten* 2: the Shift Related to Linear Things

In the following the subject is a conductor that is originally the thing in which a liquid or what is likened to a liquid passes. This is also a metonymic extension. In English *conduct* is usually used in these cases:

(18) Kupfer *leitet* Elektrizität gut. *GDJW*
    
    (Copper *conducts* electricity well.)

(19) Metal *leitet* Wärme besser als Holz. *BWDW*
    
    (Metal *conducts* heat better than wood.)

### 2.6.2 The Metaphorical Extensions of *Leiten* 3: Command

*Leiten* has a parallel use in the sense of being in charge of an organization:

(20) eine expedition *leiten* *CGD*
(to lead an expedition)

Here literal, that is to say, locomotive movement is still involved but in the following, the object is a noun which denotes metaphorical movement though sometimes literal movement might be involved, for example, in a political demonstration:

(21) eine Bewegung leiten CGD
    (to lead a movement)

The following has no such movement:

(22) eine Partei leiten CGD
    (to lead a party)

In the following, leiten has at least one thing in common with its literal cases in that Leader is situated in front of Led:

(23) ein Orchester leiten CGD
    (to lead/conduct an orchestra)

(24) eine Diskussion leiten BWDW
    (to emcee a discussion)

(24) may be motivated on the basis of the following metaphor: The act of speaking/writing is linear, but there may be another metaphor at work, namely: The act of speaking is that of moving. Strongly associated with the example (24) are cases as follows:

(25) ein Gespräch leiten CGD
    (to lead a conversation)

(26) Verhandlungen leiten CGD
    (to lead negotiations)

But in (26) there may be another metaphor in play: Negotiation is a war.

2.6.3 The Metaphorical Extensions of Leiten 4: Management

Leiten as well as führen can take the following objects:

(27) eine Fabrik/einen Betrieb leiten GDJW /CGD
(to run/manage a factory/a business)

(28) ein Geschäft leiten $BWDW$
(to operate/run a shop)

(29) einen Haushalt leiten $GDJW$
(to manage/run a family finance)

(30) eine Abteilung leiten $BWDW$
(to manage/run a department)

In this sense leiten corresponds to run or manage but in the following we have to use other verbs:

(31) ein Fußballspiel leiten $GDJW$
(to referee a football game)

(32) sein Geschick leiten $CGD$
(to decide his fate)

Lead cannot be used in most of these cases and this is a very great difference.
The motivation for these uses shall be analyzed in 3.3.5.

3.1 The Basic Use of $Führen$

Etymologically this verb is the factitive form of the verb, fahren, which in some senses corresponds to the English verb, go. As might be expected, it is an important verb and has a wider usage than lead. The most basic uses are like lead and in them the semantic features mentioned in 1.2 are satisfied:

(33) die Braut zum Altar führen $BWGW$
(to lead the bride to the altar)

(34) Der Kellner wird die Dame zu ihrem Tisch führen. $750$
(The waiter will lead the lady to her table.)

(35) Die Sekretärin führe ihn zum Direktor. $750$
(The secretary led him to the director.)

Here the adverbial phrase introduced by zu expresses the goal: Altar, Tisch, and Direktor. In the following, the phrase, an der Hand is used, which denotes
explicitly the contact between **Leader** and **Led**:

(36) jemanden an der Hand **führen** *GDJW*
    (to lead someone by the hand)

(37) Die Frau **führte** ihr Kind an der hand. *750*
    (The woman led her child by the hand.)

As in English animals can be used as its object:

(38) einen Hund an der Leine **führen** *GDJW*
    (to lead a dog on the leash)

(39) Vieh auf die Weide **führen** *BWDW*
    (to lead cattle to the pasture)

Compared with *lead*, **führen** has more cases used in the literal senses and some of them correspond to *show* and *guide* as in the following:

(40) eine Dame zu Tisch **führen** *BWGW*
    (to show a lady to the table)

(41) Er **führte** uns durch das Schloss. *CGD*
    (He showed us round the castle.)

(42) Der Mann **führte** die Gruppe durch das Museum. *750*
    (The man showed the group around the museum.)

(43) einen Behinderten **führen** *BWDW*
    (to guide a handicapped man)

In some contexts it may be possible to use *lead* in these cases, but there must be cases where *show* or *guide* is probably a little more appropriate. In the following, **führen** corresponds to *help*:

(44) eine alte Dame über die Straße **führen** *CGD*
    (to help an old lady over the road)

(45) Er **führte** die Großmutter über den Hof. *750*
    (He helped the grandmother across the courtyard.)

In the following it is translated using *bring* or *take*:

(46) Was **führt** dich zu mir? *GDJW*
(What has brought you to me?)

(47) Der Zufall führte ihn nach Bonn. *ibid.*
     (The accident brought/took him to Bonn.)

(48) Der Urlaub führte sie in die Karibik. *750*
     (The vacation took them to the Caribbean.)

(49) Sein Beruf führte ihn sehr viel in der Welt herum. *PDGU*
     (His work took him around the world.)

Of course events can be used as the subject of *lead*, but in *lead*, the range of the subject it can take seems to be more restricted than in *bring* or *take* when the adverbial phrase denotes actual places:

(50) Following the signs led us into a small square with a fountain. *CIDe*

(51) The new information led the police to a house near the harbour. *ibid.*

As was elucidated in Matsumoto (2003), the subject has the feature which allows the object to decide on their route. This restriction does not seem to obtain when the adverbial phrase denotes figurative places:

(52) What led you to this conclusion? *OALD 6*

In this respect *führen* can take a wider range of subjects and it corresponds to *bring* or *take* in the following:

(53) Another half hour’s walk brought us to the edge of the forest. *CIDe*

(54) My work took me abroad a lot. *COBUILD 1*

### 3.2 Reflexive Objects

Though it took reflexive pronouns as its object in the past, *lead* does not usually take them now, but *führen* has its reflexive use and in place of *lead*, its correspondent use is now found in *conduct* in English:

(4) Etymologically *conduct* means to lead. *Carry* has its correspondent use but it shows mainly the posture:

She carried herself straight and with confidence. *LDOCE 4*

*Bear* is also used especially when the behavior reflects its character:

She bore herself with great dignity. *LDOCE 4*
(55) Er hat sich gut/schlecht geführt.  
    (He conducted himself well/badly.)

(56) Wie hat er sich in der Schule geführt  
    (How did he conduct himself in school?)

So in this sense there is no overlap between führen and lead, but what is important is that the same kind of extension can be found in bear and carry.

3.3.1 Body Parts and the Metonymic Extension of Führen 1

Unlike lead, führen can take a part of your body, namely hand or finger as its object:

(57) die Hand/zwei Finger an den Hut/an die Mütze führen  
    (to touch one’s hat/cap)(5)

(58) einen Hieb/Stoß(6) gegen jemanden führen  
    (to land a blow on someone)

The object is metonymically extended to inanimate things in contact with the hand:

(59) das Glas an die Lippen führen  
    (to raise (literally: move ) one’s glass to one’s lips)

(60) den Löffel zum Mund führen  
    (to raise one’s spoon to one’s mouth)

(61) das Fahrrad führen  
    (to push (literally: move) the bicycle)

The senses exemplified in this section provide one of the differences between lead and führen. In the case of lead, Leader must be different from Led, but this does not apply to führen. As a result the following sentences are unacceptable in English: *He led himself to the desk./*He led his hand to his hat. This fact is brought to light by the comparison of lead with führen and

(5) Literally it means ‘to move the hand/two fingers to the hat/cap.’
(6) Hieb or Stoß does not always mean ‘blow’.
we have to add to the semantic features of *lead* another characteristic that *Leader* and *Led* must be different entities.

3.3.2 The Metonymical Extension of *führen* 2

As is the case with the example in notes, *führen* corresponds to *carry*, *bear*, or *have* in English. In this case *Leader* and *Led* are different entities. In other words they are alienable:

(62) eine geladene Pistole *führen* *BWDW*
    (to *carry* a loaded pistol)

(63) Der Verbrecher *führte* einen geladenen Revolver bei sich *750*
    (The criminal *carried* a loaded gun with him.)

(64) einen Ausweis bei sich *führen* *ibid.*
    (to *carry* an identification on one’s person)

(65) Erich hat kein Geld mit sich *geführt* *750*
    (Erich carried no money with him.)

Here the objects are usually portable inanimate things. As we have already mentioned, the semantic features of *lead* include the following: *Leader* takes *Led* somewhere and *Leader* may *go* in front of *Led*. These two features are completely absent in this sense of *führen*. It is true that the cases from (63) to (65) involve an adverbial phrase, but this does not refer to a goal but just a place where *Led* is located. Moreover there is no notion of *Leader* going before *Led* because they are physically contiguous. In the following *bear* or *wear* seems to be more suitable:

(66) ein Wappen *führen* *CGD*
    (to *wear/bear* a badge)

As in English the object is figuratively extended to names, etc:

(67) einen Namen/einen Titel *führen* *CGD*
    (to *carry/bear/have* a name/a title)

In (66) and (67) the subject is a person, but below it is an animal:
(68) Die Schlangen führen Gift mit sich. BWDW
(The snakes have poison.)

3.3.3 Animals and the Metonymical Extension of Führen 3

As we have already seen, führen and lead have almost the same sense when the object is a dog. In the case of lead, the person who leads the dog may go in front of it in some cases, especially when it is on a leash. Unlike lead, führen can be used in the contexts in which the person probably goes after the animal(s):

(69) seine Herde führen GDJW
(to drive his herd)
(70) die Pferde führen ibid.
(to drive the horse/wagon)

In this extension führen is presumed to have developed as has the English verb, drive\(^7\). That is to say, the object has been metonymically extended from the animal(s) to the carriage which they pull, and when the self-propelling carriage came into use, it was extended to the machine. Here is a difference between führen and lead because in the latter the objects of lead are animate in most of the literal cases. Furthermore, here the notion of control is involved as in the above-mentioned cases:

(71) ein Fahrzeug führen BWDW
(to drive a vehicle)

In English for a car/truck/train drive is used\(^8\), and for a plane and a ship, fly and sail are used respectively. In German führen is used in all of these cases (Fahrzeug/Lkw/Zug/Flugzeug/Schiff). In these cases vehicles are moved, but in the following the range of their movement is restricted:

\(^7\) According to OED, lead used to have this sense.
\(^8\) The verb run can be used for trains and ships in a somewhat different sense, but it cannot be usually used for planes or cars.
(72) einen Kran/Fahrstuhl führen CGD  
(to operate a crane/an elevator)  
The focus is mainly on the notion of control in the following:  
(73) ein Werkzeug führen BWDW  
(to use a tool/an instrument)  
(74) eine Kamera führen CGD  
(to operate a camera)  
In these cases führen corresponds to use or operate, but in the following wield would be a little more suitable:  
(75) einen Pinsel(9) führen CGD.  
(to wield a brush)  
If we use lead in (71), we have: X leads a vehicle. In English this means that X goes before the vehicle. On the other hand in German X führt ein Fahrzeug means that X controls the vehicle. In the former the focus is on the spatial notion of Leader going before Led whereas in the latter it is on that of control of Leader over Led. The most likely explanation is that the difference in focus has brought about this difference between lead and führen.

3.3.4 Loads as Its Object  
Like leiten cargo, etc can be used as its object. In this case the subject is usually a means of transportation. This is another case of metonymical extension from vehicles to its load. Here führen corresponds not to lead but again to carry:  
(76) eine Ladung Holz (an Bord) führen GDJW  
(to carry a cargo of lumber (on board))  
(77) Das Schiff führt Kohle/öl/Passagiere und Fracht. BWDW  
(The ship carries coal/oil/passengers and freight.)

(9) This example is related to (57). A brush could be regarded as a literal extension of the hand, namely a metonymical extension.
In the following, it takes as its object something which can be added to the subject itself:

(78) Der Zug führt Speise- und Schlafwagen. BWDW
    (The train has dining and sleeping cars.)

Below the subject is a natural phenomenon:

(79) Der Wind führte uns Sand in die Augen. BWDW
    (The wind blew dust in our eyes.)

In these cases the carrier and what is carried can be easily separated, but it is not the case in the following:

(80) Geschütze führen GDJW
    (to be armed with cannons)

3.3.5 Shops as Its Object

Both führen and carry have the following extended use:

(81) Diesen Artikel führen wir nicht. BWDW
    (We don’t carry this ware.)

(82) Das Geschäft führt diese Ware nicht. GDJW
    (The shop doesn’t carry this ware.)

The reason for this extension both in English and German could be explained by a metaphorical extension: A shop is a vehicle (ship). But historically this extension is due to the fact that shops used to be carts, namely shops on wheels. So this is also a case of metonymical extension from the vehicle=the shop to things it sells.\(^{10}\)

3.3.6 The Affinity of Führen with Linear Things

Like lead and its German counterpart leiten, führen takes something linear as its object, but it depends partly on the collocation between the verb and

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\(^{10}\) On this subject, see Deutsches Wörterbuch. In English we may also have to pay attention to the phonetic similarity between shop and ship.
the object whether *lead* can be used or not:

(83) den Faden durch etwas führen **GDJW**
    (to pass/push/run the thread through something)
(84) die Nadel durch etwas führen **ibid.**
    (to run the needle through something)
(85) eine Leitung/einen Draht führen **CGD**
    (to carry a pipe/wire)
(86) die Wasserleitung bis in die Vororte führen **GDJW**
    (to extend the water pipe to the suburb)
(87) die Straßenbahnlinie bis in die Vororte führen **GDJW**
    (to extend the street car line to the suburb)
(88) eine Linie durch den Punkt führen **ibid.**
    (to draw a line through the point)

In German the subject has the role of the agent causing the linear object to be moved or extended from one point to another. Comparable uses of *lead* (13) have already been given. Below is another example:

(89) Lead the wire in from the roof, through these holes in the back of the radio set. **LDPV**

Unlike *lead*, *führen* can take as its object buildings of a linear shape:

(90) eine Mauer um den Garten führen **BWDW**
    (to build a wall around the garden)

3.3.7 **Intransitive Uses**

In Matsumoto (2003) it was pointed out that the subject originally playing the semantic role of *Path* can be explained as a kind of metonymic extension. In German the same extension can be found in:

(91) Der Waldweg führt zu einem Gasthof. **CGD**
    (The forest path leads to an inn.)
(92) Die Straße führt zum Bahnhof. **GDJW**
(The street leads to the station.)

(93) Die Tür führt in den Garten. *ibid.*
(The door leads into the garden.)

(94) Die Spuren im Schnee führen zum Fluß. *PDGU*
(The trail in the snow leads to the river.)

The affinity *führen* shows toward liner things is reflected in the fact that not *überqueren* but *führen* can be used in the following in which a bridge appears as the subject:

(95) Nur eine Brücke führt über den Fluß. *PDGU*
(Only one bridge crosses the river.)

In the following *go* or *run* may be a little more suitable:

(96) Die alte Straße hat nach Kiel/am Rhein entlang geführt. *750*
(The old highway went to Kiel/ran along the Rhein.)

### 3.4.1 The Metaphorical Extension of *führen* 1: Superiority

Like *lead*, *führen* is used in races and here the focus is on the fact that *Leader* goes before *Led* and it is also extended to other sports which do not necessarily involve running:

(97) beim Rennen/im Wettbewerb führen *BWGW*
(to lead in the race/competition)

(98) Die Mannschaft führt mit 10 Punkten Vorsprung *CGD*
(The team is leading by ten points.)

It is extended to other situations in which competition is found:

(99) Paris führt in der Mode *GDJW*
(Paris leads in fashion.)

(100) Die Firma XY führt in Videorecordern. *CGD*
(XY is the leading firm for video recorders.)

*Lead* can be used both transitively and intransitively, but *führen* has its intransitive use only in this sense.
3.4.2 The Metaphorical Extension of *führen* 2: Command

In its literal use **Leader** knows and decides which way the person(s) following **Leader** should go and in this respect the former controls the latter. When this notion of control becomes prominent, it takes on the metaphorical sense of control and that is also the case with *führen*:

(101) eine Armee *führen* \(BWDW\)
    (to lead an army)

(102) eine Expedition *führen* \(CGD\)
    (to lead an expedition)

(103) eine Gruppe *führen* *ibid.*
    (to lead a group)

According to *PDGU*, *Krieg* (war) collocates with *führen* whereas it cannot be used as the object of *kämpfen*. This can be regarded as a kind of evidence that *führen* is likely to compatible with an organization. Of course in a battle or expedition there must be some movement, but in the following, usually there is no movement involved in the sense of locomotion:

(104) das Orchester *führen* \(GDJW\)
    (to lead the orchestra)

(105) Der Politiker versprach, das land in eine bessere Zukunft zu *führen*. 750
    (The politician promised to lead the country to a better future.)

(106) Er hat das Land ins Elend geführt. *ibid.*
    (He led/reduced the country to misery.

In (105) and (106) the adverbial phrase denotes a goal and a result respectively and in the following, both of them are denoted:

(107) Der junge Trainer hat die Chicago Bulls zur Meisterschaft *geführt*. 750
    (The young coach led the Chicago Bulls to the championship.)

So these cases take on not only the sense of superiority but also that of causation treated in the following section. Unlike *lead, führen* can take a wider range of objects in the metaphorical sense:

— 55 —
(108) eine Klasse führen \textit{GDJW} \\
\textit{(to conduct a class)}

(109) ein Geschäft/einen Betrieb führen \textit{CGD} \\
\textit{(to run a shop/a business)}

\textit{Run} can also be used for a group and a class. In these cases the object is a kind of organization. One of the reasons for this extension may be that the act of running an organization can be compared to that of sailing a ship and this is illustrated in the metaphorical extensions appearing in \textit{rudder} (a flat part at the back of a ship or aircraft that can be turned in order to control the direction in which it moves \textit{LDOCE 4}) and \textit{steer} (to control the direction a vehicle is going, for example by turning a wheel \textit{ibid.}).

(110) At no time should a government be rudderless, without a leader. \textit{OALD 6}

(111) McKinney steered the company through the recession. \textit{LDOCE 4}

The same can be said of their German counterparts \textit{Ruder} (das Ruder fest in der hand haben \textit{CGD}=to be in control of the situation) and \textit{steuern} (einen Kurs steuern \textit{CGD}=to steer a course). Furthermore, \textit{führen} itself can take \textit{Ruder} as its object: das Ruder führen, which literally means to steer the rudder, but it also has a figurative meaning: to take the leadership. But we could give a broader explanation based on the metaphor: A life is a journey and in that case organizations might be compared to a kind of living thing\textsuperscript{(1)}.

In addition to the above-mentioned cases we have another different extension in \textit{führen}, where it takes as its objects words denoting work or duties. In English the relation between an organization and its operation is embodied in the word \textit{business}:

(112) They don’t know how to run a \textit{business}. \textit{LDOCE 4} (an organization)

(113) She’s in New York this week on \textit{business} \textit{ibid.} (work)

On the other hand, in German \textit{Geschäft} exemplifies this connection (Wie geht

\textsuperscript{(1)} Compare the etymology of \textit{corporation}.
das Geschäft? CGD How’s business?/Die Geschäfte schließen um 17:30. CGD
(The shops close at 5:30.) As far as this shift is concerned, it is a metonymical
extension from a place to an event closely connected with it.

(114) ein Amt/ein Geschäft/die Aufsicht führen GDJW
(to carry out a duty/the supervision)

(115) die Kasse/das Konto führen ibid.
(to work as a cashier)

In order to run an organization such as a shop, we need to record its trade
or keep books and führen is used to denote this act(12).

(116) Buch über etwas führen PDGU
(to keep books about something)

(117) Wir führen keinen Meier in unserer Kartei. CGD
(We have no (record of a) Meier on our files.)

If this is right, the shift is a metonymical one, but there may be other
motivations.

In English we have a metaphor: A conversation is a journey, exemplified in
“Helen tried to steer the conversation away from herself.” Likewise führen
takes as its object words relating to communication though lead is not used in
its translation:

(118) ein Gespräch/eine Unterhaltung mit jemandem führen BWDW
(to carry on/have/hold make conversation with someone)

(119) mit jemandem einen Briefwechsel führen ibid.
(to carry on/have correspondence with someone)

Below is a related case:

(120) Deine Bemerkung führt uns zu der Frage. 750
(Your remark brings/leads us to the question.)(13)

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(12) PDGU says that führen is used with Bücher in the sense of Geschäftsbücher.
(13) Wort can be used as the object in the idiomatic expression, ‘das große Wort
führen’, which means ‘to talk big.’
Here your remark and us metaphorically correspond to Leader and Led. It is also used with words more or less with a nuance of verbal attack and attack itself:

(121) Klagen führen (gegen jemanden/über etwas) GDJW
(to make complaints (against someone/about something))
(122) einen Prozeß (gegen jemanden) führen OGD
(to bring/file a suit (against someone))
(123) Verhandlungen/Besprechungen führen GDJW
(to conduct negotiations)
(124) gegen jemanden Krieg führen GDJW
(to make/wage a war against someone)[14]

3.4.3 The Metaphorical Extension of führen 3: Causation

Movement inevitably involves the notion of time and when two events happen in the course of time, the relationship between what happens first and what happens next is often interpreted as that of cause and effect. Lead has this figurative extension. The first example already mentioned still involves physical movement:

(51) The new information led the police to a house near the harbour. CIDE führen has exactly the same extension:

(125) Der Hinweis führte die Polizei auf die Spur des Diebes. CGD
(The tip put the police on the trail of the thief.)
(126) Dieser Fingerabdruck hat zur Ergreifung des Schuldigen geführt. 750
(This fingerprint led to the capture of the culprit.)

In the following there is no literal movement involved and these are

[14] Compare the examples (57) and (58). Lead can be used with negotiation, battle, or attack: Kissinger led the negotiation on the US side. KDEC/ He led the battle against the proposed legislation. KDEC/ to lead an attack against someone OCD. There are two motivations which allows for this extension. That is to say, führen takes as its objects Armee (army) and Schlag (blow).
metaphorical:

(127) This led him to an obsession with art. COBUILD ELD
(128) What led you to this conclusion? OALD 6

Analogous extensions can also be found in führen:

(129) Das führt uns auf das Thema ... CGD

(That brings or leads us (on) to the subject...)

(130) Sie haben uns mit Ihren widersprüchlichen Aussagen in die Irre geführt. 750

(You misled us with your contradictory statements.)

(131) Der Alkohol führt ihn ins Verderben. 750

(Alcohol is leading him into ruin.)

Below bring and reduce are used in the translation:

(132) eine Arbeit zu Ende führen BWDW

(to bring a task to an end)

(133) ein Land ins Chaos führen CGD

(to reduce a country to chaos)

In the following führen expresses causation explicitly:

(134) Ihre Beobachtung führte sie zu der Erkenntnis, daß ... *ibid.*

(Her observation made her realize that ...)

(135) Das sehr heiße Wetter führte ihn dazu, die Klimaanlage einzuschalten. *ibid.*

(The very hot weather made him turn on the air conditioning.)

As we have already seen, führen has its stative use like lead. In the same way it is also extended metaphorically. Here führen and lead have an exactly parallel extension:

(136) Verschwendung führt zur Armut. GDJW

(Extravagance leads to poverty.)

(137) Es führte zu dem Ergebnis, dass er entlassen wurde. CGD

(It led to his being dismissed.)

(138) Der Krieg führte zum Ruin des Staates. BWDW
(The war led to the ruin of the country.)

(139) Rauchen führt zu Durchblutungsstörungen. BWDW

(Smoking leads to incomplete blood circulation.)

These examples are motivated by our knowledge concerning Path acquired from everyday experience. When we take a path to a goal, the act of taking the path causes us to reach the goal. Metaphorically the path and the goal can be construed respectively as a means of fulfilling an intention and the intention itself. When there is no agent involved, there is no intention, therefore the path and the goal are interpreted as the cause and the result respectively.\footnote{PDGU says that führen zu suggests a less direct connection between cause and result than herbeiführen, which is less direct than verursachen and bewirken.}

Convention requires us to use come in the following:

(140) Das führt zu nichts. CGD

(That will come to nothing.)

As these examples show, the result is usually unfavorable ones, though it is not necessarily so both in English and in German:

(141) Diese Erfahrung führt zu neuen Erkenntnissen. GD JW

(This experience leads to new knowledge.)

3.4.4 Metaphorical Extension of Führen 4: Life

In Matsumoto (2003) it was claimed that lead can take as its object life because of the metaphor: A life is a journey. The same can be claimed in the case of führen below:

(142) ein Leben in Luxus führen GD J W

(to lead a life in luxury)

(143) eine glückliche Ehe führen GD JW

(to lead a happy married life)

So here again the same type of extension is duplicated in German and this is of deep interest. It is still uncertain whether the metaphor which motivates
this extension is found in all languages or it is traced back to biblical expressions, but it is safe to say that this is rooted in human experience of our real world because the same extension can be found in Japanese, which is far from Indo-European languages such as English and German.

(144) Ikirukoto wa tabisurukoto

(To live is to make a journey.)[16]

4. Conclusion

We have described both the literal and figurative uses of leiten and führen in comparison with lead. Below is a concise list of the examples involving not only lead but also the other basic verbs including conduct:

leiten

(a) to lead someone to the room/someone in the paths of righteousness/water to a canal/an expedition/a party=jemanden ins Zimmer/jemanden auf rechten Pfaden/das Wasser in einen Kanal/eine Expedition/eine Partei leiten

(b) to conduct electricity=Elektrizität leiten

(c) to run a shop=ein Geschäft leiten

(d) to send the cargo to its destination=die Ladung an ihren Bestimmungsort leiten

(e) to pass something on to the proper authority=etwas an die richtige Stelle leiten

führen

(a) to lead the lady to her table/someone in the path of righteousness/an army/an expedition/a group/a happy life/in biotechnology/to the station/to success=die Dame zu ihren Tisch/jemanden auf die rechte Bahn/eine Armee/eine Expedition/eine Gruppe/ein glückliches Leben/in der

[16] This is from words to a famous popular song in Japan: Kawa no Nagare no youmi.
Biotechnik/zum Bahnhof/zum Erfolg führen
(b) to conduct oneself=sich führen
(c) to run a business/the needle through something=ein Geschäft/die Nadel
durch etwas führen
(d) to carry a gun/passengers/a name/this article=eine Pistole/Passagiere//einen
Namen/diesen Artikel führen
(e) to drive a train=einen Zug führen
(f) to move the hand/glass to the lips=die hand/das Glas an die Lippen führen
(g) to show the group around the castle=die Gruppe durch das Schloss führen
(h) to bring/take him to Berlin=ihn nach Berlin führen
(i) to keep books=die Bücher führen

Judging from the examples we have considered, there is a lot of overlap between the English verb, lead and the German counterparts, leiten and führen not only in their literal uses but also in their figurative uses. This may be what is to be expected because human beings are exposed to the same kind of everyday experiences and they are the basis of figurative extensions. It is true that there are uses that do not correspond to each other, but that is partly due to the fact that the corresponding uses are obsolete or the expected extensions have not come into being or partly due to the fact that the boundaries between the adjacent verbs are different from those in English.

Moreover it should be noted that some of the correspondences have been brought about by the loan translation from Hebrew or Latin.

As a byproduct of this comparison, we have revealed another semantic feature of lead in Modern English, that is to say: Leader and Led must be different entities, and this is one of the features which distinguished it from other locomotive verbs such as carry and bear. The comparison with the German verbs bring it to consciousness and it also shed light on the boundaries with its semantically adjacent verbs. Anyway, these facts are
probably something difficult to reveal if lead is considered only in English.

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<table>
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<th>Code</th>
<th>Dictionary</th>
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