

The Semantics of *Lead* and *Follow*

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0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to compare and analyze the senses of these two verbs and elucidate what can be found in common as a kind of general figurative extension. Our present concern is mainly about the synchronic semantic correspondence between their senses. In section 1 we are dealing with the literal senses of the verbs. Section 2 is devoted to the metonymical extensions including the supporting evidence found in two lexical items, *trail* and *(foot)step*. Section 3 treats the metaphorical extensions and the metaphors that have evolved from them.

1.1. The most frequent sense of *lead* and *follow*

The first entries of each verb in *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, third edition (henceforth *LDOCE 3*) are as follows⁽¹⁾:

lead **1** to go in front of a group of people or vehicles

2 a) to take someone to a place by going with them

b) to take a person or animal somewhere while holding the person's arm
or pulling the rope tied to the animal

follow **1** to walk, drive, run etc behind someone else, going in the same direction

(1) Guide to the Dictionary says, "Where a word has more than one meaning, each meaning is given a separate number, and the most frequent meaning, according to analysis of our spoken and written copora, is shown first."

as them

Although it says nothing about the frequency of polysemous words, *Collins COBUILD English Dictionary*, second edition (henceforth *COBUILD 2*) carries the following as their first senses:

lead 1 If you **lead** a group of moving people, you walk or ride in front of them.

2 If you **lead** someone to a particular place or thing, you take them there.

follow 1 If you **follow** someone who is going somewhere, you move along behind them because you want to go to the same place.

Both of the words have five black diamonds (◆◆◆◆◆), which means that they are among the most frequent in English.

What is evident from these definitions is the following: first the distinction of the above-mentioned senses of *lead* is the same in each dictionary, which depends on whether the destination is explicit or not, while in the case of *follow* the definitions are different in this respect since *LDOCE 3* carries the definition which leaves the idea of destination implicit, whereas in *COBUILD 2* that is expressed clearly. In the second place the verbs denote action that involves two arguments, namely the leader (henceforth, **Leader**) and the those who are led (**Led**) and the follower (**Follower**) and those who are followed respectively (**Followed**). Thirdly compared with the other senses, the actions these senses refer to are: 1. visible and manifest 2. acquired by small children 3. used in everyday communication. So we may safely say that it is possible to abstract their core meaning from the senses.

1.2. The Analysis of the Basic Sense of *Lead*

As we have already seen, the difference between 1 and 2 in *LDOCE 3* comes from the explicitness of the destination. In entries with many definitions, *LDOCE 3* used “Signposts” to help us find the right definition, which are shown in capital letters before the definitions and they have the following signposts:

1 GO IN FRONT

2 GUIDE SB

These suggest that they are different in the highlighted aspect of the action of leading. That is to say, in **1** the semantic focus is on the order of **Leader** and **Led**, while in **2** it is on the control of the latter by the former. Besides, their grammatical codes show that that they are also distinguished by their syntactical behavior. *LDOCE 3* labels the first sense as [I,T], while it labels the second as [T always + adv/prep], which means adverbial phrases are obligatory. So in **2** the adverbial of space, more exactly, that of the goal (henceforward GOAL) is considered to be an argument.

Again in the case of *follow* the grammatical codes of the dictionaries differ in this respect. *LDOCE 3* gives [T], which means that adverbials are not obligatory, while *COBUILD 2* gives both V n prep/adv and V n as its grammatical code, which could be interpreted as the adverbials being obligatory in some cases. If so, it is possible to assume that the verbs have a similar structure both in syntax and in semantics.

Now we start analyzing the basic meaning of *lead*. Look at the first example.

(1) The mother is *leading* her child by the hand. *LED*

The situation this example describes is probably the most typical one to which children are exposed when they are still very young. In this case their destination (GOAL) is not explicit, while their contact is explicit from the phrase *by the hand*. If not, it is impossible to tell whether they are physically in contact or just in proximity, as the following example shows.

(2) The mother is *leading* her child.

Of course (1) does not mean that the physical contact between the mother and the child continues all the way from the point of departure (henceforth SOURCE) to the destination (GOAL) and (2) does mean that in some cases even if it is not expressed literally. With regard to the point of contact, it is her hand, which is inalienable, and as for the **Leader-Led** order the mother may be going a little ahead of the child or they may be walking side by side, though that depends in part on whether **Led** knows the (way to the) destination or not. In the following based on the knowledge about the real world, **Leader** may well be construed as walking in

front:

(3) My son took me by the hand and *led* me back to the monkey cage. *KDEC*

(4) He took Dickon by the hand to *lead* him into the house. *COBUILD 2*

In these cases the physical contact, whether it is momentary or durable, is explicit in the first half and the phrase *by the hand* is redundant in the second half. In addition it is the case that **Leader** (knows and) decides which way to take and where to go and that is also true in the following:

(5) The police *led* the drunkard off to the drunk tank. *KDEC*

(6) They *led* the suspect away to a cell. *ibid.*

(7) The hostages were blindfolded and *led* to a waiting car *LDOCE 3*

but unlike (3) and (4) **Led** may have put up some resistance and the contact must have been made against their will. In the following, domestic animals play the role of **Led**:

(8) He *led* the horse by its reins. *CED ME*

(9) A groom was *leading* a racehorse out of the stable. *LDOCE 3*

In these as well as in (5), (6), and (7) it is assumed that at least steps were taken by **Led** themselves even though their advance may have been made unwillingly⁽²⁾. From (3) to (9) physical contact between **Leader** and **Led** is almost certain, but in the cases below it is not necessarily taken for granted.

(10) She *led* me across the room to a picture hanging on the wall. *KDEC*

(11) He *led* me out onto the verandah/dance floor. *ibid.*

(12) He *led* us around London and showed us all the sights. *ibid.*

As far as the distance between **Leader** and **Led** is concerned, it ranges from several centimeters to tens of meters depending on the context. Below the physical contact would be unthinkable from the knowledge about the real world:

(13) An official *led* me along the corridor to a large office. *LDOCE 3*

(2) Compare the proverb: You can *lead* a horse to water but you can't make him drink. We can't use the verb *lead* when **Led** is not alive:

*He *led* the dead body to the garden.

In the next it is obvious that the leader goes in front:

(14) The captain usually *leads* his team onto/off the field. *KDED*

According to *LDOCE* 3, the adverbial is obligatory when **Leader** takes **Led** somewhere by going with them, whereas it is optional when **Leader** goes in front of a group of people or when **Leader** takes **Led** while holding their arms or pulling a rope tied to **Led**. It could be supposed that when the adverbial is missing, the main focus is on the order of **Leader** and **Led** and its overtone, though unspoken or unwritten space is naturally involved because *lead* is a locomotion verb. The adverbials are semantically classified as GOAL, PATH, SOURCE, DIRECTION, MEANS, etc.

To sum up the semantic features of the verb, *lead*, (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⁽³⁾.

1.3. The Analysis of the Basic Sense of *Follow*

We have postulated that *lead* and *follow* are antonymous to each other though that has not been confirmed. Apart from their meanings, what they have in common are these: (a) they are among the most frequent verbs., (b) they are of Germanic origin., and (c) they are of one or two syllables. Semantically, the claim that *follow* is the antonym for *lead* could be supported on the basis of the examples in which they are used together, as in the following:

(15) You *lead* and we'll *follow*. *LDOCE* 3

It is true that there are several synonymous expressions like "You show the way

(3) In the following case, **Leader** is metonymically extended to an inanimate thing: A truck with a jazz band on it was *leading* the parade. *LDOCE* 3

On the other hand, **Led** is metonymically extended to a group of people, that is, *parade*.

and we'll go after you," but (15) is the most succinct and intelligible.

LDOCE 3 subsumes 1 and the following sense under the Signpost **GO BEHIND**:

2 to go closely behind someone in order to watch them and find out where they go

COBUILD 2 also contains this sense as the second definition:

2 If you **follow** someone who is going somewhere, you move along behind them without their knowledge, in order to catch them or find out where they are going.

Syntactically this sense is different from the first definition because it cannot be used as an intransitive verb. Semantically **Followed** must be important enough that it cannot be omitted from the sentence. It is difficult to decide whether the second definition in both dictionaries is to be included in their most basic sense or not. The difference between the two definitions could broadly be attributable to the question about whether **Followed** knows the presence of the follower or not. Here we treat the second sense as an extension of the basic sense, though in some cases it should be hard to draw a hard-and-fast line between the senses.

Unlike *lead*, usually the phrase *by the hand* would not be used and the following sentence is unacceptable in ordinary contexts:

*The child is following her mother by the hand.

But this does not suggest that there is no physical contact whatever between **Follower** and **Followed**. With respect to the order of the participants the same as *lead* can be said of *follow*. That is to say, **Follower** does not necessarily go after **Followed**. They may go side by side, though the first situation would be more easily invoked. Another similarity is the fact that *follow* can be used with or without adverbials.

(16) If you'll just *follow* me, I'll show you to the office. *LDOCE* 3

(17) *Follow* me please. I'll show you the way. *OALD* 6

In the following, it is evident from the construction involving *and* that **Follower** did not go side by side with **Followed**.

(18) He entered and I *followed* him in. *KDEC*

In the case of *follow* the adverbial is often used but it is not always required. The verb *follow* is a locomotion verb as well, so at least the path is involved even if it is not expressed verbally. As for the adverbials, they can be semantically classified as GOAL, PATH, SOURCE, DIRECTION, etc:

(19) I *followed* him into the house. *KDEC* (GOAL)

(20) I *followed* him through the city. *ibid.* (PATH)

Spatially there is a parallel between the action of going in front and that of going behind. The difference is a positional one, but with regard to the direction of the movement, the symmetry between the two verbs cannot be maintained because **Leader** can decide which way to take and where to go, whereas **Follower** cannot decide that.

In (8) and (9) **Led** is an animal and correspondingly an animal may play the role of **Follower**:

(21) The dog *followed* us home. *CIDE*

(22) The dog *followed* us across the field. *KDEC*

(23) His dog *followed* him about/around everywhere. *ibid.*

In these examples, if it is not on a leash, the dog may have gone before **Followed** for some time and in some cases gone too far to be seen by them⁽⁴⁾, but in (21) it must have arrived at the goal finally together with **Followed**. So the distance between **Follower** and **Followed** is also very variable.

Summing up the semantic characteristics of the verb, *follow*, (a) **Follower** goes with **Followed** somewhere., (b) **Follower** cannot decide which way to take and where to go., (c) **Follower** may go after **Followed**., (d) **Follower** is usually not in physical contact with **Followed**., (e) **Follower** moves voluntarily., and (f) Both **Follower** and **Followed** must be animate and they must move⁽⁵⁾.

So the basic difference between *lead* and *follow* may be related to the participants'

(4) Even when it was out of sight, the dog must have been within calling distance of them.

positions in the action and to the question as to whether they can decide the way to take or not.

2.1. The Metonymic Extension of **Leader**

When you go somewhere, you have to take the way there. The way, which could be semantically labeled as **PATH**, is essential and as we have already noted, it is an argument in the **GUIDE-SB** sense though it is not explicitly expressed in the **GO-IN-FRONT** sense.

(24) He *led* me along the corridor to a large office.

(25) He *led* me along the corridor.

(26) He *led* me to a large office.

In these cases **Leader** is a person, but in English the path may be used instead as follows:

(27) The corridor *led* me to a large office⁽⁶⁾.

Here, unlike (24), (25), and (26), **Leader** is not a person but a path. How should we explain this? One feature that comes to mind is that in all of these cases **Led** did the same thing: They reached the office. In (24), (25), and (26) it was **Leader** who guided **Led** there; in (27) it was the corridor which made it possible for **Led** to arrive there. The difference lies in the semantic role of the subject. In the former cases the subject is occupied by the agent, while in the latter it is occupied by the path. As we have already mentioned, in the basic uses, the subject has to be animate, but here the restriction is broken and the path, which is inanimate, is used as the subject. How is this figurative extension to be analyzed?

In 1.2. we have pointed out that the agent and the patient of *lead* are in the relationships of contact or proximity. What is to be referred to here is that both of them are also in the same relationships with the path, *corridor*. To show a

(5) In the following, **Followed** is metonymically extended to an inanimate thing:

After the ceremony they all *followed* the coffin out of the church and into the cemetery. *LLA*

(6) The acceptability of this example may be marginal.

metonymic relationships using =, the former cases can be shown like this:

(A) (S)agent = (O)patient
 = =
(source = path = path = goal)⁽⁷⁾

Namely, their body, to be more precise, their feet and the path are in a metonymic relationship⁽⁸⁾. Needless to say, the path and the goal and the source are also in the same relationship. On the other hand, the latter can be shown as follows:

(B) (O)patient
 =
(source =) (S)path = goal

There are at least two differences. One difference between (A) and (B) is that the syntactic role of subject is played by the agent in the former and by the path in the latter. How is this change to be explained? I think that it is a case of metonymic extension, because the grammatical role, namely the subject, is extended from the agent to the path, which is in a metonymic relationship with it. Here the metonymy shows the change from the person to the space. Another difference is that in (A) both **Leader** (the agent) and **Led** (the patient) make the movement, but in (B) only **Led** makes the move. However, it could be claimed that psychologically the path always changes if we limit the path to the part which comes into sight as **Led** moves along. Apart from the difference, both (A) and (B) depict the same kind of process, which is made up of innumerable phases of locomotion, and, strictly speaking, **Led** is always in contact with part of the path in the process. If we take the sequence of

(7) Parentheses mean omissible parts.

(8) When we walk, our feet and ground make contact though, strictly speaking, this is true when we go barefoot.

time into consideration, and represent the movement with an arrow, each phase is integrated to cover the whole path, which includes the source and the goal, as is illustrated below:

$$\begin{aligned} & \mathbf{Led} \Rightarrow \\ & = \\ & \text{SOURCE} = = = = \text{PATH} = = = = \text{GOAL} \end{aligned}$$

The goal and the path with which **Led** is in contact are in the part-whole relation and this is regarded as one of metonymic relations⁽⁹⁾. Of course, it is possible to assume a metonymic extension from the space to the action, that is to say, to interpret the corridor here as meaning the action of going along the corridor. Etymologically the word is related to the Latin verb, *currere*, which means to run, and *LDOCE* 3 carries the following definition: a long, narrow passage between two rows of rooms in a building or a train, with doors leading off it. Corridors are there for us to move along it to go to and come out of the rooms on both sides. But to change the subject to a gerund that denotes the action explicitly, the acceptability becomes lower, so this explanation is likely to collapse:

(28) Going along the corridor *led* me to a large office.

So it would be better to interpret the argument as SPACE (more exactly PATH) extended on a metonymical change. Then what kind of words enables this kind of extension? The subject, when it is animate, decides which way to take and where to go, so a metonymically extended subject must also have a similar characteristic to this. In that sense linear things such as *corridor* or *way* are good candidates for them, because even if you move voluntarily, the direction must be determined by

(9) In this paper we draw no distinction between metonymy and synecdoche. The following can be regarded as similar cases, in which the part of the path is denoted, though the word used represents the whole:

(i) Why don't you stop by our place on *your way* to Boston. *LDOCE* 3

(ii) We have to hit *the road* very early in the morning. *NTC's AID*

In (i) when you stop by our place, you way is only part of the whole way and similarly in (ii) when we start, the road that our feet touch is a very limited part of the road.

the path which is used in place of the agent.

(29) The street will *lead* you to the center of town⁽¹⁰⁾. *KDEC*

(30) The first street on the left will *lead* you to Andrew Place. *DEWGV*

When the subject is a person, **Leader** goes in front or **Leader** and **Led** go side by side. On the other hand, when the subject is a word like *street*, **Leader** is the part of the path in sight which extends in front of **Led**. The path used as the subject in place of the agent always lies in front of **Led**. Here we are reminded that in essence ways are there to take us somewhere. Essentially they are not meant to be crossed.

When the subject is human, they may move where there is no way:

(31) He *led* me through the crowd and out the back door. *KDED*

(32) He *led* me across the field to a shed.

In these cases as far as the way he took is concerned, it could be construed as what he had in mind to follow, if he knows his destination. Because *field* is not linear, when it is used as the subject, the result sounds strange:

(33) The field *led* me to a shed.

If the subject is linear, it is more acceptable:

(34) The track *led* me to a shed.

This shows that as long as the action denotes the sense of walking, the subject of *lead* must be something that determines the direction in which **Led** moves and enables them to reach somewhere. So even when the subject is what makes people get lost, if it get them to reach somewhere, it could be used as the subject of *lead* in this sense:

(35) The labyrinth *led* me to an unexpected place.

As we have already said, the function of such entities as ways, roads, paths, etc is to enable people to go from one place to another. This is probably their immanent

(10) These can be paraphrased using an *if*-clause:

If you go along the street, you will get to the center of town.

The low acceptability of (27) may be due to the fact that the sentence is in the past tense and the object is *me*. Compare: The corridor will lead you to a large office.

feature. A way from one place to another is called a route. Even if you don't know the route, when there are clues such as signposts which allow you to reach your destination, you can arrive there. As a result, the action of going according to them can be used as the subject of *lead*:

(36) Following the signs *led* us into a small square with a fountain. *CIDE*

In this case, it is postulated that **Led** changes direction a few times before they reached there. In the following, the process is supposed to be a much more complicated one.

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

Up to the present we have interpreted this extension as a metonymical one based on the contact process through which our feet touch the path we take, but is there any other interpretation? In the basic examples we have analyzed, the subject must have the ability to determine which way **Led** should take. That is to say, it must have the semantic feature that could be called route determination. Both people and dogs have that, and ways and clues bring about that too, so they are similar in that respect. Then wouldn't it be possible to assume that the agent is replaced with the path on a metaphorical extension? Isn't a path compared to an animate thing based on the similarity, namely, route determination? In my view this is not a case of metaphor because the action denoted by the verb is almost the same. Let me explain this by showing a typical case of metaphor. The verb, *weigh* is used in a literal sense below:

She *weighed* the stone in her hand. *OALD 6*

Here the object is a tangible entity and the verb is used in the sense of measuring how heavy something is, but below the object is something abstract and the verb is used in a metaphorical sense:

Tim *weighed* the alternatives in his mind. *LDOCE 3*

LDOCE 3 gives the following definition to this sense: to consider something carefully so that you can make a decision about it. In short the action of considering something carefully is compared to that of weighing something. The

point is that the actions or processes the verb, *weigh* denotes are different though there is some similarity between them. On the other hand, in the preceding cases of *lead* the action the verb denotes is almost the same as that used when the subject is animate. That is why the extension of *lead* here could be classified as a case of metonymy.

In the aforementioned cases the path is used as a metonymical subject, but metonymical extension is not restricted to the path. In the following the subject is a phenomenon:

(38) The sound of rushing water *led* me to a bubbling brook. *KDEC*

(39) His cries for help *led* us to him. *DEWGB*

(40) It was very foggy but the sound of the bell *led* the boat to safety⁽¹¹⁾. *CIDE*

How should we explain these cases? If we think that sound is compared to a leader, then they are metaphorical cases, but the action denoted by the verb is just the same. **Led** moves voluntarily and **Leader** is in their vicinity⁽¹²⁾, so this is also a case of metonymic extension. The divergence between a person and sound may seem wide but this extension is easily understood if we see the following case where *you* is used instead of *your voice*: You don't have to shout, I can hear you. (*LLA*) Correspondingly both would be acceptable:

(41) In the darkness he *led* me out of the cave.

(42) In the darkness his voice *led* me out of the cave.

So (39) and (42) could be schematized as follows:

(C)	(person)	=	(S)agent(person's voice)	=	(O)patient	
	=		=		=	
source	=	path	=	path	=	path = goal

On the other hand (38) would be like:

(11) Here *boat* is metonymically extended.

(12) More exactly the sound contacts **Leader's** eardrums.

(E) (S) agent = (O) patient
 = =
 (source = path = path = goal)

(F) (S) agent
 =
 (source =) (O) path = goal

(44), (45), and (46) could be schematized as (E) and (47) as (F). To compare these with the schemata of *lead*, the metonymical change of direction is found to be the same regardless of the grammatical role of the basic uses (the subject in (A) and the object in (E)). In (B) and (F) the path takes the place of each role. In (E) the agent and the patient are in relations of proximity and each touches the path through their feet. In (E) the grammatical role of the object is played by the patient, but in (F) it is taken over to the path. Because the patient and the path are in contact, this extension is a metonymical one. To show the path, and the goal as **Path** and **Goal** respectively, their relationships are outlined as follows:

- (ia) **Leader** leads **Follower** (along **Path** to **Goal**).
- (ib) **Follower** follows **Leader** (along **Path** to **Goal**).
- (iia) **Path** leads **Follower** to **Goal**.
- (iib) **Follower** follows **Path** to **Goal**

Here in (i) *lead* and *follow* are used literally and in (ii) they are used metonymically. It is noteworthy that they are in symmetry in their metonymic use. We have already seen that in (38) and (39) sound can be used in place of the path. Correspondingly we have examples where it is used as the object.

(50) *follow* a sound to its source *KDEC*

(51) He *followed* the sounds to a small “family” room behind the big formal living room. *DEWGB*

2.3. Metonymical Extensions Embodied by the Noun *Trail*

In the previous section it has been claimed that (iia) and (iib) are metonymical cases which involve the change in the arguments which play the grammatical roles. Here the claim is supported by the fact that there are words that embody such extensions. In the basic use, *follow* is used when the subject and the object are animate, but we can follow not only people but also what they leave behind. One of the words which show metonymical relations is *trail* and we will examine its uses in connection with the metonymic extensions of *follow*.

When people or animals move, they leave their footsteps behind if the ground is soft enough.

(52) The thieves left a clear *trail* behind them. *HEED*

(53) They left a *trail* of muddy footprints on the living room carpet. *LDOCE 3*

To this sense *OALD 6* gives the following definition: a long line or series of marks that is left by something as it moves and that shows where it has been. What matters here is that trails are caused by the contact of the feet and the ground when the agent is a person or an animal. The feet are the agent's parts and the ground, on part of which the marks are left, is the path. Needless to say, the feet and the ground are in metonymic relations and the metonymic extensions we have seen in 2.1 and 2.2 are based on the relations. In the following, what the word means would not be confined to footprints:

(54) He picked up the bloody *trail* of a rhinoceros.

Here it refers to the bloodstains left by the animal though it may include its footprints. In (52), (53), and (54) the trail is visual, but in hunting, the sense of smell also plays an important part:

(55) Before going on to consider the other powers of scent used by mammals, it must be remembered that all our predatory species can follow a *trail* or find their victims by means of their noses. (*The Sense of Animals*, p. 106)

This sense is defined in *LDOCE 3* as follows: the smell of a person or animal by which it can be hunted or followed. In the following it is not certain whether the

trail is either visual or olfactory or both unless we have contextual information:

(56) The hunters lost the tiger's *trail* in the middle of the jungle. *LDOCE 3*

When it is olfactory, we can safely assume that hunters are metonymically extended to include hunting dogs. In (57) we can assume that the action of catching a criminal is compared to that of catching an animal, but it is also probable that the word refers metonymically to the way which leads to the criminal, for example, if (58) is taken into account:

(57) Police believe they are on the *trail* of a dangerous killer. *LDOCE 3*

(58) He left a *trail* of clues at the scenes of his crime. *COBUILD 2*

Originally, ways were formed as a result of people or animals moving along them frequently, so in that sense the action of walking and ways are in a cause-and-effect relationship, which is a metonymical one. Consequently the word, *trail* has the following sense: a rough path across open country or through a forest (*LDOCE 3*):

(59) a large area of woodland with hiking and walking *trails* *COBUILD 2*

Below the sense is extended to a more general one:

(60) It's time to hit the *trail*. *KDEC*

Below are the cases where *trail* and semantically related words are used as the object of *follow*:

(61) The hounds were *following* the fox *trail*. *OALD 6*

(62) The dogs are specially trained to *follow* the *trail* left by the fox. *CIDE*

(63) The dogs *followed* the fox's *scent* as far as the forest, but there it ended.

LLA

(64) We *followed* the wheel *tracks* across the field. *LLA*

(65) We *followed* a narrow *trail* which led into the forest. *LLA*

(66) *follow* the *road* that runs long the bank of the river. *KDEC*

2.4. Metonymical Extensions Embodied by (*Foot*)*step*

The words that embody such polysemy as is illustrated in the preceding section are not limited to *trail*. (*Foot*)*step* incorporates the same kind of metonymical

extensions. The first sense of the word in *LDOCE 3* is the movement you make when you put one foot in front of the other when walking.

(67) Take two *steps* forward and one *step* back. *LDOCE 3*

This action is inherent in walking, so the actions of leading and following usually involve it unless they are done by vehicle. Like the semantic change from the agent to the path, the word refers to the place on which the action is performed consciously to some degree. Of course this is a metonymical extension. *LDOCE 3* defines the sense as a flat narrow piece of wood or stone, especially one in a series, that you put your foot on when you are going up or down in a building:

(68) We walked down some stone *steps* to the beach. *OALD 6*

In the following it is clear that the sense is metonymically extended to the path. The definition in *LDOCE 3* is the short distance you move when you take a step while walking:

(69) There's a pub just a few *steps* down the road. *LDOCE 3*

The word also refers to the sound concurrent with the action. This is also a metonymical extension because the action involves the phenomenon simultaneously. The definition given by *LDOCE 3* is the sound you make when you set your foot down:

(70) I heard a *step* in the corridor. *LDOCE 3*

The word, *trail* denotes something visible or olfactory, while (*foot*)*step* denotes something auditory as is clear from the fact that is the object of the verb, *hear*.

(71) The child heard his father's *footsteps* on the stairs. *KDEC*

(72) I heard the hurried *footsteps* of the passing crowd. *ibid.*

But it also denotes something visual:

(73) *footsteps* in the snow *OALD 6*

Like *trail*, it also refers to the route a person has taken in order to reach a place:

(74) When he realized he'd lost his wallet, he retraced his *footsteps*. *CIDE*

It must be remembered that the changes we have dealt with are all metonymical extensions based on spatial or temporal contact. As might be expected, *follow* takes

footstep and its synonymous words as its object.

(75) *follow* somebody's *footsteps* *KDEC*

(76) He *follows* the same *route* every day. *ibid.*

(50) *follow* a sound to its source *ibid.*

2.5. Metonymical Change to the Eyes

In the examples we have treated, the movement happens whether it is by walking or by driving, but there are special cases where it is limited to that of one's eyes. This results from the fact that we can turn our eyes while we stay somewhere. When you follow a person or a route, you try not to lose your object of attention while moving. Below, you gaze at the target staying where you are:

(77) *follow* a departing vessel with one's *eyes* *KDEC*

(78) I could feel them *following* me with their *eyes*. *CIDE*

In these cases the agent probably does not move at all in the sense of walking. There are supposed to be several layers of metonymical change. First, the action of keeping our eyes on the target is part of that of following it. Secondly, eyes and the action of watching are in metonymical relations. Thirdly, the relation between a person and their eyes is also metonymical. In the following, eyes are used as the subject:

(79) Her *eyes followed* him up the street. *CDTC*

Below, not only the action of watching but also that of moving would probably be involved:

(80) Her *eyes followed* him everywhere. *OALD 6*

Here the sense is closely related to the following: to go closely behind someone in order to watch them and find out where they go (*LDOCE 3*).

(81) I think we're being *followed*. *OALD 6*

(82) Marlowe looked over his shoulder to make sure no-one was *following* him.

LDOCE 3.

Interestingly, (79) has its counterpart use in *lead*:

(82) On the other side of the road, all I could see were more farm fields; a line of telegraph poles *led* my eye over them into the far distance. (*The Remains of the Day* p.249)⁽¹³⁾

Here again *lead* and *follow* maintain their symmetry.

2.6. Literal Intransitive Use

Each verb has its intransitive use in the literal sense:

(83) If you *lead*, I'll *follow*. *OALD* 6

(84) Wherever she *led*, they *followed*. *ibid.*

(85) I knew the way, so I went first, and others *followed*. *ibid.*

(86) They took him into a small room and I *followed*. *COBUILD* 2

In these cases even if the object is missing, we can recover it from the linguistic context:

(87) If you *lead* me, I'll follow you.

(88) I knew the way, so I went first, and others *followed* me.

In essence, it is safe to say that the verbs *lead* and *follow* have at least two arguments in their literal sense, though the object can be omitted when it is thought redundant.

2.7. The Stative Use

We have already seen the use in which the path is used as the subject of *lead*:

(89) The track *led* us through the wood. *OALD* 6

Here the action denoted by the verb is the same as that in its basic use though the subject is metonymically extended. What about the following?

(90) The street will *lead* you to the center of the town. *KDEC*

(13) It is noteworthy that our glance is compared to a line:

(i) *follow* the line of sb's gaze *KDEC*

(ii) My attention was *led* away by the sudden appearance of a familiar face at the window.

Here it is uncertain whether the action will be taken or not, and that might be made explicit by the paraphrase using the conjunction, *if*:

(91) If you go along the street, you will get to the center of town.

But it can be claimed that the sense denoted by the verb in (90) is no different from that in (89). Furthermore, the verb *lead* has an intransitive use related to (89) and (90):

(92) A flight of narrow steps *leads* (up/down) to the kitchen. *CIDE*

(93) Finally they reached the trees and found a path *leading* through them to the summit. *DEWGV*

To this *OALD 6* gives the following definition: to go in a particular direction or to a particular place. Syntactically these are different from (89) and (90) in that they are intransitive. With respect to the arguments, both the agent and the patient are missing, so the path, which is inanimate, is used as the subject. Therefore (92) and (93) are only used in the simple tenses. How should we interpret this use? We have already referred to the metonymical extension to *eyes* in 2.3. In those cases a person does not move, but we have regarded them as a case of metonymic change, which means that the sense of the verb is essentially the same as that in the literal use. In the same way there is no action involved in (90), but we have regarded it as a metonymical extension. If such cases as (79) and (89) can be regarded as metonymical cases, we should also include (92) and (93) in them. But before that they need more analysis.

In both of them the path is used as the subject and in (92) you can probably see the whole of it, but in (93) we don't know if that is the case. In the following it is likely that you cannot see the whole path:

(94) This road *leads* back to town. *KDEC*

The person who utters this may have taken the road there or he just knows that as a piece of information. Anyway, when the utterance is correct, the addressee can go to town by following the road. If the action is taken, it is the same as that in the following case which involves the agent and the patient:

(95) He led us back to town.

In other words, the two arguments are implicit but not expressed verbally. It should be remembered that similar stative uses occur when dynamic verbs are used in the habitual sense:

(96) He goes to bed at 10.

This sentence does not refer to the action that is taking place at the time of speaking. Here even if the subject is animate, the verb is regarded as stative and cannot be used in the progressive tense.

As the subject, the following are found: *a flight of steps, path, road*, etc, but it is not limited to them. It is metonymically extended to the word *door*:

(97) Behind the tapestry a concealed door *led* into a secret room. *CIDE*

(98) Which door *leads* to the yard? *OALD 6*

Needless to say, doors connect one room to another or to a passage, etc. and they can be seen as a part of the path, so the path and doors are in metonymic relations. The metonymical relationships of these stative cases could be shown like:

(G) (S)path = goal

(H) path = (S)(door) = goal

Now in addition to (i) and (ii) we have the following:

(iiia) **Path** leads to **Goal**.

Parallel to this, *follow* should have the pattern, ϕ follows **Path** to **Goal**, but English sentences have to begin with the subject except for imperatives, so that pattern cannot naturally exist. But we have the following case:

(99) the road *follows* the track of the railway line. *NODE*

(100) The path from our house *followed* the edge of the sea cliffs before turning inland toward the village. (*Geisha* p.13)

Here the path is divided into two: one is the path itself, and the other is the linear space along which the path is located. They are in metonymic relations.

2.8. Linear Objects

The verb *follow* takes linear entities like roads as its object, and in parallel to this they are used as the subject in the case of *lead*. But *lead* can also take linear objects:

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

(102) *Lead* these two wires into the holes provided. *ibid.*

Here, like roads, the object is inanimate and linear, but there are differences. First, roads cannot be moved while wires are moved, so it can be used in the progressive. Moreover, wires are not for people to go along. Here they are there to conduct electricity. This use has a related intransitive use:

(103) The wire *led* to a speaker. *OALD 6*

(104) The thieves cut the wires *leading* to the surveillance cameras. *LDOCE 3*

(105) There was a wire that *led* from the box to a plug in the wall. *DEWGV*

(106) The wires *lead* in through this hole. *ibid.*

Like (92) and (93), these cannot be used in the progressive tense. These uses could be regarded as metonymical because in (101) and (102) the action is very tangible, and though the agent doesn't walk, the agent and the patient are in contact as when we walk a dog on a leash. In this case, *wire* is also called *lead* in British English and *LDOCE 3* defines it as an electric wire used to connect a piece of electrical equipment to the power supply. This reminds us of another sense: a piece of rope, leather etc fastened to a dog's collar in order to control it. In the latter, **Leader** and **Led** (a dog) is in contact through the leash (lead) itself. But in the cases from (103) to (106), the metaphor is also at work, by which electricity is compared to a liquid, because we have the cases where the patient is a liquid:

(107) Pipes *led* the water into canals. *Web 3*

(108) The pipes *led* the water directly to the sewer. *RWDAE*

Here again the object is inanimate but unlike wires it is amorphous. However, because of its amorphousness, liquid becomes linear when it flows through pipes, and the relationship between the shape of the liquid and the pipe is unmistakably

metonymic. These cases correspond to (29) and (30), in which the object is capable of locomotion. On the other hand, liquid is inanimate, but it moves as long as the pipe has a slope or enough pressure is kept. They have the intransitive use corresponding to (92) and (93):

(109) Where do these pipes *lead* to? *KDEC*

(110) the pipe *leading* from the top of the water tank *OALD 6*

Like (92) and (93) these are also stative. In my view the affinity with linear entities is related to the fact that we have described in 2.3. and 2.4. In the basic sense when **Leader/Followed** leads, they leave something linear whether it is visible or not and **Follower/Led** follows it and they also leave something linear.

2.9. The Specialization of the Literal Sense

In the literal sense, the verb *lead* is used in special contexts where the source (the starting line), the path (course), and the goal (the finish line) are fixed, namely races. In races, the action of leading the other runners means the state of being in the first place:

(111) He *leads* the others in the race by several meters. *NHD*

(112) Oxford is *leading* by half a length⁽¹⁴⁾. *HEED*

(113) She *led* for two miles and then fell back. *ibid.*

Of course, in these cases the verb is used in the literal sense, but the situation is a race and the most important thing is to go first to the goal. Here the *by*-phrase refers to the distance by which **Leader** is ahead of **Follower**, but that can be expressed by means of time.

(114) He now *leads* by an hour and 50 minutes. *BBCED*

(115) With two laps to go Ngomo *led* by less than two seconds. *CIDE*

(116) The champion is *leading* (her nearest rival) by 18 seconds. *OALD 6*

Here in place of space, time is used, and it can be claimed that this is also a case of

(14) Here the object is missing but it can be recoverable.

metonymic extension. If you walk four kilometers in an hour, walking for two hours means walking for eight kilometers. Movement inherently involves not only spatial but also temporal change, and these two are inseparable and in metonymic relations.

In the following, a man is metonymically extended to his racing car:

(117) Schumacher *led* the race from start to finish. *LDOCE 3*

Unlike (111), here the word, *race* is used as the object. How should we interpret this? Of course we could interpret the word as meaning the other racing cars. Or we could also take the word as a case of metonymy, that is to say, a change from the action to the place⁽¹⁵⁾.

Running a race is probably a very early physical activity that almost all children experience, and because that may be assumed to be one of the basic physical activities, it provides a rich background from which a variety of figurative extensions are derived. Running is one of sports competitions, and the above-mentioned sense is extended to other sports areas as follows:

(118) Becker *leads* by five games to four. *COBUILD ELD*

Individuals are metonymically extended to a team below:

(119) The visiting team has *led* our team by five points. *NTC's AELD*

Moreover it is extended to the country to which the team belongs:

(120) Brazil *led* Germany 1-0. *LDOCE 3*

Up till (117) the action of leading actually involves that of going before the other competitor(s), but the examples from (118), (119), and (120) do not entail that, so these are cases of metaphorical extension based on the metaphor, which would be something like: A competition is a race. As a noun *lead* means the position that is ahead of everybody else:

(121) Coming into the final lap, Brown moved into the *lead*. *LAED*

(122) Who is in the *lead* in the race? *PESD*

(15) Compare the phrase *lead the way*, where the path is used as the object of *lead*.

(123) She took the *lead* in the second lap. *OALD 6*

(124) In the final 50 meters she lost the *lead* to the strongest rival. *HEED*

It is metonymically extended to the distance by which one person is ahead of the next:

(125) He has a *lead* of twenty metres over the man in second place. *CULD*

Below, Y and X represent **Leader** and **Follower** respectively:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} Y \Rightarrow & & X \Rightarrow \\ & = = = = & \beta = = = = a \end{array}$$

This illustrates clearly the relationship between the senses of *lead* in (121) to (124) (*a*) and that in (125) (*β*). The former is the part of the latter, and in cases like (121) *a*, namely, the part of *β* is used to refer to the position, and vice versa. In other words, the part and the whole are connected not only in space but also in name. Like the verb, space is metonymically extended to time:

(126) He managed to hold a *lead* of two seconds over his closest rival. *OALD 6*

The following are the metaphorical cases corresponding to (122), (123), (124) and (125):

(127) The Dolphins are still in the *lead* with only two minutes left to play. *LLA*

(128) England took the *lead* after 31 minutes with a goal by Peter Nail. *COBUILD*

(129) Manchester lost their early two-goal *lead*. *OALD 6*

(130) Sainz now has a *lead* of 28 points. *COBUILD 2*

It is noticeable that races cannot be held when there is only one participant. We need more than one competitor, and this agrees with the situation in which *lead* and *follow* are used; that is, they need at least two participants. *LDOCE 3* gives the following definition to race: a competition in which each competitor tries to run, drive etc fastest and finish first.

3.1. Metaphorical Extension of *Lead* and *Follow* (A)

In the previous section we have seen that *lead* is not limited to the uses in running. It is extended to other sports competition. But competition is found not only in sports. It is ubiquitous. Naturally *lead* is used in a variety of fields. But before going into that, we will examine the same kind of metaphorical change in the related word *race*. This word literally means: a competition between people, animals, vehicles, etc. to see which one is the faster or the fastest. (*OALD* 6) This sense is metaphorically extended to the following: a situation in which a number of people, groups, organizations, etc are competing, especially for political power or to achieve something first. (*ibid.*) The following are some of the examples:

- (131) Kieran and Andrew are involved in a *race* for promotion. *CIDE*
- (132) The newspapers are involved in a *race* to publish the story. *ibid.*
- (133) The *race* is on to build up membership fast. *COBUILD* 2
- (134) The *race* for the White House begins in earnest today. *ibid.*
- (135) The reporter commented about the presidential *race*. *NTC's AELD*
- (136) an international *race* for power and prestige *LDOCE* 3
- (137) It will be a *race* against time/the clock to get this project finished by the end of September. *CIDE*
- (138) The *race* is on to find a cure for this disease. *OALD* 6
- (139) the *race* to develop a nuclear bomb *LDOCE* 3
- (140) The 60's was the decade of the 'Race into Space,' between the United States and the Soviet Union. *HEED*

As these examples show, the word *race* is used to describe competitions between people, companies, countries, etc. and the same is true of *lead*, as is obvious from the following:

- (141) Asian-American students under 12 *lead* in literacy and numeracy. *LDOCE* 3
- (142) Iowa *leads* the nation in corn production. *RHW'sDAE*
- (143) He's *leading* in the presidential race. *COBUILD*
- (144) He *leads* the world in scientific experiment. *CULD*

- (145) Their research group *leads* the world in nutrition research. *CIDE*
- (146) Our own university *leads* the world in engineering research. *HEED*
- (147) The department *led* the world in cancer research. *OALD 6*
- (148) ...foodstores such as Marks & Spencer, which led *the* market in microwavable meals *COBUILD 2*
- (149) US companies *lead* the world in biotechnology. *LDOCE 3*
- (150) The company's new software *leads* the field. *CIDE*
- (151) When it comes to pop music we not only lead Europe, we *lead* the world. *COBUILD 2*

The phrase *lead the way* is also used in this metaphorical use:

- (152) We *lead the way* in space technology. *OALD 6*

In the following, the noun *lead* is used in this sense:

- (153) Democrats now appear to be in the *lead*. *OALD 6*
- (154) We have a *lead* over the rest of the world in this kind of research. *CULD*
- (155) French universities have produced some interesting research but the Germans have recently taken the *lead*. *LLA*
- (156) The Americans are trying to prevent rival corporations from taking the *lead* in other fields of technology. *ibid.*
- (157) have a *lead* over other business companies in this market *PESD*
- (158) If we are to survive as a car manufacturing country, we need to be in the *lead* in our domestic market. *LLA*
- (159) Korea has taken the *lead* in ship-building. *LDOCE 3*
- (160) Sweden is certainly in the *lead* when it comes to producing good technical machinery. *LLA*

The collocations used here are the same as those in the literal use: *be in the lead*, *take the lead*, and *have a lead*. In the same way as its literal use it, also means the difference by which one competitor is ahead of another:

- (161) The polls have given Labour a five-point *lead*. *OALD 6*
- (162) American companies hold about 70% of the world computing market

and this *lead* will probably increase. *CIDE*

It seems that the verb *follow* does not have its corresponding use. The reason for this might be explained in terms of saliency. In the literal cases, **Leader** goes ahead of **Follower**. In a race, this aspect is employed to describe the order and ranking. Then it goes without saying that being in the first place is the most salient, while being in the second place is not so salient, so in the metaphorical use of *lead*, we have a lot of examples. Of course, when we talk about the first and second, *follow* can be used like:

(163) Potatoes are still the most popular food, *followed* by white bread.

COBUILD 2

3.2. The Metaphorical Extension of *Lead* and *Follow* (B)

In the literal use, **Leader** knows or decides which way to go. As the proverb goes, knowledge is power, and **Leader** can take **Led** anywhere, and that means that **Leader** controls **Led** in this respect. When this aspect of leading is accented and is applied to other activities, the action of leading takes on the sense of control. Because an element of control in the action of leading is expanded to cover other activities, this might be thought of as a case of generalization, but there is a metaphorical extension involved in this semantic change.

In fighting, the man who leads a group of soldiers is the leader. He may lead the group in the literal sense. This is a specialized case of the literal use. In the following the captain may or may not have been at the head of the troops:

(164) The captain *led* his troops over the hill. *RHW'sDAE*

The metaphorical cases in (A) are related to this case especially when competition is carried on between teams, because organized sports such as football are a kind of war:

(165) She *led* the team. *NHD*

In music, the conductor stands in front of the orchestra, though he faces the other way around from that in the literal use:

(166) She *led* the orchestra. *NHD*

When the action of controlling a group is compared to that of leading it, **Leader** must decide what they should do as well as where they should go. The following are the cases of war:

(167) General Lee *led* the Confederate Army. *NTC's AELD*

(168) He *led* the British forces during the war. *RHW's DAE*

When the object refers to a group of people, the verb is used in other fields:

(169) She *leads* (the company) by doing her job well and expecting everyone else to do the same. *CIDE*

(170) A group of young activists, *led* by Paul Henderson, have formed a new union. *LLA*

(171) Major will *lead* the conservative Party at the next election. *LDOCE 3*

(172) The government will be *led* by a new prime minister. *BBC*

(173) He *led* the country between 1949 and 1984. *COBUILD 2*

Like the literal use, the object can be omitted when it is clear from the context:

(174) He lacked any desire to *lead*. *BBC*

(175) When you *lead* there are a lot of extra pressures--everyone depends on you. *CIDE*

In the following objects, it could be postulated that there is a metonymic change from the agent to the activity:

(176) Who will be *leading* the inquiry into the accident? *CIDE*

(177) Inspector Roberts is *leading* the investigation into Susan Carr's Murder. *LDOCE 3*

(178) The drug raid was *led* by top officers. *LLA*

(179) I think we've chosen the right person to *lead* the expedition⁽¹⁶⁾. *CIDE*

(180) Dr Jenkins *leads* a team of researchers at the Plant Institute. *LLA*

(181) Mr Mendes was *leading* a campaign to save Brazil's rainforest from

(16) Etymologically the word *expedition* is related to *foot*.

exploitation⁽¹⁷⁾. *COBUILD 2*

The verb *follow* has its corresponding use. If you lead (control) a group of people, they follow (are controlled by) you:

(182) We all had to follow the teacher. *LDOCE 3*

But this sense is not merely based on this parallel relation with *lead*. As we have already seen, both verbs are used metonymically like:

(38) The sound of hammering *led* us into the garage. *CULD*

(40) It was very foggy but the sound of the bell *led* the boat to safety. *CIDE*

(51) He *followed* the sounds to a small “family” room behind the big formal living room. *KDEC*

In order to follow the sound somewhere, you have to listen to it carefully, so listening carefully is involved in this act. When the focus is on this aspect, the sense of *follow* is limited metonymically to that of listening carefully:

(183) The children were *following* every word of the story intently. *OALD 6*

And listening carefully usually entails understanding:

(184) He spoke so fast that I couldn't *follow* him/what he said. *KDEC*

(185) Do you *follow* me? *RHW's DAE*

As Sweetser (1990) says, the act of listening is related to that of obeying:

(186) None of this would have happened if you'd *listened* to me. *OALD 6*

(187) I wish I'd *listened* to your advice. *LDOCE 3*

Like these the object is metonymically extended from the person to what he said.

(188) I *followed* his advice. *CULD*

(189) Most members of the political party *followed* the orders of their leader.

NHD

The following are used in religious contexts:

(190) the disciple who *followed* Jesus Christ *HEED*

(191) They *followed* the teachings of Buddha. *OALD 6*

(17) Pay attention to the word *campaign*. It literally means a series of battles.

(192) Muslims *follow* the teaching of the Koran, and Christians *follow* those of the Bible. *CIDE*

In the literal use, such words as *road*, *street*, etc are used as the subject and the object of *lead* and *follow* respectively. Speaking broadly, their forms are linear, and we have already noted that the two verbs have some affinity with linear entities. Therefore something linear is expected to become its object, though its sense is metaphorically extended and synonymous words which are not linear at all are also expected to occur as their argument. The following are the examples:

(193) *follow* a different line of research *KDEC*

(194) They forced them to *follow* a tight money policy⁽¹⁸⁾. *COBUILD ELD*

(195) Each country would be free to *follow* its own policy on direct aid. *BBC*

(196) Please *follow* these guidelines. *KDEC*

(197) If you don't *follow* the rules, you'll be punished. *NTC'sAELD*

(198) Patients had to *follow* a strict daily routine⁽¹⁹⁾. *BBC*

The metaphorical extensions of *way* and their synonymous words are also used:

(199) The author *follows* the same method of inquiry. *KDEC*

(200) This cake tastes bad because I didn't *follow* the recipe closely. *NTC'sAELD*

(202) *follow* the latest style of architecture *KDEC*

(203) *follow* the same procedure⁽²⁰⁾ *KDEC*

(204) *follow* a process *KDEC*

This metaphorical connection is also assumed to be involved in the sense of obeying.

The verb, *lead* is employed in connection with conversation. *LDOCE 3* gives the following definition: to direct a conversation or discussion, especially so that it develops in the way you want. The following are typical cases:

(18) In the following, *policy* is used as the subject in the corresponding use of *lead*. *The firm's financial policies led* it to bankruptcy. *CULD*

(19) The etymology of *routine* is related to *route*.

(20) Both *procedure* and *process* are derived from the Latin verb *procedere*.

(205) Mary *led* the conversation around to the topic of salaries. *LDOCE 3*

(206) She *led* the discussion. *NHD*

(207) He planned to *lead* the conversation and keep Matt from changing the subject. *ibid.*

(208) I've asked Gemma to *lead* the discussion about new products. *CIDE*

In these, the objects are *conversation* or *discussion*. *Follow* is also used:

(209) I *followed* the conversation with difficulty. *KDEC*

(210) I had difficulty *following* the discussion. *KDEC*

(211) I can't *follow* your argument. *RHWDAE*

(212) Do you *follow* (my argument)? *CULD*

So it is possible to regard these examples as variations of (188), but in addition it can be claimed that what is said or what is written is understood as something linear as is evident from the following examples⁽²¹⁾:

(212) I'm sorry, I've lost the *thread* of your argument. *LDOCE 3*

(213) After 30 years on the stage, I still forget my *lines*. *LDOCE 3*

But it is also possible to assume that there is another metaphorical transfer at work. That is to say, the action of talking is compared to that of going, as Lakoff (1980) said:

(214) Where are we now?

And to be with someone means to understand him:

(215) "Are you with me?" asked the chairman, halfway through his speech. *LDPV*

As might be expected, the verb *follow* means understanding, which could be taken as the step earlier than the action of obeying. Here are some examples:

(216) That's the explanation; can you *follow*? *RHW'sDAE*

(217) Sorry, I don't *follow* (you). *OALD 6*

(218) Do you *follow* the plot so far? *COBUILD 2*

(219) I must admit I found the plot a bit hard to *follow*. *LDOCE 3*

(21) Language is linear, and the fact becomes visible when it is written down.

We have explained this extension in terms of listening, but it could also be explained from another angle, namely the action of looking. If you follow somebody, you often look at him carefully. So as we have already seen, the action of following naturally means that of looking carefully:

(220) The men all *followed* her with their eyes as she entered the bar. *LDOCE 3*

(221) Its eyes *followed* her everywhere she moved. *COBUILD ELD*

Needless to say, sight plays the most important role in the five senses, so we have a lot of words related to sight, which are also used in the field of understanding:

(222) I don't *see* what you mean. *CULD*

There is a possibility that this also has some effect on the extension.

Whether it is auditory or visual, to keep trying to get information is also covered by *follow*:

(223) They *followed* every minute of the football match. *PESD*

(224) Have you been *following* that crime series on TV? *LDOCE 3*

(225) She *followed* the news closely. *NHD*

What you are interested in becomes its object:

(226) He *follows* football regularly. *CULD*

(227) The President *follows* the Red Sox. *LDOCE 3*

(228) If you *follow* scientific developments you'll know that researchers have already succeeded in putting genes from one creature into another. *BBC*

(229) Have you been *following* the rape case? *HEED*

3.3. The Metaphorical Extension of *Lead* and *Follow* (C)

In the literal sense when **Leader** leads **Follower**, it may be that **Leader** goes first and then **Follower** follows **Leader**, and if there is a good distance between **Leader** and **Follower**, that means a good time lag between them. Supposing there is a fixed point on their way, **Leader** passes the point earlier than **Follower** and if there is an observer there s/he experiences their passage at different times. Of course, **Leader's** passage happens earlier than that of **Follower**. When **Leader** and

Follower are not animate things but events, and the verbs are figuratively extended, naturally the fact that **Leader** led **Follower** or that **Follower** followed **Leader** means that the event denoted by **Leader** (henceforth X) happens earlier than that denoted by **Follower** (henceforth Y). With regard to time, here the future lies ahead of **Leader** and **Follower** and the past lies behind them. The relation between space and time, as we have dealt with in the previous section, is an indivisible one. Therefore it is a metonymical one. Furthermore, when X happens first, and then Y happens, their relationship can be taken as a causal one. This extension is derived from the proximity of X and Y in time, so it is in itself a metonymical one. With respect to the causal relationships, X becomes the cause, and Y becomes the effect/result. The verb *lead* is used literally as follows:

(230) The next street will *lead* you to the post office. *RHWDAE*

This could be paraphrased like:

(231) If you go along the next street, you will get to the post office.

Awkward as it is, this could be again paraphrased like:

(232) The action of going along the next street will cause you to get to the post office.

In this sentence the action is the cause, and the arrival at the post office is the effect. Needless to say the former happens earlier than the latter. Below, the subject is not a path but a kind of means which is assumed to be metaphorically extended from the path⁽²²⁾:

(37) The new information *led* the police to a house near the harbour. *CIDE*

Below both the subject and the object are human. Their semantic roles are the agent and the patient respectively and the place (GOAL) is metonymically changed to a situation (STATE):

(233) You can *lead* him around to your point of view. *RHWDAE*

Literally the view which you get changes depending on where you are. It is based on

(22) *Clue* is a later form of *clew*, which means a thread.

the metaphor: Seeing is believing. In the sense of opinion, *standpoint* is also used. In the following, only the object is human:

(234) This *led* him to a somewhat pessimistic view of Africa's future. *BBCED*

(235) This *led* him to an obsession with art. *COBUILD ELD*

(236) Indifference to pollution now will *lead* us into serious problems in the future. *CIDE*

(237) What *led* you to this conclusion⁽²³⁾? *OALD 6*

In the following *to*-infinitives, which express the initiation of a kind of process, are extended from the space (GOAL)⁽²⁴⁾:

(238) What *led* her to change her mind? *RHWDAE*

(239) What *led* you to take up acting as a career? *LDOCE 3*

(240) Recent evidence is *leading* historians to reassess that event. *COBUILD 2*

(241) Ian's death *led* me to rethink what I wanted out of life. *LDOCE 3*

(242) Being under pressure can easily *lead* people (on) to make the wrong decisions. *CIDE*

(243) Problems at work *led* me to reconsider my future. *HEED*

(244) This has *led* scientists to speculate on the existence of other galaxies. *OALD 6*

(245) But the brochure *led* me. (on) to believe that the price included home delivery. *CIDE*

In this causative use, *lead* can be used in the passive:

(246) We were *led* to believe that all the money from the concert was going to charity. *LDOCE 3*

(247) I was *led* to think that I was invited to the party. *NTCA'sELD*

Of course, a person can be the subject:

(248) You *led* me to believe that you loved me. *PESD*

(249) Why did you *lead* me to believe that we were going shopping? *NTC'sAELD*

(23) There are related expressions like: *arrive at a conclusion*.

(24) Here the construction expresses an inchoative aspect.

The following subject is a metonymically extended one:

(250) Her expression *led* me to believe there was some problem. *NHD*

In the stative use, *lead* is used like the following, as we have seen in 2.6:

(251) This road *leads* to the river.

With regard to space, on the surface this sentence only says that the road connects itself with the river. But as we have already said, the road is there for people to go somewhere, so even if the sentence looks neutral as far as spatial points are concerned, it is supposed that the road is in sight while the river is out of sight. If we go from the present location along the road, we will arrive at the river in some time. So if these places are understood in terms of time, the former lies in front of us and means the present, and the latter comes into sight later and is connected with the future, and this relation can easily be taken to be a causal relationship. In the following, the subject is a metaphorically extended one, based on the metaphor: Behavior is a way (to go)⁽²⁵⁾. The event or state, which metonymically extended from the goal is usually unpleasant, though it is not necessarily so:

(252) The incident *led* to her resignation. *RHWDAE*

(253) It was a medical error which *led* to the death of the patient. *LLA*

(254) Ignoring safety procedures *led* to a tragic accident. *CIDE*

(255) Years of painstaking research have *led* to a new vaccine. *CIDE*

(256) The discovery that we had music in common *led* to many pleasant evenings together at the Proms. *HEED*

Below are the cases accompanied by an auxiliary:

(257) This course of action might *lead* to difficulties. *CULD*

(258) Ethnic tensions among the republics *could* lead to civil war. *COBUILD 2*

(259) He warned yesterday that a pay rise for teachers would *lead* to job cuts.
COBUILD 2

In the following, the sentence is generic and usually used in the simple present

⁽²⁵⁾ Compare the expression *bear yourself*.

tense:

(260) Smoking *leads* to coughing. *NTC'sAELD*

(261) Eating too many sweets *leads* to rotten teeth. *CULD*

(262) We now know that prolonged sunbathing can *lead* to the growth of skin tumours. *HEED*

The subject and the object of these cases refer to the action that people take and the state brought about by it. Unlike them, in the following, they are natural phenomena:

(263) The heavy rain *led* to serious flood. *CULD*

Naturally *follow* has its corresponding use. In the literal use, when **Follower** follows **Leader**, **Follower** goes after **Leader**, and in terms of time, this means Y happens later than X, and in the causal perspective, X means the result and Y, the cause. In the following, one thing follows another in what can be regarded as a linear thing:

(264) The number 5 *follows* 4. *NTCAELD*

(265) In English the letter 'Q' is always *followed* by a 'U'. *LDOCE 3*

Whether in writing or in speaking, our utterance of course forms a line, so *follow* is used like:

(266) What *follows* is an eye-witness account. *COBUILD 2*

(267) What *follows* is not necessarily my own opinion. *HEED*

(268) A full report of the results *follows* this chapter. *LDOCE 3*

In this use, the verb *follow* is used in the passive:

(269) General analysis is *followed* by five case studies. *COBUILD 2*

(270) Each chapter of the book is *followed* by a page of explanatory notes. *LLA*

It has the intransitive use:

(271) In the pages that *follow*, Rousseau explains the difference between individual freedom and collective freedom.

It is used in the there-construction:

(272) There *followed* a list of places where Hans intended to visit. *COBUILD 2*

(273) There *follows* a long description of the writer's early life. *LDOCE 3*

What is not expressed as the object may be the present page.

It is also used when we enumerate things:

(274) The winners are as *follows*: E. Walker; R. Foster; R. Gates; A. Mackintosh.

COBUILD 2

(275) The contents are as *follows*: one black desk, one grey wastepaper bin, two red hairs. *BBC*

Below, what was carried later was a tangible entity. It doesn't move by itself, so it had to be served by a waiter or waitress. The focus is not on them, but on the dish that they carry. This change is a metonymical one, so both metaphor and metonymy are at work⁽²⁶⁾:

(276) The main course was *followed* by fresh fruit. *OALD 6*

Here it cannot be denied that some movement is felt, though the temporal order is in the foreground as the paraphrase shows:

(277) After the main course they served fresh fruit.

Below, the movement is hardly felt:

(278) I'll have soup and fish to *follow*. *OALD 6*

In the following, both subject and the object refer to events:

(279) Rain *followed* the dark clouds and lightning. *NHD*

(280) The storm was *followed* by beautiful weather. *CULD*

Here what happened was natural phenomena, which is beyond our control. Time is also thought to be uncontrollable:

(281) I remember little of the days that followed the accident. *OALD 6*

(282) There was a major increase in immigration in the years that followed the First World War. *LDOCE 3*

Below, the events are in our control:

(283) A discussion will *follow* the lecture. *HEED*

⁽²⁶⁾ Compare the similar case: Where does this plate go?

In the following, a causal relationship is likely to be found between the war and the economic crisis.

(284) As a result of the economic crisis that *followed* the war there was mass unemployment. *LLA*

Whether the event is controllable or uncontrollable, *follow* is often used in the passive. Then what happens earlier is expressed as the subject:

(285) China's first nuclear test in October 1964 was closely *followed* by a second in May 1965. *LLA*

(286) The church ceremony will be *followed* by another ceremony at the town hall. *LLA*

(287) Suddenly there was a shout from above, immediately *followed* by a loud bang. *LLA*

(288) We had a short holiday in the Lake District, *followed* by a visit to my parents. *HEED*

The verb *follow* has the intransitive use. What is not expressed is a reference point in time, that is, the present or a time in the past:

(289) The late night movie will *follow* shortly. *OALD 6*

(290) Pete and Jennifer saw more of each other in the months that *followed*. *LLA*

(291) During the months that *followed*, the police intensified their search. *HEED*

(292) What *followed* was totally unexpected. *PESD*

In the following, *followed by* and *following* have almost the same function as *before* and *after* respectively:

(293) Use carbon tetrachloride *followed by* soap and water. *BBC*

(294) I remember nothing else about the days *following* Daddy's death.
COBUILD 2

In the following, time is generically expressed:

(295) Night *follows* day, and day *follows* night. *RHWDAE*

(296) Summer *follows* spring. *NTC's AELD*

These are natural phenomena. Unlike them, the following is not.:

(297) The first two classes are *followed* by a break of ten minutes. *OALD 6*

The object is not expressed below:

(298) A detailed new report will *follow* shortly. *OALD 6*

(299) Other problems may *follow*. *COBUILD 2*

The implicit objects are the present report or the present problem. The verb is used in the *there*-construction:

(300) There followed a short silence. *OALD 6*

In the following, *follow* is used in the construction: Somebody follows X with Y.

Here Y happens after X and the construction means that they made Y follow X:

(301) The salesmen usually *follow* up a letter with a visit. *LDPV*

(302) *Follow* your treatment with plenty of rest. *OALD 6*

(303) They *follow* up their March show with four UK dates next month. *OALD 6*

In the following, it is sometimes very difficult to draw a clear-cut line between a temporal relationship and a causal one:

(304) A period of unrest *followed* the president's resignation.

(305) His death *follows* a long illness, *LAED*

(306) Flooding *followed* the storm. *RHWDAE*

(307) Famine and disease *follow* close behind. *COBUILD ELD*

(308) After the defeat, great disorder *followed*. *RHWDAE*

In the following, the verb is used to express a logical relationship:

(309) If the explanation is right, two things *follow*. *COBUILD 2*

(310) If he has been violent before, it *follows* that he will be violent again. *CIDE*

(311) Just because I agreed last time, it doesn't necessarily *follow* that I will do so again. *CIDE*

(312) I may be old but it doesn't *follow* that I've lost my wits. *HEED*

(313) The company has no cash, so it *follows* that it must borrow money or go out of business. *NHD*

Parallel to the construction: X leads to Y, we have the following:

(314) This conclusion clearly *follows* from the evidence. *CIDE*

(315) I don't see how that *follows* from what you've just said. *OALD 6*

(316) It is easy to see the conclusions described in the text *follow* from this equation. *COBUILD 2*

The following is the intransitive use:

(317) If $a = b$ and $b = c$ it *follows* that $a = c$. *OALD 6*

(318) That can't be right—it just doesn't *follow*. *RHWDAE*

3.4. The Metaphorical Extension of *Lead* and *Follow* (D)

As we have seen, the metaphorical uses of both verbs are based on their literal uses, and they provide a variety of backgrounds from which their extensions are derived. In this section another extension is going to be treated and that is the sense of giving an example and that of copying it respectively. In the following, the aspect of being the first to go is highlighted and is used in game playing:

(319) It's your turn to *lead*. *OALD 6*

(320) The player to the dealer's left is supposed to *lead*. *RHWDAE*

In these cases, the latent object is the other player(s). In card playing, one of the most prominent things is of course cards themselves, so they appear as the object in the following. This is a metonymical change:

(321) The first player *led* (with) the ace of hearts. *PESD*

(322) to *lead* trumps/the ten of clubs. *OALD 6*

Below, the phrase *lead the way* is used in the literal sense:

(323) She *led the way* upstairs. *CULD*

It is also used in the being-the-first-to-do sense:

(324) The Japanese *led the way* in using industrial robots. *LDOCE 3*

(325) The company has been *leading the way* in network applications for several years. *CIDE*

The noun *lead* used in the phrase *follow the lead* has the corresponding figurative meaning:

(326) You ought to *follow* your brother's *lead* and work harder. *PESD*

(327) His younger brothers *followed* his *lead* and also became dentists. *NHD*

(328) If one bank raises interest rates, all the others may *follow* their *lead*. *OALD*

6

(329) We ought to be *following the lead* set by Denmark.

Needless to say, it can also be used literally:

(330) Just *follow my lead* and you will not get lost. *NTC's ELD*

In the following the phrase, *take the lead* is used in the sense of being the first:

(331) He *took the lead* in asking questions. *LAED*

(332) The American and Japanese navies *took the lead* in the development of naval aviation. *COBUILD 2*

In its literal use, the verb *lead* takes the path as its argument, so the word *way* is used as its object. The noun has a lot of figurative extensions and the sense of life is among them:

(333) He started as an office junior and worked his *way* up through the company to become a director. *CIDE*

Beyond doubt this use of *way* is based on the metaphor: a life is a journey. In the following, the word *life* itself is used as the object:

(334) She *led* a normal, happy *life* with her sister and brother. *COBUILD 2*

(335) After retiring from the movies she *led* a quiet life on the Riviera. *CIDE*

(336) Most of the women in here are not people who have *led* a life of crime. *COBUILD 2*

Below, a synonymous word *existence* is used:

(337) She *leads* a pleasant existence on the Greek island which she owns. *CULD*

In these cases people choose their way of life of their own accord, but that is not quite true in the following. Here the object is a person and the word, *life* appears in the adverbial phrase:

(338) He *led* me to a life of crime. *PESD*

In this case the subject, *he* is the major factor in my delinquency.

If the action of X leading means that X is the first to do something, then the

action of Y following X is bound to mean that Y does the same thing as X did; namely, Y's imitation of X or X's behavior:

(339) She was so good at her job, she'll be difficult to *follow*. *CIDE*

Below, a way to earn one's livelihood is expressed in the adverbial:

(340) None of my children seem to want to *follow* me into journalism. *LDOCE 3*

Below, that is expressed in the latter part of the sentence:

(341) He *followed* his father and became a surgeon. *COBUILD 2*

In the following, what is copied is a person's behavior:

(342) Sophie always *follows* what her sister does. *CIDE*

(343) The Portuguese government may want to *follow* the Spanish precedent.

BBCED

The expression *follow in somebody's footsteps* has the same metaphorical meaning:

(344) Will you *follow in* your father's footsteps and become a lawyer? *PESD*

(345) My father was a jazz player, and I wanted to *follow in* his footsteps.

LDOCE 3

As might be expected, the word *life* is used as the object:

(346) She *followed* a life of service to others. *HEED*

Its synonym *career* is also used:

(347) He had decided to *follow* a *legal career*. *HEED*

The phrase *follow somebody's example* is often used:

(348) I don't want you to *follow my example* and rush into marriage. *OALD 6*

(349) They have an excellent childcare policy, and we're hoping other companies will *follow their example*. *LDOCE 3*

The word *fashion* is used as the object of both verbs:

(350) You are just *following* the fashion. *KDEC*.

(351) *lead* the fashion *ibid*.

When the subject is a novel or film, *follow* is used to describe somebody's life:

(352) The film *follows* Rocky's career as a boxer from his early days. *LDOCE 3*

(353) The film *follows* the fortunes of two women. *COBUILD 2*

- i . **Follower** follows **Path**. She *followed* the argument. Cf. (211)
- In (205) there is another argument:
- j . **Leader** leads **Path** to **Goal**. I *led* the conversation around to the topic. Cf. (205)
- k . **Follower** follows (**Leader**). I can't *follow* (you). Cf. (217)
- l . **Follower** follows (**Leader's**) **Path**. I can't *follow* your explanation. Cf. (216)

In 3.3. first, we described the cases where the aspect of locomotion is figuratively extended on the basis of the metaphor: Believing (to regard something particularly) is seeing (to be at a particular point).

- m. **Leader** leads **follower** to **Goal**. I *led* him around to my view. Cf. (233)
- n . **Path** leads **follower** to **Goal**. What *led* you to change your mind? Cf. (238)

Moreover, *Follow* is used to show that something comes after something else:

- o . **Follower** follows **Leader**. Summer *follows* spring. (294)
- p . **Follower** follows. Another problem may *follow*. Cf. (297)

In this sense *lead* is usually not used, which makes a contrast with the cases in 3.1., but both verbs are used to show a causal relationship:

- q . **Path** leads to **Goal**. That *led* to an accident. Cf. (254)
- r . **Follower** follows **Leader**. Flooding *follows* the storm. (306)

In logical relations the reason (the source) is expressed clearly using the *from*-phrase:

- s . **Goal** follows from **Source**. The conclusion *follows* from the evidence. Cf. (314)

The section 3.4 treats the extensions based on the metaphor: Going before **Follower** is showing them an example and going after **Leader** is copying them.

- t . **Leader** leads **Path**. He *led* the way in doing that. Cf. (324)
- u . **Leader** leads **Path**. She *led* a happy life. Cf. (334)
- v . **Leader** leads **Follower** to **Goal** (path). She *led* me to a life of crime. (338)

- w. **Follower** follows **Leader**. She *followed* her father Cf. (341)
- x. **Follower** follows **Leader** to **Goal**. She *followed* her father into medicine.
- y. **Follower** follows (**Leader's**) **Path**. She *followed* his lead and became a doctor. Cf. (327)
- z. **Follower** follows **Path**. She *followed* a life of service to others. (346)

From these it is clear that metaphorical extensions are derived from either literal constructions (a, b, d, e, etc.) or metonymically extended ones (c, g, h, etc.) except for cases like s. And metaphorical extensions are due to the metaphorical mapping based on several metaphors that we mentioned in the sections from 3.1 to 3.4. Most of the metaphorical senses in *lead* and *follow* can be attributed to the interaction of metaphors with the literal and metonymical ones.

To recapitulate, *lead* and *follow* have almost the same syntactical structure in the literal use, and that is also true in their metonymical extensions. And they are the bases of their metaphorical extensions.

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DICTIONARIES

<i>BBCED</i>	<i>BBC English Dictionary</i>
<i>CDTC</i>	<i>Chamber's Dictionary Thesaurus Combined</i>
<i>CED ME</i>	<i>Collins English Dictionary (Millennium Edition)</i>
<i>CIDE</i>	<i>Cambridge International Dictionary of English</i>
<i>COBUILD 2</i>	<i>Collins COBUILD English Dictionary (Second Edition)</i>
<i>COBUILD ELD</i>	<i>COBUILD English Learner's Dictionary</i>
<i>DEWGV</i>	<i>A Dictionary of English Word Grammar on Verbs</i>
<i>HEED</i>	<i>Harrap's Essential English Dictionary</i>
<i>KDEC</i>	<i>The Kenkyusha Dictionary of English Collocations</i>
<i>LDOCE 3</i>	<i>Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (Third Edition)</i>
<i>LDPV</i>	<i>Longman Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs</i>
<i>LED</i>	<i>Larousse English Dictionary</i>
<i>LLA</i>	<i>Longman Language Activator</i>
<i>NHD</i>	<i>The Newbury House Dictionary</i>
<i>NODE</i>	<i>The New Oxford Dictionary of English</i>
<i>NTCsAID</i>	<i>NTC's American Idiom Dictionary</i>
<i>NTC'sAELD</i>	<i>NTC's American English Learner's Dictionary</i>
<i>OALD 6</i>	<i>Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (Sixth Edition)</i>
<i>PESD</i>	<i>Penguin English Student's Dictionary</i>
<i>RHWDAE</i>	<i>Random House Webster's Dictionary of American English</i>
<i>Web 3</i>	<i>Webster's Third International Dictionary</i>

BOOKS

Memories of a Geisha by Arthur Golden
The Remains of the Day by Kazuo Ishiguro
The Senses of Animals by L.Harrison Matthews and Maxwell Knight

この論文は、平成12年度在外研究員として研究した成果についてとりまとめたものである。

研究期間	平成12年 3 月25日～平成13年 3 月27日
研究課題	多義性の研究
研究先	University of London Library