

**Metaphor in Media Discourse:
Representations of ‘Arabs’ and ‘Americans’
in American and Arab News Media**

by

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Declaration

I hereby confirm that the thesis entitled “*Metaphor in Media Discourse: Representations of ‘Arabs’ and ‘Americans’ in American and Arab News Media*” represents my own work, except where due acknowledgement has been made.

ABSTRACT

The present study explores the representations of ‘Arabs’ and ‘Americans’ in American and in Arab news media discourse between 2001 and 2011 through an evaluation of the metaphors used to describe each group. The study chiefly argues that metaphors in Arab and American news media discourse are used for rhetorical and ideological motives.

The main research aims of this study are to find out what metaphors used to represent Arabs and Americans occur in *The New York Times* (the NYT) on the one hand, and in the *Al Jazeera English* and the *Arab News* (the ANM) on the other hand, to reveal whether there are similarities or differences between metaphors in each news media source, and to explain the purposes underlying the choice of these metaphors.

The study is based on the experientialist cognitive linguistic Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and the rhetorically, cognitively and corpus-oriented approach to metaphor known as Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) developed by Charteris-Black (2004). The main corpus approach that this study uses is Metaphor Pattern Analysis proposed by Stefanowitsch (2006) for the collection of metaphor data. The corpus used consists of news articles about Arabs and Americans extracted from the online editions of the NYT, and the ANM between 2001 and 2011.

Findings on the metaphors used to describe Americans and Arabs in the NYT demonstrate that the use of metaphors describing Americans is noticeably but not always motivated by the ideological purpose of representing them as a unique and exceptional nation thus supporting the Myth of American Exceptionalism. It is additionally argued that the use of metaphors referring to Arabs can be explained partly by the rhetorical ideological goal of associating them with danger, violence and threat. In the ANM, findings revealed that a number of metaphors describing Americans have underlying rhetorical and ideological

motives similar to those in the NYT. The image of Americans as a unique nation is reiterated in the ANM. As regards the use of metaphors occurring in collocation with Arabs in the ANM, the findings demonstrate that they are partially motivated by an underlying belief that associates them with powerlessness, passivity and incapability. Furthermore, and despite the importance of rhetorical ideological purposes, the findings also show that metaphors used do not always necessarily convey positive evaluations of the self or negative evaluations of the other.

In addition to its contribution to our understanding of the dominant representations of Americans and Arabs in two inherently different news media sources, the thesis has proposed adjustments to Critical Metaphor Analysis as relevant to this project, and has also contributed to research in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

DEDICATION

To You Allah for all Your Blessings

To my beautiful mother H'biba

& my loving father Salah

to whom I am truly indebted,

To my beloved husband Bassem,

To my wonderful sister Raja

& my cherishing brothers Hatem, Walid & Housseem

for your love, trust, prayers, & encouragement.

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
وَالصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ

*In the Name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful
& prayers and peace be upon the Messenger of Allah*

All the praises and thanks be to Allah the Almighty, the All Knowing, the All Wise and the Giver of uncounted blessings and gifts for blessing me with the opportunity, energy, patience and perseverance to complete this thesis.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Reference
AJE	<i>Al-Jazeera English</i>
ANM	Arab News Media
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CMA	Critical Metaphor Analysis
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American English
KWIC	Key Word In Context
NP	Noun Phrase
N	Noun
MI	Mutual Information measure
MIP	Metaphor Identification Procedure (Pragglejaz group)
MIPVU	Metaphor Identification Procedure by Vrije Universiteit
NYT	<i>The New York Times</i> online
OE	Old English
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
SD	Source Domain
TD	Target Domain
USA/US	The United States of America
vb	Verb

TYPOGRAPHY CONVENTIONS

1. For purposes of elucidation, metaphorically-used words from the source domain are represented in the main thesis text using *italic* font style for example, *expel*.
2. In examples, **bold**, *italic* and underline styles are applied to the target domains terms 'Arabs' and 'Americans'.
3. In examples, the metaphorically used words are represented in bold and italic style, for example ***expel***.
4. Conceptual mappings in the form A is/are/as B are represented in uppercase letters, for example LIFE IS A JOURNEY.
5. Using an asterisk as in *urge** indicates that we refer to a lemma¹.

¹ A lemma refers to a 'set of lexical forms having the same stem and belonging to the same major word class, differing only in inflection and/or spelling' (Francis and Kučera, 1982, p. 1, cited in Baker, Hardie & McEnery, 2006).

1 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

This chapter aims to contextualize the current research study in its political and ideological setting by briefly surveying the main historical and political events affecting ‘Arab-American’ relations during the period of study. It then introduces the research background, problems, rationale and expected contribution, and finally states the research questions and the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Context of the Research

To situate this research in its real-world context, it is essential to understand that the US-Arab world relationship has been greatly influenced by the critical events of a decade starting with the fall of the World Trade Center, the visual symbol of American capitalism and ending with the Spring of Arab revolutions, during the ‘crusades’ of George Walker Bush, the ‘Jihad’ of Bin Laden, Obama’s Presidency and his infamous Speech in Cairo.

1.2 US-Arab Relations and Key Events between 2001-2011

Before the Second World War, Americans were traditionally seen by Arabs as ‘good’ people, as a ‘friend’ to the Arabs and to all nations seeking the right to decide their sovereignty. This was in stark contrast to Arabs’ perception of the ‘self-centred’ ‘dishonest’ colonialist European. The US-Arab relationship entered a different stage, however, with the recognition by the USA of the state of Israel in 1948. The image of the USA and Americans in the Arab world started to experience ups and downs as did the relations between them. Still, the involvement of the USA in the Arab World remained indirect, guided and shaped by economic interests, control over petroleum, and the peace process in the ‘Middle East’ among other factors. It was not characterized by a dominant, long and costly military presence until 9/11. It was then that relationships between the two worlds entered a new era as Arabs became a direct threat not only to the interests of Americans in other parts of the

world but in their mainland. As Ambassador to Saudi Arabia in 1989, Charles W. Freeman Jr. notes that “Since 9/11, the Arabs and we [the Americans] have worked hard to vilify each other. Each side has succeeded in blackening the reputation of the other” (n.d., para. 4).

In 2011, with the start of what was metaphorically termed ‘the Arab Spring’ by the ‘Jasmin Revolution’ in Tunisia, it seemed that America gained an opportunity to present an image of itself again as a supporter of the people’s right to democracy. Furthermore, the most notorious mastermind of the 9/11 attacks was killed. This decade saw other very important events subsequent to 9/11, the most immediate being the invasion of Afghanistan which started the war on terrorism and the pursuit of Bin Laden and Al Qaeda. That explains why we are interested in looking at this decade which is clearly marked by one crucial event in the US and another in the Arab World, both events fundamentally affecting US-Arab relations. Table 1.1 gives a timeline of the main events impacting US-Arab relationships during this period.

Table 1.1: Key Events Impacting US-Arab Relations between 2001 & 2011

September 2001	9/11 attacks The ‘Fall’ of the Twin Towers 3000 people killed
October 2001	US invasion of Afghanistan
April 2003	US invasion of Iraq
2003	The Road map for peace
2006	The execution of Saddam Hussein on Muslim’s holiest day Eid-ul-Adha (the Sacrifice Feast).
2007-2008	Worldwide financial crisis
2008-2009:	Gaza Raids
2008-2009	New Party and new President of the United States
2009:	Obama’s Speech in Cairo - Obama’s proclaimed policies towards the Arab and Muslim World
January 2011	Tunisian ‘Revolution’ followed by uprisings in different Arab countries.
May 2011	Killing of Bin Laden

Therefore, we think it interesting to explore the extent to which these events impacted the portrayal of Americans and Arabs in the discourse of the news media.

1.3 Why ‘Arabs’ and Who are ‘Arabs?’

So far, I have summarized the relations between Americans and Arabs. Clearly, Americans refer to persons living, or born, in the US, but who are Arabs? I am particularly aware that there may be an argument against comparing ‘Americans’ and ‘Arabs’ as they refer to different entities.

The term ‘Americans’ refers to the people from one country that is the United States. Though established, the use of this term and this definition is not uncontested in Central and South America. In contrast, the term ‘Arabs’ refers to a single ethnic group living across 22 countries as the following definition by the Arab League² confirms: “An Arab is a person whose language is Arabic, who lives in an Arabic-speaking country, and who is in sympathy with the aspirations of the Arabic-speaking peoples” (Reynolds, 2007, p. 1).

An assumption goes that Arabs in different Arab countries tend to think and refer to themselves as Arabs and Muslims:

The Arabs are defined by their culture, not by race; and their culture is defined by its essential twin constituents of Arabism³ and Islam. To most of the Arabs, Islam is their indigenous religion; to all of the Arabs, Islam is their indigenous civilization. The Arab identity, as such, is a culturally defined identity, which means being Arab is being someone whose mother culture, or dominant culture, is Arabism. Beyond that, he or she might be of any

²A regional organization of countries of the Arab world. This footnote is added and not originally included in the citation.

³ For disambiguation, Arabism (Uruba) here refers to Arab culture and identity and not to Arabic linguistic usage. Arabism or Pan-Arabism is a whole ideology stating that people of the Arab world form one nation and that the cultural unity between all Arab countries should be followed by a political one.

ancestry, of any religion or philosophical persuasion, and a citizen of any country in the world. Being Arab does not contradict with being non-Muslim or non-Semitic or not being a citizen of an Arab state (Sulaiman, 2007, para. 2)

I identify myself as an Arab, and introduce myself to people as an Arab who comes from one of the Arab countries, Tunisia. Identifying oneself as Arab comes to the fore particularly during times of crisis involving the United States of America (USA) and a given Arab country. The term 'Arabs' seems to indicate holding to Arab identity despite belonging to or living in separate countries, an Arab identity signifying a deep culture and great civilization and history.

While these definitions assert mainly a positive unified homogenous Arab identity in line with favourable feelings of pride and nostalgia, the use of 'Arabs' to refer to Tunisians, Egyptians or Palestinians also reduces countries and individuals to a seemingly clear group open to bias and stereotyped images. It has been used in Western and American media to draw pejorative images and to portray people of Arab descent in a negative way. In the news media, Arabs are represented in terms of terrorism, fanaticism and extremism. In Hollywood films, they are "crazed Arab terrorists threatening to blow up America with nuclear weapons" (Shaheen, 2003, p. 188).

The creation of the stereotype 'Arab' associated with violence is very significant as it can encourage people to behave in a particularly negatively biased manner against Arabs. The use of this word goes beyond citizenship and this was clearly instantiated in the aftermath of 9/11 as Arabs or those Arab-like (Hindus, Pakistani) were the target of hate crimes and racist attacks even though they are American citizens. Arabs from Israel are distinguished as not Israeli but as Israeli Arabs. The concept of Arabs is very loaded and the conflict is not between Americans and Tunisians, Egyptians, Palestinians or even Iraqis. It is between Arabs – violent, terrorist and barbaric – and Americans.

Aware of the controversies around the term ‘Arabs’, I argue for comparing the representations of ‘Americans’ with ‘Arabs’ instead of Tunisians, Saudis, or Palestinians.

1.4 Rationale for the Research

The starting point for this investigation is the observation that media studies in different traditions have explored the representations of ‘Arabs’ and ‘Muslims’ in US and European media discourse and revealed biased images and stereotypes in texts (El Naggar, 2012; Fairclough, 1995a; Fowler, 1991; Van Dijk, 1988). In *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) suggest that the conceptual metaphor *THE SEARCH FOR ENERGY IS WAR* in the context of the energy crisis in the US in the 70’s implies that there is a foreign enemy and hence a threat to national security, the enemy being portrayed by cartoonists is in Arab dress. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that “The metaphor was not merely a way of viewing reality; it constituted a license for policy change and political and economic action” (p. 156). Van Teefflen (1994) studied the representation of Palestinians and Israelis in western best-selling popular novels and found how metaphors construct an “amplified contrast” (Abstract) between the Palestinian and Israeli worlds. Conversely, representations of ‘Americans’ in Arab media have not received equal focus, nor have representations of Arabs by Arabs themselves. Part of my interest in this project stems from my personal observation that ‘we’ – Arabs – pay much attention to how the West views ‘us’ and how western people do things, to the extent that many of us may unconsciously evaluate most of what we do in our everyday lives with reference to the behaviour of ‘the other’. I think that a large part of our assumed ‘knowledge’ of ‘westerners’ comes from the media.

The second point is that the approaches within which these representations are addressed stress one aspect at the expense of the other (Shousha, 2010; Sisler, 2006). While *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (CMT) provides a remarkable tool for metaphor interpretation, it does not explain what motivates metaphor choice, thus reducing metaphor’s socio-discursive role. In contrast, *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) presupposes an immediate link between

discourse and society and has not given much consideration to cognition within that relationship until recently.

A growing number of studies deal with metaphor in discourse and focus on real world issues thus indicating a growing awareness of the socio-cognitive dimension of metaphor. This study contributes to the critical analysis of metaphors within discourse, and to these ongoing debates in the field through an exploration of the news media representations not only of ‘Arabs’ but also of ‘Americans’. Its originality lies also in examining self-representations in addition to representations of the other.

1.5 Research Questions

The present project enquires whether there may be a difference between the metaphors used to represent ‘Arabs’ and those employed to represent ‘Americans’ in the US and Arab news media. Accordingly, the research aims to answer the following key research questions:

- 1- What metaphors describing ‘Arabs’ and ‘Americans’ occur in US and Arab news media?
- 2- What differences and/or similarities are there between the metaphors in each media corpus?
- 3- How can we account for the choice of metaphors in each media?
- 4- What is the value of Critical Metaphor Analysis as a source of ideological insights into news media discourse?

1.6 Outline of the Thesis

My research study consists of six chapters and is structured as follows:

The first chapter starts by situating the study in its real-world context. The second section of this chapter introduces the background of the study, followed by underlining its rationale and expected contributions to the field of research, and closes by stating the research questions and the structure of the thesis.

The second chapter sets the study within its theoretical framework. It reviews metaphor research within the cognitive theory, then within more critical approaches, namely Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), pragmatics and the socio-cognitive approach to discourse and metaphor, and Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). It goes over some of the main source domains that are identified in the analysis. Afterwards, it presents news discourse and examines metaphor research in news discourse.

The third chapter presents corpus linguistic approaches and highlights their contributions to metaphor research and analysis. It also evaluates the most recent Metaphor Identification Procedure developed at Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU) by discussing a number of limitations related to the criteria guiding the distinction between metaphorically and non-metaphorically used words.

The fourth chapter introduces the corpus design, and gives a detailed account of the CMA methodology used for the analysis and discussion of my research data, and adapted by integrating the procedure used to identify metaphors in this research, and Metaphor Pattern Analysis (MPA), the corpus method of data collection.

The fifth chapter gives a detailed account of the source domains categorizing the identified metaphorical data and shows the similarities and differences in the different findings

between ‘Arabs’ and ‘Americans’ in the corpora examined. The chapter also comprises a collocation analysis through which it compares findings from the metaphor analysis to a reference corpus. It ends by presenting the conceptual metaphors interpreted on the basis of the different source domains surveyed.

The sixth chapter offers a contextual analysis of the main conceptual metaphors interpreted in chapter 5, illustrates them and discusses the possible motivations that can account for the choice of these metaphors within each news media. The chapter first argues that there are both similarities and differences in the use of metaphors describing Americans and Arabs, and that these uses are motivated mainly by ideological purposes in addition to more general pragmatic motivations for the use of metaphors such as conveying evaluations and framing issues (though these more general aspects cannot be fully explored within the scope of this thesis). Second, it argues that the use of metaphors contributes to the portrayal of Americans as an exceptional unique nation in both news media. This chapter also argues that the choice of metaphors in the NYT contributes to the representation of Arabs as a source of danger. It also claims that the ANM employ metaphors to portray Arabs as somewhat powerless and passive entities.

The seventh chapter summarizes the main findings, highlights the main contributions of this study to the field of research, and draws attention to the main limitations that could have influenced the findings and their interpretation. Finally, it discusses the implications of this study for future research.

Conclusion

The chapter started by introducing the political and historical context of the current research study. It then outlined the research background and its problems, explained the rationale for conducting the research and highlighted the expected contribution. The chapter ended by stating the research questions and the structure of the thesis.

2 CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON METAPHOR, DISCOURSE & NEWS MEDIA DISCOURSE

Introduction

This chapter is intended to briefly review the main approaches to metaphor in language and discourse. The major aim is to trace the way that the discussion of metaphor in scholarly work has shifted from its use as a dispensable literary flourish, a decorative figure of speech, to an indispensable cognitive-linguistic device connecting our cognitive and semantic domains of experience, a pervasive device in everyday communication and a powerful rhetorical discursive and persuasive tool. In order to situate the study within its theoretical and methodological framework, the chapter starts by reviewing metaphor research within cognitive theory, then within more critical approaches, namely Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), pragmatics, and the socio-cognitive approach to discourse and metaphor. It then presents Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) and discusses how, by drawing on cognitive linguistics, pragmatics and CDA, it provides a useful theoretical and methodological framework for the investigation of metaphors in the current study. The chapter also reviews a few of the most common source domains in metaphor research and those that are relevant to this project. It also revisits news media discourse and stresses the most important features and factors that influence its production. The chapter ends with a brief review of a few studies that have investigated metaphors in news discourse from a critical perspective, in addition to metaphor research that has taken a more descriptive approach.

2.1 Metaphor in Traditional Approaches

In traditional approaches, metaphor is considered a rhetorical and decorative figure. Aristotle defines metaphor as consisting “in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else; the transference being either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or on grounds of analogy” (Poetics, 1457b).

The Aristotelian view on metaphor (Poetics, 1457b) can be briefly summarized in the following arguments:

- Metaphor is a rhetorical & ornamental device that is a *substitute* for literal language.
- It operates at the level of the word.
- Metaphor is then a matter of *substitution* for one word with another. The word is transferred into something else which implies that the word has a literal use and a deviant use.
- Metaphor is useful but dispensable and “can be translated into a literal paraphrase without any loss of cognitive content” (Johnson, 1981, p. 4).

The Aristotelian view of metaphor is at the origin of the so-called substitution and comparison views of metaphor, holding that metaphor is a matter of comparison or similarity. In the substitution view, metaphor is a more elegant and ornamental substitute for an equivalent literal word. For instance, *Richard is a lion* can be paraphrased in *Richard is brave*⁴. The fundamental nature of metaphor is similarity or analogy between the words ‘lion’ and ‘brave’. The hearer will detect the basis of the intended analogy and understands the original literal meaning. In the comparison view, “metaphors are similes with suppressed predications of similarity” (Levinson, 1983, p. 148). The essence of metaphor is to bring out the similarity without a comparison word (*like*). *Richard is a lion* is originally *Richard is like a lion (in being brave)*⁵. The reader should understand what is not explicitly stated – *in being brave*.

The substitution and the comparison views of metaphor seem to provide a plausible explanation for the interpretation of a metaphor at the word level through analogy or similarity conveyed to the hearer. However, “a discursive conception of metaphor” (Ricoeur, 1978, p.75) where the meaning of a sentence is not simply the sum of the meanings of words poses challenges to these theories. According to the latter conception, metaphor is not a simple operation occurring at the level of a single word but a result of the interaction between two different things at the level of thought (Richards, 1936, 1964). This idea of ‘interaction’ was initially proposed by Richards (1936) but refined into the called interaction theory of metaphor by Black (1962).

⁴ The example is taken from Black (1954, p. 281)

⁵ The example is taken from Black (1954, p. 281)

Even though Richards (1964) views metaphor within the scope of rhetoric, his interest in it is primarily semantic. Besides identifying and analysing metaphor, Richards (1964) shows interest in the way metaphor produces meaning. Thus, in addition to the function of metaphor being to express or incite feelings and attitudes (Ogden & Richards, 1946), Richards (1964) argues that metaphor expresses meaning and proposes that

1. Metaphor is an omnipresent principle of language and not a dispensable ornament of persuasion (p. 89).
2. Using a metaphor implies thinking about two different things at the same time and indicating this in one word or phrase “whose meaning is a resultant of their interaction” (p. 51).
3. Metaphor is a matter of thought more than of single terms (p. 51).

Richards (1964) discusses the metaphor in the following example:

- (1) A stubborn and unconquerable flame Creeps in his veins and drinks the streams of life (p. 102).

He explains that fever is the subject of the metaphor expressed as *flame* but it is not stated. Fever is brought to mind, making metaphor therefore a matter of thought more than of simply single words. Metaphor is not intrinsic in words. Rather, it derives from the relationship and interaction between the words and their contexts. Metaphor then refers to the semantic “commerce” or “transaction” (Ricoeur, 1978) giving way to a shift in the use of a word from one context to another (Ricoeur, 1978; Charteris-Black, 2004).

[. . .] fundamentally it is a borrowing between and intercourse of *thoughts*, a transaction between contexts. *Thought* is metaphoric, and proceeds by comparison, and the metaphors of language derive therefrom. (Richards 1936, p. 94) (italics in the original).

Black (1962) rejects the view that metaphor cannot be reduced to literal paraphrase and argues that it is a distinct mental process. The interaction theory of metaphor proposes that metaphor operates through a system of primary subject, secondary subject and context where some features are applied to the primary subject. Within this system the metaphor selects what comes to the front. In other words, it “*organizes* our view of man” (Black, 1962, p. 41) (italics in the original). In *Man is a wolf*, the secondary subject ‘wolf’ calls to mind a “system of associated commonplaces” (Black, 1962, p. 60) generally taken as characteristic of wolves (whether true or not). Besides, he argues that there is a conceptual interaction between the two subjects since “If to call a man a wolf is to put him in a special light, we must not forget that the metaphor makes the wolf seem more human than he otherwise would’ (Black, 1962, p.44). Thus, and as Levinson (1983) puts it, metaphors are considered as “special uses of linguistic expressions where one ‘metaphorical’ expression (or *focus*) is embedded in another ‘literal’ expression (or *frame*), such that the meaning of the focus interacts with and *changes* the meaning of the *frame*, and vice versa” (p. 148).

2.2 Metaphor in Pragmatics

The pragmatic view of metaphor (Grice, 1975; Searle, 1979) follows approaches discussed above and considers metaphor as a deviation from a literal statement thus holding to the literal-figurative distinction. However, it proposes a different account of metaphor production and interpretation as language in use.

The pragmatic theory of language is the study of language in use (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1979). Uttering words is indeed performing a specific action such as conveying information, or making threats. Speech act theory deals with the speech utterance unit as distinct from the sentence unit more familiar in semantic approaches. As Austin (1962) puts it, “what we have to study is not the sentence but the issuing of an utterance in a speech situation” or “the total speech act” (p. 138). Speakers frequently have specific intentions that they want others to recognize (Grice, 1957) within social interaction. These specific intentions can be viewed as

speech acts following the principle of expressibility stipulating that “whatever can be meant, can be said” (Searle, 1969, p. 68) and required by the sincerity condition necessitating that the speaker really intends what he says.

Metaphor meaning is said to violate Grice’s (1975) maxims of truthfulness⁶. The deviation then occurs from the sentence’s literal meaning or “occasion” meaning (Grice, 1989, p. 90) by the speaker’s meaning. To understand a metaphorical utterance, the hearer needs to have pragmatic contextual information (e.g. the interlocutors, the setting) of the metaphorical utterance. More important, however, is the need to make an extra cognitive effort in order to work out the metaphor meaning: the hearer has to analyse an utterance, recognize that it would not work on a literal basis, and then call for a non-literal interpretation. Experimental psycholinguistic research (Gibbs, 2001; Kreuz & Glucksberg, 1998) has shown, however, that readers and hearers do not need to go into different and subsequent stages for the interpretation of metaphorical language that they encounter in an actual social context:

Numerous reading-time and phrase-classification studies demonstrate that listeners and readers can often understand the figurative interpretations of metaphors, irony and sarcasm, idioms, proverbs, and indirect speech acts without necessarily having to first analyse and reject their literal meanings when these expressions are seen in realistic social contexts (Gibbs, 2001, p. 318).

From Greek thought through interactionism and pragmatics the literal interpretation of metaphor plays a fundamental role in understanding the meaning of metaphor. These approaches implicitly or explicitly view metaphorical meaning as a secondary meaning that arises from a logical clash or other incongruity in the literal interpretation, which is thus logically prior. This seems to relegate the role of metaphor to a second order meaning

⁶Grice’s (1975) maxims of truthfulness are truth conditions on which depends the success of a conversation. Metaphor occurs when the speaker violates the maxim of truthfulness which states: “Do not say what you believe to be false, do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence, and try to make your contribution one that is true” (p. 6).

(Leezenberg, 2001, p. 94). The pragmatic view of metaphor suggests that metaphorical utterances are “category mistakes” (Ricoeur, 1987, p. 233) or incorrect utterances violating Grice’s (1975) first principle of quality. However, it should be noted that not all utterances used metaphorically cannot stand literally. Van Dijk (1975) refers to expressions which he calls ‘sortally correct’ (p. 128). ‘Sortally correct’, or ‘replacement metaphors’ (Brooke-Rose 1958, p. 17) are expressions that may be true literally as well as metaphorically. A given utterance can bear both literal and metaphorical interpretation simultaneously as in *Peter preferred to pick up local **flowers*** (Van Dijk, 1975) in which *flowers* can be intended to refer to *girls* metaphorically or to *flowers* literally.

Semantic approaches to metaphor, as to language, do not seem to account for language beyond the semantic properties of the words. This falls in the semantics-pragmatics distinction, linguistic (conventional) meaning versus use, and context independence versus context dependence (Levinson, 1983).

Metaphor in the different approaches reviewed thus far is a “linguistic phenomenon” (Yu 1998, p. 10) that abides by the assumption of a distinction between what is literal and what is not literal. Still, these approaches have, though implicitly, hinted at a more cognitive aspect of metaphor whether at the level of production or interpretation and offered not only the first steps for cognitive-linguistic metaphor research but also for the more recent critical metaphor analysis as will be reviewed in the following sections.

2.3 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The conceptual theory of metaphor (Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2002, 2005) is a departure from earlier theories based on the old literal-figurative distinction as it challenges the main assumptions that all everyday conventional language is literal (Searle, 1979) and that all subject matter can be understood literally and not metaphorically (Davidson, 1984). The pragmatic account of metaphor, mainly speech act theory, assumes that a metaphorical meaning is the literal meaning of some other sentence obtainable by

pragmatic principles since these principles allow one to say one thing having a literal meaning (sentence meaning) and mean something different having a literal meaning as well (speaker's meaning).

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1993; Kövecses, 2002, 2005) holds that metaphors are central to thought and not merely linguistic ornamental rhetorical devices, that metaphor is mainly conceptual in nature and not linguistic, that our conceptual system is metaphorical and not simply literal, and that we have a constant unconsciously operating conceptual conventional metaphor system. Lakoff (1993) states that "Much subject matter, from the most mundane to the most abstruse scientific theories, can only be comprehended via metaphor" (p. 244). He further argues that

a huge system of everyday, conventional, conceptual metaphors has been discovered. It is a system of metaphor that structures our everyday conceptual system, including most abstract concepts, and that lies behind much of everyday language. The discovery of this enormous metaphor system has destroyed the traditional literal-figurative distinction, since the term *literal*, as used in defining the traditional distinction, carries with it all those false assumptions (Lakoff, 1993, p. 204).

In cognitive theory, 'metaphor' refers to the conceptual metaphor which is the understanding of one idea or conceptual domain in terms of another. Metaphor is not only concerned with language but with the mind as well, and exploiting a metaphor is viewed to be a *cognitive* process that the human brain performs naturally (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), mostly unconsciously, automatically, and without any "noticeable effort" (Lakoff, 1993, p. 245). Thus, as Gibbs (2001), cited above, has pointed out, we do not need to start at the literal meaning of the sentence and follow a number of stages and apply given principles to arrive at the intended metaphorical meaning. More significantly, literal language is not always capable of capturing our experience and the power of metaphor lies in its unique ability to make us understand subjects from the simplest to the most complex. In this regard, Lakoff (1987) argues that "In domains where there is no clearly discernible preconceptual structure

to our experience, we import such structure via metaphor” (p. 303). He further emphasises the role of metaphor as “a means of comprehending domains of experience that do not have a preconceptual structure of their own” (p. 303).

The central claim is that the way we think is shaped and controlled by metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) propose the two-domain mapping model of metaphor in which the way we understand and interpret the world is metaphorical, which foregrounds the concept of conceptual metaphor while the linguistic metaphor is simply the apparent result of the conceptual mapping that takes place in the mind. The mind works by transferring ideas from one conceptual domain (a source domain) to another (a target domain). If we use metaphors, it is essentially because we think metaphorically.

A conceptual domain is our conceptual representation and structured knowledge of any coherent segment of experience (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2002; Knowles & Moon, 2006). Two conceptual domains, a source and a target domain, construct the conceptual metaphor. A conceptual metaphor is a conceptual structure realized in language through linguistic metaphors. Linguistic metaphors are metaphorical expressions forming the actual evidence of, and confirming, a given conceptual metaphor. ARGUMENT IS WAR is realized linguistically and verbally by words and expressions like ‘*defend/attack an argument*’; THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS is instantiated by ‘*construct*’ and ‘*foundation*’ as in the following examples in Lakoff and Johnson (1980):

THEORIES (AND ARGUMENTS) ARE BUILDINGS

Is that the *foundation* for your theory?

We need to *construct* a strong argument for that.

The theory needs more *support*.

The argument is *shaky*.

The theory will stand on the *strength* of that argument.

We need some more facts or the argument will *fall apart*.

The argument *collapsed* (pp. 4, 44-49).

In the previous illustrations, a set of conceptual correspondences are mapped from the source onto the target domain. We can see how elements from the conceptual domain of BUILDINGS (for instance) are mapped on to elements of the target domain of THEORIES AND ARGUMENTS (Kövecses et al., 2010, p. 331).

Source: BUILDINGS		Target: THEORIES
the foundation of a building	⇒	the basis of the theory
Support	⇒	evidence
Strength	⇒	plausibility
Construction	⇒	creation
collapse of a building	⇒	fall of a theory

These and others (LOVE IS FIRE, IDEAS ARE OBJECTS, ACTION IS MOTION) are conventional metaphors claimed to be pervasive in everyday language and thought; they structure our conceptual system, our everyday knowledge and understanding of the world. They are conventional in the sense that they are well known by the members of a speech community and widely used in everyday language. They have become so established socially and culturally within the linguistic community that they are produced and processed in an “effortless” and “automatic” (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 55) manner as speakers are unaware of their metaphorical nature. They are the ‘normal’ and ‘natural’ way of talking about something.

An important feature of source-to-target mapping is irreversibility expressed in the principle of unidirectionality (Kövecses et al., 2010, p. 7). This implies that to make a concept clearer and closer to understanding – most often abstract – we tend to use another concept more grounded in concrete physical human experience as BUILDINGS for THEORIES but not the other way round, as clarified further in Figure 2-1. The experientialist basis of Conceptual Metaphor Theory stipulating that metaphor is grounded in physical experience is a central tenet of the cognitive view on metaphors.

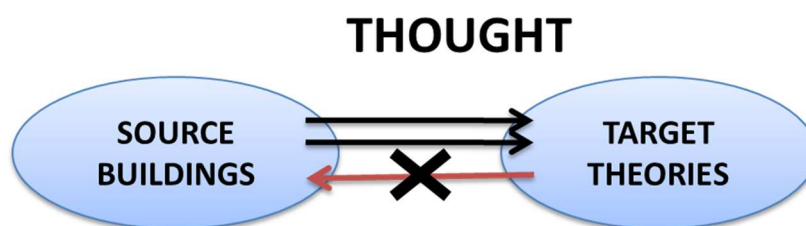


Figure 2-1: Conceptual Cross-domain Mapping and the Irreversibility Principle

Generally, thoughts that relate to abstractions or emotions are usually metaphorical while non-metaphorical concepts are the ones based on physical experience. Abstract concepts are metaphorically structured through basic knowledge of concepts that appear “as a result of our capacities for gestalt perception, mental imagery, and motor movement” (Lakoff, 1987, p. 302) as well as by image schemas which are pre-linguistic schemas related to spatial mappings (source-path-goal, center-periphery) time, moving, controlling, and other core elements of embodied human experience. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) state that the concepts related to senses and to motion “arise from our sensory-motor experiences (experiences moving in space, perceiving, manipulating objects, and so on” (p. 257-278). The neural theory of metaphor “extends the study of metaphor to the brain” (Kövecses et al., 2010, p. 88):

The embodied-mind hypothesis therefore radically undercuts the perception/conception distinction. In an embodied mind, it is conceivable that the same neural system engaged in perception (or in bodily movement) plays a central role in conception. That is, it is possible that the very mechanisms responsible for perception, movements, and object manipulation could be responsible for conceptualization and reasoning (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, pp. 37–38).

In addition, Conceptual Metaphor Theory emphasises two characteristics of these mappings: they are systematic and partial. The elements making up the target domain are in systematic correspondence with the elements constituting the source domain. A metaphorical concept is systematic and follows a pattern in the sense that “there are certain things we typically do and do not do” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p.7) for instance when we argue or we love. As we understand one aspect of arguing in terms of battling, that conceptualization systematically influences how we talk about what we do when we argue. It follows then that the language we use to talk about the battling aspect of arguing is systematic. In other words, there seems to be a systematic connection between a metaphorical concept and metaphorical expressions. If then we want to understand the nature of metaphorical concepts that structure our everyday life, we need to study the metaphorical language used in everyday speech. Nonetheless, it is also to be noted that systematicity does not imply that all constituents of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain; rather only a part of the concept aspects get cross-mapped, otherwise the two concepts will be identical. This partial character reflects the power of metaphor to highlight and focus or hide and cover one aspect or another of a given concept.

2.4 Metaphor in Critical Approaches

The discussion above attended to metaphor as a mainly linguistic and as a cognitive phenomenon. This section focuses on the views that present metaphors from a more critical point of view. It starts by acknowledging the implicit connections and contributions of the

approaches to the different dimensions of metaphors discussed above, in addition to presenting the approaches that take a clear critical perspective on metaphor and acknowledge its different linguistic, cognitive and discursive aspects.

2.4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

That metaphor may present itself as a discursive strategy brings us to a more critical tradition explicitly interested in investigating discourse and its relationship with real world issues. Like Conceptual Metaphor Theory which emphasises the power of metaphors to structure reality through metaphorical choices and to present a biased viewpoint of the speaker by hiding and highlighting, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) seeks to uncover the ideological work done by discourse. As introduced by Fairclough and Wodak (1997), CDA mainly “addresses social problems” and holds that “discourse constitutes society and culture”, that it is “a form of social action” and that it “does ideological work” (p. 271-280). Similarly, Van Dijk (2008) describes Critical Discourse Analysis as

a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit positions, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality (p. 85).

He adds that “CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society” (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 86). Fairclough (1989) stresses the “political and ideological import of particular metaphors, and conflict between alternative metaphors” (p. 77). Even though Fairclough (1995b) seems to focus on the linguistic features of vocabulary and metaphor at the expense of the cognitive, he earlier refers to the conceptual and pervasive nature of metaphor stipulated by Lakoff (Fairclough 1989, p. 194) and suggests that for instance the metaphorical construction of education implies that marketization of education in discourse is the marketization of thought and practice. In addition and more generally, Fairclough (1989) explicitly states that

processes of text “production and consumption have a partially socio-cognitive nature, in that they involve cognitive processes of text production and interpretation which are based upon internalized social structures and conventions (hence the ‘socio-’ prefix)” (p. 71). Kress (1989) takes a more explicit stance on the omnipresent nature of metaphor and the importance of both its linguistic as well as cognitive aspects. He also stresses the role of metaphor in ideological and socio-cultural struggles. Kress (1989) views metaphor as a “potent factor in ideological contention, a means to bring an area into one rather than another ideological domain” (p. 70).

Despite noticing some overlap between the critical and the cognitive traditions, the critical analysis of metaphor together with its cognitive nature have been sidelined until recently when a number of studies have started attending critically to the social, pragmatic and cognitive dimensions of metaphor critically.

2.4.2 Pragmatics and Speaker’s Meaning

The pragmatic approach is about language usage. The central tenet of pragmatics is the distinction between sentence meaning and speaker’s meaning or intention. Meaning, in other words, depends on the speaker’s intention and speakers frequently have specific intentions that they want others to recognize within social interaction (Grice, 1957). A second main tenet is that by speaking, speakers perform specific speech acts. This highlights the deliberate and conscious nature of speech. In addition, speech is an action governed by rules of social behaviour.

Accordingly, metaphor is not a matter of sentence meaning (Morgan, 1993). Rather, it is a matter of the speaker’s meaning or doing and clearly reflects that what is said is not what is meant (Searle & Vanderveken, 1985, p. 25). It is first an act performed by the speaker of the utterance and secondly an act that violates given conversational maxims and requires for its interpretation cooperation from both participants.

Pragmatics views metaphor as something that participants in verbal exchange do rather than say (Loewenberg, 1975; Mack, 1975; Searle, 1979). Mack (1975) asserts that “Metaphoring is something that speaker and hearer do” (p. 221). This entails that metaphors can be directive, representative, declarative, etc. For Mac Cormac (1976) metaphors are speech acts “suggesting, producing emotions, creating puzzlement and forming intimacy” (p. 175).

Furthermore, metaphor is interactive and communicative as it engages both the hearer and the speaker in an act of interpretation. Mack (1975) argues that “metaphoring is an interpretative act by both speaker and hearer” (p. 26). For Sadock (1993) metaphor is considered to be a voluntary aspect of social action and therefore regulated by principles governing other aspects of social behaviour (Grice, 1975). The pragmatics position is in line with the Hallidayan interpersonal function of language including for instance negotiating and constructing personal and social relationships in interaction, expressing attitudes, evaluating, persuading (Halliday, 1985). As metaphor can operate at the emotional level (Mac Cormac, 1976) and impose a given perspective of the world (Mack, 1975), it may be viewed as an act of persuasion. Mack (1975) contends that “Metaphoring is itself a speech act very much like stating or commanding: expressing, suggesting, even imposing a viewpoint counter to fact by means of an Assertion conjoined to a Presupposition by a comparison marker, each of which may be partially or wholly absent in the actual utterance, or surface form” (p. 247).

2.4.3 Metaphor, Rhetoric and Persuasion

The connection between persuasion and metaphor can be better seen within rhetoric or the art of public speaking. On the one hand, metaphor is useful as a persuasive device in political life that helps by giving elegance, clarity and style to the speech in the traditional literary understanding of metaphor as creative metaphor, and thus making it more convincing. For Aristotle, metaphor has a rhetorical function and a poetic function. While oratory is meant for the persuasion of an audience, poetry aims to “purge the feelings of fear and pity” (Ricoeur 1978, p. 12). Rhetoric or oratory has the explicit goal of persuading and the power

of manipulating an audience. Ricoeur (1978) cites the old Sicilian definition that ‘Rhetoric is the master of persuasion’ and that “rhetoric was this *technê* that made discourse conscious of itself and made persuasion a distinct goal to be achieved by means of a specific strategy” (p. 10). Accordingly, metaphor as part of rhetoric can be seen as one “technique founded on knowledge of the factors that help to effect persuasion [that] puts formidable power in the hands of anyone who masters it perfectly – the power to manipulate words apart from things, and to manipulate men by manipulating words” (Ricoeur, 1978, p. 11).

As mentioned above, within earlier approaches, metaphor is treated as a rhetorical figure and its dual rhetorical and poetic function indicates the relationship between the power of metaphor and real-world matters. Richards (1964), as mentioned above, similarly views metaphor within the scope of rhetoric; however he clearly shows an interest in its semantics. In addition to identifying and analysing metaphor, Richards is interested in the way metaphor produces meaning. Thus, in addition to the function of metaphor to express or incite feelings and attitudes (Ogden & Richards, 1946), metaphor expresses meaning. By stating that metaphor is an omnipresent principle of language and not a dispensable ornament of persuasion, and that metaphor is a matter of thought and not merely of single terms, Richards (1964) acknowledges both the cognitive and pragmatic rhetorical persuasive dimensions of metaphors. He goes one step further to stress the dynamic relatedness between the real world and metaphors:

Our world is a projected world, shot through with characters lent to it from our own life . . . the exchanges between the meanings of words which we study in explicit verbal metaphors are superimposed upon a perceived world which itself is a product of earlier or unwitting metaphor (Richards, 1964, 108–9).

Ricoeur (1978) stresses the power of rhetoric and metaphor by recalling Plato’s position on rhetoric. Plato (1999 version) condemns rhetoric as dangerous and evil for its power to manipulate others by appealing to emotions and common beliefs and neglecting truths. Metaphor is one such rhetorical persuasive device that can influence our understanding and

doings. Without emphasizing the departure of the cognitive school from the rhetorical view of metaphor, this warning against rhetoric as dangerous strikes a chord with Lakoff's (1999) assertion that "metaphors can kill" (p. 59). In fact, even the pure theory of cognition, in addition to emphasizing the pervasive conceptual dimension of metaphor, acknowledges its persuasive power:

For the same reasons that schemas and metaphors give us power to conceptualize and reason, so they have power over us. Anything that we rely on constantly, unconsciously, and automatically is so much part of us that it cannot be easily resisted, in large measure because it is barely even noticed. To the extent that we use a conceptual schema or a conceptual metaphor, we accept its validity. Consequently, when someone else uses it, we are predisposed to accept its validity. For this reason, conventionalized schemas and metaphors have *persuasive* power over us (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 63).

Still, however, the focus on the unconscious effortless aspect of metaphor – which undeniably makes it less questionable or challengeable – fails to acknowledge the speaker's specific intentions and communication goals and therefore the pragmatically purposeful motivation behind the choice of metaphors. Hence, the need for a more comprehensive account of metaphor that takes into consideration its different cognitive-linguistic, rhetorical pragmatic and discursive aspects. This is discussed in more detail in the next section.

2.4.4 The Socio-cognitive Approach to Discourse and Metaphor

Within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, the socio-cognitive approach to discourse brings discourse and society together with cognition. Wodak (2009) argues that the socio-cognitive approach is closely related to social representation theory (Moscovici, 1982, 2000). Social representations are socially shared "collective frames of perception" that relate the social system to the social actor's individual system. When engaged in discourse,

individuals employ their personal subjective experiences with these socially shared representations. Van Dijk (2009) claims that these social representations harmonize and coordinate between subjective experience and societal requirements. Social representations as presented by Moscovici (1982) are the bulk of concepts, opinions, attitudes, images and explanations which result from daily life, are sustained by communication, are shared among members of a social group, are bound to specific social group and do not involve society as a whole. They are constructs of a dynamic nature and subject to continuous change. These social representations constitute what Van Dijk (2009) calls social cognition. He distinguishes knowledge (shared socio-cultural beliefs), attitudes (socially-shared, ideologically-based opinions) and ideologies (shared fundamental and axiomatic beliefs of specific social groups) as three social representations relevant to the study of discourse. The socio-cognitive approach analyses individual discourses within a social framework, and by doing so seeks to account for the kind of relationship between a social group's social representations and the individual's specific personal mental models. Social representations and beliefs may construct and be instantiated in personal models; personal mental models can become generalized and form social representations, especially if they come from an influential person, or in the case of our research, a world power. It is arguably power that underpins the worldwide influence of Americans/the USA on economies and politics and all other aspects of human social and cultural life, such as lifestyle and language; hence we speak of the 'Americanization'⁷ of the world. In this sense, the ways that Americans portray Arabs and themselves in their news media form social representations and attitudes that are not easily challengeable.

Cognition seems to be gaining interest with many studies being undertaken by combining cognitive theories of metaphors (Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Blending Theory) with Critical Discourse Analysis. This integration consists mainly in the application of metaphor cognitive theories in discourse. The trend referred to by Deignan (2005) as "discourse approaches to metaphor tend to use conceptual metaphor analysis as a theoretical framework ... tool in this task" (p. 123). Metaphors are ideologically significant tools that can frame ways of talking and thinking about issues and construct positive/negative evaluations of situations described (Lakoff, 1991; Chilton & Schaffner, 1997; O'Halloran,

⁷ Americanize: "to make something more American, especially the language or culture of a person or place" (*Macmillan English Dictionary*)

2007). The analysis of metaphor in discourse, mainly applying Conceptual Metaphor Theory, includes studies on ideology (Goatly, 1997), race (Santa Ana, 1999), gender, politics and other areas. A number of studies which either explicitly or implicitly apply the emerging blend of cognitive theories with Critical Discourse Analysis have also integrated corpus linguistics, as will the current research study (Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2005; Deignan, 2005; Semino, 2008).

In politics, Semino and Maschi (1996) examined the discourse of the Italian president S. Berlusconi. They focused on and analysed conventional metaphors, particularly those from the source domains of FOOTBALL, WAR and RELIGION (the Bible). They found that conventional metaphors creatively employed and extended by Berlusconi put him and his political party in a positive light by talking about politics in terms of football and thus exploiting the national love of the game. Santa Ana (1999) investigated metaphors in *Los Angeles Times* articles related to political debate in California about an anti-immigrant referendum, Proposition 187. He studied the negative representations constructed about immigrants through the dominant metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS. More recently, Semino (2008) investigated the Middle East 'Road Map' plan concluded by the USA, EU, UN and Russia and looked at representations of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as well as the subsequent news articles and official documents which drew on the notion of a road map. She focused on the political use of the JOURNEY and ROAD MAP metaphors and showed that these can be used by different people (journalists, politicians...) in different contexts to express particular views about the Middle-East peace process and to achieve different rhetorical goals.

Interested particularly in metaphor in political discourse, Musolff (2004, 2006) investigated the discourse of British and German public press debates about the European Union on the basis of a bilingual corpus. He introduced a new context-specific level of conceptual structure 'the scenario', which is "an intermediate analytical category between the level of the conceptual domain as a whole and its individual elements" (Musolff, 2004, p. 13). Metaphor scenarios can in some ways be compared to Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) generic structure or Charteris-Black's (2004) conceptual key in the sense that each relates a set of conceptual structures. Metaphor scenarios, however, add story lines, including assumptions

about ‘typical’ participants and courses of actions. Musolff (2006) defines a metaphor scenario as “a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about ‘typical’ aspects of a source situation, for example its participants and their roles, the ‘dramatic’ storylines and outcomes, and conventional evaluations of whether they count as successful or unsuccessful” (p. 28).

Metaphor scenarios can be seen as discourse equivalents of ‘psychological’ or ‘conceptual’ models. The notion of scenario itself has its grounds in cognitive psychological theory and is common to Critical Discourse Analysis⁸. As we have seen above, Critical Discourse Analysis is interested in “a variety of discursive structures and strategies [that] may be used to express ideological beliefs and the social and personal opinions derived from them” (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 157). Scenarios are one of those discursive evaluative strategies that may help bolster positive self-representation and negative other-representation. Van Dijk (1995), for instance, speaks of the common ‘doomsday scenarios’ involving Americans (‘us’) and ‘Muslim fundamentalists and Arabs’ (‘them’) and that are “generally intended to both demonize the Others as well as call to action those of us (and especially the politicians) who are not taking things seriously enough” (p. 157).

Both Musolff’s (2006) metaphor scenarios and the socio-cognitive approach to “socially situated discourse” (p. 36) seek to provide a conceptual link between discursive and social structures. Musolff (2006) proposes that metaphor scenarios

enable the speakers to not only apply source to target concepts but to draw on them to build narrative frames for the conceptualization and assessment of sociopolitical issues and to “spin out” these narratives into emergent discourse traditions that are characteristic of their respective community. The

⁸Scenarios (Garrod & Sanford 1981), scenes (Fillmore, 1975), scripts (Schank & Abelson, 1977) have all been included by Fillmore (2006) in what he calls frames which represent “a particular organization of knowledge which stands as a prerequisite to our ability to understand the meanings of ... associated words” (Fillmore, 1985, p. 224). Unlike explicitly asserted information, frames involve implicit conceptual knowledge.

analysis of source scenarios as focal areas of source domains provides a platform to link the conceptual side of metaphor to its usage patterns in socially situated discourse (p. 36).

He claims that inferring attitudinal and socio-cultural information is not at the level of the more general schematic domain but rather at the level of the sub-domain scenarios; and emphasises the power of the more specific metaphor source scenarios for their naturalizing and evaluative assumptions about the participants and the events at the target level:

It is thus at the level of scenarios, rather than at general domain-level, that attitudinal biases and political preferences of discourse communities become discernible. The main reason for this seems to be that scenarios provide a sufficiently rich conceptual structure to be argumentatively and rhetorically exploitable (Musolff, 2006, p. 35).

The SPACE-CONTAINER scenario is one of these scenarios that can reveal the political preferences which justify strict or even anti-immigration policies by a given country. In this scenario, the country is conceptualized as a *container* with *boundaries*. These *container boundaries* separate those *inside* and those *outside*; they separate people who are already in the container from immigrants who are *outside* and want to *move into* the *container* through its *openings* such as *doors* which can be *open* or *closed*. This *container* has a *limited capacity* and immigrants *moving inside* will raise the *pressure in the container* which may lead to *explosion* (Musolff, 2017, p. 314).

2.4.5 Critical Metaphor Analysis

Charteris-Black (2004, 2005, 2007, 2014) outlined a pragmatic cognitive framework for the analysis of metaphor in public discourse. Drawing on the tradition of Critical Discourse

Analysis and applying the Lakoffian framework for metaphor investigation in corpora, he introduced the notion of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), arguing that "metaphor can only be explained by considering the interdependency of its semantic, pragmatic and cognitive dimensions" (Charteris-Black, 2004, p.2). Metaphor is then defined according to the following three criteria (Charteris-Black, 2004).

Linguistic Criteria

A metaphor is defined as a word or phrase that results in semantic tension by reification, personification and depersonification. Reification consists in "referring to something that is abstract using a word or phrase that in other contexts is concrete" (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 21). Personification consists in "referring to something that is inanimate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is animate" (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 21). Depersonification consists in "referring to something that is animate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something inanimate." (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 21).

Cognitive Criteria

Metaphor occurs when there is a shift in the conceptual system. Charteris-Black (2004) states that such shifts are based on "the relevance of, or psychological association between, the attributes of the referent of a linguistic expression in its *original* source context and those of the referent in its novel target context" (p. 21) (italics in the original).

Pragmatic Criteria

The motivations underlying a given incongruous linguistic expression and reflecting the speaker's hidden purposes explain the pragmatic basis of metaphors. Charteris-Black (2004) argues that "A metaphor is an incongruous linguistic representation that has the underlying purpose of influencing opinions and judgments by persuasion; this purpose is often covert

and reflects speaker intentions within particular contexts of use” (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 21).

The metaphor definition proposed by Charteris-Black (2004) guides and reflects CMA methodology involving – in addition to the first stage of contextual analysis – three main stages: identification of the linguistic evidence, interpretation of the conceptual metaphors on the basis of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and explanation of the social agency. The conceptual structure is the basis for interpreting the linguistic evidence and the pragmatic level is the basis for explaining the motivation behind the selection of given metaphors over others by writers and speakers. Charteris-Black (2004) asserts that "a complete theory of metaphor must also incorporate a pragmatic perspective that interprets metaphor choice with reference to the *purposes of use within specific discourse contexts*" (p. 247) (italics in the original). The pragmatic dimension can be seen through the two pragmatic functions of metaphor being persuasion and evaluation. CMA associates the persuasive function of metaphor with the pragmatic notion of underlying speaker’s meaning, arguing that “metaphor is effective in realizing the speaker’s underlying goal of persuading the hearer because of its potential for moving us” (p. 11).

Furthermore, Charteris-Black (2004) highlights the pragmatic cooperative aspect or “joint activity of meaning creation” (p. 12) required when a metaphor is involved; and stresses the social interpersonal function of metaphor claiming that feelings and attitudes can be expressed indirectly through metaphor “because a literal statement of a value system is unlikely to take into account the feeling of the addressee: it is likely to count as an imposition of a set of values” (p. 12). Earlier, CMT writers stressed metaphor’s “power of evaluation” (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 65) by passing not only the logical mapping between source and target domains but also subjective judgments and feelings. Averill (1990) distinguished between explanatory metaphors meant to transfer knowledge and evaluative ones “intended to convey an attitude or mood” (p. 106). The evaluative aspect of conceptual metaphors also echoes the notion of ‘appraisal’ in systemic functional linguistics. Appraisal is viewed as part of the interpersonal aspect of language useful in the negotiation of social relationships (Martin & Rose, 2003, p. 22). In the field of corpus linguistics, Sinclair (1987, 1991) and Louw (1993) introduced the concept of semantic prosody as “a consistent aura of meaning

with which a form is imbued by its collocates” (Louw, 1993, p. 157), and stressed the potential pragmatic motivation behind word selection.

Critical Metaphor Analysis seems to capture the different perspectives on metaphor ranging between metaphor as a linguistic phenomenon, the cognitive interface advanced by Van Dijk (2009) in the form of conceptual metaphors and keys⁹, the importance of the linguistic aspect of metaphors, and the socio-critical aspect and the pragmatic goals of persuasion and evaluation based on both the linguistic and the cognitive. Figure 2-2 (Charteris-Black 2004, p. 248) clarifies further the proposed discourse model for metaphor analysis:

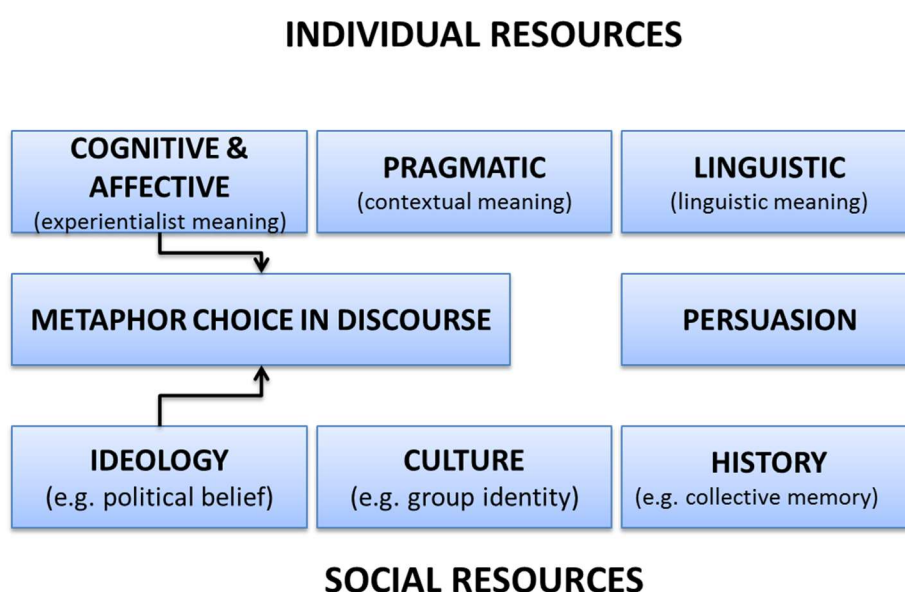


Figure 2-2: A Discourse Model for Metaphor¹⁰

More recently, Charteris-Black (2014) advanced a more detailed account of Critical Metaphor Analysis and subsequently the explanation of metaphor use by identifying a

⁹A conceptual key is “a higher level metaphor that explains how several conceptual metaphors are related” (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 16).

¹⁰Charteris-Black, J. (2004). *Corpus approaches to critical metaphor analysis*. Houndmills, Basingstoke; Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Reproduced with permission of SCSC.

number of purposes underlying particularly political speeches. Figure 2-3 (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 201) presents these purposes and provides a brief definition for each¹¹:

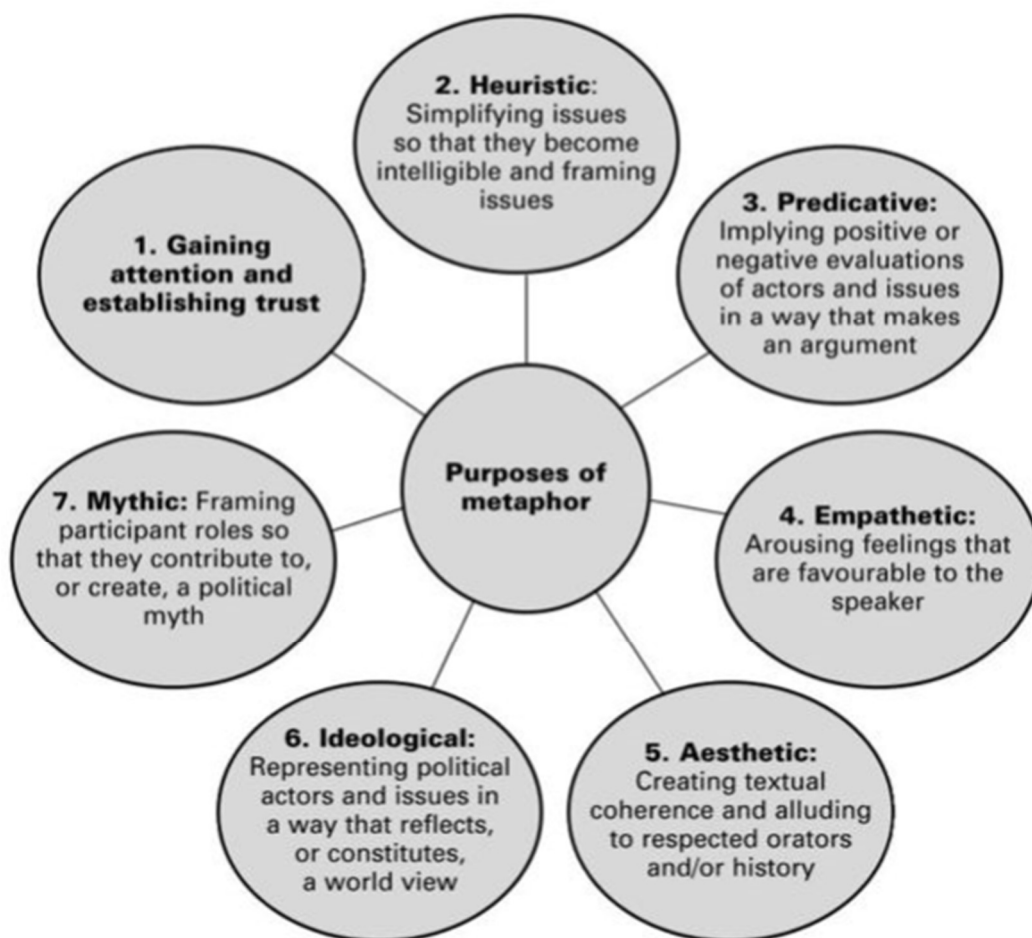


Figure 2-3: Persuasive Purposes of Metaphors¹²

Metaphors can be used to achieve a general rhetorical purpose of grabbing attention and bonding with the audience and followers, as they can be used for a more aesthetic purpose such as creating textual coherence or alluding to historical events or figures. Metaphors can also be employed to achieve a predicative purpose – that is to convey negative and positive evaluations of groups of people, ethnicities, countries or issues such as revolutions, immigration, and conflicts. Metaphors can also be motivated by a heuristic purpose not only to simplify complex issues and make them more intelligible but also frame issues and present

¹¹More details on these purposes can be found in Charteris-Black (2014).

¹² Charteris-Black, J. (2014). *Analysing political speeches: Rhetoric, discourse and metaphor*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Reproduced with permission of Palgrave Macmillan.

them from a particular perspective by hiding one aspect and highlighting another. A metaphor can be employed particularly to arouse the feelings of the audience such as fear, courage or anger thus also bonding with them and creating an emotional response that is suitable for the political purpose of the speaker or the writer. When a metaphor is used to form or reflect a specific world view of social and political issues, it clearly achieves an ideological goal. These purposes do interact and the same metaphor can achieve different rhetorical and discursive functions.

Using metaphor that attracts the attention of the media is part of using language that is easy to remember which Aristotle stressed as one of the ways to be a persuasive orator, a rhetorical strategy that inspires followers. In the case of media, orators such as politicians need to gain the attention of the media so that the speeches they give are reported and therefore inspire their followers. In 1991, before the invasion of Kuwait, Saddam Hussein used the '*mother of all battles*' to describe the Gulf War. This personification of war can be explained as having different purposes. Hussein drew on Quranic verses where the holiest city of Islam Mecca is referred to as '*Umm al-Qura*' or '*mother of all cities*'. By doing so, he caught the attention not only of his army and people, but also of the international media. He tried to establish trust by shaping this war into a religious frame thus drawing on the ideology of Jihad or religious war.

The metaphor '*Arab Spring*' achieves a heuristic purpose as it frames an abstract concept of political change using seasonal change thus indicating transition from the cold gloomy cloudy weather of winter to a warm colourful beautiful season. By doing so, it conceals the suffering of protestors and revolutionaries and the bloodshed. Furthermore, by highlighting these uprisings as a natural phenomenon that cannot be avoided, the metaphor first serves to hide the agency of other foreign countries that were 'involved' in this '*Arab Spring*' such as the military coalition apparently backing the revolution in Libya. In line with the '*Arab Spring*', the '*Jasmine Revolution*' metaphor coined by the French newspaper *Libération* emphasized the very appealing smell and soft white leaves of beautiful jasmine flowers, and served to frame the Tunisian Revolution by hiding the killing of more than 300 protestors during the uprising. Thus, the agency of the toppled Tunisian autocrat who was supported by the French in trying to stop the protests by using force was glossed over. Both '*Arab*

Spring’ and ‘Jasmine Revolution’ also served a predicative purpose which is giving a positive evaluation of the uprisings. By coining this phrase the French newspaper attracted the attention of Tunisian people because it appealed to a typically Tunisian flower that is very appealing to Tunisian people. The metaphor circulated more generally and was picked up by international and local media. These two metaphors illustrate the interaction of heuristic and predicative purposes with a more general rhetorical purpose of gaining attention.

An investigation of the conceptualization of ‘Arabs’ and ‘Americans’ in discourse from a critical perspective can benefit from such an integrative model (CMA) particularly at its explanatory stage and the different purposes outlined¹³.

Metaphor research approaches including CMA have focused on the analysis and interpretation of metaphors in public and political discourse and on uncovering their discursive ideological goals to influence audiences, frame perceptions, and attract a favourable response to the metaphor producers and user (Lakoff, 1996; Musolff, 2004; Beer & De Landtsheer, 2004; Goatly, 2007). However, the main criticism raised is that there seem to be some assumptions about the impact of these metaphors. More specifically, there is an assumption about people’s understanding of the metaphors used in political discourse. Claiming that the ‘Arab Spring’ metaphor has actually framed people’s understanding of the political change as an inevitable natural phenomenon has not been empirically investigated. In other words, an empirical case has not been made for the view that this metaphor had actually influenced people as metaphor analysis proposes, or as its producer may have hoped. In this regard, and as put by Perrez and Reuchamps (2015), “the focus switches from the reasons why some political actors *use* a particular metaphor — that is, the production side — to its alleged *impact on the public* — that is, the reception side” (p. 166). In view of that, Perrez and Reuchamps (2015) stress that

The next step in the study of political metaphors is therefore to explore, from an interdisciplinary perspective, their political impact, not only in terms of

¹³ See Figure 4-1, p. 34 for the application of CMA methodology to the current study.

their presence in political discourse (the production side) but also in terms of their reception by the discourse recipients (p. 168).

While being aware of an emerging trend in metaphor research that is ‘reception’ oriented, the focus of the current study is still within the ‘production side’ as it attempts to interpret and analyse the use of metaphors in the conceptualizing of Arabs and Americans in news discourse.

Table 2.1 attempts to pinpoint the main correspondences between different frameworks touching to some extent on the socio-cognitive dimension of discourse and metaphor as discussed above. It shows in particular the connection between a number of key concepts in different critical and cognitive-based approaches and Halliday’s (1995) language functions.

Table 2.1: The Socio-cognitive Dimension of Discourse and Metaphor in Different Approaches

Functional linguistics – (Halliday, 1985)	The socio-cognitive approach to discourse (Van Dijk, 1988, 1991, 2008)	Analysis of metaphors in political discourse (Musolff, 2004, 2006, 2016, 2017)	CMA (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2014)
Ideational	- Cognition - Mental models	- Metaphor scenarios	- Conceptual metaphors and keys - Heuristic purpose
	- Individual mind	- Participants	- Speaker’s intersubjectivity
Interpersonal	- Social cognition - Knowledge - Attitudes - Ideology	- Socio-cultural mediated information - Beliefs - Attitudes - Ideology	- Value system - Ideology - Empathy - Evaluation - Gaining attention
	- Society	- Discourse community	- Discourse community
Textual	- Discourse structures	- Discourse narratives	- Discourse acts
	- Interaction between discourse and community at level of individual cognition	- Interaction between discourse and society at the level of activated specific metaphor scenarios	- Joint activity of meaning creation: negotiation of meaning between speaker and hearer - Aesthetic purpose

2.4.6 Classification of Metaphors: Source Domains

In Conceptual Metaphor Theory, as discussed above in Section 2.3., a major distinction is drawn between the conceptual metaphor which is the understanding of one concept (target domain) in terms of another concept (source domain) and the linguistic metaphor which is the linguistic expression of that understanding. The categorization of the linguistic metaphors can be done on the basis of these two constitutive domains mapped in the conceptual structure (Charteris-Black 2004, 2005; Semino, 2005; Stefanowitch, 2006). Charteris-Black (2005) states that

There are two ways of organizing metaphors; the first is to classify the words that make them by the first or primary meanings of these words (their ‘source domains’) such as ‘journey’ or ‘family’ metaphors. An alternative approach is to classify metaphors by their secondary meanings – that is by what they mean when used as metaphors (their ‘target domains’) (p. 66).

Drawing on many works on metaphor but mainly Kövecses et al. (2010), Table 2.2 presents a number of the most common target domains and the source domains associated with them.

Table 2.2: Common Target and Corresponding Source Domains

Target Domain	Source Domain
Psychological and mental states	
Emotion	FORCE
Morality	ECONOMIC TRANSACTIONS (BUSINESS) FORCES STRAIGHTNESS LIGHT AND DARK UP-DOWN ORIENTATION
Social groups and processes	<i>(Continue)</i>

Politics	FAMILY WAR AND CONFLICT PHYSICAL POWER SPORT SHOW/ENTERTAINMENT GAMES BUSINESS JOURNEY LIGHT AND DARK HEALTH PLANTS BUILDING RELIGION PLAY COMPETITION
Business	WAR GAME SPORT
Economy	BUILDING PLANTS JOURNEY (MOVEMENT, DIRECTION)
Society/Nation/Country	PERSON FAMILY MACHINES HUMAN BODY CONTAINER
Human (social, political) relationships	PLANTS MACHINES BUILDINGS PROXIMITY DISTANCE
Personal experiences and events	
Religion God Believers	PERSON: FATHER, SHEPHERD, KING GOD'S CHILDREN, SHEEP, SUBJECTS
Death	DEPARTURE – JOURNEY
Birth	ARRIVAL – JOURNEY
Time	AN OBJECT THAT MOVES MONEY
Life	JOURNEY
Events and actions	MOVEMENT AND FORCE

Other source domains include different basic entities, such as physical objects and substances as well as their different qualities (shape, color, size, hardness, transparency, sharpness, weight) (Kövecses et al., 2010). Since a number of these source domains and others are of particular importance and relevance to the current study and its critical focus, we think that a more detailed discussion at this stage is necessary.

In this discussion, we classify source domains into three broad categories. The first category includes source domains and image schemas that are closely related to concrete body action such as moving. The second category includes human-oriented actions that involve more abstract and complex human actions such as war or states such as possession. The third category includes non-human entities such as objects and animals.

2.4.6.1 FORCE and CONTAINER

At the conceptual level, our basic experiences are revealed as image schemas such as MOTION, FORCE and CONTAINER. In this regard, Kövecses et al. (2010) state that “basic physical experiences give rise to what are called image-schemas, and the image-schemas structure many of our abstract concepts metaphorically” (p. 43). What is important about these image schemas is that they can give the basis of other concepts and thus provide them with more structure. Johnson (1987) stresses that

... they have a few basic elements or components that are related by definite structures, and yet they have a certain flexibility. As a result of this simple structure, they are a chief means for achieving order in our experience so that we can comprehend and reason about it (p. 29).

The basic elements of the FORCE schema are essentially the source and the target of the force, its intensity and direction (Johnson, 1987, p. 42-44, 90). The FORCE schema is explained by our interaction with the world and how we experience forces affecting us as when we feel and notice the strength of the wind when it resists our movement forward (Johnson, 1987, p. 42); we may also want to resist this force by walking against the wind (Kövecses et al., 2010, p. 43). Furthermore, there are different kinds of forces such as physical, natural, gravitational, magnetic etc. that can be experienced by people in their interaction with the world and which may be resisted (Kövecses et al., 2010; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Kövecses et al. (2010) maintain that we understand aspects of actions such as cause and change, in terms of force and movement:

Physical, natural, biological, and social forces have a variety of effects on the human body, the most important one being that they are seen as moving the body in all sorts of ways or effect changes in body posture and expressive behavior. The generic-level conceptual metaphor CAUSES ARE FORCES can be thought of as a generalized form of such forces affecting the body (p. 117).

Following Talmy (1988), Kövecses et al. (2010) developed a model of force based on the idea of “two forceful entities in interaction” (p. 108), the focal one is called *agonist* and the other *antagonist*. The agonist is the entity experiencing a specific force while the antagonist is the entity that tries to exert force on the agonist. The antagonist force may cause the other entity – the agonist – to do something. If the agonist changes, then it is weaker.

FORCE is found in earlier studies to be one of the most common source domains (Deignan, 1995; Kövecses et al., 2010). Kövecses et al. (2010) argue that one aspect of the target domain of POLITICS is “Political power is conceptualized as physical force” (p. 24). This is in close relation to the kind of public discourse examined in this research. There can be interaction between FORCE and CONTAINER when force is at play in causing a change of location or direction into or out of a bounded region as from inside the container to outside of it (*expel*) or when that movement is directed towards the container. The interaction between FORCE and CONTAINER can be seen more clearly in Figure 2-4:

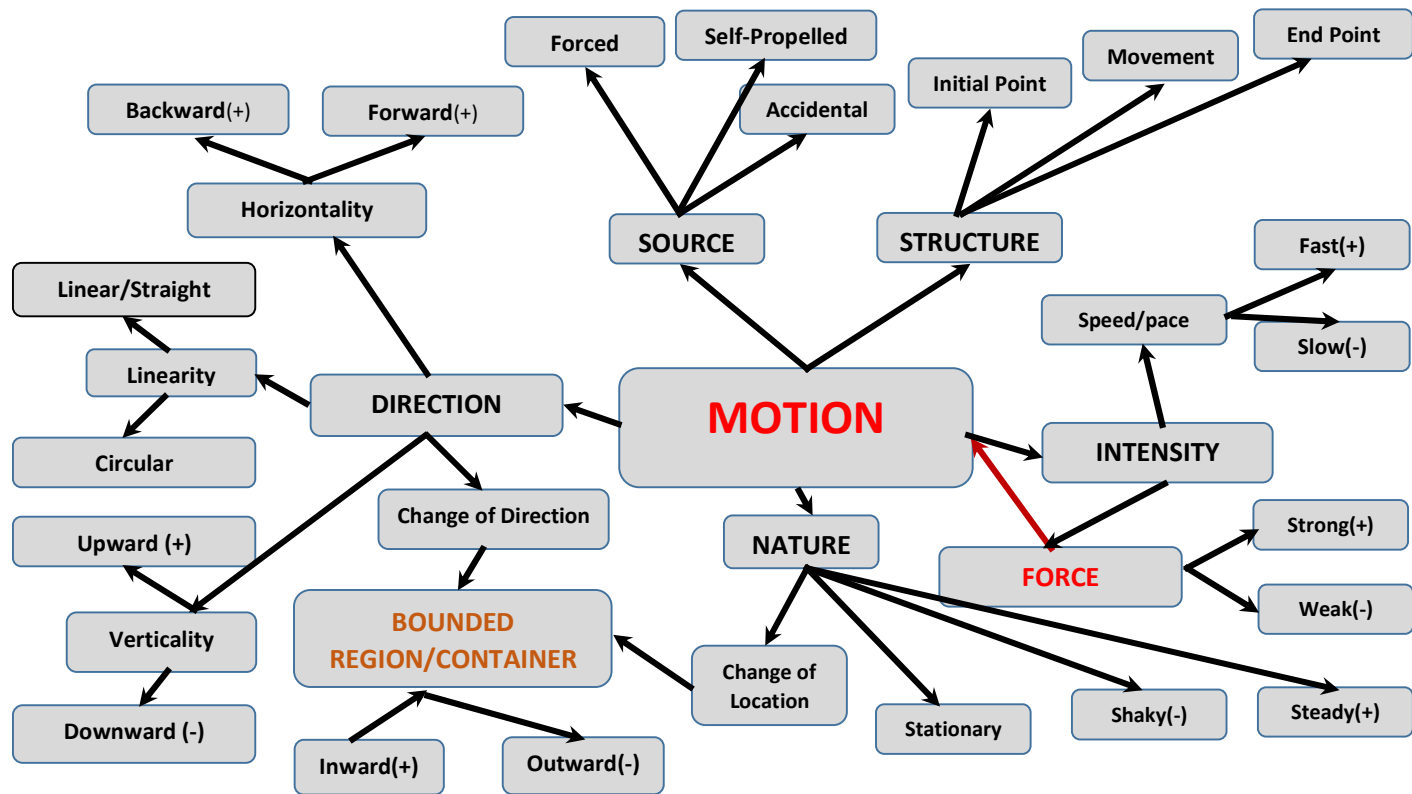


Figure 2-4: Motion, Force and Container Interaction

FORCE IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER invokes the in-out or CONTAINER image schema which in public discourse brings about the distinction between the group that is outside the container and the one that is inside; or the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2006; Musolff, 2011, 2015). Being inside the container can be viewed in a more positive light than being outside (Charteris-Black, 2006; Chilton, 2004; Goatly, 2007) especially if the container is a country or a nation.

There is also an intricately close interaction between force and movement, as when force is at play there is a given movement, or for a given movement to take place, a given force is needed. The EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor advanced by Lakoff (1993) proposes that ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS, CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS (into or out of bounded regions) and CAUSES ARE FORCES that control movements (p. 15). He adds that “causation can be conceptualized in terms of forced motion to a new location” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, p. 249). Johnson (1987) states that “our experience of force usually involves the movement of some object (mass) through space in some direction” (p.43). He also expands on the close interaction between force and direction by stating that “force has a *vector* quality, a directionality [...] the force is exerted in one or more directions” (p. 43).

2.4.6.2 MOTION, MOVEMENT and JOURNEY

A given action or activity is conceptualized as MOVEMENT which is grounded in our human experience (Goatly, 2007; Kövecses et al., 2010; Lakoff, 1993) and that “can involve a change of location, or it can be stationary” (Kövecses et al., 2010, p. 22). MOVEMENT refers to the specific instantiation of the MOTION schema as in movement forward. Talking about movement then involves the source of movement (self-propelled, forced or accidental) its nature (stationary or involving a change of location, steady or shaky), direction (upwards or downwards, forwards or backwards, circular or straight), and intensity (fast or slow, forceful or weak) (See Figure 2-4 above). It also involves a change of direction (for instance in-out) which can be closely linked to change of location. We can move from one location to another as we can change direction when we move into the same location/bounded region or out of it, which explains at a more specific level possible interaction with the CONTAINER metaphor.

Johnson (1987) describes schemas as “patterns [that] emerge as meaningful structures for us chiefly at the level of our bodily movements through space, our manipulation of objects, and our perceptual interactions” (p. 29). The MOTION schema (Kövecses et al., 2010) presupposes an initial point, movement and end point. Thus, it gives structure to the concept of JOURNEY (Kövecses et al., 2010). Journey is a motion in direction metaphor introduced by Lakoff (1993) to refer to long term purposeful activities. The difference between movement and journey in conceptual theory is that a journey is a type of movement itself but which involves a change of location and hence may be associated with direction. Motion is one of the other main schemas outlined in the framework of Cognitive Analysis along with Force or Container (Kövecses et al, 2010, p. 43).

Kövecses et al. (2010) state the relation between journey and motion clearly and assert that “most apparently non-image schematic concepts (such as journey) seem to have an image-schematic basis” (p. 44) which, in the case of journey, is the experiential physical motion for its three elements of starting point, movement and end point. These elements would correspond to departure, travel itself and destination. This is echoed in Johnson’s (1987) FROM-TO or PATH schema which presupposes a starting point A, a terminal point B and the path from A to B.

The importance of spatial image schemas in particular is that they can be used to convey different types of evaluation. Kövecses et al. (2010) note that

It has been pointed out that various spatial image schemas are bipolar and bivalent. Thus, *whole*, *center*, *link*, *balance*, *in*, *goal*, and *front* are mostly regarded as positive, while their opposites, *not whole*, *periphery*, *no link*, *imbalance*, *out*, *no goal*, and *back* are seen as negative (p. 40).

It follows that JOURNEY metaphors seem to show generally positive evaluation particularly for the underlying image schema: SOURCE-PATH-GOAL. Lakoff (1993) emphasises the purposefulness of a given activity/life by stating that “In our culture, life is assumed to be

purposeful, that is, we are expected to have goals in life” (p. 223). Later, Lakoff and Johnson (1999) propose that the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor has as one of its entailments that STARTING A PURPOSEFUL ACTION IS STARTING OUT ON A PATH (p. 192). The three parts that make up the journey schema and particularly the destination part inherently presuppose a positive attitude when mapped onto a more abstract domain/concept such as life, education or politics. When setting out on a journey, we do that in view of a destination that we want to reach; and in life generally we start an activity in view of a given goal that we want to achieve. Reaching the destination is achieving the goal aimed at, thus fulfilling the purpose of the journey. In the same line Kövecses (2005) argues that “if we want to achieve a purpose, we often have to move to particular destinations; sometimes we have to make choices among the paths that lead to destinations to achieve our goals” (p. 47).

Deignan (2005) reiterates that a journey is essentially “the physical progress towards a destination” (p. 17) which implies the importance of the destination and the nature of along-the-path itself. Starting as such does not seem to be as interesting as a mere declaration of departure. Analysing the use of metaphor in reconciliation discourse between a bomber and a victim’s daughter in the context of political violence, Cameron (2007) found that journey is one of the metaphors used to describe the reconciliation process. It is actually about two individual journeys, the victim’s individual healing process and the bomber’s individual journey ending with accepting “responsibility for the human consequences of his act” (Cameron, 2007, p. 218). It is the outcome of the journeys – healing and acknowledging responsibility - which makes them seem more positive, especially the bomber’s journey.

Charteris-Black (2011) found that Tony Blair made use of JOURNEY metaphors to stress the process (path) of change and modernization and the worthiness of the outcome. In the American context, JOURNEY metaphors are generally positive. Charteris-Black (2004) emphasizes that “Journey metaphors have a strong positive orientation: even when negative aspects of journeys are highlighted by the metaphor – such as *burdens* to bear – the effort that is necessary to achieve anything is evaluated as worthwhile” (p. 93).

JOURNEY metaphors, however, can be used differently. Comparing metaphors for LIFE produced by two groups of interviewees - Americans and Hungarians – Kövecses (2005) found that both used JOURNEY metaphors to talk about life, though differently:

... they both used the journey metaphor, saying on the American side that we *travel through life, look back on the road, having to keep moving, and striving to reach our destination* in life, and saying on the Hungarian side that life is *a big journey, the roads sometimes being bumpy*, and that in life the *right and best path is not indicated* (p. 86) (italics in the original).

Charteris-Black (2011) also found that JOURNEY metaphors used by Bill Clinton represent positively a “powerful regenerative experience of life and rebirth” (p. 212) by contrasting it to a journey that lacks purposeful movement (*drift*) and thus implying this second journey is negative.

The importance of JOURNEY metaphors is that they are structural in the sense that they structure one “kind of thing or experience in terms of another kind” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 178) thus allowing for a detailed description of a given concept in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Structural metaphors provide rich knowledge from the human physical experience that, when projected onto abstract concepts, delineate them. Accordingly, the concept of journey allows us, for instance, to apply its constituent elements to other concepts. In addition to departure, path and destination, the physical experience of journey involves also the traveller(s), the obstacles that may be encountered, the movement involved, the vehicle used, and the distance covered.

A number of other movement metaphors are distinguished for their evaluative aspects such as GOOD IS MOVING UP and BAD IS MOVING DOWN; MAKING PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOVEMENT, UNDOING PROGRESS IS BACKWARD MOVEMENT and LACK OF PROGRESS IS LACK OF MOVEMENT (Lakoff, 1993, p. 16-17); RATE OF PROGRESS IS RATE OF MOTION FORWARD, SPEED OF ACTION IS SPEED OF MOTION (Kövecses et al., 2010, p. 165) and SUCCESS IS SPEED (Goatly, 2007, p. 52).

2.4.6.3 PROXIMITY and DISTANCE

In addition to bodily movement through space, other image schemas that organize our physical experience involve different space relations such as CONTACT, ADJACENCY, LINK, NEAR and FAR orientation, CYCLE, BALANCE, CENTER and PERIPHERY, VERTICAL and HORIZONTAL, STRAIGHT and CURVED, and FRONT and BACK (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999; Johnson, 1987). In this regard, Lakoff (1987) reiterates that “Image schemas are relatively simple structures that constantly recur in our everyday bodily experience: CONTAINERS, PATHS, LINKS, FORCES, BALANCE, and in various orientations and relations: UP-DOWN, FRONT-BACK, PART-WHOLE, CENTER-PERIPHERY, etc.” (p. 267).

Of special importance to this research are image schemas of ADJACENCY, LINKS, CONTACT, or NEAR-FAR orientation; in other words, metaphors that indicate proximity and distance. PROXIMITY-DISTANCE metaphors are used to describe relationships and convey concepts of intimacy or lack of intimacy, strong effect, similarity or difference. Lakoff & Johnson (1999) state that “intimacy does tend to correlate significantly with proximity, affection with warmth, and achieving purposes with reaching destinations” (p. 59). PROXIMITY-DISTANCE metaphors are found to be used in different discourses to describe relationships. Chilton (2004) stresses that “Social (and political) relationships are lexicalized, and conceptualized, in terms of space metaphors” and that “spatial representations, including metaphorical ones, take on an important aspect in political discourse” (p. 57). Examples are ‘close allies’, ‘distant relations’, ‘rapprochement’ (Chilton, 2004; Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

In addition to the bodily movements, these images or embodied schema operate at the level of our perception as well as physical manipulation of objects. Perception involves the different senses of the human body of seeing and hearing. Manipulation is the motor skill manipulating the physical object. Figure 2-5 shows bodily experience as the basis for the different schemas and source domains interpreted, including motion.

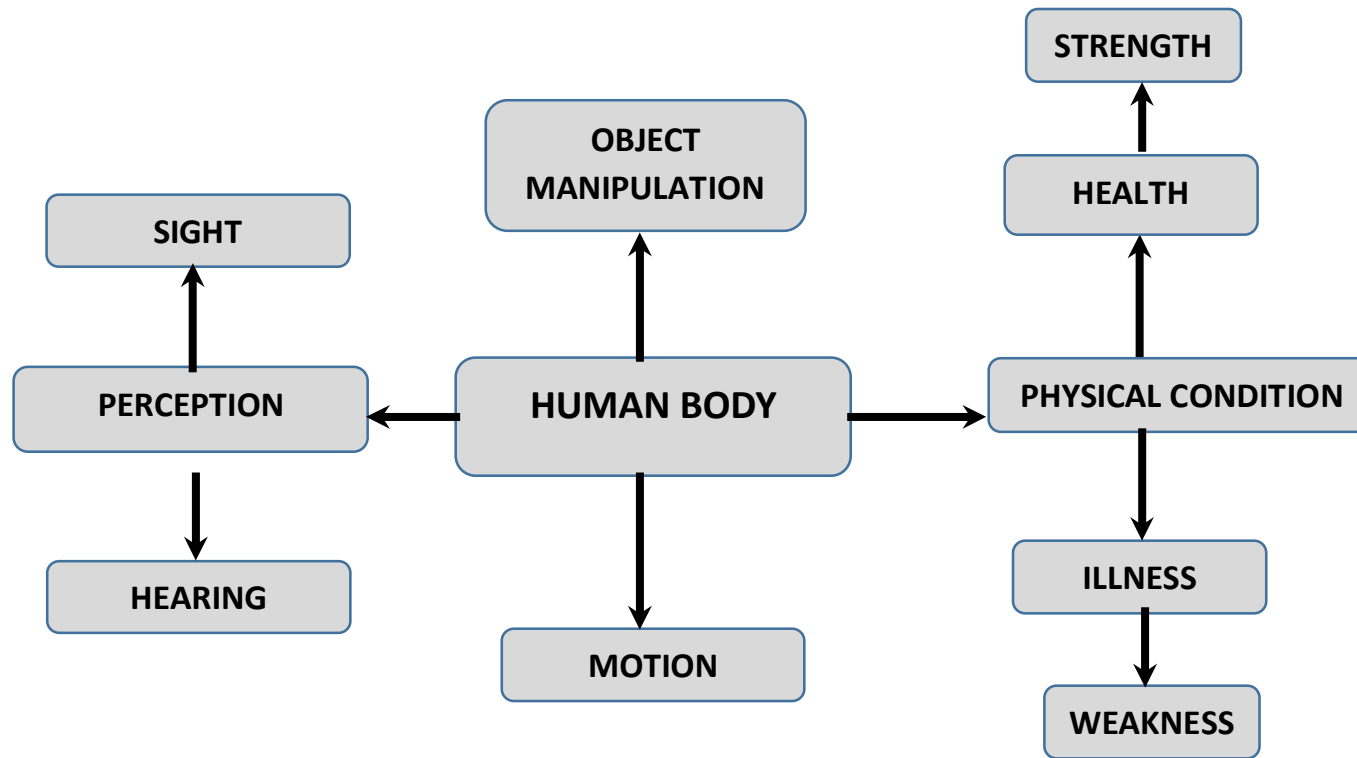


Figure 2-5: Human Body Experiences

2.4.6.4 PHYSICAL MANIPULATION and SIGHT

Lakoff & Johnson (1980) define MANIPULATION of an object to be a “motor activity, based on the nature of motor interactions with objects” (p. 162). In *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), to manipulate an object is defined as “To handle, esp. with skill or dexterity; to turn, reposition, reshape, etc., manually or by means of a tool or machine.” Manipulation implies the following basic aspects:

Perceivable physical act (motor): when we handle, hold or manipulate an object, using generally our hands, we perform a physical action facilitated by the muscles. The act should be perceivable by other people.

Intention/Purpose: when we use our hands to hold, give, take, place, replace, remove, seize, grasp a given object, we probably do so intentionally and for a purpose. There is a more active aspect than in seeing as you may see some object just by it coming in the field of your vision. You do not perform the same effort as when you stretch your hand or move your fingers. Actually, if we try to put seeing and manipulating on a timescale, we would probably start with a visual image as a step prior to manipulation. It is the sight of the object that can precede handling it. However, manipulating an object does not necessarily depend on seeing it.

Contact and control: manipulation presupposes immediate contact between the human body and a given object. There is no distance as is the case with, for example, seeing or hearing. In addition, it is the kind of contact that implies the ability to control the motion, position, shape and possibly other aspects of the object. The degree of control of an object may also range from merely touching an object to grasping it. In the same line Lakoff and Johnson (1999) associate physical manipulation of objects with the voluntary use of force in their account of causation and argue that “At the heart of causation is its¹⁴ most fundamental

¹⁴ ‘Its’ in this quote refers to prototypical causation at the very opening of a book section about causation, and should not be confused with physical manipulation. For clarity, more context is included in this footnote: “Prototypical Causation. At the heart of causation is the most fundamental case: the manipulation of

case: the manipulation of objects by force, the volitional use of bodily force to change something physically by direct contact in one's immediate environment" (p. 177).

The conceptual source domain indicating the physical manipulation of objects is commonly used to refer to mental activity. Similar to sight, the relationship between the manipulation of objects and mental activity can in fact be viewed through the MIND IS A BODY conceptual metaphor (Sweetser, 1991; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999; Kövecses et al., 2010). Jäkel (1995) argues that [mental activity...] "is conceptualized metaphorically in terms of the physical manipulation of solid objects" (p. 197). Sweetser (1991) suggests that "Mental activity is seen as the *manipulation* and *holding* of objects"¹⁵ (p. 20) and more specifically she draws parallels between mental manipulation, control and physical manipulation.

One of the entailments of THINKING IS OBJECT MANIPULATION is that "Thoughts are objective. Hence, they are the same for everyone; that is, they are universal ... As such, thoughts are objects; they are objective, universal, able to be sent to others, and, most important of all, can be 'analysed' into their parts" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 249-251).

Manipulating an object physically indicates controlling it physically. This entails that control is physical control. Studying a number of idioms based on "hand", Kövecses et al. (2010) propose the mapping CONTROL IS HOLDING (SOMETHING IN THE HAND) and explains that "If we hold an object in the hand, we can do whatever we wish to do with it. Thus, the ability or possibility of directly manipulating an object as we wish can be regarded as the basis for this metaphor" (p. 245). Goatly (2007) establishes very clearly the possible

objects by force, the volitional use of bodily force to change something physically by direct contact in one's immediate environment. It is conscious volitional human agency acting via direct physical force that is at the center of our concept of causation. Prototypical causation is the direct application of force resulting in motion or some other physical change" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 177).

¹⁵Sweetser (1991) contends that vision or sight itself is physical manipulation. She posits a triangular relationship whereby mental manipulation is physical manipulation, sight is knowledge under control (domain of vision) and therefore sight is physical manipulation (p. 36). However, in this research we consider sight as source domain only and do not look at it as a target domain; we then adhere to Sweetser's (1991) argument that "Mental activity is seen as the *manipulation* and *holding* of objects" (p. 20).

motivation behind the link between mental activity or manipulation and control when he states that

As we develop through the first two or three years we acquire the ability to handle objects with more and more control, initially grasping with all fingers in a palm grasp, and progressing until we can pick up small objects between our thumb and index finger; this not only provides the source for UNDERSTAND IS HOLD / GRASP, but also the motivation for CONTROL IS HANDLE (p. 15).

Perception is “the process of becoming aware of physical objects, phenomena, etc., through the senses” (OED) or the “conception of the object by means of our sensory apparatus” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 162). Seeing or sight is one of those senses and implies the following basic aspects:

Perspective: when we ‘see’ some object, we generally do so from a given angle. If we stand at different points, angles and distances from the object then we may see different aspects of the same object. Two different persons standing at the same angle will most likely see the same thing which accounts for considering the sense of vision as a primary source of objective knowledge (Sweetser, 1991, p. 38–39). Johnson (1987) notes that “vision is more or less identical for different people who can take up the same viewpoint. It thus seems to provide a basis for shared, public knowledge” (p. 109). He adds that “There are, of course, other experiential bases for knowledge metaphors (such as touching, hearing, and tasting), but none of these is as dominant as vision” (p. 109).

Scope: the field of vision that is the area that the eyes can see; metaphorically, that which is under sight is under control. Similarly, that which can be reached by hand, grasped or taken is also under control.

Focus: when we see or look at an object, the sense of seeing involves less vagueness, more concentration and choice than hearing or smelling, because we direct our eyes towards that object.

Distance: though we direct our eyes towards an object, not much activity is involved as we still keep some distance from the object (Sweetser, 1991, p. 44). Seeing then does not imply any further physical act as for instance the case of manipulating. Maintaining physical distance is essentially what could explain the idea of objectivity attached to seeing (Sweetser, 1991, p. 38–9).

Light: Seeing is also a primary sense and is activated almost immediately, whether for a child or for a non-blind person, provided that there are no obstacles between the eye and the object. A first condition is the presence of sufficient light, depending on which the quality of seeing is determined. Thus if you are ‘in the dark’, you can’t possibly see or be seen.

The source domain SEEING is commonly used to refer to mental activity. The action of seeing translates into an action of evaluation of what is around us. We use our eyes to relate to things around us and subsequently to form attitudes about them. In other words, when we see we think without making much effort. Kövecses et al. (2010) actually note that “Less-active aspects of thought are understood in terms of perception, such as seeing” (p. 24). Earlier, Johnson (1987) proposed KNOWING IS SEEING, Lakoff & Johnson (1980) UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING and (Dundes, 1972) SEEING IS BELIEVING. Correspondence between seeing and mental activity can be seen through a more general mapping that proposes that MIND IS A BODY (Sweetser, 1991; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999):

MENTAL MANIPULATION IS PHYSICAL MANIPULATION

KNOWLEDGE/MENTAL VISION IS SIGHT

INTERNAL RECEPTIVITY IS HEARING

EMOTION IS FEELING

PERSONAL PREFERENCE IS TASTE (adapted from Sweetser, 1991, p. 38).

PHYSICAL MANIPULATION and SIGHT are important in the study of metaphors since they are primary sources of objective data, especially in comparison with other senses that are rather subjective and emotional (Sweetser, 1991, p. 38).

2.4.6.5 PHYSICAL CONDITION

The physical condition of the human body includes health and illness, weakness and strength. These semantic categories are among the common source domains identified in metaphor research. Health and illness are closely linked to the strength and weakness of the human body. When the body is ill, it necessarily becomes weaker; it cannot be physically strong and fit. Put on a scale, health and illness can be viewed as opposite extremities with varying degrees in between. Catching 'flu is nothing like being attacked by cancer. Reference to illness would then imply almost naturally the need for a remedy and the need to recover to a healthy state of being. Charteris-Black (2011) maintains that “drawing on knowledge of illness implies the possibility of being restored to health through a cure” (p. 101).

The source domains HEALTH/ STRENGTH and ILLNESS/ WEAKNESS are used more commonly than not to refer to the economy (Charteris-Black, 2004; Kövecses et al., 2010), to the social and economic state (Charteris-Black, 2011) and to political military power (Kövecses et al., 2010). In the cognitive tradition, these concepts are viewed within a higher level concept that is PERSON. Kövecses et al. (2010) stress that “Common ways of comprehending society and nation involve the source concepts of person and family” (p. 24). He proposes that society is one “abstract complex system¹⁶” (p. 157) like others (company, economy, country, political system etc.) that can be understood via the source domain PERSON. In the same vein, Charteris-Black (2004) explains how

¹⁶Kövecses et al. (2010) state that “... society is a part of abstract complex systems. As a matter of fact, I suggest that the level that is above humans in the Great Chain is what I have been calling “abstract complex systems” and that it includes society as one of its categories. It should be noticed that all the cases of abstract complex systems involve human beings and their ideas, as well as a variety of other abstract and concrete entities and particular relationships among them” (p. 156-157).

The conceptual key SOCIETY IS A PERSON leads to the conceptualisation of social entities that are experiencing problems as if these problems were types of illness and the stages of these problems in terms of the stages of an illness. Since most of us have experienced loss of health at some point in our lives this is an easily accessible conceptual frame (p. 150).

Kövecses et al. (2010) expand on this argument and propose “a more precise version: AN ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEM IS THE HUMAN BODY” (p. 157), therefore SOCIETY IS A HUMAN BODY. Levine (1995) points out the significance of using this metaphor to legitimize particular aspects and practices:

... it is metaphorical to say that human society is a biological organism. A number of social scientists have employed this metaphor to model certain ways of studying society, to generate insights about social phenomena, and to legitimate certain social values (p. 239).

Source domains indicating an unhealthy condition or illness have particular implications, as they are commonly used to refer to problems, difficult situations and threatening issues. The implied contrast between being healthy and being unhealthy helps negative and positive evaluations to be easily conveyed, as this is almost everyone’s human bodily experience. Charteris-Black (2004) maintains that “Metaphors of health and illness are very common ways through which to communicate positive and negative evaluations in discourse” and stresses that “extreme ill-health is a common way of offering a very strong negative evaluation” (p. 149-150). In addition, when illness refers to problems and difficulties, and since the body needs a cure to recover, the illness metaphor provides legitimacy to any actions needed to provide the ‘cure’ and bring that problem to an end. Musolff (2010), in particular, shows how powerful it is to conceptualize a political community in terms of a human body – or the ‘body-politic’, which is a very common metaphor in European political discourse. He exposed the persuasive role of body metaphors – particularly the scenarios of *illness-cure* and *body-parasite* – and how harmfully successful they were when employed

within the Nazi political discourse to legitimize the genocide of the Jews. By conceptualizing the Jews as *parasites*, *germ carriers* or *agents of disease* attacking Germany, it seemed inevitable and legitimate to *cleanse* and *cure* the body, and to carry out a *Final Solution*, which involved killing the Jews.

Unlike previously discussed image schemas and source domains which involve an immediate bodily action such as bodily movement in space, force exerted on the body, bodily properties of perception and of physical manipulation, and physical body condition, other notions involve more abstract human-oriented actions and activities that humans undertake, such as war.

2.4.6.6 WAR

War is defined as “Hostile contention by means of armed forces, carried on between nations, states, or rulers, or between parties in the same nation or state; the employment of armed forces against a foreign power, or against an opposing party in the state”(OED). In simpler words, in this study, war refers to fighting between two opposing groups which involves among other things the use of weapons.

The concept of WAR is recurrently used for different kinds of human disagreements and has been identified as the source domain realized by many of our everyday words. Words like *struggle*, *battle*, *combat*, *win*, *fight*, *attack*, *lose* and many others are military words that are now used to refer to non-military situations as well. War metaphors are found to be used in different types of discourse. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) introduced ARGUMENT IS WAR while Semino (2005) argued instead for ANTAGONISTIC COMMUNICATION IS PHYSICAL AGGRESSION (p. 51) following a corpus-based study of news writing. Koller (2004) found that the WAR source domain is used pervasively in business discourse. Ahrens, Chung and Huang (2003) identified the conceptual domain: ECONOMY IS WAR when examining the target domain: ECONOMY in Mandarin Chinese (p. 40). Charteris-Black (2004) discussed how Bush used TERRORISM IS WAR (p. 39) when he said ‘we stand together to win the war against terrorism’ during his speech after the 9/11 attacks, and

highlighted the danger of this metaphor if Clausewitz's 'War is politics pursued by other means' is read subsequently as 'terrorism is politics'.

2.4.6.7 POSSESSION

A basic definition of *possess* is "to own a physical object" (*Macmillan English Dictionary* (Macmillan)), so a possessor is someone who owns physical objects and properties. The underlying idea of owning objects and having properties has been used to refer to many abstract entities such as ideas, beliefs, hope, obligations, responsibilities, properties, and attributes. ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS is one of Lakoff's (1993) OBJECT EVENT STRUCTURE metaphors, where CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS OF POSSESSIONS (acquisitions and losses) and CAUSATION IS TRANSFER OF POSSESSIONS (giving and taking) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). In a study of metaphors in Nigerian political cartoons, Medubi (2003) identified among other conceptualizations that BELIEFS ARE POSSESSIONS that can be held, protected and fought over.

The idea of being a possession refers to the idea of being, in turn, an object that can be manipulated in different ways. When these objects are possessions, they are even more prone to control as they belong to some other entity and fall under its authority and power, and are not objects that belong to everyone. In turn, this suggests that whoever possesses these possessions is the source of power over these objects. The idea of *possession* is very appealing because it allows for a contrast with *lack of possession*, as in richness versus poverty. The notion of owning is so important in people's lives and history that the right to own property is one of the essential rights stated in the Declaration of Human Rights. Another aspect related to the concept of possessing is what it is that is possessed. This in turn directs attention back to the possessor him/herself, since the kind of evaluation attached to him/her depends either on what s/he owns or what s/he does not own.

2.4.6.8 INANIMACY, DEPERSONIFICATION and PERSONIFICATION

Inanimate is defined in different dictionaries as “Not animated or alive; destitute of life, lifeless” (OED), “not alive” (Macmillan), and as “not living” (LOED). The use of inanimacy to describe human beings brings to mind its inverse: using human beings to refer to inanimate entities – personification. Personification refers to the attribution of a given human quality to an abstract entity to endow it with life and spirit and bring it closer to human emotions and feelings. If personification is such, then inanimacy is the attribution of a given property or quality of inanimate entities to human beings. In this line, Kövecses et al. (2010) note that “properties of (inanimate) objects as hard-soft, warm-cold, sharp-dull, big-small, tender-tough, clear-unclear, half-whole, and the like are used for the comprehension of human beings” (p. 154).

Metaphors involving inanimate objects serve different purposes. Charteris-Black (2004) identified a system of inanimate metaphors that describe economic processes and that are used when “financial reporters do not wish to represent themselves as sources of expert authority because they lack full knowledge of the variables affecting the market” (p. 136). The inanimate source domain of WATER is commonly used to refer to the process of immigration (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 128).

Inanimacy is one aspect of what Charteris-Black (2004) named depersonification (as discussed in Section 2.4.5) which is attributing non-human attributes to human beings. This, in addition to inanimate entities, involves entities such as animals and plants. Thinking of people as plants, parasites, or animals are previously identified conceptual metaphors in political discourse.

In politics, Charteris-Black argues that “Personification is persuasive because it evokes our attitudes, feelings and beliefs about people and applies them to our attitudes, feelings and beliefs about abstract political entities” (p. 61). Graesser and Millis (1989) contend that

personification is powerful because the source of the message is authoritative (e.g. “The White House said (...)” instead of “A White House staff member said (...)” (p.151).

If personification can be used “either to arouse empathy for a social group, ideology or belief evaluated as heroic, or to arouse opposition towards a social group, ideology or belief that is evaluated as villainous” (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 62), inanimacy or more broadly depersonification can also be used to evoke distance from a certain social group or ideology, thus equally achieving such predicative, heuristic ideological purposes as personification. Charteris-Black (2011) notes that the use of inanimate metaphors as a rhetorical strategy to describe and evaluate human beings in political discourse is not uncommon. Likewise, the use of non-human entities such as animals as a rhetorical strategy to describe and evaluate human beings in political discourse is also used. Charteris-Black (2011) asserts that “It was only by thinking of Jews *as if* they were animals or insects that permitted those in charge of following instructions to implement the policy of the final solution” (p. 266).

2.5 News Media Discourse

Media discourse in particular refers to different means of communication directed towards readers, but also listeners and viewers. This type of discourse is generally characterized by two main features, its pervasiveness and its attendance to various types of audience. Bell’s (1991) statement that “society is pervaded by media language” (p. 1) implies how media and therefore news are prolific sources of real world discourse. But what factors affect the production of such discourse? News media discourse is influenced by different factors including who owns the news media agency or the newspaper, what editorial policy is followed, who has access to it, what is the influence of advertisers on the news presented, and what readership and audience are targeted.

The dominant groups, members, institutions etc. in society are the ones who have access to and “get[s] to speak in the news” (Richardson, 2007, p. 87). Subsequently, they will have great influence on the news discourse by imposing and supporting preferences, beliefs and

world views in accordance with their interests and ideologies. Iggers (1999, cited in Richardson, 2007) maintains that “newspaper discourse has tended to be shaped by the elements in society that are powerful enough and organized enough to generate press materials, hold press conferences and otherwise garner media attention” (p. 102). Dunlevy (1998, cited in Richardson, 2007)) explains further why the ideologies of the powerful dominate the news and the news discourse:

because newswork is geared towards tight deadlines, facts must be quickly identified and verified. ... When the facts [reporters]¹⁷ gather challenge commonly accepted views of the world they require higher levels of verification and substantiation. They might demand that each challenging fact be verified by more than one independent source. Thus facts about the powerful are treated with more care than those about the powerless (p. 129).

The production of a news article is bound by editorial decisions. In fact, an article is not the work of one journalist but involves a whole editorial board. We need to consider the role of the authorial decisions and journalistic judgments of the managers and editors-in-chief. In many countries, major newspapers and news agencies claim neutrality and objectivity in their coverage of the news and main local and international events. However, most of these have editorial stances and guidelines that show they systematically support (for example) one political party over its opposite. *The New York Times* has for over 50 years endorsed the Democratic candidates in the American presidential elections. Likewise, in 2003, it supported the invasion of Iraq (Brennan, 2012). When they report news, journalists are thus bound by such editorially backed ideologies and preferences about specific political, social and economic issues and actors.

Another key consideration is the audience. News discourse as media discourse is produced for a specific target audience and thus the news needs to be attractive and interesting. Richardson (2007) asserts that “without a sense of the audience, there can be no selection of what to present as ‘the news’ ” (p. 87) and that “News is produced with an assumed audience

¹⁷ The changes in the quotations are as they appeared in the original reference by Richardson (2007).

in mind – their class, their education attainment, their values and preferences and so on” (Richardson, 2007, p. 112). The relationship between the news media and its target audience depends, as Blumler and Gurevitch (1995) claim, on its “fulfilment of audience expectations and the validation of past trust relationships, which in turn are dependent on legitimized and institutionalized routines of information presentation” (p. 13).

As indicated above, news media discourse is pervasive, which suggests that our real-world experiences and everyday lives are influenced – to a considerable degree – by media and media language, whether as newspapers, TV and radio news bulletins, news websites etc. Therefore, it is no surprise that this type of real world discourse has in turn given rise to studies and research from different disciplines and more particularly from research areas which explore the relationship between discourse and power and apply a critical approach to the study of language and discourse. Critical Discourse Analysis, which is one such approach, views language as a social practice and as such seeks more particularly to unveil the opaque power relationships between discursive practices, social practices and structures, and texts.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory and related research have also proposed that metaphors are concerned with power as they can highlight or hide particular aspects of a given concept, thus serving as ideological tools. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) posited the evaluative and persuasive nature and functions of metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Charteris-Black, 2004; Santa Ana, 1999).

News, characterized by its diversity and dynamicity, has moved from being written and printed to a variety of multimodal media – audiovisual TV and radio, and particularly online digital formats, the change thus affecting not only its speed and the kind of materials but also making news topics and subgenres more diverse, while attending to continuously changing audiences. It is important to notice that the written form is still central to the news media industry but no longer the unique form. It is still prevalent but has intermittently undergone substantial use of attached photos and accompanying videos and no longer necessarily depends on a print mode for delivery. Actually, the advance of online digital versions of

news has added to the prevalence of the written mode despite attached material such as videos. In line with this, the language of the news has itself undergone considerable change and Fairclough (1992) noted the increasingly informal and personalized styles of news reporting. Online versions in particular have allowed for seemingly different and challenging voices and interaction with the emerging blog sections. This in turn implies that the language used by such writers will be different and more personalized and informal, because they come from different backgrounds not necessarily as sophisticated as that of (for example) highly professional journalists and are not subject to many editorial and contextual constraints upon their articles.

With regard to the language of the news, it is worth noting that it has its own characterizing features combining a variety of material and styles (Crystal & Davy, 1969; Pape & Featherstone, 2005; Van Dijk, 1988). One characteristic feature of news language is the use of indirect and direct quotations. Through the use of reported speech, the journalists can give opinions that may be favourable to their goals while still claiming objectivity, as they are ‘simply’ reporting what others have said. It may be argued then that the use of direct quotations is indisputably neutral and does not include the journalist’s opinions since we know whose words these are and whose opinion or evaluation it is. However, it is the journalists who select what to quote from a longer speech and how to ‘assemble’ and present them with the other parts of the article. The selection, structuring and assembling of particular quotations and text may be based on specific ideological aims (Caldas-Coulthard 1994; Van Dijk, 1988).

2.6 Metaphor in News Discourse

This section reviews a number of studies of metaphor in news media discourse. These studies can be categorized into two types of studies. The first type is descriptive and focuses mainly on the form and frequency of metaphors. The second type is more critical-oriented and focuses on uncovering the evaluative and persuasive roles of metaphors.

Steen, Dorst, Kaal, Herrmann & Krennmayr (2010) investigated the forms and frequency of metaphorical expressions in English news discourse with regard to word classes. The results showed that metaphorical expressions are predominantly verbs, as 30% of all metaphors are verbs. Another more diachronic descriptive research study attempted to find out whether the use of metaphor varies across different registers over different periods, particularly the language of news and conversation. Pasma (2011) looked into the forms and frequencies of metaphors in Dutch conversation and Dutch news but she also compared the use of metaphor in Dutch news over two different periods. She investigated whether there is a shift towards conversational styles in the use of metaphorical language from the historical Dutch news to the more contemporary ones. The findings suggest a tendency towards personalization and conversationalization in Dutch news with regard to metaphorical language.

The focus of the second kind of study goes beyond the simple descriptive analysis as it examines the function of metaphor use in news language. Charteris-Black and Musolff (2003) stress the significant function of metaphors in rendering complex news issues more concrete and accessible. Different topics have been the focus of metaphor analysis in the news media such as war, immigration, epidemics, racism, political relationships, economy and finance. In addition, metaphor analysis has focused on different news sections including financial and business, political, sports reports etc.

Santa Ana (1999) investigated metaphors in *Los Angeles Times* articles related to a political debate in California on an anti-immigrant referendum, Proposition 187. He found that 10% of the identified metaphors relate to immigrants. These metaphors portrayed negative representations of immigrants through the dominant metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS with metaphors such as *hungered over, preyed on, hunted out, targeted, herded, dog, rat, scapegoat*. Other negative evaluative metaphors refer to immigrants as *commodities, invaders, criminals, parasites, weeds, diseases, burdens* (p. 314-315).

Charteris-Black and Musolff (2003) analysed metaphors used to describe the Euro in the British and German press and found that both used mainly up/down movement (*low, rise, climb, slip, slump, collapse, sink*) and health metaphors (*ailing, pain, strong, recover*).

Interestingly, in British reporting, metaphors of physical combat are used, and the Euro is described as an active participant (*hit out, suffer*). In the German press, however, it is portrayed as a passive beneficiary from banks or governments.

Charteris-Black (2004) also analysed financial news reports in *The Economist* and found that metaphors are used to describe the economy as a living organism, thus realizing ECONOMY IS HUMAN with expressions referring to the state of the economy (*growth, infant, mature, healthy, decay, ailing, depression, grow, pick up*). An inanimate system of metaphors (*swing, slide, rollercoaster*) from the domain of FUNFAIR is also used to refer to market changes. The choice of animate or inanimate systems of metaphors is governed by whether the author chooses to be a commentator who *describes* or *predicts* (pp. 136-138).

Musolff (2004, 2006) investigated the discourse of British and German public press debates about the European Union on the basis of a bilingual corpus. He identified metaphors and categorized them under the source domains of LOVE–MARRIAGE–FAMILY (states being born, being married, getting divorced, “Franco–German couple”, fellow-sceptic to, flirt with, flirt, fall back in relief on the old liaison, marital fidelity, the anxious parents, soft baby euro, conceived, delivered, celebrated the birth of a single European currency, the biblical welcome accorded the prodigal son etc. (Musolff, 2006, p. 23-28). Metaphor analysis shows the different attitudes towards the Euro in the British and German press. The British press showed delight in the *marriage problems* between the *Franco-German couple* which may give Britain the opportunity to enter into that relationship. The German press conversely seemed to express worry about those problems and stressed the need to resist them. Furthermore, the British media reiterated the possibility that the British government divorce the EU while the German press was more careful and spoke of a *prolonged engagement*.

Semino (2008) investigated the Middle East ‘Road Map’ plan concluded by the USA, EU, UN and Russia and addressing the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, as well as the subsequent news articles and official documents addressing the road map. She focused on the political use of JOURNEY and ROAD MAP metaphors and showed that these can be used by different

people (journalists, politicians ...) in different contexts to express particular views about the Middle-East peace process and achieve different rhetorical goals.

Analysing a corpus of business magazines and newspapers, Koller (2004) classifies source domain metaphorical expressions on the basis of clusters. She argues that business media discourse is characterized by coherent metaphor clusters centering on the WAR metaphor. Examining business media discourse corpora, she focuses on clusters like WAR, SPORTS and GAME metaphors in marketing discourse and FIGHTING, MATING and FEEDING metaphors in mergers and acquisitions discourse.

The current study adopts a similar critical stance to the analysis of metaphors in news discourse. However, while many of these studies focused on the representation of more abstract matters and issues such as the economy, the Euro, immigration or business, the current study focuses mainly on identifying and comparing the representations of specific groups.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the main theories that it draws on for the investigation of metaphors used to describe Arabs and Americans in news media discourse. It revisited metaphor in Conceptual Metaphor Theory and in critical approaches, namely Critical Discourse Analysis, pragmatics and Critical Metaphor Analysis. It also reviewed some of the most common source domains and image schemas relevant to the current study. In addition, the chapter examined news media discourse and shed light on many factors guiding the production of news discourse. The chapter ended by presenting two main directions of metaphor research in news discourse, summarizing previous works which have investigated metaphor in the news media and highlighting how the present study builds on these.

3 CHAPTER THREE: REVIEW OF METAPHOR CORPUS APPROACHES & IDENTIFICATION ISSUES

Introduction

This chapter first introduces the main advantages of corpus linguistics to the study of metaphors. Then, it highlights the usefulness of corpus methods and tools to metaphor data collection and analysis and describes a few of the main corpus techniques that can inform metaphor research. Afterwards, it evaluates the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIPVU) developed at Vrije Universiteit by stressing a few limitations with regard to the criteria proposed for the identification of metaphorically used words.

3.1 Corpus Approaches to Metaphor Analysis

3.1.1 Advantages of Corpus Linguistic Methods for Metaphor Research

Why is a corpus linguistic approach to metaphor research important? The advantages of using corpus linguistic methods for metaphor research can be seen to provide some solutions to a number of problems associated with imagined and elicited types of data¹⁸. These limitations are mainly the analyst's unsupported intuition leading to biased subjective analysis of language, limitations of human memory and the inability to access stored language knowledge out of context, innovative and rare data generated, and lack of textual

¹⁸ Imagined and elicited data are the kind of verbal data that researchers themselves come up with or “invent” (Deignan, 2005, p. 27) and is quite “characteristic of much philosophical and grammatical research” (Steen, 2007, p.112). Imagined or “intuitive” (Deignan, 2005, p. 110) data depend on the analyst's language experience, intuition, expertise, personal judgment. This implies that such data may possibly show expressions and utterances that are not frequently and conventionally used but are thought to be useful for the study of language from a grammar perspective. ‘Sally is a block of ice’ or ‘Sam is a pig’ (Lakoff, 1993; Searle, 1979) are illustrations of such invented data that are not likely to be encountered in authentic natural use. In the early days of the cognitive-linguistic approach to metaphor, a researcher would invent or elicit a number of metaphorical expressions, or collect them from dictionaries or thesauri and work out the conceptual mapping they may realize (Kövecses et al., 2010; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Until 2007 there was no clearly tested method for identifying linguistic metaphor in use. Analysts relied on personal expertise/judgment or what Deignan (2005) calls “informed intuition” (p. 93) to identify a word or expression as metaphorical versus literal.

and context-rich information because data are limited and invented or artificial compared with a large compilation of texts occurring in natural context.

First of all, the corpus linguistic approach can help reduce researcher's bias. Studying a large number of articles instead of one article can restrict and constrain the analyst's cognitive biases and lead to less selective and subjective data. The argument is that looking at a collection of articles is more likely to reveal "overall patterns and trends" (Baker, 2006, p. 10) and yield "huge and systematic" (Sinclair, 1991, p. 41) evidence of language use.

Metaphor data used to be mainly imagined and the emergence of conceptual metaphor as a theory depended largely on unsupported intuition. In a deductive fashion, corpus linguistics can be used to find the linguistic realization of conceptual metaphors postulated in theoretical studies, thus confirming the value of intuition and providing it with more empirical evidence.

Secondly, intuition about language can also hint at the existence of a given (underlying-evaluative) discourse. Again, it is studying language use by means of a corpus which helps us to find out how typical that discourse may be. Frequency of occurrence, clustering and collocation can, for instance, reveal particular and repeated patterns in the corpus and provide evidence for the existence of a hidden hegemonic discourse, or else uncover the existence of resistant and changing discourses (such as for diachronic studies). Corpus work can be very useful when studying conceptual metaphor empirically from a critical discourse analysis perspective (Koller, 2006; Musolff, 2003). Large corpus data can supply empirical evidence for socio-cognitive approaches to metaphor. Koller (2006) argues that

It is this more socio-culturally oriented critical approach to conceptual metaphor that relies most on a systematic analysis of comprehensive data collections: the claim that cognitive scenarios and image schemata as well as the metaphors they generate are distributed across groups of social actors can only be verified by investigating the language use of a large number of speakers (p. 240).

Advocates of corpus linguistics maintain that a large collection of texts from varied sources yields more reliable data and naturally occurring evidence than invented data would (Deignan, 2005; Knowles, 1996). This has actually been the main argument countering the criticism about the limited representativeness of corpora. It is argued that corpora are generally not representative of language and a case in point is the Bank of English – acting in many cases as a standard reference – especially because it is composed largely of news data (Summers, 1996). How corpora should be composed, and what a corpus should represent have been questions paralleling the rise of corpus linguistics (Deignan, 2005; Teubert, 2004; Teubert & Čermáková, 2004). Deignan (2005) recognizes that the multitude and variation of language genres and registers (regional, spoken, written, general, specialized, vernacular, academic and other) make it clear that it is rather difficult to claim a corpus can represent individual personal language experience. Still, she argues, the representativeness issue should not underestimate the valuable findings that can be supplied by corpus studies of naturally occurring language.

As well as confirming the value of intuition (Deignan, 2005) and using corpus-linguistic methods to check if many of “the predictions of the deductive approach to metaphor in cognitive linguistics can be confirmed” (Steen, 2007, p. 162), Deignan (2005) contends that “corpus researchers and lexicographers report that they regularly find uses of words that they would not have predicted. These include observations about frequency, word combinations and idioms, and word meaning” (p. 85). Taking a corpus perspective can then enable the analyst to recognize new areas of interest other than those hypothesized.

The use of a corpus allows the triangulation of qualitative data. A corpus, seemingly inviting a quantitative analysis, does indeed provide an opportunity and support for closer insightful qualitative analysis. Corpus linguistic methods can identify candidate sample texts involving a high density of metaphorical expressions (Koller, 2006); or at more specific level, it can also facilitate the identification of candidate metaphorical expressions for qualitative analysis (Koller, 2006; Stefanowitsch, 2006).

Corpus-based metaphor research helps to explore conceptual metaphors in terms of the frequency, nature and systematicity (Deignan, 2005), and productivity (Charteris-Black, 2004) of a given metaphorical mapping in discourse (Koller, 2006). Authentic and naturally occurring data have the advantage of providing a natural context for metaphorical expressions. Unlike imagined isolated and idealized metaphorical mappings, such as those from dictionaries, corpus-based data enable the researcher to investigate whether the mappings predicted by analysts in an idealized fashion are actually realized by language speakers, and how frequently or how conventionally they do so (Steen, 2007). Furthermore, it is possible to examine the textual properties of conceptual metaphors, such as metaphorical expressions functioning differently in different texts or parts of texts (Koller, 2004).

Corpus analysis can inform us about changes in metaphorical forms. Counter to the A is B noun-noun form of metaphor prevalent in imagined and elicited metaphors, corpus analysis can provide evidence of the use of metaphorical expressions across word classes such as noun-verb metaphors (Deignan, 2005; Koller, 2006). It can also give insights into diachronic style shifts in the use of metaphor (Pasma, 2010).

Qualitative studies of metaphor in discourse that are limited to a small quantity of data may provide interesting findings. The inconvenience, however, is that such results cannot be generalized. This indeed is one point of divergence between qualitative and quantitative approaches in general. Using corpus data will more likely allow for the detection of more frequent patterns of language (Baker, 2006; Deignan, 2005; Koller, 2006).

Finally, using electronically stored and machine-readable/accessible naturally-occurring data and applying purposely developed and adapted computer tools to collect as well as analyse texts quickly and with a high degree of accuracy make up for human limitations (Deignan, 2005) as well as restricted financial and time resources (Koller, 2006).

Despite its advantages, the corpus-based approach has received criticisms on many grounds:

- a. A major challenge is that “it would be possible to find linguistic examples from any sizeable corpus to support almost any theoretical position” (Deignan, 2008, p. 156).
- b. Qualitative manual editing is a must. The identification of metaphorical expressions in a text still depends on researcher editing. No computer tool that can identify a ‘metaphor’ has yet been effectively developed (Koller, 2006). What can be identified are rather candidates for metaphors that need to be verified and confirmed by the analyst.
- c. Similarly, metaphor identification will always depend on ‘informed intuition’ at least to some extent (Deignan, 1999, p. 180; Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2006).
- d. Corpus work may be criticized for not being theoretically significant even if it provides factual evidence and detailed descriptions with regard to natural language. Deignan (2005) argues, however, that even if a corpus approach does not contribute much to the understanding of language systems such as metaphorical systems, it nevertheless is valuable in the sense that it provides empirical evidence for existing theoretical linguistic systems.

3.1.2 Corpus Approaches to Metaphor Data Collection

How to collect metaphor data from a corpus? Deignan (2005) reports three main methods that have been applied to collect metaphor data taking a corpus approach. One deductive corpus-based or top-down method is to start from a conceptual metaphor that was previously identified in the literature and search for the linguistic metaphors that realize it. Identifying linguistic metaphors in a corpus is a quantitative procedure that needs to be followed by qualitative analysis to distinguish the metaphorical from the literal uses of the words searched for. A second method would be to start by identifying metaphors manually from a

sample of the whole corpus which are then searched for in the complete corpus (Charteris-Black, 2004). Instead of starting with a small sample from the corpus, a third method starts with a small corpus and then searches for those identified metaphors in a larger corpus (Cameron & Deignan, 2003). The second and third methods apply close qualitative reading of the whole sample or of a small corpus, which may “provide more detailed information about context, and so adds to the richness of interpretation” (Deignan 2005, p. 93). These methods seem to combine aspects from both corpus-based and corpus-driven, bottom-up and top-down analyses. They are bottom-up in the sense that they start from the sample or small corpus and proceed to the identification of metaphors, and top-down in the sense that they depend on what has already been identified in a previous step as a basis to approach the entire or larger corpus.

3.1.3 Corpus Approaches to Metaphor Data Analysis

How to analyse data obtained from the corpus? There are different techniques and tools to process corpus data (collection and analysis) which are described in this section. However, it should be noted that corpus tools as such do not explain or interpret but they present a more easily accessible context for patterns to be observed by analysts. A corpus-based analysis gives us both quantitative and qualitative ways to examine a given discourse. While quantitative is associated with frequency, qualitative is associated with salience¹⁹.

3.1.3.1 Frequency of Occurrence

Corpus tools make it possible to do frequency counts, as raw data and/or in percentages, of a given search term in the corpus. In turn, frequency counts allow for the generation of a ‘wordlist’ which can show the most frequent words in a corpus. The frequency tool thus

¹⁹ “Salience is described as a function of the conventionality, familiarity and frequency of a sense” (Deignan, 2005, p. 107).

provides a starting point for corpus analysis and directs the researcher to examine different parts of a given corpus.

When looking for frequency patterns, it may also be essential to look for related terms. This is the case for metaphor research; for instance, when investigating WAR metaphors, one might search for terms such as *defend*, *fight* and *attack*. Looking for the different lexicalizations (i.e. realization of a conceptual domain by linguistic expressions) of a given metaphor can be important not only to establish frequencies as such but to see how more frequent words are used, and which ones are typical or atypical. This reveals important information especially when comparing corpora across registers, genres or cultures. Frequency, for instance, enables the comparison of

- different words within the same corpus,
- grammatical forms (past versus present tense verb) and word forms (-ed inflection versus -ing inflection; verbs versus nouns), and
- corpora from different cultural backgrounds, across genres and registers, or across time (diachronic studies - shift through time).

When looking into frequency, it is also important to check whether the word instances are spread throughout the corpus or occur in a given text because they are the main topic. This will help the researcher to avoid making inaccurate generalizations. Information on the spread of a word in a corpus is provided by a concordance plot which shows the dispersion of the word across the corpus. Dispersion plots are also useful in that they show where a given word is more/less frequent in the text (beginning, middle or end), whether its uses are bunched in one section of the corpus, or whether they are evenly spread out throughout each text or corpus. Dispersion information can supplement the interpretation of the results, as measures of dispersion can reveal trends across the corpus.

Depending solely on frequency counts can however limit the interpretation of data as frequencies are generalizing, reductive and oversimplifying. The focus on comparing

quantitative differences can obscure more interesting interpretation of the data (Baker, 2006, p. 45). Therefore, other techniques can be used such as tests of statistical significance to test whether the differences observed are statistically significant. The chi-square and log-likelihood tests are commonly used tests though these are not reliable with very low frequencies. The strength of collocation²⁰ between two words can also be measured using the z-score²¹ or Mutual Information²² score (MI) which takes the low frequency of words into account.

In metaphor research, the most frequently occurring lexical metaphors can be identified by looking for content words that seem incongruous with the topic. The concordance tool allows the researcher to conduct a qualitative analysis, highlighting the frequency of occurrence of metaphorical versus literal meanings of many words and expressions. Some words may show a higher frequency of metaphorical senses than their non-metaphorical ones, though these may be historically older. The metaphorical uses of *crusade* (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 21) or *shreds* (Deignan, 2005, p. 94), for instance, are almost as frequent as literal uses.

When doing metaphor research, it is possible to identify the typicality of a given metaphor or source domain in discourse, genre, register or language by looking at the frequency of lexis realizing that source domain/metaphor. It is also possible to examine the typicality of linguistic expressions/forms instantiating a given source domain by looking at the frequency of the different lexical items especially between languages or across genres. It is also possible to have the same source domain but different lexis which itself can suggest different types of evaluations. Both *support* and *collapse* suggest the source domain BUILDING. However, when *support* is used, BUILDING may possibly indicate a positive evaluation while through the use of *collapse*, the same source domain may convey a negative evaluation.

²⁰ See Section 3.1.3.5 for a detailed discussion of collocation.

²¹ Z-score is a “statistical measure of the degree of relatedness of two elements: it expresses how unlikely it is that the two words are unrelated” (Baker et al., 2006, p. 174).

²² Mutual Information is “statistical measure that compares the probability of finding two items together to the probabilities of finding each item on its own” (Baker et al., 2006, p. 120).

The choice of a particular metaphor can promote a particular view of the topic. Boers (1999) found that metaphorical expressions realizing the source domain HEALTH in *The Economist* are most frequent during the winter season, which suggests a connection between the choice of metaphors and people's personal experience, such as the experience of illness due to cold weather.

Systematicity of a given conceptual metaphor can also be tested by frequency. It is possible to see the frequency of linguistic metaphors realizing a given conceptual metaphor in a given discourse. High frequency may support the systematicity of unifying coherent metaphors around which the text/discourse is built (BUSINESS IS WAR/GAME/SPORT (Koller, 2004). Low frequency or isolated expressions would suggest that metaphor is not unifying the discourse (Shen & Balaban, 1999).

3.1.3.2 Concordance

Concordance or Key Word In Context (KWIC) is a technique that lists "all the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus" (Baker, Hardie & McEnery, 2006, p.42). The search term or node which can be one word (crusade), a multiword phrase (crusade against), a wild card (a string of characters followed by an asterisk as in look* which will give you look-looked-looking-looks or hit* yielding hit-hot-hut-hat), a tag and/or word (NP²³1 or Bush_NP1 if the corpus is annotated) is presented within its linguistic context as a number of words to the left and to the right of the word can be seen. Concordancing is useful in that it makes noticing patterns (and more if alphabetically sorted) such as a different, new, and creative meanings of a word relatively easy because of a large set of contextualized word citations (Baker et al., 2006, p. 42-43).

Depending on the corpus as well as on the search term, the size of concordance citations can be large and not practical for close qualitative analysis. Actually, one of the problems of using corpora is the large quantity of data generated. Sinclair (1999) suggests random

²³ NP: Noun Phrase

sampling as one way of getting around the problem of quantity. He proposes randomly selecting 30 lines and observing possible patterns in them. This would be a process of selecting samples and noting patterns until no new patterns would be noticeable. Hunston (2002) proposes, in what is called hypothesis testing, that once a pattern is spotted, analysts carry out further searches to check if the pattern occurs on a wider scale. This is reminiscent of Metaphor Pattern Analysis (MPA) proposed by Stefanowitsch (2006). He introduces a metaphorical analysis method based on metaphorical expressions containing both source and target domain lexemes. The analyst selects one or more lexical items (*claim, criticism, argument*) from the target domain in focus (ARGUMENT) and retrieves their occurrences from the corpus; then she identifies metaphorical patterns - metaphorical expressions from a source domain occurring with or including a lexical item from that target domain. This method is explained in more detail in Section 4.1.3.1 as it is one of the main methods used in this study.

Concordance is probably the most-used corpus tool for metaphor research though not always at an initial stage. It enables a close study of the search term in context to decide whether its meaning is metaphorical or not. Word citations can be sorted by the word(s) immediately preceding (to the left) or following (the right). Left-sorting is interesting in the case of nouns as it may highlight words often pre-modifying the main search term/noun when sorted alphabetically. Preceding words can be adjectives indicating size and may involve negative evaluation. Applying right sorting for verbs, for instance, can highlight possible patterns in the object of the verb. Right sorting can also enable finding out for instance that a given verb tends to be phrasal as it is almost always followed by a preposition (Deignan, 2005, p. 78-79).

3.1.3.3 Keywords

Why key word? A distinction should be made between key word in KWIC²⁴ which means a current word under examination which can be any word that takes the interest of the analyst. What we mean by 'key word' in this discussion is the concept 'keyword' that means a word

²⁴ KWIC (Key Word In Context) or concordance. See Section 3.1.3.2 for further explanation.

whose frequency is unusually high in comparison with some norm. Key words characterize the text or genre that the analyst is most interested in. Keyword analysis then helps to determine the salience of word in a given genre (corpus) by comparing it generally to a larger reference corpus. If it occurs more frequently in the target corpus than the reference corpus then it is worth investigating in further detail. It can be said that while wordlist and KWIC aim at frequency, the keyword list is useful when we want to investigate salience (Baker et al., 2006).

Keyword lists tend to show proper nouns, function/grammatical words that may indicate style, and lexical words indicating the ‘aboutness’ of a text including nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs (Scott, 1999). When such a keyword is spotted (as in the top ten keywords), it can be examined in more detail by carrying out concordances and examining collocates and clusters.

Keyword analysis is interesting for metaphor research in the sense that it can provide a useful starting point for examining a corpus. It should, however, be kept in mind that this needs to be combined with qualitative analysis as the main starting point. Keywords identified whether through the corpus or human qualitative analysis can be supplemented by using thesauri and collocation searches.

3.1.3.4 Clusters

A cluster is a group of words occurring repeatedly in sequence (Baker et al., 2006, p. 34). Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad & Finnegan (1999) refer to them as ‘*lexical bundles*’ (p. 993–994). Collocation, semantic prosody and colligation are other kinds of clustering relationships (Scott, 2010). Clusters are useful in that they enable the analyst to observe patterns of repeated phrases (that is grouping of words/sequence of words) in the concordance line. This can be useful for metaphor research especially since a number of metaphor analysts have noticed that metaphors tend to occur in clusters and chains (Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2003). It may then be useful to examine the clusters and

attempt to observe patterns that may include or hint at semantic incongruity. When looking at the clustering string of words, it is important to focus mainly on lexical words such as adjectives, nouns and verbs. If one related clustering word is thought significant, it can be interesting to check other related words to see if they are relatively as frequent, less frequent or absent. This can give results that confirm or contradict the analyst's predictions, or previous findings.

3.1.3.5 Collocations

Collocations like clusters are corpus tools based on observing lists for seemingly incongruous items. Collocates are words that tend to appear regularly next to each other in given contexts. It is possible to measure how strongly one word may relate to others (Baker et al., 2006, p. 36-37). Collocational patterns can be important for the study of language in use. Corpus tools can be set to measure that collocational relationship statistically in a few seconds (Mutual Information, log-likelihood and other measures²⁵). Collocates can be searched using different settings in the corpus. First, the search term per se can be a specific search term or a lemma. It should be noted however that for collocation it is not always sound to combine variants of lemmas as not only do some collocates depend on word forms by collocating with one form and not the other (for example singular or plural) but also the type of evaluation and meaning orientation conveyed (Deignan, 2006, p. 117). Sometimes, however, for the relatively low frequency of some search words, we may opt for different forms as singular and plural. But in that case, we need to note if the collocate is limited to a set pattern of language. Neighbouring words can be next to the word in focus immediately to the right or left but also in the environment or neighbourhood which means that it is more interesting to widen the environment of search to the left and right. It must be noticed

²⁵ These and others are statistical methods that give values indicating the strength of collocation. However each of these methods uses different criteria to measure collocation. Baker, Hardie & McEnery (2006) explain that for instance "mutual information foregrounds the frequency with which collocates occur together as opposed to their independent occurrence whereas it is more probable that log-likelihood will register strong collocation when the individual words are themselves frequent. So mutual information will give a high collocation score to relatively low-frequency word pairs like *bits/bobs*, whereas log-likelihood will give a higher score to higher frequency pairs such as *school/teacher*" (pp. 37-38).

however that applying different settings (as word span length) may reveal significantly different results.

Collocation can be an important tool for Critical Discourse Analysis as it may help to demonstrate different connotations. The importance of strong collocates is that even in cases where one word appears without its collocate, it may still imply similar evaluation and bring to mind that collocate or concept. We can examine the strongest or most frequent collocates of a word by using the Mutual Information measure or collocation table. It is worth noting that a given word may collocate with different words. The same word can have more than one meaning, making it possible for each meaning to collocate with different words as well. Collocates then may help us to distinguish the intended meaning of a word and its distinct use, especially if we are talking about metaphorical meanings.

Collocation can substantially inform and contribute to the study of metaphorical language which is – as postulated by Conceptual Metaphor Theory – the expression of underlying conceptualizations. A “collocational profile” (Deignan, 2005, p. 82) of a given word can be recovered by a corpus tool and enable the researcher to see the evaluative stance of metaphors. A given word may collocate with different words. Words that collocate with a particular expression and that belong to one source domain (semantic category) are not always metaphorically mapped to a target domain and are not necessarily shared between the literal and meanings and the metaphorical ones (Deignan, 2005, p. 198). In this regard, Deignan (2005, p. 206) mentions three ways in which collocates are expected to behave. Collocates can be

- associated mainly with literal meaning,
- associated mainly with metaphorical meaning, or
- associated with both literal and metaphorical meanings.

Corpus searching, however, may not be that particularly for detecting more creative uses of metaphor. One way to deal with such a limitation is to conduct a close qualitative analysis which gives more details about the contexts of use and deepen the analysis. One way – as

mentioned above – involves searching for metaphors in a sample of the corpus and then looking for the identified potential metaphors in the larger corpus.

Since a large number of news media news articles are propagated on a daily basis, news can form a particularly large collection of texts. Applying a corpus-based approach can inform the investigation of metaphors describing Arabs and Americans in news discourse and offer valuable insights on their uses.

3.2 Metaphor Identification

The most recently proposed and tested method for the distinction between metaphorical and non-metaphorical expressions is the Metaphor Identification Procedure developed at Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU) in 2010. MIPVU is an elaboration on the earlier and very first structured Pragglejaz procedure (2007) for determining what counts as a metaphor. MIPVU offers a method for the identification that departs from intuition and establishes a more consistent approach of dealing with words. When conducting a pilot study on my corpus, however, I encountered a number of issues and challenging cases which I think are important to discuss in this review since they justify the reason I decided not to follow the now ‘established’ MIPVU used by most young researchers of metaphors. I first present the basic procedure and then explain the problems encountered and discuss a few problematic cases.

3.2.1 The Basic Procedure²⁶

Following is a description of MIPVU's basic procedure adapted from Steen et al. (2010):

The goal of finding metaphor in discourse can be achieved in systematic and exhaustive fashion by adhering to the following set of guidelines.

1. Find metaphor-related words (MRWs) by examining the text on a word-by-word basis.
2. When a word is used indirectly and that use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning of that word, mark the word as metaphorically used (MRW).
3. When a word is used directly and its use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text, mark the word as direct metaphor (MRW, direct).
4. When words are used for the purpose of lexico-grammatical substitution, such as third person personal pronouns, or when ellipsis occurs where words may be seen as missing, as in some forms of co-ordination, and when a direct or indirect meaning is conveyed by those substitutions or ellipses that may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning, referent, or topic, insert a code for implicit metaphor (MRW, implicit).
5. When a word functions as a signal that a cross-domain mapping may be at play, mark it as a metaphor flag (MFlag).
6. When a word is a new-formation coined by the author, examine the distinct words that are its independent parts according to steps 2 through 5.

²⁶ The procedure description is adapted from Chapter 2 of Steen et al. (2010, p. 25-26). In order to avoid confusion with reference made to the sections in the thesis, I introduced minimal changes to the procedure description and removed details such as "For more information about new-formations, consult Section 2.7."

The following example illustrates MIPVU procedure:

- (1) Israeli government statistics. *Arabs lag* far *behind* the Jewish population in income and employment levels (*The Arab News*, 17 June 2010).

Lag behind: (prepositional verb)

Unlike phrasal verbs treated as one lexical unit in MIPVU, prepositional verbs are not and as such each word is examined as a separate lexical unit.

Lag (verb)

Contextual meaning: to not be as successful or advanced as another person, organization, or group (Macmillan sense 1)

Basic meaning: to walk more slowly than someone who you are with (Macmillan sense 2)

Contrast: the contextual meaning can be contrasted with the basic meaning.

Comparison: the contextual meaning can be understood by comparison with the basic meaning. Being less successful and developed can be understood in terms of moving slowly and not as speedily as others. We can understand Arabs being less successful than Jews in terms of them moving more slowly in space. When you walk more slowly than someone, someone walks faster than you, or is moving while you are in a stationary position, you are physically and spatially in a backward position vis-à-vis the other person.

Behind (preposition)

Contextual meaning: achieving less progress or success (Macmillan sense 5)

Basic meaning: at someone's/something's back or opposite side (Macmillan sense 1)

Contrast: the contextual meaning can be contrasted with the basic meaning.

Comparison: the contextual meaning can be understood by comparison with the basic meaning. We can understand Arabs achieving less progress than Jews in terms of moving at their back in space.

Both ‘lag’ and ‘behind’ are then metaphorically used.

Based on this example, the procedure seems to work properly. However, when working with larger data, a few issues appeared that challenge the procedure guidelines and raise questions about its criteria. In this regard, the following main criteria will be discussed:

- Contextual meaning
- Similarity
- The criterion of human-oriented versus bodily action is vague
- The criterion of concreteness versus human-oriented
- Word class
- Dictionaries

3.2.2 Limitations and Challenging Cases

3.2.2.1 Contextual Meaning

Establishing contextual meaning is generally not so problematic when applied to news, as shown in the two studies conducted on news writing in the MIPVU procedure (Steen et al., 2010). The applied procedure was tested for reliability and agreement and showed high degrees when applied to all words in the corpus in question. At the very early stages of this research, I started using MIPVU to make decisions on metaphorically used words describing

Arabs and Americans in a small sample of my corpus. What I noticed was that establishing a distinction between the contextual and basic meaning of conflict words, in particular, is not straightforward. Consider the following examples:

- (2) This kind of analysis is apparently one of the ways used by the supporters of Israel in their *propaganda war* in which Arabs have won not a single *battle* or *skirmish*.

In this example, *war*, *battle* and *skirmish* are metaphorically used to refer to propaganda. The contextual meaning of 'making organized effort to achieve something' is clearly distinct from the physical action of war as for instance in the case of *battle*:

Contextual meaning: a situation in which different people or groups compete with each other in order to achieve something or get an advantage (Macmillan sense 2)

Basic meaning: a fight between two armies in a war (Macmillan sense 1)

This distinction is however not always easily established, as the concrete level of fight, struggle, war or conflict can easily interact with the abstract level of effort, competition or disagreement.

The following example is more controversial:

- (3) Whenever Israel has been in *conflict* with its neighbors, the allegiances of its Arab citizens have been tested, and their empathy has often been with the other side. But this *war* was worse, they say, because it was waged against their own people and they were watching it as it happened. The feelings of estrangement could last long after the Gaza war.

In example (3), the context allows us to determine that *conflict* can most probably than not be understood as war through the clear association with *this war* and the *Gaza war*. Following MIPVU, Macmillan is consulted to see if this contextual meaning is available and if it can be contrasted to a more basic sense appearing as a separate entry. Macmillan lists the following:

Sense 1: angry disagreement between people or groups

Sense 1a: MAINLY JOURNALISM fighting between countries or groups

Sense 1a obviously provides the contextual meaning but it is conflated with the more abstract meaning in 1. It can be argued that because both abstract and more concrete meanings are conflated, then *conflict* is not metaphorically used. However, what if the more abstract meaning constitutes the contextual meaning? There is incongruity between sense 1 and sense 1a, especially with the reference specifying that it is more relevant in news writing. Therefore, a second dictionary, *Longman English Dictionary of Contemporary English* (Longman) is used and it lists separate entries for the physical and the abstract:

Sense 1: a state of disagreement or argument between people, groups, countries etc.

Sense 2: fighting or a war

Sense 2 is the contextual meaning and at the same time is the most basic meaning and therefore *Conflict* can be safely marked as not metaphorically used.

Making a decision on the metaphorical use of *conflict* in case (4) is not as straightforward:

(4) Mr. Boaz, who came to Israel from New York in 1961 but never took Israeli citizenship, was a familiar face in Beit Jala, someone who seemed able to transcend the *conflict* between Jews and Arabs to forge friendships and professional partnerships. He told concerned relatives that he felt at ease in the town, assuring them that he was safe despite the past 15 months of violence.

The *conflict between Jews and Arabs* can be understood as literally the physical fighting between the two groups; but it can also be understood in a broader sense as the situation of disagreement and the bad relationship between these two groups that involved physical violence during specific times, such as the war in Gaza.

To some extent, it seems that there is an argument for Macmillan to conflate physical and abstract meanings of conflict and fighting words. That, however, works in the opposite direction when the contextual meaning is clearly abstract as in '*conflict between Islam and democracy*' (or '*the struggle*²⁷ *to pay the bills*', '*fight against cancer*'). In this case then these will not be metaphors according to Macmillan, but metaphors according to Longman and OED.

3.2.2.2 Similarity

After establishing sufficient distinctness between the contextual and the more basic meanings of a given word, another requirement is to find that these two meanings are related by some form of similarity. MIPVU stipulates that the contextual meaning needs to be contrasted with the more basic meaning in the dictionary entries. It explains that when we have more than one equally basic meaning in the contemporary dictionary, we then use OED to check which one is historically older. OED is also used when "senses seem to be related somehow, but the exact nature of this relationship is unclear. This may indicate that they are derived from a basic meaning that is obsolete." (Steen et al., 2010, p. 53). Let us consider the following cases:

²⁷ *struggle* and *fight* are other conflict words that are found to show a similar issue as *conflict* but cannot be discussed within the scope of this thesis.

(5) Can you **hold** my bag for a moment?²⁸

Contextual meaning: to carry something using your hands or arms (Macmillan sense 1)

Basic meaning: to carry something using your hands or arms (Macmillan sense 1)

(6) The tank should **hold** enough to last us a few days.

Contextual meaning: to have something inside (Macmillan sense 5)

to be able to fit an amount of something inside (Macmillan sense 6)

Sense (6) means *containing* and Longman confirms this as there is only one entry:

contain particular amount [transitive not in progressive] to have the space to contain a particular amount of something (Longman Sense 11)

Basic meaning: to have something inside (Macmillan sense 5)

to be able to fit an amount of something inside (Macmillan sense 6)

The contextual and basic meanings are not sufficiently distinct for (5) and (6) and the decision is that *hold* is not metaphorically used in the other two cases.

(7) The proportion of **older Americans** who **hold jobs** has also risen strongly.

Contextual meaning: to have something, for example a job (Macmillan sense 7)

Basic meaning: to carry something using your hands or arms (Macmillan sense 1)

²⁸(5) and (6) are taken from Macmillan.

(8) Americans by 48-41 percent *hold* an unfavourable opinion of Islam.

Contextual meaning: to have an opinion about something (Macmillan sense 7a)

Basic meaning: to carry something using your hands or arms (Macmillan sense 1)

(9) Americans with smaller offshore accounts *holding* no more than \$75,000 in any year covered by the program are eligible for a penalty category of 12.5 percent.

Contextual meaning: to own money or property (Macmillan sense 7b)

Basic meaning: to have something inside (Macmillan sense 5)

to be able to fit an amount of something inside (Macmillan sense 6)

(10) These books *hold* all the records of births and marriages for the last 20 years²⁹

Contextual meaning: to keep information, for example on a computer (Macmillan sense 9)

Basic meaning: to have something inside (Macmillan sense 5)

to be able to fit an amount of something inside (Macmillan sense 6)

(11) The mind *holds* knowledge

(12) The heart *holds* emotions

²⁹This example is adapted from Metalude metaphor database at <http://www.ln.edu.hk/1le/cwd/project01/web/internal/database.html>. Retrieved on 7 January 2012.

The contextual and basic meanings are sufficiently distinct for each of the examples (7) to (10) implying that *hold* is metaphorically used. However, the basic meaning of *hold* in (7) and (8) is different from that in (9) and (10). Examples (11) and (12) are used to show that this argument holds for both non-human (book and accounts) and human-oriented (mind and heart) senses. The issue is that though there is more than one basic meaning there was no need to check which one is older because of similarity. (5) and (6) give examples for each meaning of use. This difference is important as while in (7) and (8) we speak of having something seized by hand that may be contained in the hand depending on the size of the thing, in (9) and (10) it is more specifically containing. OED shows that the two senses (concrete human-oriented and concrete inanimate) appeared at the same time. It may also be argued that they are different instantiations of the same meaning of holding something regardless where or how. The historically older meaning, however, is the more abstract but human-oriented ‘owning and possessing’. Still, there is incongruity between the abstract domain of possessing something and the more concrete domain of holding for the human-oriented cases. Incongruity for the non-human cases is between the abstract domain of owning and possessing and containing.

Also, how do we deal with this if the contextual meaning is one of the two more concrete senses? According to MIPVU, as these appeared around the same time they are both basic. However, don’t we consider the more abstract and historically older meaning which is also human-oriented and not necessarily a matter of bodily experience? The same problem arises for war words that are used with sports and competition words such as *fight*, *win* and *lose*. In addition, if we depend on dictionaries to define what a metaphorically used word is, how can we deal with instances like *fight*, *win*, *lose*, *defeat*, *victory*, which conflate meanings for war and contests or games? These are questions that cannot be answered at the level of this research but which we need to bear in mind, as although using dictionaries is a good step, this method still needs to be further developed.

3.2.2.3 The criterion of human-oriented versus bodily action

This section looks into the criterion of bodily action stated in the MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure) and that of human-oriented meaning in MIPVU. MIP (Pragglejaz Group, 2007) stipulates that

For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be:

- more concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste.
- related to bodily action (p. 3).

MIPVU proposes that basic meanings “can be operationalized in terms of concrete, specific, and human-oriented meanings. This is our general definition for basic meanings” (Steen et al., 2010, p. 35).

MIP (2007) seems to distinguish between two types of tangible meanings: that which is concrete and non-human and that whose tangibility is related specifically to the human body and is thus human. We can say then that we have concrete human meaning on the one hand and concrete non-human meaning on the other hand; and the distinction therefore between metaphorical and non-metaphorical uses will remove any abstract meaning in favour of a more concrete meaning. It is then metaphorical to say ‘money *talks*’, as talking is a human and bodily concrete quality. However, how to deal with ‘money *loves* money’, since *love* is human but not necessarily bodily action or concrete that can be seen, heard, felt, smelled or tasted. Love, marriage, friendship are part of human experience which is not necessarily bodily concrete action. This may explain why MIPVU changed the criterion to human-oriented action instead of bodily action thus following the assumption of embodied cognition or experientialism. In this regard, Steen et al. (2010) remind us that it is one of the

fundamental claims of contemporary metaphor theory that most of the historically older meanings of words are also more concrete, specific, and human-oriented (p. 35).

However, while bodily action refers us clearly to bodily concrete meaning, human-oriented action criterion allows for more abstract meanings. This may be explained by the claim that it is not clear what embodiment refers to exactly:

Although it is by now widely agreed that cognition is embodied, in the sense that it is shaped by the body and sensorimotor interaction with the environment, it is less clear exactly what this means ... Is it the physical, the biological, the animate, the phenomenal (experienced), or the social body that shapes cognition, or perhaps all of these? And, exactly how does the body shape cognition; is it, for example, only involved in actual sensorimotor interaction with the environment ... or ... is the body also crucially involved in thought, language, and other supposedly abstract activities...? (Ziemke, Zlatev & Frank, 2007, p.2).

This, however, needs to be investigated further, which is unfortunately beyond the scope of the present research. What pertains to this analysis is that while adopting the human-oriented criterion solves one problem, it still gives rise to another. If MIPVU is based on the experientialist theory, therefore, preference is for human-oriented meanings. This creates a problem in applying the procedure when we come across cases where we need to decide which meaning is more basic, that which is human but abstract; or that which is concrete but non-human. This is discussed in the next section.

3.2.2.4 The criterion of concreteness versus human-oriented

Let us consider the following candidate cases of basic meanings of *run*.

run

- (13) "*The Arabs* are chickens," he said. "Just look at what Egypt did about Gaza. Those big-bellied Arabs, you take up a stick and they *run*."

Human+concrete (= bodily action)

Candidate basic meaning: to move quickly to a place using your legs and feet (Macmillan 1)

- (14) Tears *were running* down his face.
(15) Water *was running* off the roof

Non-Human+concrete

Candidate basic meaning: if a liquid runs somewhere, it flows there (Macmillan 4)

Case (13) shows a combination of human-oriented meaning and concrete meanings. Cases (14) and (15) show a combination of inanimate and concrete meanings. Following MIPVU, a more basic meaning is more concrete and human-oriented, so it is easy to establish the basic meanings of *run* in example (16) and decide that it is metaphorically used:

- (16) Arab and Muslim regimes found it very useful to *run* against George Bush.

Human+abstract Vs human+concrete= bodily action ==> metaphorical

So far, there is no problem. However, the decision on the basic meaning is not so straightforward for the following cases of *run*:

- (17) A member of the Iraqi Parliament who read the report said that one of the four proposed options was the creation of an independent or autonomous region *run* by Kurds, Arabs and Turkmens.

Human+abstract

Candidate basic meaning: to control and organize something such as a business, organization, or event (Macmillan sense 2)

Candidate basic meaning: if a machine or engine runs, or if you run it, it is working (Macmillan sense 3)

If we follow MIPVU, Macmillan 2 is the most basic meaning. However, it is abstract and Macmillan 3 provides a more concrete meaning.

- (18) I *ran* the dishwasher even though it wasn't full.

Non-Human+concrete

Case (17) , shows a combination of both human and abstract. Case (18), similarly to cases (14) and (15), shows a combination of non-human meaning with concrete meaning. The problem, however, is that these are non-human. The decision to consider one of the two senses as basic implies *run* is metaphorically used either in (17) or in (18) but not in both.

Steen et al. discuss the case of *disturb*³⁰

The contextual meaning of *disturb* ('to do something that stops a place or situation from being pleasant, calm, or peaceful') is clear. The analysts disagreed, however, about the basic meaning. There are two arguments. The third sense in Macmillan, 'to make something move', makes reference to a concrete form of movement, and therefore qualifies as a candidate for the basic meaning. However, analysts may be distracted by the salience of the human-oriented first two senses ('to interrupt someone and stop them from continuing what they were doing' and 'to upset and worry someone a lot'). Longman offers similar sense descriptions and therefore does not solve the quandaries. The OED suggests that all senses are equally basic because the primarily physical sense and the primarily abstract senses appeared roughly at the same time. This led us to conclude that *disturb* in the above example is not metaphorically used since it is sufficiently close to the third sense, 'movement' (2010, p. 35).³¹

This example shows that the contextual meaning and the different candidate basic meanings appeared around the same time in OED. Still, it did not suggest how to solve the problem between the non-human concrete sense and the human-oriented abstract sense if they had not appeared at the same time with the abstract contextual meaning.

The question that still persists then here is where to start from to determine which meaning is more basic: that which is human-oriented but abstract or that which is concrete but not human-oriented? If we try to still rely on MIPVU, we may argue that it indirectly tackles

³⁰ The following sentence shows the contextual meaning of *disturb*:

"Drifting between grassy polders to which farmers have to ferry their cattle in punts, or following leafy twisting lanes marked only by rusty signs proclaiming the 'Venise Verte', you're in an all-green, mysteriously silent world; only the occasional fisherman, twitching his rod above the algae-smothered waters, *disturbs* the stillness. (AHC-fragment61)" (Steen et al., 2010, p. 35)

³¹ This lengthy quote is from Steen, G. J., Dorst, A. G., Herrmann, J. B., Kaal, A., Krennmayr, T., and Pasma, (2007, p. 35). Though long, including this quotation in the discussion is important to elucidate the issue raised by of the human-oriented criterion.

this problem when discussing having equally abstract/concrete basic and contextual meanings. MIPVU illustrates this with the examples of *trot* and *roar*,

When the contextual meaning of a lexical unit is just as abstract/concrete as some of its alternative meanings, we have to check whether there is any indication of the (original) domain from which the word derives. For instance, there are verbs, such as *trot* and *roar*, which may be applied with equal ease to a range of concrete entities, but the non-human, animal origin (basic sense) of the lexical units decides which applications are metaphorical and which are not. (Steen et al., 2010, pp. 35-36).

The question then is to determine the original domain of the word (human or non-human). In other problematic cases, the historical level is used and the OED is clearly referred to as a tie-breaker by checking which one is older. If they both appeared at the same time, then they are both equally basic and no metaphorical relation can be established. Checking *trot* in the OED, we find the following:

(vb)³² intr. Of a horse, and occasionally other quadrupeds: To go at the gait called the trot (see trot n.1 1). Also said of a man. (OED sense I 1 a 1362)

(N) A gait of a quadruped, originally of a horse, between walking and running, in which the legs move in diagonal pairs almost together, so that in a slow trot there is always one foot at least on the ground, but in a fast trot one pair leaves the ground before the other reaches it, all four feet being thus momentarily off the ground at once; hence applied to a similar gait of a man (or other biped), between a walk and a run. (OED sense I 1 a 1300)

³² For more information about the symbols used in these entries from OED, see <http://public.oed.com/how-to-use-the-oed/abbreviations/>

In both verbal and nominal forms, even though it is stated that the meaning originally involves the non-human animal sense, the same entry conflates that is also used for humans. Still, it may be argued that there is clear indication that it is used in the first place with horses. I then decided to check the second example *roar*. Checking *roar*, I found that both human and non-human animal senses are listed as separate entries but that both appeared around the same time.

Of a large (typically wild) animal (esp. a lion): to utter a loud deep cry. Also with *out*. (OED sense 1 a OE)

Of a person, crowd, etc.: to utter a loud deep prolonged sound, typically whilst in a state of high emotion, such as anger, pain, excitement, etc.; to shout, yell. Also with *out*.

Sometimes in simulative use: to roar like a specified animal (cf. sense 1a). (OED sense 2 a OE)

There is then no indication how to determine the original domain of use. This sets one limitation for the dictionary use or for the described procedure. Maybe these limitations are the reason why the OED was not referred to in this case in particular.

3.2.2.5 Restriction to word class

MIPVU indicates that the lexical unit of analysis is the word, and the meaning of the word should respect the word class. Let us consider *storm*. The noun is defined as “lot of rain falls very quickly ...”. Looking at the verb ‘storm’ in both Macmillan and Longman, the meaning attached to weather is completely absent because it is no longer in contemporary use as MIPVU would argue. Only the Oxford English Dictionary indicates the weather-related meaning.

Storm (N)

Macmillan sense 1: an occasion when a lot of rain falls very quickly, often with very strong winds or thunder and lightning

Longman sense 1: a period of very bad weather when there is a lot of rain or snow, strong winds, and often lightning

Storm (vb)

Macmillan sense 1: to use force to enter a place and take control of it

Macmillan sense 2: to go somewhere very quickly because you are angry or upset

Macmillan sense 3: to quickly become very successful

Macmillan sense 4: to say something in a very angry way

Longman sense 1: to suddenly attack and enter a place using a lot of force

Longman sense 2: to go somewhere in a noisy fast way that shows you are extremely angry

Longman sense 3: to shout something in an angry way

OED sense 1 a. *intr.* Of the elements or weather: To be tempestuous or stormy, to rage. (OED 14...)

OED sense 1b. *impers.* To blow violently; also to rain, snow, etc. heavily. Now only U.S. (OED 1530)

OED sense 1 c. *transf.* To rush with the violence of a storm. (OED 1842)

In examples (19) and (20), *storm* is therefore not used metaphorically according to MIPVU:

(19) It was this committee's report that led directly to the General Assembly vote of Nov. 29, 1947, to partition Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab entities. The Jews accepted this proposal, but the Arabs *stormed out* and threatened war (*The NYT*, 18 May 2008).

(20) IRAN The police used tear gas and batons to disperse protesters demanding the release of opposition leaders in the biggest clashes in the capital since demonstrators *stormed back* to the streets two weeks ago, The Associated Press reported (*The NYT*, 2 March 2011).

In examples (21) and (22) however, the meaning of *storm* which pertains to the weather domain is still in contemporary use as indicated by the dates in brackets.

(21) While the world's attention is focused on the unfolding tragedy in Japan, residents here are coping with Friday's big waves, which *stormed* across the ocean and sent an eight-foot swell into the enclosed harbor here, smashing dozens of boats (*The NYT*, 17 March 2011).

(22) What a quandary for Mr. Thompson that the elder Mr. Curtis, the best character in the book, died of cancer three months before Katrina *stormed* in, and appears as a kind of benevolent ghost, team inspiration and goad to his son (*The NYT*, 31 July 2007).

If then we go back to the first two sentences (19) and (20), we find a contrast between a more basic meaning (weather) and a contextual meaning (force action) that can be understood by comparison, and then 'Arabs stormed out' is metaphorical. It can be argued that *storm* in

these cases is followed by a preposition which may give it a different meaning. One of the rules of MIPVU, however, is that a lexical unit of analysis is the word. In MIPVU, the OED as an etymological dictionary is not completely discarded but consulted to solve problematic cases. According to MIPVU however, cases considered problematic arise only when there is a need to distinguish between two equally basic meanings in a contemporary dictionary.

Furthermore, prepositions raise a practical problem especially for a comparative analysis of metaphors in discourse: for example, how to deal with *tensions between* or *action against*? Should we consider them two metaphors or one metaphor? If we classify *tension* and *between* separately, these may be classified twice and result in over-counting thus affecting the findings.

3.2.2.6 Dictionaries

Another issue with MIPVU has to do with the selection of dictionaries published by Macmillan and Longman. The following words identified throughout the current analysis do not have dictionary definitions:

Blow-back, intrusiveness, low-income, middle-income, metalheads, outshoot, pouchy, raghead, redefine, renter, roil, superheated/ superheat

MIPVU tackles the absence of definitions in a dictionary in two cases: when a dictionary does not provide the contextual meaning of a given word; and when a word is a novel formation, and proposes that

if we are dealing with a novel formation unknown to the dictionary, the compound noun is analysed as two separate units [...]. Our reason for this practice is that the language user is forced to parse the compound into its two component parts in order to establish the relation between the two related concepts and referents (Steen et al., 2010, p. 30).

This procedure applies to an example from this study, which is the word *overconsume*. However, I found that the OED provides definitions when it comes to the other cases (*blow-back ...*) which are not restricted to novel formations (*intrusiveness* and *renter*).

3.2.2.7 The criterion of ‘more precise’

Finally, the criterion of ‘more precise’ or ‘more specific’ is not well-explained and no examples are given to indicate what is meant and how to distinguish between specific and vague. This could be a source of disagreement between analysts especially when we have instantiations of the same idea that some may consider as more precise or specific meanings.

Nevertheless, MIPVU remains a very useful method for the identification of metaphorically used language. It offers so far a reliable procedure that seeks to minimize differences and enhance agreements between analysts of metaphor. Although we discussed a number of limitations that were identified during a pilot analysis, we do not claim to eventually propose solutions to all these issues as this is beyond the main focus of this thesis. In view of these limitations however, I propose to use an adapted version that is more adequate to my research needs as presented in Section 4.1.3.2.

Conclusion

Chapter 3 reviewed the main theories that the research draws on for the investigation of metaphors used to describe Arabs and Americans in news media. It revisited metaphor in cognitive theory and critical approaches, namely Critical Discourse Analysis, pragmatics and Critical Metaphor Analysis. It also reviewed the contribution of corpus linguistics to metaphor research, and revisited MIPVU.

4 CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS & METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter describes the corpus compilation, and the methods used to collect, identify and analyse metaphors, following the four stages of the Critical Metaphor Analysis methodology (see Figure 4-1 at the end of the chapter). The first section essentially introduces the corpus design including the data set, and the sources of American and Arab news media examined, and accounts for their selection. The second section describes the methods used for the collection of corpus and metaphor data. It describes the method used for the extraction of metaphor data from the corpus. After that, it outlines my adapted procedure for the identification of metaphorical expressions and this for the collection of metaphor data. The last section presents the specific method used for metaphor data analysis with reference to Critical Metaphor Analysis methodology. It describes the two stages of metaphor interpretation and explanation, in addition to the collocation analysis integrated within those stages.

4.1 Corpus Design

The first stage of contextual analysis in Critical Metaphor Analysis involved developing research questions (See Section 1.5) which guided the corpus design including the selection of news sources and the time span.

4.1.1 Sources of News Media

Before selecting a specific source of news media, it was necessary to conduct a search among a number of American and Arab news media sources and to conduct a pilot analysis of those that seem most suitable for the research purposes. It should be acknowledged however that American news media sources were more available and easily accessible than Arab ones. The different selected news sources offer a variety of news articles on local and international

politics, finance and economics, sports and social events etc. Three main reasons guided our selection of the news publications that were examined in this research. The first reason is their status as authoritative media voices. These news publications have immediate relevance to the research because not only do they represent leading discourses in their respective communities, but they are also said to have had direct influence with regard to major international issues in the decade between 2001 and 2011. The second reason involves the criticisms and controversies over their bias in covering major world events. The third reason is that they provided a more substantial collection of data for metaphor analysis of the groups in focus - Arabs and Americans - than other consulted news sources. These reasons are explained in more detail in the two sections that follow.

4.1.1.1 US News Media

The US news media data are based on *The New York Times* (the NYT) online edition, due to its large readership, its reputation as a leader in news coverage, and the criticisms of bias over Arab related issues levelled against it.

The NYT was in 2008-2009 the world's 3rd largest circulating newspaper³³ and had a strong web presence with an estimated 555 million page views in March 2005 (*The New York Times*, 2005). More importantly, the NYT is considered one of the very influential media voices, not only in the United States but also in the world:

The Times' influence extends far beyond the number of newspapers sold or hits on its website. It is, without question, the trendsetter when it comes to news coverage – which makes it the most powerful media voice in America, and – perhaps – the world (Kincaid, 2006).

³³ The dates show a time period that corresponds in part to the time period in focus in this study.

In addition, the NYT received heavy criticisms over its coverage of the Iraq war. Ricks (2006) argues that “The *New York Times*, the ‘paper of record,’ would carry more than its share of misinformed articles that helped drive the nation toward war in Iraq” (p. 35). It also raises controversy over its coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Slater (2010) asserts that “Close observers of *Times*' news coverage and commentary about Israel have long known that it is typically slanted in a ‘pro-Israeli direction’” (para. 6). Conversely, Loewenstein (2007) argues that “Both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* have suffered Jewish boycotts over the years because of perceived anti-Israel bias” (p. 269).

The NYT was also found to be most appropriate for the purposes of this research. An initial qualitative and quantitative analysis of 100-citation samples from different US newspapers revealed, for instance, that the *New York Times* uses metaphors referring to Arabs and Arab people much more frequently than the *Washington Post*, in which metaphors are used to describe Arab countries and specific Arab individuals (mainly Osama Bin Laden) rather than ‘Arabs’ or Arab people. The focus of this research is not to investigate specific Arab individuals or countries but rather the group ‘Arabs’, aware of all the controversies around the use of this word as discussed in Section 1.3. Examining other news publications such as the *Washington Times* and *USA Today*, very few occurrences of ‘Arabs’ were found.

4.1.1.2 Arab News Media (the ANM)

The selection of Arab news media sources proved much more difficult and I did not have as much flexibility to pilot different sources as I had done for American ones. The corpus of Arab news media was compiled from two sources: the *Al Jazeera English* website (AJE) and the *Arab News* online (The Arab News). These will be referred to during the course of the thesis as the Arab News Media (the ANM).

AJE is believed to have worldwide expansion with an estimated reach of around 100 million households. “AJE broadcasts to 150 million households in more than 100 countries” (*The Walrus*, October 2009). The selection of the AJE website can be explained by *Al Jazeera*'s

influence on the media scene in the last two decades, by AJE's increasing expansion worldwide and in the United States, and by the criticisms and attacks from the US and the censorship that it has been subject to by several Arab states.

Al Jazeera was criticized for anti-American bias following 9/11 and the war on Iraq (2003) to the extent that it was claimed that

If the U.S. loses the battle for freedom in Iraq, some of the responsibility will fall on Al Jazeera. This is the Arab network primarily known as a mouthpiece for al Qaeda, but which has also been inciting violence against U.S. troops (Kincaid, 2004).

Until 2003, *Al Jazeera* was banned from the US and similarly, on the part of the Arab region, it has faced censorship and has had a number of its offices closed or activities frozen (Algeria and Tunisia), and access to its websites censored and hacked. Whether anti-American or anti-Arab regimes, *Al Jazeera* seems to offer in-depth news coverage from a different perspective than the more traditionally Western-based news outlets. It has particularly been acclaimed for its coverage of the Arab Spring of revolutions. Hillary Clinton admitted the influential power of *Al Jazeera* on changing opinions and stated that "Al Jazeera has been the leader in that they are literally changing people's minds and attitudes. And like it or hate it, it is really effective" (*The Huffington Post*, 3 March 2011). She adds, emphasizing the professionalism of *Al Jazeera*, that "viewership of Al Jazeera is going up in the United States because it's real news. You may not agree with it, but you feel like you're getting real news around the clock instead of a million commercials" (*The Huffington Post*, 3 March 2011).

Very recently, *Al Jazeera* has been involved in a very tense and complicated political situation between the countries of the Gulf, its closure being one of the conditions to lift the sanctions against Qatar. *Al Jazeera* is actually accused of promoting a terrorist discourse and having direct political involvement and implications to the detriment of the region. Stating that "Al Jazeera is a platform for spreading terrorist ideology" (*The Jerusalem Post*, 17 July 2017), the United Arab Emirates Foreign Minister Anwar Gargash has accused the network

of promoting anti-Semitic violence, of supporting sectarianism and terrorist groups, and of incitement to violence.

Started in 1975, *Arab News* was the first daily newspaper published in English in Saudi Arabia (Ramnarayan, 2005). It has become a leading source of news presented from an Arab perspective using the English language, with an estimated circulation of 110,000 copies (Metz, 1992³⁴). It offers news coverage for almost the entire region, and is claimed to be the most professional and to some extent liberal in the Saudi context (Wikileaks Cable, 1991).

The leading and oldest English-language newspaper, *Arab News* covers not only Saudi Arabia but also most of the Arab region. In spite of its close ties to the government, *Arab News* shows for a less submissive journalism, mainly due to the fact that its readers are mostly English-speaking expatriates. The paper has many syndicated writers on its opinion pages and a good website (Arab Press Network, n.d.).

Since the corpora were compiled in 2011, and the time period for the study involves articles that appeared between 2001 and 2011, the figures provided about the estimated circulation, website visitors and viewership can still be considered very relevant to the present aim of examining metaphors and representations within a particular social and political context in a particular period of time.

4.1.1.3 Dataset

After deciding on the news sources, the plan was to compile the subcorpora needed for the study and to extract particular text material from each subcorpus to be analysed for metaphor use. The first stage of the procedure was choosing news articles and stories that would be

³⁴ This is the only available update that could be obtained regarding the circulation of the newspaper.

included in the corpus. Data were collected through the LexisNexis online database³⁵ by first selecting the news sources needed, then setting the relevant dates. The US news source selected was *The New York Times* web-based publication. The Arab news sources included the ‘Middle East’ *Arab News* web-based publication and *Al Jazeera English* website. Two time periods were set for the generation of articles from the database: a first period between 11 September 2001 and 31 December 2003 and a second period between 01 October 2008 and 30 June 2011. The choice of the dates was informed by the major political and economic events affecting either Arabs or Americans, such as the 9/11 attacks, the Iraq invasion, the worldwide financial crisis, the Gaza War and the Arab Revolutions. The selection of news sources and time period at LexisNexis database was followed by activating a setting to remove the duplicate stories and articles from the search result sets, and then by running a first search for the term ‘Arabs’ in the American news source and a second search in the Arab sources. The same method was used for the search term ‘Americans’. Finally, all the articles retrieved from each search were downloaded and saved as raw text files³⁶ thus yielding four separate subcorpora (See Table 4.1 below). These text files would later be processed by WordSmith 5.0 corpus software (introduced and explained below).

Despite the usefulness of LexisNexis database to this study, it did not provide articles for December 2010 and the period between 01 March and 30 June 2011 that appeared at the *Al Jazeera English* website. I then had to compile a part of the corpus myself directly from the website. Thus, I would search the website by inserting the date of each day and open each result returned. Afterwards, I would copy all news data that appeared on that day and save them as under text files which keep only the text format data and remove all other data such as images or videos. I then would manually enter the metadata for each text file such as the date, the title, the author, and the document type (opinion, interview, brief).

³⁵ LexisNexis database is an online full-text database that provides quick access to full-text articles from thousands of news publications such as newspapers, news websites and news programs from around the world. LexisNexis enables the researcher to download selected news publications and create corpora tailored to meet different research study needs (LexisNexis Official Website at <https://www.lexisnexis.com>).

³⁶ A text file is a computer file that contains plain text (no formatting, for instance italics or images) and that is identified using the .txt extension (for instance NYTarticle1.txt).

Aware that faster options to collect data from the website were available such as website data extractors software, one main reason why I had to conduct the quite tedious task of compiling my corpus manually, in addition to the fact that a full version of an extracting software could be costly and require minimum specialist training, was that *Al Jazeera* at the time did not allow for external tools to access its website and extract data from it. Still, because of its importance as a powerful media voice all over the Arab world, and in view of relevant Arabic constraints of corpus availability, and to compensate for the lack of Arab corpora especially in comparison with the American ones, *Al Jazeera* could not be ignored even if the data were limited. A summary description of the composition of the different news subcorpora obtained is provided in Table 4.1:

Table 4.1: News Corpus Dataset

SEARCH TERM	‘Arabs’		‘Americans’	
SUBCORPUS	The NYT	The ANM	The NYT	The ANM
TIME PERIOD	11/09/2001 – 31/12/2003			
	01/10/2008– 30/06/2011			
SIZE	101,789,662	5,233,387	138,684,322	6,724,567
ARTICLES	99257	8477	268487	14813
CONCORDANCE CITATIONS	2811	1051	41469	1839

As we can see in the table, the NYT subcorpora size on the basis of the articles generated, whether from the search terms ‘arabs’ or ‘Americans’, is clearly much bigger than the ANM subcorpora. The size of the corpus however, did not affect the issue of comparability as the main criterion for the corpus design was the number of citations that were examined and which, following Metaphor Pattern Analysis method (MPA) (Stefanowitsch, 2006), was

1000 citations for each of the four subcorpora. MPA method will be discussed in further detail in the next section.

The second stage after compiling the corpus was to obtain relevant text material from each subcorpus for focused analysis. As my goal was to search for metaphors surrounding the search words ‘Arabs’ and ‘Americans’, a concordance for each of these search words was run in each subcorpus. I used the Concord program from WordSmith tools software, Version 5.0 (Scott, 2010). Concordance in this software comes with a default span of 5 words to the left and 5 to the right of the search word³⁷. Adhering to it initially, I analysed 100 citations from each corpus and noticed two shortcomings. First, the word limits, more often than not, did not provide enough linguistic context to reliably determine whether a word is used metaphorically or not, as illustrated by the following citation:

(1) a solid *recovery*, but most *Americans* continue to *struggle*. In order

Most of the time therefore, I had to read wider context not only to investigate the candidate metaphors, but also to understand the overall linguistic context in which both the search word and candidate metaphor(s) appear.

The second issue caused by the limited word span is that I noticed that metaphorically used words that appear, for instance, even 3 or 4 words outside these limits could easily be missed. Therefore, since one main focus of this research was to find out the discursive and pragmatic motivations behind the occurrence of metaphors, widening the context to the maximum 25 words to the right and to the left of the search words could enrich the findings and thus contribute to a deeper and better understanding of those motivations.

Different software packages were available for the analysis of corpora such as WordSmith tools (Scott, 2010) and AntConc (Anthony, 2011). I particularly chose to use WordSmith 5.0

³⁷ Most of corpus linguistics concordance programs have a very limited word span as a default setting. In addition, the maximum span is around 25 words as in WordSmith 5.0

because it has the concordance (KWIC) and collocation tools needed for this research (See Sections 3.1.3.2 and 3.1.3.5 for more detail on these tools). It should be stressed in this regard that the type of software that is used for the analysis might limit the type of measure that can be used. In addition, the choice of measure may favour particular types of words and thus affect interpretation, for instance, MI will give words that do not occur often, high scores which may be misleading. WordSmith 5.0 provided me particularly with the type of measure of collocation that I needed to use in this study. When calculating the strength of collocation, and in addition to frequency, WordSmith 5.0 allows the rank by MI3 which gives importance to low frequency words and at the same time takes the frequency of collocates into account (Baker, 2006). AntConc 3.2.4, for instance, does not allow the rank by MI3. Furthermore, WordSmith 5.0 is quite user-friendly and is fast in loading and searching big size corpora without interruption (such as freezing and restarting) especially in view of my large NYT corpus. For instance clicking on the search word would take me quickly and directly to the source article from which the citation was extracted.

After retrieving the concordance citations, random sampling was applied in order to obtain an equal number of citations (1000) for each corpus and for each of the search terms ‘Arabs’ and ‘Americans’. For instance, the number of citations of ‘Arabs’ in the NYT was 2811 as shown in Table 4.1 above. 1000 of those citations were randomly selected for analysis. A few duplicate citations that were identified during the qualitative analysis were eliminated and replaced again by randomly selected ones.

4.1.2 Interpretation

The interpretation stage involves the identification of the conceptual basis of the identified metaphors. This stage also involves the classification of metaphor data. Classification and identification provide the analytical platform for a more specific detailed identification of the discourse functions/ writer’s purposes in using these metaphors by examining them against their contextual background. In the current research, the identified metaphors are classified by source domain and by the conceptual metaphors describing Arabs and Americans.

For the purpose of illustration, consider *lag behind* in the following sentence.

- (2) Arabs *lag* far *behind* the Jewish population in income and employment levels (*Arab News*, 17 June 2010).

A metaphorical expression is the linguistic realization of an underlying conceptual metaphor. *Lag behind* realizes the following conceptual metaphors DEVELOPMENT /PROGRESS/ SUCCESS IS RACING and more specifically LESS/LACK OF SUCCESS IS SLOWLINESS/ SLOW MOVEMENT and LESS/ LACK OF SUCCESS IS BACK POSITION/POSITION BEHIND. These would, in turn, suggest the contrasting conceptual mappings associated with Jews, SUCCESS IS SPEED/SPEEDY MOVEMENT and SUCCESS IS POSITION IN FRONT. To confirm our interpretation further linguistic evidence is needed which can be seen through the following examples from the corpus:

- (3) [Olmert:] “This is the time to *move forward, fast*, take my peace initiative with the Palestinians and make a deal. This will be my advice to Prime Minister Netanyahu. *Don't wait. Move, lead* and make history. This is the time. There will not be a better one” (*The NYT*, 07 February 2011).
- (4) Prudence is important, but Americans do have an expectation that their president will be the one *out front*, dominating the agenda, projecting strength and offering vision (*The NYT*, 14 March 2011).
- (5) [Seif el-Islam el Gaddafi:] “We have to be *ahead* of the world in our region, the Middle East, and not to be *lagging behind*, because the whole world is *heading* toward democracy” (*The NYT*, 15 December 2004).

- (6) [GW. Bush:] *Americans move forward* in every generation by reaffirming all that is good and true (*The NYT*, 20 January 2005).
- (7) Many *Arabs* blame outsiders for their *backwardness* (*The NYT*, 5 March 2011).
- (8) These young people are painfully aware that their societies are *falling behind* the rest of the world economically and technologically (*The NYT*, 15 August 2002).

The choice of *lag behind* seems to be used for a predicative purpose. Though the account of metaphor choice is the focus of the explanation stage, the two stages do overlap at some points. Looking at examples (3), (4) and (5), we notice a shift from socio-economic success to success in politics which entails mapping racing to politics as POLITICS IS RACING.

4.1.3 Data Collection and Metaphor Identification

4.1.3.1 Data Collection

This section describes how to find metaphorical expressions in a large collection of texts. Since I am looking at previously determined target domains, Metaphor Pattern Analysis (MPA) (Stefanowitsch, 2006) was found to be the most suitable for the aims of this study and was adopted to retrieve metaphorical expressions from the corpus. Stefanowitsch (2006) observes that while the source domain should normally be linguistically instantiated, the target domain may not always be linguistically observable. As shown below in illustration (9), both target ARGUMENT and source WAR are linguistically explicit. In example (10), the target domain LOVE is not.

- (9) ARGUMENT IS WAR – Your claims are *indefensible*.³⁸
- (10) LOVE IS WAR – He *fled from* her *advances*.

Accordingly, he introduces the Metaphorical Pattern Analysis method (MPA) based on metaphorical expressions containing both source and target domain lexemes. As defined by (Stefanowitsch, 2006), “A metaphorical pattern is a multi-word expression from a given source domain (SD) into which a specific lexical item from a given target domain (TD) has been inserted” (p. 66). The analyst selects one or more lexical items (*claim, criticism, argument*) from the target domain in focus (*argument*) and retrieves their occurrences from the corpus; she then identifies metaphorical patterns - metaphorical expressions from a source domain occurring with or including a lexical item from that target domain. Finally, the analyst establishes the conceptual cross-mapping using a metaphorical pattern. The basic procedure that I followed for the extraction of metaphorical expressions from the corpus was accordingly as follow:

Step 1: Since the target domains in focus are ARABS or AMERICANS, I selected specifically the lexical items ‘Arabs’ and ‘Americans’. I retrieved their occurrences from each corpus.

Step 2: I identified the metaphorical patterns which contain lexical items from both target and source domains for instance ‘*Arabs lag far behind*’. This step, however, involves another procedure to determine whether an expression (*lag behind* or *far*) is used metaphorically or literally (this issue will be discussed in the following Section, 4.1.3.2).

This project has taken into account the fuzzy nature of metaphor annotation and analysis and borrowed some methods from MPA that are relevant to the research questions and the overall goal of this project. As explained above, MPA commonly relies on narrowing the research

³⁸ Both illustrations (9) and (10) are taken from *Metaphors we live by*, (p.4 and p. 49 respectively) by Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M., 1980, Chicago: Chicago University Press.

down to search terms aiming that their citations from the corpora would facilitate identifying metaphors that are in close proximity to the assigned search words. The choice of this practical corpus method is relevant to this project, as we aim to uncover metaphorical uses that describe Americans and Arabs in two types of news media. MPA, however, goes a step further with the analysis of metaphors, that is, testing whether the target domain in question is statistically associated with some patterns found in the data. For example, Stefanowitsch (2006) tested whether three specific mappings are associated with the concept of ANGER and found out that there is a strong association of ANGER with HEATED LIQUID, A SUBSTANCE UNDER PRESSURE and FIRE (Stefanowitsch, 2006). We considered following the same statistical test, namely a chi-square measure of association. Following the same procedures would tell us whether some mappings of target domains are strongly associated with certain mappings of source domains but it would not tell us the differences in uses. As MPA uses chi-square as the only statistical test, there is a tendency to work with raw frequencies rather than with normalized ones, a tendency that is followed in this project. Most importantly, chi-square is not used in this project because we found out that the distribution of the data does not meet the prerequisite of the chi-square test, since many categories have less than five occurrences (See Table 5.1 , Table 5.32 and Table 5.33).

4.1.3.2 Metaphor Identification

The main aim of this section is to introduce the identification procedure adopted for the purpose of this research. In CMA, identifying a metaphor (metaphorical expressions) at the linguistic level follows the linguistic criteria of personification, reification and depersonification³⁹. The current study adopts a rather more detailed method for the identification of metaphorical expressions⁴⁰.

³⁹At the linguistic level, a word or phrase can cause semantic tension or incongruity by reification, personification or depersonification (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 21). See Section 2.4.5.

- ✓ Reification: concrete for abstract
- ✓ Personification: animate for inanimate
- ✓ Depersonification: inanimate for animate

⁴⁰ See discussion of MIPVU in Section 3.2.

In Section 3.2., I acknowledged the contribution of MIPVU as a most recent robust procedure for the identification of metaphorically used words, but also discussed some of its limitations. In view of the above-discussed limitations of MIPVU, I adapt this procedure to suit the current study. So, what makes a word or a phrase a metaphorical expression in this study? Table 4.2 summarizes the identification procedure adapted and used in the current analysis to distinguish between the metaphorically used words and those non-metaphorically used.

Table 4.2: Adapted Procedure for the Identification of Metaphors

	MIPVU criteria	Criteria of the current study
Basic meaning	Human-oriented	Human-oriented Bodily action More concrete
	More concrete	Etymology
	More precise	-
Lexical unit	Word	Word/ phrase
Word class	Strictly applied	Considered only when confirmed by etymology and in a reference corpus
Dictionary	- <i>Macmillan English Dictionary</i> - <i>Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English</i> used when there is disagreement between analysts. - <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> is used to decide which basic meaning is historically older ⁴¹	- <i>Macmillan English Dictionary</i> and <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> are used in parallel.

In view of the discussion of the human-oriented, bodily action and concreteness criteria discussed above in Section 3.2.2 , I applied an adapted version of the metaphor identification procedure where the more basic meaning is the more concrete meaning. Bodily action is

⁴¹ In MIPVU “Diachronic considerations of basic meanings may only come in when specific problems arise” (Steen et al., 2010, p.35). Therefore, though etymology is secondary it is considered.

considered a subcategory of concreteness and not embedded in the human-oriented criterion. I also consider etymology as a criterion to distinguish the words that are historically older and that are still contemporarily used by English language speakers. Therefore, both the *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Macmillan Dictionary* were used in parallel. In addition, the word meaning will not be restricted to word class unless the distinction is confirmed historically. Furthermore, and to avoid over-counting, the lexical unit analysed for being used metaphorically or non-metaphorically is not restricted to words but includes phrases.

I am aware that using two dictionaries in parallel may raise an issue of consistency which seems one strength of MIPVU. When using different dictionaries (Macmillan, Longman and OED) to decide if a word is used metaphorically or not, I discussed how *conflict* in the example⁴² ‘*conflict between Islam and democracy*’ involves different decisions on whether this will be a metaphor or not. Since this research is interested in a critical analysis of metaphors, I consider that restricting the analysis to one dictionary can result in ignoring important data. I therefore used both a corpus-based contemporary dictionary and an etymological dictionary.

In addition, even when applying MIPVU, which uses 3 dictionaries though prioritizing, I needed to consult Longman on a frequent basis. The argument against this could be that maybe I need to be trained for the procedure. With respect to this, a number of the cases challenging MIPVU (as those discussed in Steen et al., 2010) appear when they create disagreement between two analysts. In other words, when someone is conducting the analysis on their own, a lot of these problems may go unnoticed because the analyst will make the decision arguing they are bound by X criterion. This implies that the practicality that this procedure brings in terms of using a contemporary dictionary (instead of a detailed etymological dictionary) is replaced by the need for more than one analyst. This procedure however, is subject to many constraints before it claims it is really applicable because it needs training, more than one analyst is required, and it depends on the level of English language awareness of the analyst. This is a procedure that can work best for projects involving more than one or two researchers and for more quantitatively orientated research studies.

⁴² Similar examples are ‘*the struggle to pay the bills*’, ‘*fight against cancer*’ etc.

4.2 Metaphor Data Analysis

The two stages following the collection and identification of metaphorical expressions from the corpus are the interpretation of conceptual metaphors and the explanation of their choice.

4.2.1 Collocation Analysis

I conducted collocation analysis mainly to evaluate the findings from the metaphor analysis against collocation analysis of both corpora and against a reference corpus namely the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). First, I retrieved the first 300 collocates of Arabs and Americans from the NYT, the ANM and COCA. These Collocates are then sorted by the MI3 score ≥ 3 . I compared collocates based on the MI3 strength of collocation score provided that it is 3 or above, as scores of 3.0 or higher are believed to indicate a strong semantic connection between the two words (Baker, 2006). As indicated earlier, MI3 is preferred over other scores because when the strength of collocation is calculated, words with low frequency are not ignored as with other measures. In addition, the frequency of collocation is also taken into account (Baker, 2006).

I followed Deignan's method and singled out collocates that can possibly be metaphor candidates. I noticed when examining collocates of verbs that there is a tendency for object/passive forms of the verbs to occur to the left of the search word, and subject/active forms to the right. Therefore, I decided to compute the MI3 collocation relationship score and consider the frequency by looking at five words to the right of the search word for subject/active position, and five words to the left for object/passive position. But by doing this, I do not pretend to determine whether they are metaphorically used or not as that is beyond the scope of this research. Nor do I pretend that they are definitely object/passive or subject/active. Therefore, the results – though they might corroborate the findings from the metaphor analysis - should be read with caution and the limitations of interpretation acknowledged.

Collocation analysis can give hints as to whether each news media has similar or different semantic focus/metaphor candidates as those found in a reference corpus and thus show how specific the use of source domains may possibly be to a news corpus. The collocation analysis of the study corpora is meant to strengthen the representativeness of the sample, and to capture possibly missed metaphor candidates. Collocation analysis can also be very useful in either identifying or interpreting metaphors. For instance using COCA to examine the top ten collocates of *lag* in relation to example (2) above, shows that the collocates of this word pertain mainly to the domain of the economy. This supports our claim about the evaluation of people's performance in a capitalist economy in terms of successful achievement and progress.

The Corpus of Contemporary American English or COCA is a reference corpus used in this research for the purpose of verifying the strength of collocation between a given identified metaphorically used word and the entities Arabs and Americans. The goal is to find out the extent to which a reference corpus confirms the results of the analysis undertaken. In addition, looking at collocates is important in showing the kind of evaluation or discourse prosody a word may convey.

As the study involves examination of the NYT, and since it is a compilation of American English texts, COCA is thought the most suitable reference corpus. Furthermore, it "is the largest freely-available corpus of English, and the only large and balanced corpus of American English" (Davies, 2008, Introduction). With over 450⁴³ million words, the corpus is designed to contain fairly similar sections of spoken language, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and academic texts between 1990 and 2012.

The corpus offers an online on-screen interface that allows the user to search for words, phrases, lemmas and surrounding words with controllable context horizons (the lexical items on each side of a search word). The corpus was used between 2012 and 2013.

⁴³ The COCA corpus comprised 450 million words in 2012 when it was used for different corpus analysis needs of the research. Therefore, updating the increase of its size was not relevant to this study.

4.2.2 Explanation

After the identification of metaphorical expressions, the classification of metaphors by source domains and the interpretation of conceptual metaphors, we need to account for the choice of metaphors. The explanation stage involves uncovering the pragmatic dimension behind the choice of metaphors. More explicitly, it aims to show and account for the interaction between the linguistic, the conceptual and the contextual pragmatic levels of metaphors that in turn govern and explain the metaphor choice in discourse. Following Critical Metaphor Analysis Methodology as explained in Section 2.4.5, this phase involves the identification of the rhetorical and ideological purposes that could have motivated the use of metaphors that describe Arabs and Americans in each news media. Example (2) of *lag behind* used to illustrate metaphor identification and interpretation above is picked up again below to illustrate the last explanation stage.

The choice of *lag behind* is significant since it conceptually activates the source domains of SLOW MOVEMENT and BACK POSITION/POSITION BEHIND which contrast immediately though implicitly with the source domains of FAST MOVEMENT and POSITION IN FRONT. The interaction between being in front and moving fast is significant, not only because it is very positive, but also because at the contextual level it is at the heart of a capitalist economy and society. Goatly (2007) argues that “speed metaphors often double up as metaphors for success. In our society, obsessed with time and efficiency, to complete something quickly also implies completing it successfully” (p. 52). The metaphorical use of *lag behind* can be explained by ideological and predicative purposes:

- It evokes a covert contrast between two entities (for example, Arabs versus Jews or Americans) on a scale of motion indicating positive self-representation against negative representation of the other.
- It also conveys evaluation of people/countries from a capitalist world view where achievement, speed and success are *GOOD* and winning the race is the ultimate most

appealing and desirable goal. Earlier research identified POLITICS IS CONFLICT, POLITICS IS NON-VIOLENCE, POLITICS IS RELIGION (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2007). The examples (3), (4) and (5), suggest that POLITICS IS RACING. This is significant because the idea of racing highlights the idea of winning, thus presenting possible conflict in a more positive and legitimate light as competitiveness. It hides other traits of politics, such as violence. This is an illustration of how conceptual and rhetorical metaphor analysis contributes to an understanding of the role of metaphor in legitimacy formation. In addition, this is an example showing how a conceptual metaphor is not only a matter of interpreting a conceptual basis of meaning, but a significant way of explaining differences in ideological stances. This is very important for the current research which investigates the representations of two groups (Arabs and Americans) in two news media sources, and where critical metaphor analysis can help us discover the different ideological points of view.

This stage of metaphor analysis in this study relied completely on the retrieved citations as a starting point for a more qualitative analysis. In other words, I analysed metaphors occurring in the retrieved citations by looking at as much context surrounding a given metaphorical expression as needed to understand the metaphor. Thus, I treated the citations as a mini-corpus which can show patterns occurring across a larger corpus and which can help us to understand the possible rhetorical and ideological goals underlying the use of metaphors to represent Arabs and Americans in news media. I am aware that many other interesting features can be obtained through an extensive qualitative analysis of a sample of complete articles, but I think that unless the corpus is limited to a more specific genre, such as political speeches by a specific politician, or specific events such as inauguration speeches, or religious texts, the results will still be to some extent subjective and specific to that particular corpus.

Conclusion

Chapter 4 has introduced an adapted corpus-based methodology for the critical analysis of metaphors. The first stage as presented in Section 4.1, and shown in Figure 4-1, was to collect the news texts on the basis of the research questions. The second stage, as described in 4.1.2, integrated two methods into the main CMA methodology. The first method, MPA, was used to extract metaphorical data from the corpus. The second method was an adapted procedure of MIPVU used to identify metaphorically used expressions. The third stage involved the classification of metaphor data into source domains, and the interpretation of conceptual metaphors. This stage was supplemented by a collocation analysis as discussed in Section 4.2.1. The last stage presented and illustrated in Section 4.2.2, focused on the explanation of the rhetorical and ideological basis of the metaphors used.

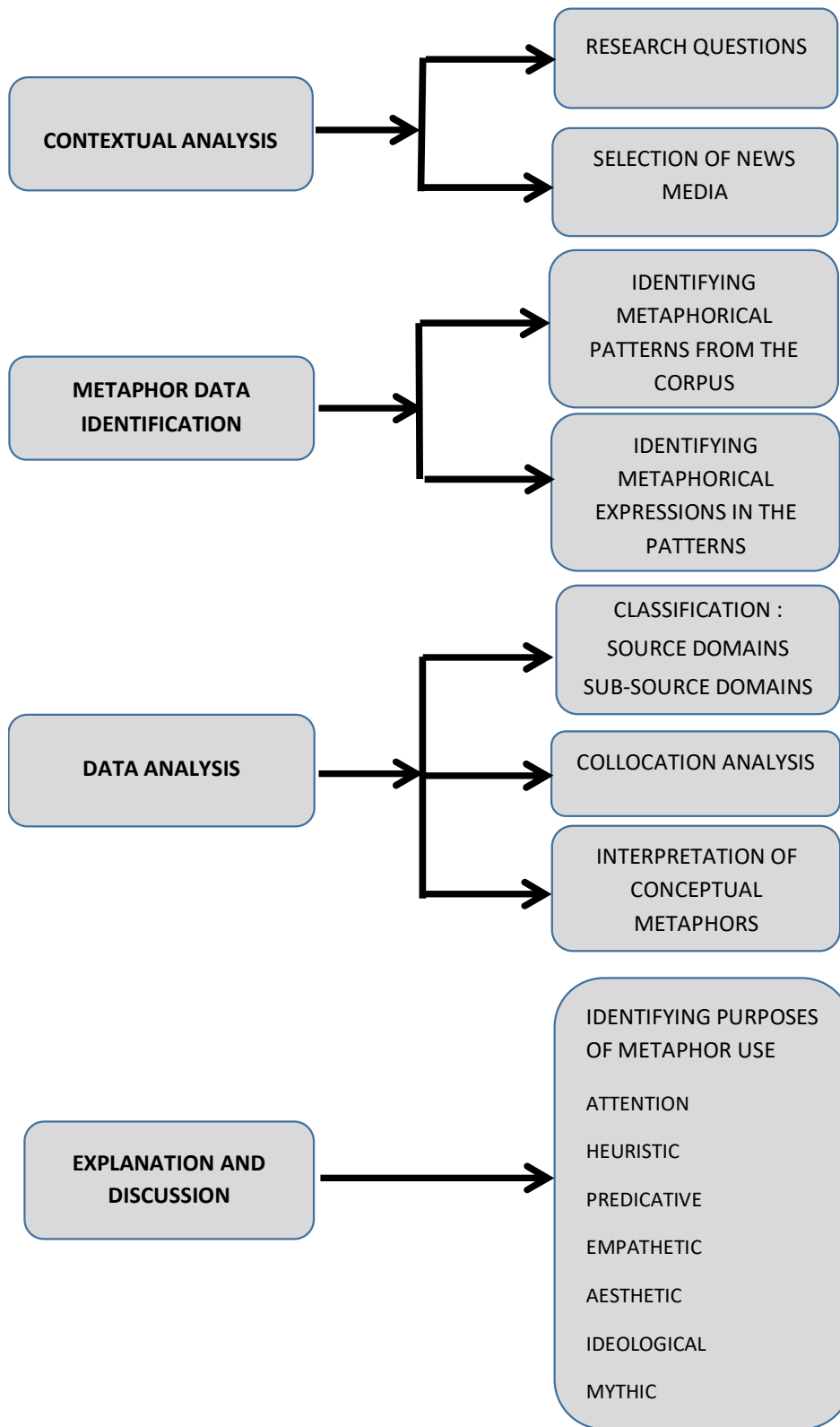


Figure 4-1: The Main Research Procedure

5 CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter centres on the corpus-linguistic analysis of American and Arab news media. First, it undertakes a quantitative description of the data, classifies metaphorical data by source domains, and gives illustrative examples. It compares Arabs and Americans within one news media source, then across both sources. The purpose of source domain comparison is to discover the similarities and differences between the metaphors used to describe Americans and Arabs in the NYT and in the ANM. Second, the analysis undertakes collocation analysis. The purpose of collocation analysis is mainly to compare metaphor analysis findings against reference corpora. This can give hints as to whether the two news media have similar or different metaphor candidates as a reference corpus and thus show how specific the use of source domains may possibly be to a news corpus. The collocation analysis of the study corpora is meant to strengthen the representativeness of the sample, and to capture possibly missed metaphor candidates. The final section presents the conceptual metaphors identified on the basis of the linguistic evidence.

5.1 Classification by Source Domains

The metaphorical expressions that were identified after a qualitative manual analysis, were classified into source domains following Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Findings are presented in Table 5.1 which provides an overview of these source domains. For each group (Arabs and Americans) in each subcorpus (the NYT and the ANM), the table shows the source domain, the frequency (freq) of the metaphorically used words that it comprises, and the percentage (%) of its occurrence based on the total number of the identified metaphorically used words.

Table 5.1: Overview of Source Domains for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

The NYT						The ANM					
ARABS	Fre	%	AMERICANS	Fre	%	ARABS	Fre	%	AMERICANS	Fre	%
PHYSICAL FORCE	42	18.34%	PHYSICAL MANIPULATION	36	15.79%	JOURNEY	34	14.29%	JOURNEY	49	18.15%
JOURNEY	25	10.92%	JOURNEY	35	15.35%	PHYSICAL FORCE	34	14.29%	PHYSICAL MANIPULATION	42	15.56%
PROXIMITY/DISTANCE	24	10.48%	WAR	26	11.40%	PROXIMITY/DISTANCE	27	11.34%	POSSESSION	31	11.48%
OBJECTS	21	9.17%	PHYSICAL FORCE	22	9.65%	WAR	24	10.08%	WAR	22	8.15%
SEEING	20	8.73%	POSSESSION	17	7.46%	PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION	15	6.30%	PHYSICAL FORCE	17	6.30%
PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION	14	6.11%	SEEING	17	7.46%	SEEING	15	6.30%	SUPPORTS	17	6.30%
POSITION IN SPACE	13	5.68%	ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER	16	7.02%	POSITION IN SPACE	14	5.88%	SEEING	14	5.19%
WAR	12	5.24%	POSITION IN SPACE	14	6.14%	PHYSICAL MANIPULATION	13	5.46%	OBJECTS	13	4.81%
PHYSICAL MANIPULATION	12	5.24%	PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION	9	3.95%	POSSESSION	12	5.04%	ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER	12	4.44%
POSSESSION	10	4.37%	BUSINESS	8	3.51%	OBJECTS	11	4.62%	PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION	11	4.07%
ANIMALS	7	3.06%	SUPPORTS	8	3.51%	SUPPORTS	8	3.36%	PROXIMITY/DISTANCE	11	4.07%
BUSINESS	6	2.62%	OBJECTS	7	3.07%	CONTAINER	7	2.94%	POSITION IN SPACE	10	3.70%
CONTAINER	6	2.62%	PROXIMITY/DISTANCE	4	1.75%	ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER	5	2.10%	BUSINESS	8	2.96%
NATURAL PHENOMENON	6	2.62%	NATURAL PHENOMENON	3	1.32%	ANIMALS	5	2.10%	CONTAINER	8	2.96%
SUPPORTS	6	2.62%	PARTICIPANTS IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES	3	1.32%	SLAVES	5	2.10%	OTHER	5	1.85%
ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER	5	2.18%	OTHER	3	1.32%	NATURAL PHENOMENON	5	2.10%			
OTHER	0	0.00%				PARTICIPANTS IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES	3	1.26%			
						OTHER	1	0.42%			
	229	100%		228	100%		238	100%		270	100%

Table 5.1 highlights the similarities and differences in the conceptual source domains that describe Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM. The table particularly reveals the importance of JOURNEY and PHYSICAL FORCE metaphors across both groups in both corpora. We can also see that although frequencies vary, there are many similar source domains used to describe Arabs and Americans. By displaying the different source domains, this table gives a comprehensive picture of the different representations tied to Arabs and Americans in each news media source examined and which ones are noticeably more frequent and thus possibly more dominant than others.

After the classification stage in which the metaphorical expressions were grouped under different source domains, the analysis stage involves presenting and commenting on the findings. The presentation of the source domains is based on two main criteria: conceptual coherence and frequency of occurrence. Conceptual coherence is a coined term for the purpose of giving a more holistic view of the conceptual domains and it also combines conceptual domains into more general mutually exclusive categories, the aim of which is to summarise and condense the findings. Frequency of occurrence implies relying on frequency counts to organise the source domains in a descending way, thus starting with the highest frequencies.

We are investigating and comparing metaphor data referring to two groups (Arabs and Americans) in two distinct and relatively large corpora (the NYT and the ANM) in order to examine similarities and/or differences. As can be seen in Table 5.1 above, the data obtained are large, various and complex involving different levels of comparison. In view of that, we decided to group the source domains into broader conceptual categories. These summarizing categories can give us a general sense of the data and how these may represent and describe the entities in focus – Arabs and Americans. This grouping is done on the basis of conceptual coherence. Source domains that show features, properties, elements or attributes which are similar in a way that could form a higher coherent whole/structure, are grouped together. For

instance, JOURNEY is a type of movement in space while PROXIMITY and DISTANCE illustrate a relation between two physical points in space. It can be concluded that both JOURNEY and PROXIMITY-DISTANCE metaphors are conceptually linked by the concept of SPACE. Another illustration is grouping PHYSICAL FORCE and PHYSICAL MANIPULATION under PHYSICAL FORCES. These two concepts are intrinsically linked in the sense that physical manipulation of an object requires some type of physical force that is exerted on that object, and the more force involved, the stronger that physical manipulation becomes. Thus, based on conceptual coherence, closely related source domains are categorized under five groups: MOTION and SPACE RELATIONS, PHYSICAL FORCES, HUMAN-ORIENTED ACTIVITY, HUMAN BODY, and INANIMACY. Having said that, we should be aware of possible overlap between these broader categories, as in some cases the same source domain could belong under more than one group, and highly relate to another concept within that group. For instance, PHYSICAL MANIPULATION can be grouped with SIGHT and with PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION under HUMAN BODY metaphors, since MANIPULATION implies the particular use of hands – a body part - in order to perform some physical action. SIGHT itself is a kind of manipulation but that does not involve immediate contact between the human body and the object. FORCE and JOURNEY metaphors can also be seen as conceptually linked since journeys involve some kind of movement and since movement in turn requires some sort of force to take place.

Secondly, and following Critical Metaphor Analysis which highlights the relationship between the frequent ongoing use of a given metaphor and its ideological and rhetorical discourse functions (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2011), the conceptual source domains in this research acquire their importance for presentation and discussion from their frequency. We start our presentation with SPACE and MOTION metaphors since they are the most frequent for both Arabs and Americans in both the NYT and the ANM, followed by PHYSICAL FORCES, HUMAN-ORIENTED ACTIVITY, HUMAN BODY and INANIMACY. In addition, under each major group of source domains, we start by examining the most frequent source domain.

5.1.1 MOTION and SPACE RELATIONS

5.1.1.1 JOURNEY

JOURNEY metaphors appear in both corpora and refer to both Arabs and Americans, but the ANM clearly use JOURNEY words to describe both Arabs and Americans more than the NYT (See Table 5.1). JOURNEY is the most frequently occurring source domain for Americans in the NYT and for both Arabs and Americans in the ANM. The following examples illustrate these metaphors:

- (1) *Americans Advance* To Final...The American men's senior water polo team *reached* the gold medal game ... (*The NYT*, 22 June 2008).

- (2) The *wall* of Saddamism, which helped bad leaders stay in power and young *Arabs* remain *backward* and angry, was as dangerous as Saddam (*The NYT*, 13 April 2003).

In the first example, *advance* and *reached* describe Americans respectively as MOVING FORWARD and REACHING A DESTINATION along a sports game journey. The second example illustrates OBSTACLES through the use of *wall* that blocks Arabs' journey of development and freedom and which keeps Arabs in a BACKWARD position. More importantly, these two examples also illustrate how the same source domain can be used for different discourse purposes by highlighting one particular aspect of that conceptual domain. Using JOURNEY metaphors that indicate MOVEMENT FORWARD and REACHING A DESTINATION implies positive evaluation of the Americans' journey. Using JOURNEY metaphors that highlight the aspect of OBSTACLES can have a particular rhetorical purpose: the only way to move forward on a journey is to remove obstacles, which legitimizes the need to remove these obstacles which are Saddam-like dictatorships. Even though explaining the choice of metaphor and its underlying discursive functions and implications is the focus of the explanation stage in the next chapter, it should be stressed

that there is some level of overlap and inevitable interaction between the two stages of interpretation and explanation of metaphors particularly when we deal with illustrations.

The two examples also illustrate how a more detailed analysis of the obtained data – when applicable - can consolidate our explanation of the motivations and discourse functions underlying the use of a particular source domain. In view of that, the identified JOURNEY metaphors are classified under different parts of the JOURNEY schema, namely under the three sub-source domains of SOURCE, PATH and DESTINATION. The findings are recorded in Table 5.2:

Table 5.2: Overview of JOURNEY Sub-Source Domains for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

	The NYT				The ANM			
	ARABS		AMERICANS		ARABS		AMERICANS	
SUB-SOURCE DOMAIN	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
STARTING POINT/SOURCE	3	12.00%	2	7.14%	-	-	1	1.92%
THE PATH	20	80.00%	30	85.71%	34	100%	45	92.3%
END POINT/DESTINATION	2	8.00%	3	7.14%	-	-	3	5.76%
TOTAL	25	100%	35	100%	34	100%	49	100%

The table clearly reveals the predominance of THE PATH sub-source domain in all groups. It also shows that only in the ANM are there no metaphors describing Arabs as starting a journey or reaching a destination. All journey words describe the path along the journey. Source and destination, departure and arrival are two main elements of the JOURNEY schema in the sense that starting an activity is done in view of a destination to be reached or a goal to be attained. Journeys then are essentially about arrival and completion. The complete absence of SOURCE and DESTINATION metaphors to describe Arabs in the ANM may translate as a lack of structure and chaotic type of Arabs' journey. It is more like movement with no purpose. The EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor proposes STARTING A PURPOSEFUL ACTION IS STARTING OUT ON A PATH. We have also LIFE IS A PURPOSEFUL JOURNEY and as discussed in Section 2.4.6.2, starting a journey towards a destination to reach implies a schema that gives positive evaluation when mapped to abstract

concepts such as (for instance) education. It entails then that a journey without a destination, or no clear starting point will convey a negative evaluation of the concept described.

In a further step, PATH metaphors are also analysed in more detail, revealing other different features of the JOURNEY source domain, namely routes, obstacles/dealing with obstacles, and ways of moving along those routes/along the path. Table 5.3 summarizes the findings of PATH metaphors analysis and shows the different aspects classified also as sub-source domains:

Table 5.3: Overview of THE PATH Sub-Source Domains for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

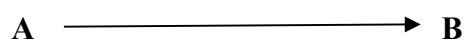
SUB-SOURCE DOMAIN	The NYT		The ANM	
	ARABS	AMERICANS	ARABS	AMERICANS
ALONG THE PATH				
ROUTES TO A PLACE	1	5	2	10
OBSTACLES/ DEALING WITH OBSTACLES	1	3	12	4
WAYS OF MOVING				
GENERAL	3	4	6	5
FOLLOWING	6	2	7	7
LEADING	2	4	0	5
MOVEMENT FORWARD	1	5	0	10
MOVEMENT BACKWARD	5	3	3	2
FAST MOVEMENT	0	3	1	0
SLOW MOVEMENT	1	1	0	1
MOVEMENT DOWN	0	0	2	1
DEVIOUS MOVEMENT	0	0	1	0

Table 5.3 draws attention to key differences in the sub-source domains referring to Arabs and Americans in both corpora. From Table 5.3 , we should primarily notice the highest frequency of OBSTACLES metaphors used to describe Arabs in the ANM. We also notice that ROUTES TO A PLACE and MOVEMENT FORWARD are the second most frequent sub-source domains and these are used to describe Americans in the ANM. Moreover, the table reveals that in the NYT, Arabs are most often described using FOLLOWING and

MOVING BACKWARD metaphors. Americans, on the other hand, are described using metaphors indicating, in addition to MOVEMENT FORWARD and ROUTES, GENERAL type of motion, and LEADING.

In the ANM, in addition to the most frequent DEALING WITH OBSTACLES, FOLLOWING metaphors are used to describe Arabs as noticeably as in the NYT. On the other hand, the table shows that Americans are described in the ANM more often using metaphors indicating ROUTES, MOVING FORWARD and FOLLOWING. What is quite noticeable, however, is that the ANM use FOLLOWING metaphors to describe Americans more than in the NYT.

Moving behind/in front and moving backward/forward are both underlined by the bipolar BACK-FRONT schema which implies negative and positive evaluation, particularly when we talk about human development and achievement. The BACK-FRONT schema, in addition to MOVING BACKWARD and FORWARD elements of the schema, can also be inferred from other sub-domains of THE PATH such as FAST and SLOW MOVEMENT. Travelling on a path implies travelling with a purpose towards a destination unless stated otherwise. When we are on a path and moving towards a destination, we are most likely to be moving forward. *Way, walk (n), track* and *go* for instance do not explicitly indicate forward direction. However, that is strongly implied as generally when we use these words we imply and understand movement forward unless specifically stated otherwise, as in *go back, way back, around, right, left*, that is to say the direction is from point 'A' onward to point 'B':



We encounter obstacles and deal with them generally when we want to move forward and go beyond them. There will be no need to negotiate, carry or pave the way in a backward direction. Again, movement forward is implied as there is nothing stating specifically another direction. We may simply need to *stop* or *wait*. Generally, when we do not move or

even move slowly, we are more likely to be or get behind someone else moving faster. Correspondingly, when we move fast, we assume that we are moving in front of someone else because we compare our speed to someone else's; we certainly leave someone behind and move forward.

5.1.1.1.1 COLLOCATION ANALYSIS

Metaphor analysis findings showed that both the NYT and the ANM use JOURNEY words with Americans more than with Arabs. The ANM particularly stress OBSTACLES for Arabs, and MOVEMENT FORWARD for Americans. In order to corroborate further our findings, especially since we relied on the frequency of occurrence to compare the different groups, we conducted collocation analysis and looked at the first 300 collocates of Arabs and Americans in both analysis corpora as well as in a reference corpus, namely COCA. These Collocates were then sorted by an MI3 score ≥ 3 . Afterwards, I followed Deignan's method and singled out collocates that can possibly be metaphor candidates. The analysis of the top 300 collocates results can be seen in Table 5.4 which shows the JOURNEY metaphor candidates for each group in each of three corpora followed by the MI3 score in brackets:

Table 5.4: JOURNEY Metaphor Candidates in the First 300 Collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA Sorted by Frequency and with an MI3 score ≥ 3

JOURNEY					
The NYT		The ANM		COCA	
Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans	Americans	Arabs
Came (12.62) Way (12.03) Arrived (9.98)	Way (18.96) Leave (18.81) Come (18.58) Travel (18.15) Travelling (17.29) Go (17.18)	Way (9.32)	Way (11.51) Go (6.77) Travel (6.65) Came (5.74) Leave (5.44) Stop (5.3) Going (4.58) Come (3) Way (3)	-	-

The table reveals important differences between JOURNEY metaphor candidates used to describe Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and the reference corpus COCA. From

the table, we can first see that JOURNEY words in the NYT and the ANM are used to refer to Americans considerably more than Arabs, which confirms one of our metaphor analysis findings. However, the table also reveals that except for *arrived and leave* there is hardly any collocate that clearly conveys a specific type of movement on the journey. Rather, collocates are mostly of a general type of movement. In addition, the table shows that except for *way* (9.32), there are no journey words collocating with Arabs in the ANM. Finally, the findings of collocation analysis in COCA show that no journey words are found to collocate with Arabs or with Americans. Therefore, it seems that the use of JOURNEY words is specific to the NYT and the ANM.

The main conclusion that we can draw from the above discussion is that although the ANM and the NYT use the same source domain of JOURNEY, there are differences in the aspects highlighted for each group in each news media. These aspects may be used by each news source to evaluate Arabs and Americans positively or negatively. However, it is only when we know what the journey is, that we can make stronger claims about the type of evaluation conveyed. This will be elaborated on in the next chapter.

5.1.1.2 PROXIMITY AND DISTANCE

PROXIMITY AND DISTANCE metaphors map the relation between two particular entities by indicating how near or far the space between those two entities is. These entities can be abstract (situations, events, emotions etc.) or more physical (groups of people etc.) The following examples are illustrations:

- (3) Israelis, Arabs and the *chasm* between them (*The NYT*, 07 December 2001).
- (4) ...the moniker “Palestinian” was adopted by Arabs in the region of conflict to *tie them* to the land (*Aljazeera.net*, 22 March 2011).

In example (3), the DISTANCE metaphor is activated through *chasm* to describe the political situation between Arabs and Israelis. In contrast, the ANM, as shown in example (4) uses a PROXIMITY metaphor that stresses the historically strong connection between Arabs and the land of Palestine.

PROXIMITY AND DISTANCE metaphors represent more than 10% of all metaphors identified and rank third for Arabs in the NYT as well as in the ANM. Conversely, we should notice the very low frequency of PROXIMITY and DISTANCE metaphors used with Americans particularly in the NYT (1.75% as displayed in Table 5.1).

When we examined these space metaphors more closely we noticed further differences in their use for Arabs and Americans in each news corpus. The findings are shown in Table 5.5:

Table 5.5: Overview of PROXIMITY & DISTANCE Source Domain for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

	The NYT				The ANM			
	ARABS		AMERICANS		ARABS		AMERICANS	
SUB-SOURCE DOMAIN	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
PROXIMITY	11	45.83%	2	50.00%	18	66.67%	2	18.18%
DISTANCE	13	54.17%	2	50.00%	9	33.33%	9	81.82%
TOTAL	24	100.00%	4	100.00%	27	100.00%	11	100.00%

The table highlights the key differences in the use of PROXIMITY and DISTANCE metaphors with Arabs and Americans. First, we can see that in the NYT, more than 54% of the expressions describing Arabs belong to the sub-source domain of DISTANCE metaphors. Conversely, the table shows that the ANM use considerably more PROXIMITY than DISTANCE metaphors with Arabs (66.67%). Second, we notice that, in addition to the very low frequency of both PROXIMITY and DISTANCE metaphors used with Americans

in the NYT, the ANM use predominantly DISTANCE metaphors to describe Americans (81.82%).

5.1.1.2.1 COLLOCATION ANALYSIS

As done with the JOURNEY source domain, a collocation analysis of the top 300 collocates of Arabs and Americans in the research corpora and in COCA reference corpus was conducted to identify PROXIMITY and DISTANCE candidate metaphors. The findings can be seen in Table 5.6:

Table 5.6: PROXIMITY & DISTANCE Metaphor Candidates in the First 300 Collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA Sorted by Frequency and with an MI3 score =>3

PROXIMITY/DISTANCE					
The NYT		The ANM		COCA	
Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans
Between (21.66) Toward (13.2)	Nearly (21.44) Far (19.62) Between (19.23) Separation (16.62) Divisions (16.51)	Between (16.58)	Far (12.74) Between (11.56)	Between Towards Dividing Partition Surrounded	Separation

The table highlights major differences in the use of PROXIMITY and DISTANCE candidate metaphors to describe Arabs and Americans in the three different corpora examined. First, the table reveals that in the NYT, there is a strong bonding between distance words and Americans. This collocation analysis finding is in contrast with the NYT metaphor analysis findings. Second, the table shows that in the ANM, distance words collocate with Americans and with a fairly high score (12.74) which confirms the ANM metaphor analysis finding. We can also see that proximity words collocate with Arabs in the NYT, COCA and possibly the ANM⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ Since the only collocate is the word *between* we cannot assume it indicates proximity, since it may also indicate distance.

The table also shows that there is a number of both proximity and distance words in the first 300 collocates of Arabs in COCA. Thus, COCA collocation analysis confirms the NYT and the ANM metaphor analysis for Arabs. The table also shows that in COCA there is only one distance collocate for Americans but no proximity collocates, which supplements to some extent the ANM metaphor analysis.

5.1.1.3 POSITION IN SPACE

A number of metaphors that refer to both Arabs and Americans in terms of their position in space were identified in the NYT as well as in the ANM. As can be seen in Table 5.1 above, POSITION IN SPACE metaphors are used least frequently in the ANM to describe Americans (3.7%). Except for that, and in terms of frequency there is no great difference between the different groups. The following examples illustrate this source domain:

- (5) The *top* four women are all Americans (*The NYT*, 26 August 2002).
- (6) ... it was a problem for all Arab states, then it became a Palestinian Israeli conflict, with the Arabs on the sidelines asking for a resolution (*Aljazeera.net*, 24 January 2011).

In examples (5) and (6), Americans are on a *top* position while Arabs *on the sidelines*. The power of these metaphors is that they invoke their opposites. If someone is on the *top*, it is in relation to some other person that is definitely in a *lower* position, and brings to mind its opposite - *bottom*. In everyday life, it is not uncommon to have people evaluated for their achievement and actions on a scale from *bottom* to *top*. Both *bottom* and *sidelines* indicate less importance, power etc. since these notions are associated with being located at a *higher* position or in the *centre*. The more away an entity moves from the *centre* and the further down from the *top* the less important it becomes. It is therefore important to see which metaphors are used with Arabs and Americans. Describing Americans as being the ‘*top four*’ in some sports game highlights their achievement and evaluates them positively. Describing

Arabs as becoming *on the sidelines* of a politically complex conflict in the ‘Middle East’ indicates their inability to act efficiently and their lack of real involvement and influence in this issue.

A more detailed analysis of POSITION IN SPACE metaphors resulted in their classification into further sub-source domains. The findings are recorded in Table 5.7:

Table 5.7: Overview of POSITION IN SPACE Source Domain for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

	The NYT				The ANM			
	ARABS		AMERICANS		ARABS		AMERICANS	
SUB-SOURCE DOMAIN	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
OPPOSITE POSITION	4	30.77%	5	35.71%	6	42.86%	4	40.00%
SIDE POSITION	6	46.15%	-	-	2	14.29%	-	-
HIGHER/UPRIGHT POSITION	-	-	8	57.14%	3	21.43%	2	20.00%
POSITION	-	-	-	-	1	7.14%	2	20.00%
LOWER POSITION	2	15.38%	1	7.14%	-	-	-	-
BACK POSITION	1	7.69%	-	-	2	14.29%	2	20.00%
TOTAL	13	100%	14	100%	14	100%	10	100%

Table 5.7 presents the different sub-source domains identified and highlights more differences between Arabs and Americans and between the two corpora in the use of these metaphors. First, the table shows that OPPOSITE POSITION sub-source domain is used to describe Arabs and Americans in both the NYT and the ANM. Second, Table 5.7 shows that the NYT uses SIDE POSITION metaphors to describe Arabs only and it is the highest percentage (46%) of all four groups. On the other hand, the NYT uses HIGHER/UPRIGHT POSITION metaphors with Americans only and with the highest percentage of all four groups. As far as the other sub-source domains are concerned, we notice that overall, they are all used with very low frequencies. In addition, only in the NYT is there evidence of LOWER POSITION metaphors for both Arabs and Americans, and of BACK POSITION

metaphors for Arabs. In the ANM, the table shows also very limited evidence for BACK POSITION metaphors describing both Arabs and Americans.

5.1.1.3.1 COLLOCATION ANALYSIS

As done with the previous source domains examined, the top 300 collocates of Arabs and Americans in the two news corpora and in COCA were examined to identify POSITION IN SPACE candidate metaphors. The findings are recorded in Table 5.8:

Table 5.8: POSITION IN SPACE Metaphor Candidates in the First 300 Collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA Sorted by Frequency and with an MI3 score =>3

POSITION IN SPACE					
The NYT		The ANM		COCA	
Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans
Against (17.68)	About (25.67)	Against (14.46)	Against (13.37)	Sided	-
About (16.36)	Against (22.86)	Behind (10.4)	Out (12.15)		
Middle (14.04)	Over (21.55)	Up (9.35)	After (11.26)		
Up (13.91)	Up (21.41)	High (8.11)	Down (10.78)		
Over (13.62)	Middle (21.12)	Out (7.81)	Up (10.3)		
Out (13.14)	Back (19.6)	After (7.11)	Back (10.28)		
After (12.76)	Out (19.6)				
Under (12.02)	Through (19.25)				
Along (11.65)	Right (18.72)				
Front (10.97)	Low (18.62)				
Alongside (10.92)	Under (18.43)				
	Beyond (16.17)				

The table highlights main differences and similarities between POSITION IN SPACE words that collocate with Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and the COCA. However, in view of the fact that expressions indicating space include many functional words, the findings of the collocation analysis conducted should be read with caution. First, the table clearly shows more POSITION IN SPACE collocates with Arabs and Americans in the NYT than in the ANM and stronger collocation with higher MI3 scores. This finding conflicts with metaphor analysis that indicates no great difference between the frequencies of this source domain except for Americans in the ANM. Second and noticeably, the table shows

not only that in COCA, POSITION IN SPACE words collocate with Arabs only, but also that the collocate is a lexical⁴⁵ word and not a grammatical word. Still, the quasi-absence of POSITION IN SPACE candidate metaphors in COCA could indicate that except for SIDE POSITION, the use of this source domain is more specific to the NYT and the ANM.

More specifically, Table 5.8 also shows the use of OPPOSITE POSITION words (*against*) in association with Arabs and Americans in both the NYT and the ANM, a finding that corroborates the findings from the metaphor analysis. In addition, as we see in the table, only in the NYT with Arabs is there any evidence of SIDE collocates (*along, alongside*). This is further confirmed in COCA. The table also shows strong collocation between HIGH/UPRIGHT POSITION words (*over, up*) and Americans in the NYT which confirms metaphor analysis. Furthermore, in the ANM, HIGH/UPRIGHT POSITION words (*up, high*) collocate with Arabs thus supplementing the limited evidence in the metaphor analysis.

5.1.1.4 ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER

Metaphors drawing on the concept of CONTAINER suggest the concept of SPACE in the sense that a container is a closed space with elements positioned either inside or outside (or moving inside or outside). The following example is an illustration:

- (7) We just have to make sure there is no fixed number of *Americans* to *fill* them (*The NYT*, 24 October 2010).
- (8) the new rules could *open the door* to racial or religious profiling ... against *Americans* (*The NYT*, 27 March 2011).

⁴⁵ Lexical words are content words in distinction from function or grammatical words such as prepositions, pronouns and auxiliary verbs (Fries, 1952).

In both examples, Americans are portrayed as ENTITIES IN A CONTAINER. In example (7), jobs are described as containers that need to be *filled* by Americans. In example (8), they are entities inside a closed container - that is, Americans' civil liberties - that risks being *opened* to let in racial and religious profiling. The container is Americans' civil liberties and the threatening elements that if allowed into the container are 'racial and religious profiling'. This container is closed and the 'new rules' will *open the door* to these threatening outsiders. In both cases, the container is projected in a positive light: Americans should stay inside it.

Examining both news corpora, the metaphors ENTITIES IN A CONTAINER and ENTITIES OUT OF A CONTAINER are found to describe Arabs and Americans. The findings are summarized in Table 5.9:

Table 5.9: Overview of ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER Source Domain for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

SUB-SOURCE DOMAIN	The NYT				The ANM			
	ARABS		AMERICANS		ARABS		AMERICANS	
	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
ENTITIES IN A CONTAINER	2	40.00%	15	93.75%	3	40%	10	83.33%
ENTITIES OUT OF A CONTAINER	3	60.00%	1	6.25%	2	60%	2	16.16%
TOTAL	5	100%	16	100%	5	100%	12	100%

The table shows the difference in the use of both sub-source domains in describing Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM. It particularly highlights the high frequency of ENTITIES IN A CONTAINER metaphors used to refer to Americans in both corpora especially when this sub-source domain is compared not only to that referring to Arabs but also to ENTITIES OUT OF A CONTAINER. Second, the table reveals particularly that except for the sub-source domain of ENTITIES IN A CONTAINER describing Americans, we need to be cautious about making strong claims in view of the limited linguistic evidence (between 1 and 3 metaphorical instances only) found to realise this source domain.

5.1.1.4.1 COLLOCATION ANALYSIS

Collocation analysis for the SOURCE domain of ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER was conducted. The findings can be seen in Table 5.10:

Table 5.10: ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER Metaphor Candidates in the First 300 Collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA Sorted by Frequency and with an MI3 score =>3

ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER					
The NYT		The ANM		COCA	
Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans
Out (13.14)	Out (19.6)	Out (7.81)	Out (12.15)	-	-

Table 5.10 first shows that no words indicating ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER do collocate with either Arabs or Americans in COCA. The table also reveals that the only instance that is found to relate to the categories of ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER is *out* in the NYT and the ANM. However, there are no lexical words that convey such concepts. Collocation analysis therefore did not reveal any further enlightening results in any of the corpora that could supplement metaphor analysis findings.

5.1.2 PHYSICAL FORCES

5.1.2.1 PHYSICAL FORCE

PHYSICAL FORCE metaphors are used in both corpora to describe both Arabs and Americans. As Table 5.1 above shows, the NYT uses FORCE metaphors to describe Arabs (18.34%) twice as often as it does to describe Americans (9.65%). A more detailed analysis of PHYSICAL FORCE metaphors revealed different elements of the FORCE schema. The use of force implies a relationship between one entity – Arabs or Americans – and another

entity. In Section 2.4.6.1, we explained how Kövecses et al. (2010) developed a model of force based on the idea of “two forceful entities in interaction” (p. 108), the focal one being called ‘agonist’ and the other ‘antagonist’. The agonist is the entity experiencing a specific force while the antagonist is the entity that tries to exert force on the agonist. The antagonist’s force may cause the other entity – the agonist – to do something. If the agonist’s force tendency is weaker than the antagonist’s then it changes, but if it has stronger resistance it remains unaffected by the antagonist’s force. Drawing on the force-dynamic interaction between two force-exerting entities, we consider Arabs/Americans to be the agonist that is the entity experiencing a specific force such as urging and expelling. The antagonist is the entity (other group of people, other entity) that tries to exert force on the agonist, and may cause the other entity – the agonist – to change from its state of rest or to do something. We distinguish these actions further into three categories. The first category includes an antagonist’s force that when exerted results in some kind of action that occurs inside the agonist entity and thus causes the agonist to change inside or outside, for instance *urge, press, pressure*. This explains the cause of emotion inside the entity. We call this APPLIED FORCE as it creates inside the entity the motivation to perform some action. The second category includes the antagonist’s force that when exerted results in the agonist leaving a container. This implies that we have two forces in interaction inside one container, one of them – external, i.e. outside the person - tries to push or pushes the other out of the container, for instance *expel*. We call it FORCE IN A CONTAINER. When FORCE IN A CONTAINER or APPLIED FORCE is exerted on the agonist, there is no indication that the latter will resist and thus it may be assumed to be the weakest entity which is typically overcome by the antagonist’s force. A third category is called FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION and implies that not only is the agonist strong enough to resist the antagonist’s force, but also that it exerts force against the antagonist. There is also clear evidence for A SOURCE OF FORCE and LACK OF FORCE. The findings of the more detailed analysis of PHYSICAL FORCE metaphors are recorded in Table 5.11:

Table 5.11: Overview of PHYSICAL FORCE Sub-Source Domains for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

SUB-SOURCE DOMAIN	The NYT				The ANM			
	ARABS		AMERICANS		ARABS		AMERICANS	
	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
FORCE IN OPPOSING DIRECTION (TENSION/FRICTIONAL)	15	35.71%	-	-	3	8.82%	-	-
APPLIED FORCE	12	28.57	17	77.27%	17	50.00%	8	47.06%
FORCE IN A CONTAINER	11	26.19	-	-	10	29.41%	-	-
SOURCE OF FORCE	3	7.14	3	13.64%	4	11.76%	8	47.06%
LACK OF FORCE	1	2.38	2	9.09%	-	-	1	5.88%
TOTAL	42	100%	22	100%	34	100%	17	100%

Table 5.11 highlights a number of main differences in PHYSICAL FORCE metaphors describing the two groups in both corpora. We should first notice the very high frequency of APPLIED FORCE metaphors used to describe Americans in the NYT and which constitute more than 77% of all FORCE metaphors. Arabs, in contrast, are most frequently described using the FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION sub-source domain with over 35% of all FORCE metaphors. They are also described using APPLIED FORCE and FORCE IN A CONTAINER. The table also highlights the low frequency of FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION metaphors used in the ANM to describe Arabs particularly compared with other FORCE metaphors used and compared with the NYT. Furthermore, we can see in the table that the most dominant sub-source domain used in the ANM is APPLIED FORCE (50%). What is interesting in the ANM is that more than 47% of FORCE metaphors are used to describe Americans as A SOURCE OF FORCE.

5.1.2.1.1 FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION

In the NYT, we notice that FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION refers to Arabs only. This sub-source domain reminds us of the OPPOSITE POSITION sub-source domain. The difference is that FORCE may be said to imply some kind of motion (See Section 2.4.6.1),

while OPPOSITE POSITION does not necessarily do that. Following is an example illustrating FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION:

- (9) ... *tensions* between Arabs and Kurds has grown only worse (*The NYT*, 06 February 2009).

Example (9) illustrates the interaction of forces resulting from an action of pulling between Arabs and Kurds. Metaphorical expressions like *tension* (as in the example above), *friction*, *(be) squeezed and torn* are very telling of an interaction of forces between the agonist and the antagonist. *Tension* and *torn* indicate more specifically two forces each pulling in the opposite direction, which widens the distance between the two force entities. This type of force interaction results also in complete usually damaging separation for both entities because such separation is not a quiet one but very likely carries a risk of injury, breaking and strains because it involves a lot of pulling, tightness and uncontrolled forceful action. *Squeezed between* and *friction*, for instance, indicate two forces each pushing in the opposing direction that is against the other thus causing rubbing and squeezing. In this case, each force entity is pushing against the other without anyone going anywhere. Johnson (1987) calls such force COUNTERFORCE and explains that “Here two equally strong, nasty, and determined force centres collide face-to-face, with the result that neither can go anywhere. Lucky survivors of head-on auto accidents also know the meaning of this particular source of force (p. 46)”.

In both cases then, FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION conveys a strongly negative image of both forces in interaction. And in both cases, this type of force conveys conflict either by moving against each other or by never meeting since each is pulling in the opposing direction. In terms of force-dynamics analysis, the result of this interaction is a balance between the agonist’s and antagonist’s forces which indicates that the agonist is as strong as the antagonist.

In cases like these, corpus linguistics can inform the analysis. Since metaphor analysis shows that only Arabs are described using these force metaphorical expressions, I conducted

collocation analysis and found for instance that *tensions* collocates with both Arabs and Americans in the whole corpus of the NYT. I then used the MI3 log likelihood to compute the relationship between collocates of ‘*tensions*’ which is 17.86 for Arabs while for Americans it is 7.19. To an extent then, collocation analysis corroborates metaphor analysis.

5.1.2.1.2 FORCE IN A CONTAINER

Looking at the data for Arabs (Table 5.11), we notice that over 26% of FORCE metaphors portray Arabs as objects that are forced out of a container through the dominant use of *expel** as we can see in the following example:

- (10) ...when independence came⁴⁶ to East Africa, Indians and Arabs by the thousands were *expelled* ... (*The NYT*, 21 July 2009).

In example (10), Arabs are conceptualized as things that do not belong in a container and were removed by means of force, the country East Africa being the container. Expulsion implies an aggressive intense type of forced movement. On a scale of degree of intensity, *expulsion/being expelled* can be categorized as higher in intensity than say ‘*being driven*’ and ‘*being under pressure*’ being aware of the different kinds of forces involved (mechanical and contained). Expulsion requires a very strong force as it is the resultant action of a process that causes forced movement from inside to outside. ‘Driving’ and ‘pressing’ forces when exerted on given objects, do not necessarily imply a clear outcome; rather they indicate more focus on the process of the action and may be viewed as prior stages that may or may not lead to expulsion.

⁴⁶ ‘*Independence came*’ illustrates our awareness of possible metaphorical cases in addition to the highlighted ones, but that are ignored because our focus is on metaphors attached to Arabs and Americans. Such cases will be commented on only if relevant to the discussion.

It should be noted at this stage that when discussing verbs, we distinguish between Arabs as the subject and as the object of the verb. When the verbs used are classified under the sub-source domains that describe Arabs as the target of the antagonist’s force, they have Arabs as the object of the action of expelling, driving, pressing, pushing, forcing, urging etc.

As far as the group of Americans is concerned, no such FORCE metaphors were identified. This absence can imply that they are inside the container. When we talk about a container, an entity can either be inside or outside. There is no other alternative. If there is no evidence that Americans are outside the container, the interpretation could be that there is no need to push them out of it. This INSIDE-OUTSIDE schema can acquire a predicative role depending on the type of container. For instance, when the container refers to a country, then BEING INSIDE IS GOOD AND BEING OUTSIDE IS BAD.

During data analysis, we noticed that the metaphorical expressions showing the agonist as the target of force that it may not resist vary in terms of the degree of intensity conveyed. Therefore, we classified the metaphorical expressions further following the degree of intensity they convey and which ranges from weak to moderate to strong. Table 5.12 gives a summary of the findings recorded:

Table 5.12: Arabs and Americans as A TARGET OF FORCE – Classifying Metaphorical Expressions on a scale of intensity in the NYT and the ANM

	The NYT				The ANM			
	Total	Weak	Moderate	Strong	Total	Weak	Moderate	Strong
Arabs	23	4	-	19	27	10	-	17
Americans	17	8	2	7	8	7	-	1

Table 5.12 reveals the key differences in the degree of intensity of TARGET OF FORCE metaphors used in both corpora to describe Arabs and Americans. First, it highlights the high frequency of a strong type of FORCE metaphors (19) used to describe Arabs in the NYT particularly in contrast to metaphors that denote a weak type of force (4), and in contrast to Americans (7). The table also shows that Americans are described using both a

weak type (8) and a strong type of force (7) similarly. In the ANM, Arabs are conceptualized as the agonist experiencing an antagonist's force that expels them from a container. This image nowhere applies to Americans. Table 5.12 shows that in terms of intensity, the strongest category, which is FORCE IN A CONTAINER, is used exclusively with Arabs in both the NYT and the ANM. Arabs are clearly the target of a strong type of force that places them outside the container. The IN IS GOOD and OUT IS BAD image is quite salient here especially if the container is a positive one such as for example a country, nation or family.

5.1.2.1.3 APPLIED FORCE

We first notice that this is the dominant FORCE used to describe Americans in the NYT. Examining the degree of intensity as shown in Table 5.12 above. I found that for Arabs, 4/22 are of weak force with verbs like *stir*, *induce* and *urge* while the majority indicate that Arabs are the target of strong force (*push*, *force*). As far as the NYT Americans group is concerned, there are as many metaphorical expressions indicating weak force (using *urge**) exerted on Americans as expressions indicating a strong type of force. These observations hint relatively that even similar source domains and conceptual metaphors may be used in different ways to highlight one aspect and hide another. To *urge* is to make a person or animal move in a particular direction. It maps the idea of giving strong advice about an action or attitude that should be taken as illustrated in the following example:

- (11) ... the President and first lady *urging* Americans to *spend*⁴⁷ their vacation time and money ... (*The NYT*, 17 July 2010).

In example (11) Americans are conceptualized as the object of some force moving them into a particular direction, strong advice as the moving force, and the action of *spending vacation*

⁴⁷ When the example contains metaphors that belong to a different source domain than the one in focus, these will be highlighted in italics only and cross-reference will be made to the section that focuses on them in more detail.

time and money as the desired direction. This example also illustrates BUSINESS source domain but this will be commented on in Section 5.1.3.3.

In the ANM, APPLIED FORCE with different degrees of intensity is used to describe Arabs. The same sub-source domain is also used to describe Americans in the ANM. Interestingly however, the metaphorical expressions describing Americans indicate a weak type of force. Since we noticed that Arabs and Americans are the target of force of various degrees of intensity exerted on them, we found the sources of the antagonist’s force to be worth examining. Table 5.13 summarizes the findings of this investigation:

Table 5.13: Sources of the Antagonist’s Force Exerted on Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

	The NYT		The ANM	
	ARABS	AMERICANS	ARABS	AMERICANS
FOREIGN ENTITIES	14	3	10	2
LEADERSHIP	1	8	5	3
INDIVIDUALS	2	1	-	-
INANIMATE ENTITIES	2	2	6	1
UNSTATED	4	3	6	3
TOTAL	23	17	27	8

The table highlights the main differences in the sources of the antagonist’s force exerted on Arabs and Americans in both corpora. We can first see that whether in the NYT or the ANM, the antagonist’s force exerted on Americans comes mainly from the leadership of their country, or from Americans themselves. With metaphors denoting a strong category of force, the source of force is not mentioned and when it is, it is an inanimate source which may suggest that Americans are either the target of an ‘inside’ force or of forces not exerted by purposive beings, such as situations. It is still noticeable that the sources of force exerted on Americans are in 6 out of 8 instances either not stated through the use of the passive voice (*be forced, get carried away*) or inanimate (*grievances/drive, pressing issues, repressions*). The table also shows that when the antagonist exerting force on the Americans is not a purposive being other than themselves (their elected leaders), the antagonist is rather an

inanimate agent. When the source of force – the antagonist – is inanimate, this may convey the idea that it is inevitable and thus can alleviate the responsibility of not resisting it.

Second, the table reveals that the force exerted on Arabs comes from many sources and there is nothing like one clear ‘inside’ source of force (such as leadership, as noticed for Americans). One might explain this as due to the fact that talking about Americans, we refer to people of one country (USA), while with Arabs, it is more complicated as 22 countries are involved and there cannot be one particular leadership. Still, what we notice is that the sources of force are rarely clearly Arab governments or leaders. More particularly we notice that force comes predominantly from entities foreign to Arabs.

5.1.2.1.4 COLLOCATION ANALYSIS

Metaphor analysis showed that the NYT uses FORCE words with Arabs more than with Americans. It particularly uses FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION, FORCE IN A CONTAINER and APPLIED FORCE. The NYT describes Americans predominantly using the APPLIED FORCE sub-source domain. Finally, the NYT uses predominantly force words of the strong type with Arabs, unlike for Americans. The ANM as well use FORCE words with Arabs more than with Americans, particularly APPLIED FORCE and FORCE IN A CONTAINER. A TARGET OF APPLIED FORCE and A SOURCE OF FORCE are used to describe Americans equally. As far as the degree of intensity is concerned, the ANM use predominantly force words of the strong type with Arabs and of the weak type with Americans. To verify our results further, and as previously done with MOTION and SPACE metaphors, PHYSICAL FORCE words that collocate with Arabs and Americans were examined in the top 300 collocates. The findings of the collocation analysis are shown in Table 5.14:

Table 5.14: PHYSICAL FORCE Metaphor Candidates in the First 300 Collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA Sorted by Frequency and with an MI3 score =>3

FORCE					
The NYT		The ANM		COCA	
Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans
Tensions (17.86) ⁴⁸ Expelled (11.05) Volatile (11.03)	Urged (19.08) Urging (17.21)	Expulsion (13.7) Urged (10.86)	Urged (10.6)	Tensions Urged Expel Expulsion Erupted Exclusion Urges Displace Displaced	Urged Urging Expel Displacing

The table reveals the occurrence of metaphor candidates from the sub-domains of FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION, FORCE IN A CONTAINER and APPLIED FORCE to describe Arabs and Americans. These findings confirm metaphor analysis for each entity in each corpus except for A SOURCE OF FORCE for Americans in the ANM. In addition, the table shows that the metaphor candidates belong to a strong type of force for Arabs and a weak type of force for Americans which is a further confirmation of metaphor analysis.

But the table also shows that there is evidence in COCA of strong collocation between words indicating weak types of force and Arabs (*urge*), and thus shows that the strong type of force associated with Arabs is specific to the NYT. Furthermore, COCA analysis reveals, as shown in the table above, that there are both words indicating FORCE IN A CONTAINER and words indicating a strong type of force that collocate with Americans (*expel*). This observation confirms that the absence of FORCE IN A CONTAINER and the use of a weak type of force words associated with Americans is more specific to the NYT. Furthermore, the table highlights the collocation between FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION words and Arabs in both the NYT and COCA, which indicates that the little or lack of evidence of FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION with Arabs is specific to the ANM. The quasi-absence of such a source domain in the representation of the self is very interesting, whether for Arabs or Americans, and may be explained by the desire to avoid linking of each group to conflicts. In this regard what is not stated, whether in a negative or

⁴⁸ As done in this table, the MI3 score will be inserted in brackets following the identified collocate in the NYT and the ANM. COCA corpus, however, does not show this score.

positive light, is much stronger than what is stated. George Lakoff (2012)⁴⁹ said that there are words that are completely avoided because their mere presence may activate unwanted images. It seems then that each group is trying to distance itself from being in an opposing direction to other entities. In the case of Americans, we wonder whether that indicates that Americans are being evaluated in a positive light by dissociating themselves from *tensions*. Only when a force is strongest, it cannot be resisted and therefore will not be involved in an opposing type of interaction. One interpretation for the absence of such a category for Americans could be the notion of American “global dominance” (Chomsky, 2003, Title), or the myth of American Exceptionalism and the image of the Americans as an unrivalled power. This will be discussed in more detail in the explanation stage in Chapter 6.

5.1.2.2 PHYSICAL MANIPULATION

PHYSICAL MANIPULATION involves using hands (for instance) to hold, place, replace, seize, grasp etc. a given object. The following examples from the obtained data illustrate this source domain:

- (12) ... they depend on *the Americans* to *handle* most of their logistics, since their own are plagued by corruption and mismanagement (*The NYT*, 30 August 2009).
- (13) This is about whether people think that *Arabs* are wogs who really don't deserve, and *can't handle* democracy."(*The NYT*, 10 April 2003).

In examples (12) and (13), dealing successfully with a situation is conceptualized as physically manipulating an object. Conversely, the failure to *handle* or *hold* something properly entails that it may fall, break, or be damaged in some way. While in example (12) Americans' ability to successfully organize work and deal with people and equipment is

⁴⁹ In a keynote speech at the 4th UK Cognitive Linguistics Conference on 10 July, 2012.

conceptualized as *handling* these , in example (13), the doubt about Arabs’ ability to deal successfully with democracy is conceptualized by questioning their ability to *handle* an object.

Metaphors that are used to describe Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM and that indicate PHYSICAL MANIPULATION were identified. Table 5.15 presents the findings:

Table 5.15: Overview of PHYSICAL MANIPULATION Source Domain for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

	The NYT				The ANM			
	ARABS		AMERICANS		ARABS		AMERICANS	
	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
PHYSICAL MANIPULATION	12	5.24% ⁵⁰	36	15.79%	13	6.3%	42	15.56%

Table 5.15 reveals the difference in the use of PHYSICAL MANIPULATION metaphors to describe Americans and Arabs in both corpora. The table particularly highlights the importance of PHYSICAL MANIPULATION metaphors describing Americans in both the NYT and the ANM. This source domain is the most frequent for Americans in the NYT and the second most frequent in the ANM. The table also shows the limited percentage of this source domain when used to describe Arabs (around 6%) in both the NYT and the ANM and particularly in comparison with Americans (more than 15%).

Apart from this distinction, Table 5.15 may give us the impression that the data provide evidence that there are not so many differences between the metaphors referring to Arabs and Americans across the two different news corpora in terms of their frequency. We examined further the degree of physical manipulation and effort conveyed by the metaphorical expressions and ranging between ‘weak’, ‘moderate’ and ‘strong’. The weaker

⁵⁰ Based on the metaphorical data obtained, there are no sub-source domains under PHYSICAL MANIPULATION. Therefore, the percentage data provided in Table 5.15 is a reminder of the data from Table 5.1 for the purposes of clarity and discussion. The same justification applies to other source domains that include no sub-source domains.

types of manipulation imply taking or giving something using hands with only a low necessary degree of grip and involving rather effortless movement. A moderate type indicates more movement and scope of movement, as in *suspend* or *put*. The strong type is when there is clear indication of a strong grip on an object; it is more than just giving or moving and involves some kind of pressure, as in *hold* or *grasp*. The stronger type involves a level of dexterity that goes beyond just having something in your hands; it involves shaping, making and bringing real change to the object. The findings of the more detailed analysis of PHYSICAL MANIPULATION metaphors are displayed in Table 5.16.

Table 5.16: Degrees of Physical Manipulation and Effort involved for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

The NYT	Total	Weak	Moderate	Strong	The ANM	Total	Weak	Moderate	Strong
Arabs	12	8 66%	1 8%	3 25%	Arabs	13	3 23%	3 23%	7 53%
Americans	36	12 33%	8 22%	16 44%	Americans	42	11 26%	14 33%	17 40%

The table reveals major differences and similarities in the degree of physical manipulation for Arabs and Americans in each corpus. We first notice that not only does the NYT use fewer PHYSICAL MANIPULATION metaphors with Arabs than with Americans, but also that only 25% of these convey a strong type of manipulation. We also notice that Americans are described using metaphors of the last category much more frequently than Arabs. In other words, Americans are described as involved in a more active type of manipulation while Arabs lean towards passive manipulation. On the other hand, the table shows that in the ANM, the percentage of the strong type of manipulation for Arabs is over 53%, but the fairly low frequency should not be ignored. We also see that as far as Americans are concerned, there are no considerable differences between the NYT and the ANM, since the table highlights the strong type of manipulation in both corpora (44% and 40%).

5.1.2.2.1 COLLOCATION ANALYSIS

As conducted with previously analysed source domains, PHYSICAL MANIPULATION metaphor candidates in the first 300 collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA were examined and identified where available. The findings are shown in Table 5.17:

Table 5.17: PHYSICAL MANIPULATION Metaphor Candidates in the First 300 Collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA Sorted by Frequency and with an MI3 score =>3

PHYSICAL MANIPULATION					
The NYT		The ANM		COCA	
Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans	Americans	Arabs
make (10.51)	feel (19.76) get (19.13) take (18.65) examining (18.38) make (18.28) use (17.53) made (16.96) receive (16.87) felt (16.82) held (16.8) give (16.67) used (16.2)	feel (11.47) make (9.9)	take (6.76) get (6.62) feel (6.5) held (6.22) stop (5.3) hold (4.73) using (4.11) taken (4.06) took (4)	-	-

The table reveals a number of differences and similarities when examining PHYSICAL MANIPULATION metaphor candidates that collocate with Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and the COCA. One key difference that should be noticed first is the absence of PHYSICAL MANIPULATION words that collocate with either Arabs or Americans in COCA. This could indicate that the use of PHYSICAL MANIPULATION words is specific to the NYT and the ANM. Second, the table shows that in the NYT and the ANM, PHYSICAL MANIPULATION words collocate considerably more frequently and with higher MI3 scores with Americans than Arabs in both news corpora. These findings clearly corroborate metaphor analysis in the NYT and the ANM which showed that the source domain PHYSICAL MANIPULATION is used to describe Americans more often than Arabs.

5.1.3 HUMAN-ORIENTED ACTIVITY

5.1.3.1 WAR

Both the NYT and the ANM use WAR metaphors to describe Arabs and Americans. The NYT uses WAR metaphors to describe Americans (11.4%) almost as twice as often as it does to describe ARABS (5.24%). In the ANM, on the other hand, the difference between the frequency of occurrence of WAR metaphors for Arabs and Americans is much less noticeable (10.08% and 8.15% respectively, See Table 5.1).

We employ again the terms ‘agonist’ and ‘antagonist’ to describe the interaction between Arabs/Americans and other entities. Arabs are the agonist and the entities that they fight are the antagonist. This kind of interaction implies three aspects: being attacked (*under attack, hit, assailed, bombarded*); being engaged in the fight which shows a change from the state of inaction to action and balance with the antagonist’s action (*fight, struggle*); and the result of this interaction, which is either that the agonist overcomes the antagonist (*beat*) or is overcome by the antagonist (*surrender, victims*). The following examples are illustrations:

- (14) Arabs feel that they are *bombarded with* the cultural products of the Western civilization (*The NYT*, 27 October 2001).
- (15) ... the reports suggested Americans were still *struggling* to pay the bills (*The NYT*, 20 January 2010).

Example (14) illustrates the first aspect of war interaction – being attacked – between the agonist and antagonist. Arabs, the agonist, are conceptualized in terms of war victims that are under attack for a long time from Western civilization. Western civilization, the antagonist, is conceptualized as a war enemy that has been attacking Arabs. Western civilization and culture beliefs, ideas, customs, music, lifestyle, food, technology etc. are conceptualized as objects – more specifically *products* – that are thrown at Arabs repeatedly

and in large quantities. These Western cultural products are further conceptualized through the use of *bombarded*, as if bombs were dropped on Arabs or bullets fired at them. This image invokes and is part of the concept of cultural *invasion* or cultural *warfare*. It is not unusual to use WAR terms to talk of Western culture and civilization impinging on Arab and Muslim people and their culture because of the latter's inability to compete against foreign power influence, which renders them dependent on the West.

Unlike the state of inaction on the part of the agonist in example (14), example (15) illustrates balance between the agonist's action and the antagonist's. Americans, the agonist, are conceptualized in terms of active participants in a struggle, and simply as passive recipients of attack. Their enemy, the antagonist, is financial and economic difficulties. *Struggling* which conceptualizes using somebody's strength to fight and defeat someone, emphasizes the Americans' determined efforts to deal with their difficult financial situation. Despite the general negative evaluation of Americans' situation, being in action and trying hard to deal with difficulties is seen in a more positive light than being simply attacked and unable to act.

The different aspects of interaction between the agonist and the antagonist are the basis for classifying WAR metaphors into sub-source domains. The findings following the more detailed classification is shown in Table 5.18:

Table 5.18: Overview of WAR Sub-Source Domains for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

SUB-SOURCE DOMAIN	The NYT				The ANM			
	ARABS		AMERICANS		ARABS		AMERICANS	
	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
ATTACKED	4	33.33%	2	7.69%	7	29.16%	11	50%
BALANCE	7	58.33%	16	61.53%	5	20.83%	4	18.18%
RESULT – THE ANTAGONIST OVERCOMES	1	8.33%	3	11.53%	9	37.5%	2	9.09%
RESULT – THE AGONIST OVERCOMES	-	-	5	19.23%	3	12.5%	5	22.72%
TOTAL	12	100%	26	100%	24	100%	22	100%

Table 5.18 reveals the main similarities and differences between WAR metaphors describing Arabs and Americans within the same corpus and across both corpora. First, we notice that the dominant aspect of this relationship in the NYT is clearly BALANCE for both Arabs and Americans. Second, we can also see that the aspect THE AGONIST OVERCOMES (19.23%) is used only with Americans. The table also shows that in the ANM, when Arabs are the agonist, the most dominant aspect is THE ANTAGONIST OVERCOMES (37.5%). When Americans are the agonist the most dominant is ATTACKED (50%).

5.1.3.1.1 COLLOCATION ANALYSIS

WAR words that collocate with Arabs and Americans were analysed in the top 300 collocates. Table 5.19 shows the findings of the collocation analysis:

Table 5.19: WAR Metaphor Candidates in the First 300 Collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA Sorted by Frequency and with an MI3 score =>3

WAR					
The NYT		The ANM		COCA	
Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans
Fighters (19.14)	War (23)	Oppose (12.57)	Kill (14.25)	Conflict	Oppose
Fighting (15.42)	Attacks (20.49)	Targeting (11.49)	War (14.25)	Fought	Targeting
Conflict (15.1)	Struggling	War (11.01)	Enemies (14.14)	Conquered	Lynching
Attacks (14.84)	(18.82)	Conflict (10.06)	Opposed (10.32)	Defeated	Lynched
Disputed (14.59)	Fight (18.62)	Attacks (9.95)	Killed (10.69)	Captives	conflicted
Fight (14.23)	Oppose (16.42)			Hostility	Arming
Attack (13.67)	Fighting (16.29)			Targeting	
War (13.18)	Struggle (16.04)			Conquering	
Targets (12.16)	Aimed (15.99)			Crusades	
Violence (12.06)				Confrontation	
opposing (11.93)				Opposed	
Fought (11.77)				Attacked	
Aimed (11.15)				Oppose	
Violence (10.48)				Fighting	
Struggle (9.08)				Attacks	
Break (8.95)				Hostile	
				conflicts	

The table reveals important differences and similarities when comparing WAR metaphor candidates used to describe Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and against the

reference corpus COCA. First, we see that in the NYT, there are many more war collocates with Arabs than with Americans. This finding is not in accordance with the metaphor analysis finding that the lowest percentage of WAR metaphors in the NYT is used to describe Arabs. Still, we should also notice that collocation is stronger, as indicated by the MI3 score, between Americans and war collocates. It is not unusual that WAR words collocate considerably with Arabs and it is expected that many of these will not be metaphorically used. What is noticeable, however, is that in the NYT, not as many war words collocate with Americans. Second, Table 5.19 shows that collocation analysis in COCA confirms the collocation analysis findings in the NYT, particularly for Arabs. What we can also see in Table 5.19, is that unlike in the NYT, in the ANM, many fewer war words collocate either with Arabs or Americans. This finding does not support metaphor analysis that shows that a higher percentage of WAR metaphorical expressions are used to describe Arabs than Americans. It seems then that the use of WAR words is more specific to the ANM.

5.1.3.2 POSSESSION

POSSESSION metaphors indicate conceptualizing different abstract entities such as ideas, beliefs, attributes, emotions, situations, events etc. in terms of objects and concrete entities that can be sold, bought, traded, protected, reshaped, placed, thrown etc. as the owner wishes. These possessions can also be given, fought over, taken away, or lost in one way or another. The following examples illustrate this source domain:

(16) We think, as Americans, that we *possess* a heroic past, and we like to think of our history as one of *progress* ... (*The NYT*, 12 April 2011).

(17) ...the rights of Arabs will be *lost* ... (*The NYT*, 24 July 2009).

In example (16), history is conceptualized as property, and Americans are represented as the owner of that property. This possession is presented as a valuable one through the use of

‘heroic’ and through its interaction with a JOURNEY metaphor. The use of ‘heroic’ brings to mind the heroic figures and events in American history. This is accentuated by the JOURNEY metaphor (*progress*) which is highly relevant to the American setting, with journeys from the old land to the new land, from the East to the West, and from the earth to the moon (See Section 5.1.1.1 for more details of this source domain). In example (17), rights are conceptualised as things that Arabs are legally or morally allowed to possess but these may be *lost*. Thus, Arabs are represented as possessors whose legal and moral possessions could be taken away from them.

POSSESSION metaphors are used in both the NYT and the ANM but most noticeably to describe Americans (11.48%) in the ANM (See Table 5.1 above). These metaphors reveal two aspects: possession and its opposite. In order to distinguish between these two aspects, we refer to the first one as POSITIVE POSSESSION, for instance *possess something*, and the second one as NEGATIVE POSSESSION, for instance *lose something* as illustrated in example (16) and (17) above. When analysing POSSESSION metaphors in both the NYT and the ANM, evidence for the two aspects are identified and classified under sub-source domains. The findings are recorded in Table 5.20:

Table 5.20: Overview of POSSESSION Source Domain for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

	The NYT				The ANM			
	ARABS		AMERICANS		ARABS		AMERICANS	
SUB-SOURCE DOMAIN	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
POSITIVE POSSESSION	6	60.00%	9	52.94%	8	66.67%	21	67.74%
NEGATIVE POSSESSION	4	40.00%	8	47.06%	4	33.33%	10	32.26%
TOTAL	10	100%	17	100%	12	100%	31	100%

Table 5.20 shows a key difference between the use of the types of POSSESSION metaphors to describe Arabs and Americans in both news corpora as we notice that both the NYT and the ANM use POSITIVE POSSESSION metaphors more than NEGATIVE POSSESSION metaphors to describe both Arabs and Americans.

5.1.3.2.1 COLLOCATION ANALYSIS

We examined the first 300 collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA, and identified POSSESSION metaphor candidates where available. The findings are recorded in Table 5.21:

Table 5.21: POSSESSION Metaphor Candidates in the First 300 Collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA Sorted by Frequency and with an MI3 score =>3

POSSESSION					
The NYT		The ANM		COCA	
Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans	Americans	Arabs
Have (17.71)	Have (27.57)	Have (15.86)	Have (14.51)	-	-
Had (14.15)	Had (22.54)	Had (7.97)	Had (9.83)		
Has (10.39)	Lost (18.45)		Lost (6.97)		
	Has (18.19)				
	Lose (16.52)				
	Losing (16.47)				

Table 5.21 reveals a number of differences when examining POSSESSION metaphor candidates that collocate with Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and the COCA. First, the table shows that no POSSESSION words collocate with either Arabs or Americans in COCA. This suggests that the POSSESSION metaphor candidates are more likely specific to the NYT and the ANM. Second, the table reveals that POSSESSION words collocate more often and overall more strongly with Americans than with Arabs.

As far as the two sub-source domains of POSITIVE POSSESSION and NEGATIVE POSSESSION are concerned, the findings in the table show that only POSITIVE POSSESSION words collocate with Arabs in both the NYT and the ANM. This finding does not confirm metaphor analysis findings which show that the NYT uses slightly more POSITIVE POSSESSION metaphors to describe Arabs. However, metaphor analysis results should be read with caution because of limited data and because in terms of frequency, the difference may not be seen as important (6 and 4). In addition, collocation analysis results should also be read with caution with regard to the only collocate showing POSITIVE POSSESSION *have**, which shows strong bonding with both entities, and indicates

possession. This collocate is one of the most common words that appear in the top of collocation lists because of its functional as well as lexical use.

5.1.3.3 BUSINESS

There is some limited evidence that BUSINESS metaphors are used in both corpora. Business is a very old and basic human social and economic activity that involves interaction between members of a society. The BUSINESS source domain involves conceptualizing the ways we deal with abstract things and actions such as ideas, beliefs, plans etc. in terms of business transactions (Kövecses, 2005). The following example illustrates the BUSINESS source domain:

- (18) President Obama tried Tuesday to *sell* his health care plan to older *Americans* (*The NYT*, 29 July 2009).

In this example, President Obama and older Americans are described as engaged in an economic transaction. The Americans particularly are conceptualized as the customers that President Obama tries to persuade about his healthcare plan which is represented as a commodity. Persuasion is thus conceptualized as *selling*.

BUSINESS metaphors that refer to Arabs and/or Americans were identified in the NYT and the ANM. Table 5.22 presents the findings:

Table 5.22: Overview of BUSINESS Source Domain for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

	The NYT				The ANM			
	ARABS		AMERICANS		ARABS		AMERICANS	
	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
TOTAL	6	2.62%	8	3.5%	-	-	8	2.96%

The table shows that although there is evidence of their use in both corpora, BUSINESS metaphors do not occur very often in comparison with the other source domains. The table also highlights that BUSINESS metaphors, with the highest frequency in all groups, describe Americans in the NYT. In addition, there is no evidence at all of using BUSINESS metaphors to refer to Arabs in the ANM.

5.1.3.3.1 COLLOCATION ANALYSIS

BUSINESS candidate metaphors in the first 300 collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA, were identified. The findings of the collocation analysis are presented in Table 5.23:

Table 5.23: BUSINESS Metaphor Candidates in the First 300 Collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA Sorted by Frequency and with an MI3 score =>3

BUSINESS					
The NYT		The ANM		COCA	
Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans
Buying (10.82)	Work (20.79) Work (20.79) Buy (19.88) Pay (19.78) Spend (19.39) Buying (17.26) Working (17.05) Spending (16.89) Paying (16.55) Spent (16.33)	-	Pay (10.71)	-	-

Table 5.23 highlights three key differences in the collocation of BUSINESS words with Arabs and Americans in the three different corpora examined. First, no BUSINESS words collocate with either Arabs or Americans in COCA. Second, BUSINESS words collocate quite frequently and with high MI3 scores with Americans in the NYT. Finally, the table shows only one collocate with Arabs in the NYT, and one collocate with Americans in the ANM. These findings indicate that the use of BUSINESS words is not only very specific to the NYT but also to Americans in the NYT.

In addition to the key differences highlighted, Table 5.23 also reveals that the NYT collocation analysis definitely corroborates metaphor analysis which indicates that BUSINESS metaphors occur most frequently in the NYT and to describe Americans. In addition, the ANM collocation analysis confirms further the metaphor analysis that no BUSINESS metaphors to describe Arabs were identified.

5.1.4 THE HUMAN BODY

5.1.4.1 PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION

PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION metaphors describe different types of entities and situations in terms of the health and strength of the human body. The following examples are illustrations:

(19) ... you don't have a clue why *we're* so *strong* or why *the Arab regimes* you despise are so *weak* (*The NYT*, 12 October 2001).

(20) ... *economic pain* for *Americans* is so widespread (*Arab News*, 10 April 2008).

In example (19), Americans (*we*) are conceptualized as a physically powerful and healthy human body and this representation is enhanced not only by the use of *so*, but particularly by contrasting it to the conceptualization of Arab regimes as lacking physical strength and health. The situation of a country is represented as the physical condition of the human body thus invoking THE COUNTRY IS A PERSON. Economic and political power and influence of a country are represented as physical strength and lack of that power as weakness. In example (20), Americans are conceptualized as suffering from *pain*, economic difficulties being the *pain*.

PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION metaphors are used in both the NYT and the ANM but most noticeably to describe more frequently Arabs than Americans in both news corpora, as displayed above in Table 5.1. Following the discussion in Section 2.4.6.5., our body condition can be good or bad, weak or strong, healthy or unhealthy, as illustrated above in examples (19) and (20). Therefore, when we analysed metaphor data, we distinguished between two physical states of the body and classified metaphorically used expressions into two sub-source domains: WEAK BODY and STRONG BODY. Table 5.24 presents the findings that we obtained following the more detailed classification:

Table 5.24: Overview of PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION Source Domain for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

	The NYT				The ANM			
	ARABS		AMERICANS		ARABS		AMERICANS	
SUB-SOURCE DOMAIN	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
WEAK BODY	8	57.14%	2	22.22%	9	60.00%	10	90.91%
STRONG BODY	6	42.86%	7	77.78%	6	40.00%	1	9.09%
TOTAL	14	100%	9	100%	15	100%	11	100%

The table above reveals the key differences and similarities in the use of WEAK BODY and STRONG BODY metaphors that describe Americans and Arabs in both corpora. The table particularly highlights the predominance of STRONG BODY metaphors describing Americans in the NYT against the predominance of WEAK BODY metaphors describing them in the ANM. The table also shows the more frequent use of WEAK BODY metaphors describing Arabs in both the NYT and the ANM.

5.1.4.1.1 COLLOCATION ANALYSIS

Following an analysis of the top 300 collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA, PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION candidate metaphors were identified. Table 5.25 presents the findings obtained from the collocation analysis:

Table 5.25: PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION Metaphor Candidates in the First 300 Collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA Sorted by Frequency and with an MI3 score =>3

PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION					
The NYT		The ANM		COCA	
Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans
strong (9.68)	suffer (17.75) suffer (15.99)	-	-	wounding	suffer wounding incurable immunize

The table highlights main differences and similarities when examining PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION metaphor candidates that collocate with Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and the COCA. A first key difference that should be noticed is the absence of PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION words that collocate with either Arabs or Americans in the ANM. This finding contradicts metaphor analysis findings showing the predominance of WEAK BODY metaphors whether with Arabs or Americans. Second, we see that in the NYT, there is only and fairly strong collocation between Arabs and strong body words, while there is strong collocation between Americans and weak body words. This does definitely not supplement metaphor analysis, which particularly highlights the use of STRONG BODY metaphors to describe Americans. The table also shows particularly weak body collocates in COCA with both Arabs and Americans, and thus corroborates the ANM metaphor analysis finding that Arabs and more particularly Americans are described using more WEAK BODY than STRONG BODY metaphors.

5.1.4.2 SIGHT

Metaphors from the SIGHT source domain are used in both the NYT and the ANM slightly more frequently with Arabs than with Americans (See Table 5.1). SIGHT metaphors are analysed in more detail and classified further into two sub-source domains: SEEING and BEING SEEN. The findings are shown in Table 5.26:

Table 5.26: Overview of SIGHT Source Domain for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

SUB-SOURCE DOMAIN	The NYT				The ANM			
	ARABS		AMERICANS		ARABS		AMERICANS	
	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
AGENT OF SIGHT	12	60.00%	15	88.24%	8	53.33%	12	85.71%
OBJECT OF SIGHT	8	40.00%	2	11.76%	7	46.67%	2	14.29%
TOTAL	20	100%	17	100%	15	100%	14	100%

The table highlights main differences and similarities in using SIGHT metaphors to refer to Americans and Arabs in the NYT and the ANM. We first see that the evidence for the use of BEING SEEN/ OBJECT OF SIGHT to describe Americans in the NYT or in the ANM is very limited. Visibly, on the other hand, SEEING/AGENT OF SIGHT metaphors are markedly much more frequent. Second, we notice that at least 40% of SIGHT words used for Arabs indicate being the object of sight whether in the NYT or the ANM. The findings in the table suggest that SIGHT words – which are predominantly verbs – do not seem to indicate any different evaluation of Arabs and Americans when these entities are the subject of the action of perceiving. However, this is different when Arabs are described twice as often as Americans as objects of SIGHT. This is interesting, as sight itself is regarded as one form of physical manipulation and control (Sweetser, 1991). Moreover, sight, by being an action that takes place from a distance (does not involve touching) implies objectivity and gives a greater sense of reality. SIGHT metaphors have often been mapped on to abstract domains indicating mental activity such as UNDERSTANDING and HAVING AN OPINION (See Section 2.4.6.4). Accordingly, the more dominant use of BEING SEEN to refer to Arabs and its quasi-absence with Americans could imply that more opinions are offered about Arabs as a group than about Americans as a group, as illustrated in the following example:

- (21) ... most *Americans* today *view* *Arabs* and Muslims *through* the *painful prism* of 9/11 (*The NYT*, 06 January 2008).

In example (21), having an opinion and thinking of some group of people in a certain way is described in terms of seeing. Americans are conceptualized as the agent of sight – the entity that sees, while Arabs as the object of sight – the entity that is seen by others. Americans’ opinion of Arabs and the actions that may follow from it are based on 9/11 and thus is very biased. 9/11 is represented as a *prism* that Americans see through. A *prism* is a glass object which transmits and divides light, thus distorting it. When we look through a prism, we see a distorted, reshaped, slanted image of the thing we are looking at. We will definitely not see the object as it is. To *view Arabs through the prism of* conceptualizes understanding, knowing and judging Arabs on the basis of one event. SIGHT metaphors are combined with a PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION metaphor – *painful* – thus representing 9/11 in addition to a *prism* as physical pain or illness that Arabs suffer from (more details on metaphors indicating physical condition are given in the previous section).

5.1.4.2.1 COLLOCATION ANALYSIS

SIGHT candidate metaphors were identified following an analysis of the top 300 collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA. The findings of the collocation analysis are shown in Table 5.27:

Table 5.27: SIGHT Metaphor Candidates in the First 300 Collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA Sorted by Frequency and with an MI3 score =>3

SIGHT					
The NYT		The ANM		COCA	
Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans
-	see (19.3) view (16.78)	see (9.8)	see (7.3) view (5.83) looking (4.75)	perceive	perceive

The table highlights major differences in the use of SIGHT candidate metaphors collocating with Arabs and Americans in the three different corpora examined. The table shows that there is strong collocation between Americans and SIGHT words in the NYT, while none

was found to collocate with Arabs. The finding regarding Arabs clearly contradicts metaphor analysis findings, which show a relatively high frequency source domain. In addition, the table shows SIGHT collocates for both Arabs and Americans in the ANM, and in COCA. These findings corroborate to some extent metaphor analysis. It is, however, not possible to establish through collocation analysis, which sub-source domain is used – SEEING or BEING SEEN.

5.1.5 INANIMACY

5.1.5.1 OBJECTS

Referring to human beings as objects involves the attribution of a given property or quality of objects to people, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (22) ... *they see* it *through* their own narrative, which says the U.S. is upsetting the status quo not to *lift the Arab world up*, but rather to *put it down* (*The NYT*, 02 April 2003).
- (23) *Americans* have come here to *put the Arabs down* and steal our oil (*The NYT*, 27 November 2003).

In examples (22) and (23) Arabs and the Arab world are conceptualized as objects that Americans manipulate and reposition as they wish. What is interesting is that this representation is introduced by means of a SIGHT metaphor, as coming from Arabs which implies an inherent acknowledgement of American power. In other words, Arabs think of themselves as objects that can be manipulated by Americans, who can either *lift* them *up* or *put* them *down*. To lift something up or put it down, you need to have sufficient physical strength to manipulate the object in your hands as you wish (SIGHT, BODILY STRENGTH and PHYSICAL MANIPULATION source domains were discussed in the previous sections). OBJECT metaphors that refer to both Arabs and Americans were identified in the NYT as well as in the ANM. Table 5.28 presents the findings:

Table 5.28: Overview of OBJECT Source Domain for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

	The NYT				The ANM			
	ARABS		AMERICANS		ARABS		AMERICANS	
	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
POSSESSIONS/ OBJECTS/ SUBSTANCES	21	9.17%	7	3.07%	11	4.62%	13	4.81%

Table 5.28 reveals the key differences and similarities in OBJECT metaphors used to describe Americans and Arabs in the NYT and the ANM. The table particularly highlights the importance of using OBJECT metaphors to describe Arabs in the NYT. It also shows that the ANM use considerably fewer OBJECT metaphors to describe Arabs and slightly more to describe Americans. We also notice that in the ANM, OBJECT metaphors are used to describe Arabs and Americans similarly.

5.1.5.1.1 COLLOCATION ANALYSIS

It was difficult to conduct collocation analysis for the SOURCE domain of OBJECTS and expect to obtain reliable results. The procedure was to look for collocates that convey the concept OBJECTS. These may collocate strongly with Arabs or other entities or they may not. In both cases, these collocates cannot indicate that they, in particular, may be metaphor candidates as they are not that specific. For instance in the expression *to put Arabs in the same basket*, it is through the word *put* that we map Arabs as things that can be held, moved etc. *Put* as such cannot be said to belong to the semantic category of objects.

5.1.5.1 SUPPORT

A *support* is “something that holds the weight of an object, building, or structure so that it does not move or fall” (*Macmillan English Dictionary*). The following examples illustrate how metaphorical expressions from this source domain conceptualise other entities:

(24) ... at the same time we see *the Americans supporting* groups in [Iran's] Kurdish regions (*Aljazeera.net*, 18 October 2009).

In example (24), Kurdish groups are represented as a physical structure and Americans are conceptualized as *supports* that bear the weight of that structure. Supports are the most important parts of a given physical structure such as a building because very simply we cannot think of some kind of building that does not have specific parts to hold its weight and prevent it from falling. The use of this metaphor highlights the central role of Americans in the politics of Iraq.

Examining both the NYT and the ANM, SUPPORT metaphors are found to describe both Arabs and Americans. The findings are presented in Table 5.29:

Table 5.29: Overview of the SUPPORT Source Domain for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

	The NYT				The ANM			
	ARABS		AMERICANS		ARABS		AMERICANS	
	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
SUPPORTS	6	2.62%	8	3.54%	8	3.36%	17	6.30%

Looking at Table 5.29 , the highest percentage of SUPPORT metaphors (6.3%) used in the ANM to describe Americans should first be indicated. It is worth noting that the SUPPORT metaphor ranks as the fifth most frequently used source domain. The table also shows no important difference in the use of this source domain to describe Arabs and Americans in the NYT, or to describe Arabs across the NYT and the ANM.

5.1.5.1.1 COLLOCATION ANALYSIS

Collocation analysis for the SOURCE domain of SUPPORT was conducted and metaphor candidates that collocate with Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA were identified where available. The findings are shown in Table 5.30:

Table 5.30: SUPPORT Metaphor Candidates in the First 300 Collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA Sorted by Frequency and with an MI3 score =>3

SUPPORTS					
The NYT		The ANM		COCA	
Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans	Arabs	Americans
Support (14.19) Supported (9.9)	Support (21.16)	-	Support (13.07) Supported (11.45)	-	-

The table reveals a number of similarities and differences when examining SUPPORT metaphor candidates that collocate with Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and the COCA. One main difference that first should be noted is the absence of the lexeme *support(s)* words that collocate with either Arabs or Americans in COCA. This could indicate that the use of the SUPPORT source domain is specific to the NYT and the ANM. The table also shows that *support* collocates with both Arabs and Americans in the NYT, which confirms metaphor analysis findings. We also notice that in the ANM, *support* collocates with Americans only. The strong collocation between Americans and *support* corroborates the metaphor analysis finding that SUPPORT metaphors frequently describe Americans.

5.1.6 Miscellaneous

Other source domains are used to describe Arabs and Americans but the decision is to comment only on those that comprise more than 3 instances since this frequency which corresponds to more than 1% of all metaphor data will form the basis for the interpretation

of conceptual metaphors. Table 5.31 shows the findings concerning these miscellaneous source domains:

Table 5.31: Overview of Miscellaneous Source Domains for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

	The NYT				The ANM			
	ARABS		AMERICANS		ARABS		AMERICANS	
	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
CONTAINER	6	2.62%	-	-	7	2.94%	8	2.96%
ANIMALS	7	3.06%	1	0.43%	5	2.10%	1	0.37%
NATURAL PHENOMENON	-	-	-	-	5	2.10%	-	-
SLAVES/PRISONERS	-	-	-	-	5	2.10%	-	-
PARTICIPANTS IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES	-	-	3	1.31%	3	1.26%	2	0.74%
LEARNERS	-	-	-	-	1	0.42%	2	0.74%
MACHINES	-	-	2	0.87%	-	-	-	-

The table reveals the major differences in the miscellaneous source domains used to refer to Arabs and Americans in both corpora. First, we see that except for Americans in the NYT, the CONTAINER metaphor is used to refer to Arabs and Americans in both corpora. CONTAINER, when mapped to refer to people generally, conveys the meaning of container of emotions and ideas in relation to the BODY IS A CONTAINER. Second, we notice that ANIMALS and NATURAL PHENOMENON source domains are used particularly with Arabs, both in the NYT or the ANM. The table also shows that only Arabs are described using the source domain of SLAVES/PRISONERS, and only in the ANM. The first 300 collocates of Arabs and Americans in the NYT, the ANM and COCA were examined for metaphor candidates that could belong to these source domains but the collocation analysis did not reveal any collocates.

5.2 Interpretation and Classification of Conceptual Metaphors

This section centres on the interpretation and classification of conceptual mappings based on the metaphorical expressions identified and classified under source domains and sub-source domains in the previous section. Only linguistic evidence that counts 3 metaphors and more is considered reliable enough to be interpreted as one conceptual mapping and be included in the discussion of the results. The conceptual metaphors interpreted in the form A IS B (ARABS/AMERICANS ARE ...) are presented in Table 5.32 and Table 5.33 below but will be illustrated and discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Table 5.32: Overview of Conceptual Metaphors for Arabs and Americans in the NYT

The NYT					
ARABS	Freq	%	AMERICANS	Freq	%
ARABS ARE OBJECTS	21	9.17%	AMERICANS THAT MANIPULATE ABSTRACT MATTERS ARE ENTITIES THAT MANIPULATE OBJECTS PHYSICALLY	36	15.79%
ARABS ARE A FORCE IN OPPOSING DIRECTION	15	6.55%	AMERICANS ARE TARGET OF APPLIED FORCE	17	7.46%
ARABS ARE ENTITIES DISTANT FROM OTHER ENTITIES	13	5.68%	AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES THAT RESIST ATTACK	16	7.02%
ARABS THAT MANIPULATE ABSTRACT MATTERS ARE ENTITIES THAT MANIPULATE OBJECTS PHYSICALLY	12	5.24%	AMERICANS WITH MENTAL ACTIVITY ARE AMERICANS WITH SIGHT	15	6.58%
ARABS WITH MENTAL ACTIVITY ARE ARABS WITH SIGHT	12	5.24%	AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES A CONTAINER	15	6.58%
ARABS ARE TARGET OF APPLIED FORCE	12	5.24%	AMERICANS ARE POSITIVE POSSESSORS	9	3.95%
ARABS ARE ENTITIES IN PROXIMITY TO OTHER ENTITIES	11	4.80%	AMERICANS ARE BUSINESS ACTORS	8	3.51%
ARABS ARE TARGET OF FORCE IN A CONTAINER	11	4.80%	AMERICANS ARE NEGATIVE POSSESSORS	8	3.51%
ARABS ARE OBJECTS OF SIGHT	8	3.49%	AMERICANS ARE SUPPORTS	8	3.51%
ARABS ARE A WEAK BODY	8	3.49%	AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES IN A HIGHER POSITION	8	3.51%
ARABS ARE ANIMALS	7	3.06%	AMERICANS ARE A STRONG BODY	7	3.07%
ARABS ARE ENTITIES THAT RESIST ATTACK	7	3.06%	AMERICANS ARE OBJECTS	7	3.07%
ARABS ARE A STRONG BODY	6	2.62%	AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES IN A N OPPOSITE POSITION	5	2.19%
ARABS ARE BUSINESS ACTORS	6	2.62%	AMERICANS ARE TRAVELLERS THAT ARE ON A PATH	5	2.19%
ARABS ARE POSITIVE POSSESSORS	6	2.62%	AMERICANS ARE TRAVELLERS THAT MOVE FORWARD	5	2.19%
ARABS ARE FOLLOWING TRAVELLERS	6	2.62%	AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES THAT WIN A FIGHT	5	2.19%
ARABS ARE CONTAINERS	6	2.62%	AMERICANS ARE TRAVELLERS TOWARDS A DESTINATION	4	1.75%
ARABS ARE A NATURAL PHENOMENON	6	2.62%	AMERICANS ARE LEADING TRAVELLERS	4	1.75%
ARABS ARE SUPPORTS	6	2.62%	AMERICANS ARE TRAVELLERS ON A DIFFICULT JOURNEY	3	1.32%
ARABS ARE ENTITIES IN A SIDE POSITION	6	2.62%	AMERICANS ARE SOURCE OF FORCE	3	1.32%
ARABS ARE TRAVELLERS THAT MOVE BACKWARD	5	2.18%	AMERICANS ARE TRAVELLERS THAT MOVE BACKWARD	3	1.32%
ARABS ARE ENTITIES UNDER ATTACK	4	1.75%	AMERICANS ARE FAST TRAVELLERS	3	1.32%
ARABS ARE NEGATIVE POSSESSORS	4	1.75%	AMERICANS ARE A TRAVELLERS AT THE END OF A JOURNEY	3	1.32%
ARABS ARE ENTITIES IN AN OPPOSITE POSITION	4	1.75%	AMERICANS ARE PARTICIPANTS IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES	3	1.32%
ARABS ARE SOURCE OF FORCE	3	1.31%	AMERICANS ARE A NATURAL PHENOMENON	3	1.32%
ARABS ARE TRAVELLERS AT THE BEGINNING OF A JOURNEY	3	1.31%	AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES THAT LOSE A FIGHT	3	1.32%
ARABS ARE TRAVELLERS TOWARDS A DESTINATION	3	1.31%	OTHER	22	9.65%
ARABS ARE ENTITIES OUT OF A CONTAINER	3	1.31%			
OTHER	15	6.55%			
TOTAL	229	100%	TOTAL	228	100%

Table 5.32 reveals the key differences in the conceptual metaphors that describe Arabs and Americans in the NYT. The table particularly highlights the findings that Arabs are predominantly portrayed as OBJECTS while Americans as ENTITIES THAT MANIPULATE OBJECTS PHYSICALLY. This indicates a stark contrast between the agency associated with Americans and objectification of Arabs.

Table 5.33: Overview of Conceptual Metaphors for Arabs and Americans in the ANM

The ANM					
ARABS	Freq	%	AMERICANS	Freq	%
ARABS ARE ENTITIES IN PROXIMITY TO OTHER ENTITIES	18	7.56%	AMERICANS THAT MANIPULATE ABSTRACT MATTERS ARE ENTITIES THAT MANIPULATE OBJECTS PHYSICALLY	42	15.56%
ARABS ARE TARGET OF APPLIED FORCE	17	7.14%	AMERICANS ARE POSITIVE POSSESSORS	21	7.78%
ARABS THAT MANIPULATE ABSTRACT MATTERS ARE ENTITIES THAT MANIPULATE OBJECTS PHYSICALLY	13	5.46%	AMERICANS ARE SUPPORTS	17	6.30%
ARABS ARE TRAVELLERS ON A LONG DIFFICULT JOURNEY	12	5.04%	AMERICANS ARE OBJECTS	13	4.81%
ARABS ARE OBJECTS	11	4.62%	AMERICANS WITH MENTAL ACTIVITY ARE AMERICANS WITH SIGHT	12	4.44%
ARABS ARE TARGET OF FORCE IN A CONTAINER	10	4.20%	AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES UNDER ATTACK	11	4.07%
ARABS ARE A WEAK BODY	9	3.78%	AMERICANS ARE A WEAK BODY	10	3.70%
ARABS ARE ENTITIES DISTANT FROM OTHER ENTITIES	9	3.78%	AMERICANS ARE NEGATIVE POSSESSORS	10	3.70%
ARABS ARE ENTITIES THAT LOSE A FIGHT	9	3.78%	AMERICANS ARE TRAVELLERS THAT ARE ON A PATH	10	3.70%
ARABS ARE POSITIVE POSSESSORS	8	3.36%	AMERICANS ARE TRAVELLERS THAT MOVE FORWARD	10	3.70%
ARABS WITH MENTAL ACTIVITY ARE ARABS WITH SIGHT	8	3.36%	AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES A CONTAINER	10	3.70%
ARABS ARE SUPPORTS	8	3.36%	AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES DISTANT FROM OTHER ENTITIES	9	3.33%
ARABS ARE ENTITIES UNDER ATTACK	7	2.94%	AMERICANS ARE BUSINESS ACTORS	8	2.96%
ARABS ARE FOLLOWING TRAVELLERS	7	2.94%	AMERICANS ARE SOURCE OF FORCE	8	2.96%
ARABS ARE OBJECTS OF SIGHT	7	2.94%	AMERICANS ARE CONTAINERS	8	2.96%
ARABS ARE CONTAINERS	7	2.94%	AMERICANS ARE TARGET OF APPLIED FORCE	8	2.96%
ARABS ARE ENTITIES IN AN OPPOSITE POSITION	6	2.52%	AMERICANS ARE FOLLOWING TRAVELLERS	7	2.59%
ARABS ARE TRAVELLERS TOWARDS A DESTINATION	6	2.52%	AMERICANS ARE TRAVELLERS TOWARDS A DESTINATION	5	1.85%
ARABS ARE A STRONG BODY	6	2.52%	AMERICANS ARE LEADING TRAVELLERS	5	1.85%
ARABS ARE SLAVES/PRISONERS	5	2.10%	AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES THAT WIN A FIGHT	5	1.85%
ARABS ARE ANIMALS	5	2.10%	AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES IN AN OPPOSITE POSITION	4	1.48%
ARABS ARE A NATURAL PHENOMENON	5	2.10%	AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES THAT RESIST ATTACK	4	1.48%
ARABS ARE ENTITIES THAT RESIST ATTACK	5	2.10%	ARABS ARE TRAVELLERS ON A LONG DIFFICULT JOURNEY	4	1.48%
ARABS ARE NEGATIVE POSSESSORS	4	1.68%	AMERICANS ARE A TRAVELLERS AT THE END OF A JOURNEY	3	1.11%
ARABS ARE SOURCE OF FORCE	4	1.68%	OTHER	26	9.63%
ARABS ARE ENTITIES IN A HIGHER/UPRIGHT POSITION	3	1.26%			
ARABS ARE A FORCE IN OPPOSING DIRECTION	3	1.26%			
ARABS ARE TRAVELLERS THAT MOVE BACKWARD	3	1.26%			
ARABS ARE PARTICIPANTS IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES	3	1.26%			
ARABS ARE ENTITIES A CONTAINER	3	1.26%			
ARABS ARE ENTITIES THAT WIN A FIGHT	3	1.26%			
OTHER	14	5.88%			
TOTAL	238	100%	TOTAL	270	100%

Table 5.33 highlights the main differences in the conceptual metaphors that describe Arabs and Americans in the ANM. The table particularly reveals the importance of AMERICANS AS ENTITIES THAT MANIPULATE OBJECTS PHYSICALLY metaphor. It also shows that Arabs, on the other hand, represent themselves principally as being ENTITIES THAT ARE IN PROXIMITY TO OTHER ENTITIES and as the TARGET OF APPLIED FORCE closely.

The two tables above also show that many similar conceptualizations are used not only of both Arabs and Americans in one corpus but also in both corpora. The frequency of occurrence, however, varies. Still, there are images that are found to be specific to one group or the other. These conceptual mappings are grouped and presented in Table 5.34.

Table 5.34: Overview of Specific Conceptual Metaphors for Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM

The NYT				The ANM			
ARABS	Freq	AMERICANS	Freq	ARABS	Freq	AMERICANS	Freq
ARABS ARE A FORCE IN OPPOSING DIRECTION	15	AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES IN A CONTAINER	15	ARABS ARE ENTITIES IN PROXIMITY TO OTHER ENTITIES	18	AMERICANS ARE TRAVELLERS THAT ARE ON A PATH	10
ARABS ARE ENTITIES DISTANT FROM OTHER ENTITIES	13	AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES IN A HIGHER POSITION	8	ARABS ARE TARGET OF FORCE IN A CONTAINER	10	AMERICANS ARE TRAVELLERS THAT MOVE FORWARD	10
ARABS ARE TARGET OF FORCE IN A CONTAINER	11	AMERICANS ARE TRAVELLERS THAT ARE ON A PATH	5	ARABS ARE OBJECTS OF SIGHT	7	AMERICANS ARE LEADING TRAVELLERS	5
ARABS ARE OBJECTS OF SIGHT	8	AMERICANS ARE TRAVELLERS THAT MOVE FORWARD	5	ARABS ARE A STRONG BODY	6		
ARABS ARE A WEAK BODY	8	AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES THAT WIN A FIGHT	5	ARABS ARE SLAVES/PRISONERS	5		
ARABS ARE ANIMALS	7	AMERICANS ARE LEADING TRAVELLERS	4	ARABS ARE ANIMALS	5		
ARABS ARE FOLLOWING TRAVELLERS	6	AMERICANS ARE TRAVELLERS ON A DIFFICULT JOURNEY	3	ARABS ARE A NATURALPHENOMENON	5		
ARABS ARE CONTAINERS	6	AMERICANS ARE A TRAVELLERS AT THE END OF A JOURNEY	3	ARABS ARE ENTITIES IN A HIGHER/UPRIGHT POSITION	5		
ARABS ARE ENTITIES IN A SIDE POSITION	6	AMERICANS ARE PARTICIPANTS IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES	3	ARABS ARE A FORCE IN OPPOSING DIRECTION	3		
ARABS ARE ENTITIES UNDER ATTACK	4			ARABS ARE TRAVELLERS ON A DIFFICULT JOURNEY	3		
ARABS ARE ENTITIES OUT OF A CONTAINER	3			ARABS ARE ENTITIES THAT WIN A FIGHT	3		
TOTAL	87	TOTAL	51	TOTAL	70	TOTAL	25

Table 5.34 highlights the conceptual metaphors that describe specifically either Arabs or Americans in the NYT and in the ANM. We see that except for the image of a container, the conceptual metaphors specific to Arabs in the NYT seem to portray them more in a negative way, for instance as a weak body. Americans, on the other hand, seem to be depicted more positively, such as entities in a higher position which invokes GOOD IS HIGH as against BAD IS DOWN. In the ANM, curiously enough, most conceptual metaphors that describe only Arabs seem to associate them with negative images. The only seemingly positive ones are ENTITIES IN PROXIMITY TO OTHER ENTITIES, STRONG BODY, HIGHER POSITION, and DIFFICULT JOURNEY. In contrast, all those particular to Americans indicate positive images such as MOVING FORWARD, invoking the positive implication of progress and change for the better.

5.3 Summary of the Main Findings

Metaphors that were classified into at least fourteen source domains were found to describe Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM. Source domain analysis showed that JOURNEY and PHYSICAL FORCE are among the most frequently used source domains describing Arabs and Americans in both corpora. Metaphors of PHYSICAL MANIPULATION, POSSESSION and ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER are most frequent when describing Americans in both corpora. On the other hand, PROXIMITY/DISTANCE metaphors also occur fairly frequently to describe Arabs in both news media. The OBJECT metaphor is most frequent when describing Arabs in the NYT.

5.3.1 Similarities

Curiously, the findings also revealed that the same most dominant source domains are used to describe Americans in the NYT and the ANM. These are PHYSICAL MANIPULATION,

JOURNEY, WAR, PHYSICAL FORCE, and POSSESSIONS. Similarly, except for OBJECTS and WAR, the same most dominant source domains are used to describe Arabs in both corpora. These are PHYSICAL FORCE, JOURNEY, PROXIMITY/DISTANCE and SIGHT.

5.3.2 Differences

Source domain analysis showed that PHYSICAL FORCE is the most dominant source domain in the NYT for describing Arabs, while for Americans, it is PHYSICAL MANIPULATION. While it is one of the most dominant source domains referring to Arabs in the NYT, PROXIMITY/DISTANCE and OBJECT metaphors describing Americans show limited frequency. Equally, ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER is used much more frequently for Americans.

In the ANM, both JOURNEY and PHYSICAL FORCE are equally the most dominant source domains describing Arabs, while for Americans, the most frequent source domain is JOURNEY. PROXIMITY/DISTANCE are used considerably more to refer to Arabs than to Americans. On the other hand, POSSESSIONS, SUPPORTS and ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER were found to describe Americans considerably more than Arabs. In addition, BUSINESS is used only to refer to Americans while, ANIMALS, SLAVES, NATURAL PHENOMENON and PARTICIPANTS IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES describe Arabs only.

In addition, the analysis of sub-source domains revealed that in the NYT, Arabs are specifically described as A FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION, ENTITIES DISTANT FROM OTHER ENTITIES and ENTITIES WITH SIGHT, Americans as A TARGET OF APPLIED FORCE, ENTITIES THAT RESIST ATTACK, ENTITIES WITH SIGHT and ENTITIES IN A CONTAINER. In the ANM, Arabs are referred to more specifically as ENTITIES IN PROXIMITY TO OTHER ENTITIES, A TARGET OF APPLIED FORCE, and TRAVELLERS ON A DIFFICULT JOURNEY. Americans, on the

other hand, are depicted more specifically as POSITIVE POSSESSORS, SUPPORTS, and ENTITIES WITH SIGHT.

Collocation analysis that was conducted in the reference corpus COCA supplemented our results. It particularly revealed that words indicating distance and proximity, opposing force, applied force, force in a container and side position do collocate with Arabs in COCA. Thus it confirms the metaphor analysis findings regarding Arabs. In addition, findings show that words indicating a weak body and applied force collocate with Americans. However, no words that could be classified under physical manipulation, journey, possession supports and business semantic categories collocate are found to collocate with Arabs or with Americans. The last findings highlight that the use of these words and possibly those that are metaphorically used, is more specific to the NYT and the ANM.

We stressed throughout the analysis that a number of these source domains may seem at first glance to convey positive or negative evaluation of Arabs or Americans, especially in view of what many of these domains have been found to refer to in other research studies as discussed in the literature review in Section 2.4.6. However, it is only by conducting more in-depth analysis of the use of these source domains, that we can confirm any such claim about the type of evaluation metaphors may convey, if any. All that we can notice is for instance that the image of resisting an attack is more positive than that of losing a fight, or that of a strong body is more appealing than that of a weak body. The importance of these conceptualizations can be evaluated only when we examine their occurrence, not only in view of their social and political context to explain their activation, but also in relation to other conceptual metaphors underlying them or implied by them. This is the focus of the next chapter which will attempt to explain the motivations underlying the occurrence of these metaphors in each news media.

Conclusion

Chapter 5 gave a detailed account of the source and sub-source domains in which metaphorical expressions were classified, and demonstrated that there are similarities and differences in the obtained data between ‘Arabs’ and ‘Americans’ in each of the corpora examined and across them. This chapter also reported the findings of the collocation analysis conducted, and through which it compared findings from the metaphor analysis to a reference corpus. Collocation analysis corroborated some of the metaphor analysis findings but also showed that the NYT and the ANM may be giving more specific representations of Americans and Arabs than what may be portrayed in a reference corpus. It then reported findings from the interpretation and classification of conceptual metaphors describing Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM. To conclude, metaphor identification, classification and interpretation is undoubtedly a tediously demanding task and the caveat that there is a considerable amount of subjectivity in the results cannot be ignored. Therefore, the limitations of interpretation based on the data should always be kept in mind.

6 CHAPTER SIX: DATA ANALYSIS: COMPARING MAIN REPRESENTATIONS OF ARABS & AMERICANS IN THE TWO NEWS MEDIA SOURCES

Introduction

This chapter centres on the illustration and discussion of conceptual mappings identified and classified in the previous chapter. We propose that while it is important to conduct qualitative analysis of a sample of selected texts from the corpus, deep analysis of the short text around the citation can tentatively account for the choice of metaphors. This chapter will argue that there are similarities as well as differences between the metaphors used to describe Arabs and Americans in each news media. It will argue that the NYT portrays Americans particularly as a group on its own as distinct and different from all other nations, and that this representation is also at times reiterated in the ANM. It will also argue that metaphors used to describe Arabs in the NYT portray them partially as a source of threat and conflict. On the other hand, in the ANM, metaphors work to form a representation of Arabs as passive and powerless entities. The chapter will therefore explain and illustrate how these metaphors are motivated noticeably by ideological and predicative purposes. These purposes also interact with other more general pragmatic uses including an aesthetic function in order to enhance textual coherence, and a heuristic purpose of framing issues (See Section 2.4.5 for a fuller discussion of the aesthetic and heuristic functions of metaphor, as defined in Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 201). Therefore, examples of metaphors from each of the source domains highlighted in Chapter 5 were selected here primarily to explore, interpret and explain their ideological content. Intermittent and unsystematic mention is also made of other purposes (predicative, aesthetic and heuristic) when they became particularly salient in the examples.

Before we start our discussion, we need however to be aware of the nature of news writing. What is important about the different arguments presented in these news articles is that the representation does not seem to be directly created by the writer of the article or from one source. This discourse is created and arises via quoting others or reporting what they said (Bush, Obama, Egyptian Ambassador, respondent, book author, etc.). Obviously, this is typical of news writing and plays the role of conveying objectivity. In addition, as discussed in Section 2.5 about news discourse, the writer writes, selects quotes, edits, deletes, and positions sections of the article, being aware that there is an editorial line to follow and a

readership. This obviously includes the selection of metaphors, whether by writing them or by allowing them to be included into the article. This can be motivated by many purposes such as the need to establish textual coherence in the article, convey some kind of evaluation, or evoke an ongoing underlying ideology.

In this chapter, the contextual analysis of conceptual metaphors follows the same organization as for the more quantitative source domain analysis in Chapter 5. In other words, the two criteria of conceptual coherence and relevant frequency guide the general presentation and discussion of conceptual metaphors. In view of the large, varied and complex data obtained (See Table 5.32, Table 5.33 and Table 5.34), the discussion of the findings is primarily based on the factor of conceptual coherence which consists in condensing data on the basis of how conceptually related they are. We thus start by combining the different conceptual metaphors that we selected for analysis with reference to the source domains. For instance, ARABS ARE A FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION and ARABS ARE A TARGET OF APPLIED FORCE in the ANM are ranked far away from one another in Table 5.33 but will be discussed together under the source domain of PHYSICAL FORCE. Likewise, and as conducted in Chapter 5, the source domains that could form a whole at a higher conceptual level are combined under higher summarizing conceptual categories. Thus for instance the two source domains PHYSICAL FORCE and PHYSICAL MANIPULATION are grouped under PHYSICAL FORCES. Summarizing intrinsically related source domains into higher categories can give us a more lucid and holistic view of the conceptualizations pertaining to Arabs and Americans.

The factor of frequency also informs the organization of this chapter. Thus our presentation starts with the most frequent higher level conceptual groups MOTION and SPACE and ends with INANIMACY. Equally, we start by discussing the conceptual metaphors that are based on the most frequent source domain under each of these higher groups of source domains. For instance under the group of SPACE and MOTION, we start with the conceptual metaphors interpreted on the basis of the JOURNEY source domain, then we discuss those pertaining to PROXIMITY and DISTANCE.

It should be stated however, that despite the importance of the frequency factor in indicating prevalent images and ideologies, some low-frequency conceptual metaphors could not be ignored in the discussion also, in view of their important discursive rhetorical implications. In simpler words, when comparing representations of Arabs and Americans, the low frequency of a certain conceptual metaphor may hint at some rhetorical and ideological motivation. For instance the quasi-absence of AMERICANS AS FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION compared to the frequent use of ARABS AS FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION might be indicative of different ideological representations of Arabs as in a continuous state of conflict with many other groups, and of Americans as a superior power that cannot be opposed by other groups/force.

6.1 MOTION and SPACE RELATIONS

6.1.1 JOURNEY

JOURNEY metaphors are among the most frequently occurring in both the NYT and the ANM, describing both Arabs and Americans. However, many different aspects of the journey resulted in interpreting different specific conceptual metaphors. The most noticeable images created by JOURNEY metaphors are in the ANM and are ARABS ARE TRAVELLERS ON A DIFFICULT JOURNEY, AMERICANS ARE TRAVELLERS ON A PATH, and AMERICANS ARE TRAVELLERS FORWARD.

6.1.1.1 TRAVELLERS ON A DIFFICULT JOURNEY

The conceptual metaphor ARABS ARE TRAVELLERS ON A JOURNEY is the fourth most frequently occurring in the ANM. The idea of encountering and overcoming impediments on someone's journey is one of the constituent elements of the JOURNEY schema. Travellers are likely to come across things that make their trip more difficult which in turn makes reaching the destination more desirable and worthy of the efforts they make. This metaphor can be illustrated by the following example:

- (1) Though the suggestion is a ridiculous one, the man who made it is anything but ridiculous. Indyk is well-aware of the details and fine points of the Arab-Israeli problem and conflict; he was simply making a statement which would be an *obstacle* for the Arabs (*Arab News*, 09 December 2001).

In example (1) Martin Indyk, former US ambassador to Israel, is described as putting an obstacle before Arabs on the path of the peace process. An obstacle is some object that stands on the way of someone and that must be removed if they are to move forward. Here PEACE PROCESS IS JOURNEY and STATEMENTS ARE OBSTACLES imply that ARABS ARE TRAVELLERS ON A DIFFICULT JOURNEY. The use of this conceptual metaphor is meant to gain trust by justifying that 'we Arabs are not responsible for the protracted peace process and the consequences on Palestinian people; others – the Americans – are.'

6.1.1.2 TRAVELLERS MOVING FORWARD

Moving forward has been associated with development, progress and positive change in contrast to moving backward, or being in a position behind. Americans in the ANM are described as travellers that move forward. The following is an illustration:

- (2) The Israeli prime minister insisted that *progress* had been made during his visit. "We think we have found a *golden way* that would allow *the Americans* to *move* the peace process *forward* while preserving our national interests," he said. But no concrete announcements were made and Netanyahu twice pushed back his departure as the Israelis scrambled to assemble a package of goodwill gestures to bring the peace process *back on track*. The Palestinians *pulled out* of indirect peace talks with Israel, mediated by the US, earlier this month after Israel announced plans to build 1,600 settlements on occupied Palestinian land. The *move* also caused a *rift*⁵¹ with the US as the announcement *came* during a visit to Israel by Joe Biden, the US vice-president. (*Aljazeera.net*, 25 March 2010)

In this example, the MOVEMENT FORWARD metaphor is used in interaction with other JOURNEY expressions (*progress, move forward, golden way, back on track, pulled out, move, came*) to describe the overall image of the peace process and the role of each participant. By using this metaphor, the writer implies that Americans are not moving forward, according to Netanyahu. The writer also implies that it is the Israelis who influence the American decision during the peace process, as they are the ones who find the right path that Americans should walk on to move forward on the journey of the peace process. The use of JOURNEY metaphors as shown by example (2) clearly creates textual coherence between the different voices of the quoted politician and the journalist. They also serve to

⁵¹ When an illustrative example contains metaphors that belong to a different source domain than the one in focus, these will be highlighted in italics only and cross-reference will be made to the section that focuses on the discussion of the different source domain(s) in more detail. In addition, and as we noted in Chapter 5, we are aware that the examples may contain metaphors other than those highlighted. These are ignored (not highlighted and not discussed) because our focus in this research is particularly on metaphors attached to 'Arabs' and 'Americans'. Such cases may be commented on only if found relevant to the discussion.

frame the abstract issue of the peace process in a more concrete schematic structure of JOURNEY in which different parties *move forward, go back on track, pull out* In line with this, Semino, (2008, p. 110-117) pointed out that the JOURNEY ‘roadmap’ metaphor simplified the concept of ‘peace plan’ and made it more intelligible, and highlighted how JOURNEY metaphors were employed by different journalists and politicians to achieve different rhetorical goals. In this example, we can see that what is described by the Israeli prime minister positively as *golden way*, and *progress*, is described negatively by the journalist as *scrambling* – moving fast but awkwardly. This is enhanced by the journalist’s use of a DISTANCE metaphor to describe the Israelis’ movement along the journey of peace process as resulting in a long though narrow space – *rift* - between the US and Israel (DISTANCE metaphors are analysed in more detail in Section 6.1.2).

6.1.1.3 TRAVELLERS ON A PATH

A path indicates a route that people walk on from one place to another. The importance of the path lies in where it will lead you. Therefore, walking on the right path is important if someone wants to reach a specific destination. The use of PATH metaphors describing Americans is illustrated by the following example:

(3) Q. What do you think of the present Afghanistan situation?

A. I think that *the Americans* have made a big blunder by the *route* they have taken in dealing with Afghanistan. They have made the world a more dangerous place to live in. This was not a logical *move*. This *move* to bomb Afghanistan three weeks after the event, was egged on by public opinion, understandably an angry public that wanted some sort of retribution. Sadly the American government *went along with* that to please the public. They *took a step*, which is going to be counterproductive against terrorism (*Arab News*, 01 December 2001).

The destination in example (3) is to defeat terrorism and the route taken by the Americans to reach that destination is waging war against Afghanistan. Underlying AMERICANS ARE TRAVELLERS ON A PATH in this example is WAR AGAINST TERRORISM IS A JOURNEY. Throughout this short extract, different JOURNEY metaphors are used which creates coherence in the text and helps the reader to follow the story of the Americans' journey.

6.1.1.4 OTHER TRAVELLER METAPHORS

In the NYT, Americans are described as travellers that are on a path, who move forward, who move towards a destination, who are leading a journey, who are on a difficult journey, who move fast, who move backward, who are at the beginning of a journey and who reach the end of a journey. The following example is an illustration:

- (4) Travelers use different criteria for choosing vacation destinations. Price, of course, is a main one. Convenience and tourist attractions are others. But since Sept. 11, *Americans* in particular seem to also be *guided by* political views, a global travel survey released today shows (*The NYT*, 28 July 2002).

In example (4), Americans are described as travellers that are shown the direction on a path. Their guide is political views, their destination is making a decision on where to travel to – 'vacation destinations'. The interaction between literal use of travelling words and JOURNEY metaphors enhances textual coherence.

Arabs on the other hand are described as following travellers, travellers that move backward, travellers at the beginning of a journey and travellers towards a destination. The following example is an illustration:

- (5) More prosperous, educated and "Israeli-fied" than their kin in the West Bank and Gaza, the *Israeli Arabs* are becoming more Palestinian at the same time. The feelings of estrangement could last long after the Gaza war. "The young generation will never forget what they witnessed," said Aas Atrash ... "If *they* were *going in the direction of* Israelization," he said that now, in terms of Palestinian national identity and belonging, "*we* are *going back* 50 years" (*The NYT*, 20 January 2009).

In example (5) in the context of the war on Gaza in 2009, Israelization is a destination and it is paralleled with better education and more success than 'staying Palestinian'. However, the writer quotes a speaker saying that Israeli Arabs are changing their direction and destination and going back to their original identity. This journey back implies the opposite of prosperity and education. It seems then that the clear opposition between Israelization/Israelification and Palestinian national identity justifies that the journey of Arabs is a journey backward. However, the idea of going back in time is very important for Arabs as the past represents all the good things/reminiscent of power, achievement and supremacy for Arabs. The writer, however, starts by presenting a positive image of those who have been 'Israelized' as opposed to those still 'Palestinians', thus challenging the argument of the good history. The present is what matters.

Similarly, and in addition to travellers on a difficult journey, in the ANM, Arabs are described as following travellers, travellers towards a destination, and travellers that move backward. Consider example (6) for an illustration of this representation:

- (6) Tunisia is now *the model to follow* for all Arabs. The time for dictators and dictatorships is over," said Mohamed Lagab, political analyst and teacher of political science at Algiers University (*Aljazeera.net*, 17 January 2011).

In this example, the speaker is quoting a political analyst who states that Arabs should walk behind Tunisia in its revolutionary journey and follow the same direction, as the destination is to get rid of dictators and establish democracy, and this is a purposeful destination; thus REVOLUTION IS A JOURNEY and DEMOCRACY IS A DESTINATION. Fallah and Moini (2017) identified the use of ARAB UPRISING IS A JOURNEY in two newspapers to achieve different discourse goals. In the American Washington Post the destination is democracy, while in the Iranian 'Keyhan' newspaper the destination is Islam. The idea of moving behind seems very positively presented in example (6) as the destination is appealing. The idea of other Arabs following the revolution in Tunisia, particularly in 2011 and currently, has been also conceptualized as the domino effect and has since been associated with both hope and fear between those who were supporting – the people - and those against - the Arab regimes. Whether FOLLOWING is good or bad has been hotly debated since 2011.

Americans are also described as travellers on a path and travellers moving forward, as following travellers, travellers towards a destination, leading travellers and inert travellers. Predominantly, most sub-source domains seem to evaluate Americans positively. Consider the following illustration:

- (7) "People here are extremely nervous ... they're trying to figure out if more roadside bombs are planted." But Mahmoud Almusafir, a former Iraqi diplomat, told Al Jazeera: "For me and all the Iraqis, this is the day the Americans confessed that they *can't go* more in Iraq, and they can't control the cities, they can't control Iraq (*Aljazeera.net*, 30 June 2009).

In example (7), Americans are described by the Iraqi diplomat as lacking movement. They cannot carry on their journey and they cannot control how Iraq moves along the journey. Clearly, the activation of a NOT CONTINUING AN ACTIVITY IS NOT MOVING TO A PLACE metaphor that indicates lack of movement, and signals an end of journey, is meant to evaluate Americans in a negative way as if they cannot reach their destination, which is to control Iraq.

6.1.2 PROXIMITY/DISTANCE

6.1.2.1 ENTITIES DISTANT FROM OTHER ENTITIES

The third most frequently occurring conceptual metaphor in the NYT describes Arabs as ENTITIES DISTANT FROM OTHER ENTITIES (See Table 5.32). This is one of the spatial metaphors based on the image schemas indicating adjacency or near-far orientation. The closer in space two entities are from each, the better communication they are likely to have and the more intimate they could be (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). More distance implies more difficult interaction. The type of force in an opposing direction we illustrated above can also imply distance, as each entity is pulling to its own side. Being in close or distant physical space would suggest therefore that emotional, social or political involvement is physical proximity or spatial distance. Social and political relationships in particular are found to be described using proximity, and distance metaphors as discussed in 2.4.6.3 are found to be used in different discourses to describe relationships (Chilton, 2004, p. 57). The NYT uses distance metaphors to depict relationships between Arabs and other groups as illustrated by the following example:

- (8) As time and war muddy the worldwide meaning of the World Trade Center attack, the separation inside this extended family is a telling measure of a perceptual *chasm* that is widening between Arabs and Americans. It suggests, too, the *pressure* under which many Arab-Americans, *torn between* old family and new flag, must now live (*The NYT*, 29 October 2001).

In example (8), Arabs and other groups of people are described as separated by a deep wide space or opening - a *chasm*. The image of a chasm is important as it also highlights the danger of falling deep down when trying to bridge that gap, and thus the difficulty of narrowing that distance. It conveys misunderstanding, divergence and disagreement socially and politically between Arabs and Israelis. Between Arabs and Americans, that chasm has existed but is getting wider after 9/11, in view of the war on Afghanistan.

The image of DISTANCE between Arabs and Americans is particularly accentuated when ‘Arab’ and ‘American’ refer to the same individuals - Arab-Americans. These are conceptualized as entities that belong in two containers – their original Arab country/family, and the American country they became citizens of – and in which they are the target of *pressurizing* forces that may lead to their *expulsion* from one container or the other. Arab-Americans are also described as entities that are the target of opposing forces that are *tearing* them on both sides. Furthermore, The use of DISTANCE metaphors to highlight disagreement on political issues and inability to reach agreements, when considered in conjunction with the conceptualization of Arabs as A FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION (See Section 6.2.1.1) is very important, as it draws a one-side picture of Arabs, as if they are in conflict with many other groups (See 6.2.1 for a lengthier detailed discussion of the source domain of PHYSICAL FORCE).

6.1.2.2 ENTITIES IN PROXIMITY TO OTHER ENTITIES

Interestingly, a contrasting metaphor ARABS ARE ENTITIES THAT ARE IN PROXIMITY TO OTHER ENTITIES is also used to describe Arabs in the NYT and represents 4.8% of all metaphors (See Table 5.32). Since distance metaphors imply detachment and difficult relationships, proximity metaphors may be understood to convey the opposite. This spatial relationship of physical closeness implies political, social or other type of closeness, involvement, agreement etc. Consider the following examples:

- (9) But this deep antagonism toward the United States is mixed, Mr. Khouri and others said ... “Arabs are much *closer to Americans* than to Europeans,” Mr. Khouri said. “Arabs love American culture, the rocket to the moon, technology, fast cars. They love going to America. Now they feel *like jilted lovers*” (*The NYT*, 11 September 2002).
- (10) The 1998 intelligence report about the trade center cited plans by a group of unidentified Arabs, who the United States now believes had *ties* to Al Qaeda, to fly an explosives-laden plane from a foreign country into the trade center (*The NYT*, 19 September 2002).

These two examples show Arabs physically close to two entities: Al Qaeda and Americans. In example (9), the LOVE IS PROXIMITY conceptual metaphor is activated to depict a romantic relationship between Arabs and Americans in which Arabs ended up being abandoned, and thus that proximity is affected. In contrast to this affected proximity with regard to Americans, in example (10), Arabs are described as attached or fastened by some kind of rope, cord or wire to a proclaimed terrorist group. This physical connection implies deep involvement of these Arabs with the terrorism that hit Americans in September 2001. Both examples therefore show use of this conceptual metaphor to convey a negative evaluation of Arabs. As far as Americans are concerned, there is little evidence in the NYT for Americans as entities in a distance or close relationship with other entities.

ARABS ARE ENTITIES IN PROXIMITY TO OTHER ENTITIES is the most frequently used conceptual metaphor in the ANM. Distance metaphors are also used, but considerably much less (3.78% as shown in Table 5.33). In the ANM there is evidence for only AMERICANS AS ENTITIES DISTANT FROM OTHER ENTITIES. Examples (11), (12) and (13) below illustrate the two conceptual metaphors:

(11) "Like any Arab, I find the *distance* between our Arab world and the world of advanced knowledge and technology growing," Prince Khaled said. "While attempts to bring the Arabs *closer* are still hitting *obstacles* in various spheres, the sphere of thought is the greatest common *area* that is bringing them together" (*Arab News*, 21 May 2010).

The use of the PROXIMITY metaphor *closer* in example (11) is not used to relate Arabs to other groups but implies that the Arabs are not near enough to one another. This metaphor not only evokes distance, but also interacts with a DISTANCE metaphor that describes in terms of SPACE the relationship between the Arabs and the inanimate abstract entities of knowledge and technology. It also interacts with a JOURNEY metaphor featuring *obstacles* on the way of Arab journeys (as discussed in 6.1.1.1), and a CONTAINER metaphor – *area* – describing thought as a container for Arabs (the source domain of CONTAINER will be examined in the next section).

(12) We should be prepared for a smear campaign, which aims to *widen the gulf* of mistrust between Arabs and Muslims on the one hand and the West and the United States on the other (*Arab News*, 16 October 2001).

As in the NYT, example (12) shows that there is a large space separating Arabs from other entities and that this space is becoming wider. Interestingly enough, while the NYT uses *chasm* which refers to ice and rocks, the ANM uses *gulf* which refers geographically to the Arabian Gulf area and politically to the different countries in that region. Thus each entity seems to be drawing from its geography and culture. It would seem that Arabs see themselves as located on one shore and the West and the USA on another, and that this gulf is enlarged by the actions that Americans are taking following the 9/11 attacks. The ANM seems to confirm to some extent the way Arabs are represented through the use either of PROXIMITY or DISTANCE metaphors.

Americans are also described as entities that are at a distance from other entities as the following example shows:

- (13) After the match, Qureshi drew a standing ovation when speaking about ending the cultural *gap* between Pakistanis and Americans. "I feel there's a very wrong perception of Pakistan as a terrorist country," Qureshi said. "We're a peace-loving country and we want peace as much as you all" (*Aljazeera.net*, 10 September 2010).

Example (13) presents Americans as a group at a distance from another and thus it confirms the impression in example (12) that the writer wishes to portray Americans as the entity responsible for this *gap*.

The absence of DISTANCE-PROXIMITY metaphors in the NYT to describe Americans implies overshadowing all those negative aspects that are implied when this metaphor is used with Arabs. This absence may be explained by a wish to portray Americans as a unique group or nation and rarely depicted in relation to other groups or nations whether positively or negatively.

6.1.3 ENTITIES IN A CONTAINER

In the NYT, the source domain ENTITIES IN A CONTAINER is used to describe Americans only and constitutes 6.58%. It is also used to describe Americans in the ANM with 3.7% and with Arabs but very infrequently at 1.26% (See Table 5.32 and Table 5.33). The image activated is that since an entity is located inside a container therefore it is controlled in space and motion to the boundaries of that container. Thus the image of being in a container implies being under control. The source domain of the CONTAINER has been associated with positive evaluation of entities that are inside as against those that are outside

of it or need to be forced out of it as will be explained with the FORCE IN A CONTAINER metaphor in 6.2.1.3.

In the NYT, AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES IN A CONTAINER is the fourth most frequently occurring conceptual metaphor describing Americans. The following is an example illustrating it:

(14) By 2020, only an estimated 50 million Americans will be qualified to *fill* 123 million highly skilled, highly paid *jobs* (*The NYT*, 24 September 2010).

Unlike the metaphor of A COUNTRY AS A CONTAINER for Arabs, in example (14), the JOB AS A CONTAINER metaphor is activated to describe Americans. This metaphor highlights the American values of hard work, related to the values of achievement and competition. This can be seen in relation to the importance of JOBS ARE OBJECTS THAT CAN BE HELD discussed above. Work is at the centre of American life, as it is motivated by a sense of competition and accomplishment, and Americans identify themselves in terms of their jobs and how much they can do. This may explain the writer's inherent dissatisfaction with the expected insufficient number of Americans that will *fill* highly paid jobs. These containers therefore will either remain empty or may have to be filled with others from other countries who have achieved a better level of education. Overall, this is a very negative evaluation of the American educational system which draws on the container metaphor to make its point.

The absence of such metaphors to describe Arabs in the NYT is further emphasized when we notice the presence of evidence, albeit very limited, of the metaphor ARABS ARE ENTITIES OUT OF A CONTAINER (1.31%, See Table 5.32) which can be seen in conjunction with the metaphor ARABS ARE A TARGET OF FORCE IN A CONTAINER (See 6.2.1.3). Consider the following illustration:

- (15) What the turmoil in Egypt also demonstrates is how much Israel is surrounded by a huge population of young Arabs and Muslims who have been *living outside* of history – *insulated by* oil and autocracy from the great global trends (*The NYT*, 02 February 2011).

In example (15), HISTORY IS A CONTAINER underlined by TIME IS SPACE suggests that these entities exist outside the container of human history and are not aware of what happens in that container, namely large changes and development around the world. Knowledge is therefore dependent on being inside the container. In other words, the metaphor implies that Arabs are disconnected from the present, as they are still living in the past. This may explain why the ENTITIES IN OF A CONTAINER metaphor is not used frequently with Arabs. When used, it conveys a particularly negative evaluation of being *locked in*.

In the ANM, Americans are also depicted as entities in a container, as illustrated by the following example:

- (16) But Americans, safe *in their insularity* are simply too ill-informed to *spot* the fundamental flaw in their administration's warmongering arguments about Iraq. It is enough that Saddam Hussein is just another of "them", whose questioning of the primacy of US values seems so utterly and infuriatingly inexplicable. With the exception of Israel, which many Americans seem to *regard* as a far-flung extension of New York's Zionist community, to be defended without question, friends and allies around the globe are all basically "them"s (*Arab News*, 15 September 2002).

The container in example (16) is the island where Americans live surrounded by sea water and cut off from the rest of the world and people. Clearly, the metaphor activated is **IGNORANCE IS AN ISLAND** which is a specific instance of **IGNORANCE IS A CONTAINER**. This definitely conveys a very negative evaluation of Americans, and reverses the image that they are unique and superior into one in which they are isolated and ignorant. In addition, and as noticed for **DISTANCE-PROXIMITY** metaphors above, the ANM uses another sea-related metaphor which is geographically and culturally salient. Interestingly enough, the journalist combines a **SIGHT** metaphor with the **CONTAINER** metaphor. The container in which Americans are located conditions what they *see* as it prevents them from *seeing* what is outside of it; and causes them to *regard* what is inside – though *far-flung* – from a particular perspective. More details on conceptualizing opinion and attitudes in terms of seeing will be given below in Section 6.4.2.

The ANM also describes Arabs as entities that are in a container, though very infrequently. One illustration is

- (17) Tuz Khurmatu is located in the province of Kirkuk, where Iraq's majority **Arabs** and minority Kurds are ***locked in*** a struggle over land, wealth and power. The other car bombing targeted the house of Mustafa Mohammed, a police captain, in Baquba, northeast of Baghdad, police said (*Aljazeera.net*, 19 June 2010).

The use of *Locked in* in this example activates the image of a room which is a specific instance of space where Arabs together with other entities are located, thus **STRUGGLE IS A ROOM/CONTAINER**. While Americans are contained in ignorance, Arabs are depicted as contained in struggle. What is interesting about the use of the **CONTAINER** source domain in the ANM is the implication that the entities need to get out of it and not stay inside. This is a reversal of the image of a container as one in which what is inside is good and what is outside is bad suggested in the NYT. More interestingly, Examples (16) and (17) show how the ANM use the same source domain but for different ideological discourse; goals which are restating the NYT ideological association of Arabs with violence and of Americans with being so self-centred. This also indicates that we need to be cautious about

arguing that representations need to be positive or negative contrastingly between Arabs and Americans in the same corpus.

6.2 PHYSICAL FORCES

6.2.1 PHYSICAL FORCE

6.2.1.1 A FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION

A FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION is used to describe only Arabs in both news media. In the NYT, it is noticeably the second most frequently used metaphor, but in the ANM it is used with very low frequency.

ARABS ARE A FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION implies that we have two forces or two force entities (the agonist's and the antagonist's) which are in interaction but in opposing directions. Goatly (2007) contends that "The connection depends on the idea that one exerts force against those who are metaphorically opposed to or resist you, who have different purposes or activities of which you disapprove, and which are contrary to your own beliefs" (p. 78). A FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION suggests conflicting purposes as in CONFLICTING PURPOSE IS AN OPPOSING DIRECTION. This metaphor highlights conflicts and disagreements between Arabs and other groups or countries and pictures each entity as exerting force against the other, as the following illustrations show:

- (18) The city has long been *torn between* Sunni Arabs, the majority, and Kurdish groups, which make up at most a third of the city's residents (*The NYT*, 21 July 2009).

(19) There have also been a series of attacks in areas of northern Iraq where *tension* is high between majority Arabs, ethnic Kurds and other minorities. The violence has shaken public confidence just months ahead of January's national elections (*Aljazeera.net*, 07 September 2009).

Tension and *torn* in example (18) and (19) indicate more specifically two forces each pulling in opposite directions which results first in increasing the distance between the two forces, and secondly in complete separation, with generally negative effects on both ends, because the separation or break-up is not a quiet one but rather like an explosion, because it involves a lot of pulling, tightness and uncontrolled forceful action. This metaphor in these examples also highlights that these two entities never meet, since each is pulling in opposite directions.

In the ANM, the presence of A FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION in a very low frequency may indicate a subtle confirmation of the representation conveyed in the NYT. Its quasi-absence, however, may also be explained by distancing Arabs from *tensions* and conflicting interests. Likewise, the absence of such metaphors in the self-representation of Americans is interesting and the purpose would also seem to distance Americans from disputes and conflicts with other entities.

The contrast here can make someone think of Arabs as troublemakers operating in opposing directions and having conflicting interests, which would suggest that more force needs to be exerted on them. This conceptual metaphor also suggests that Arabs do not enjoy good relationships with other groups and countries, and who are in a constant state of conflicts – a hot zone. Further evidence to this can be found in the fact that the third most dominant conceptual metaphor describing Arabs in the NYT is ARABS ARE ENTITIES DISTANT FROM OTHER ENTITIES, as discussed above. When we see that Americans – who have for at least the first decade in the twenty-first century been at war or engaged in conflict in different parts of the world, Iraq, Afghanistan, political tensions with Iran, Korea and even at times have had tensions with its supposed allies in Saudi Arabia (until May 2017) – are not conceptualized as a force in an opposite direction, we may think of Americans as the

friend of the world and not the police of the world. The absence of this conceptual metaphor may also suggest that Americans are an uncontested supreme force that has no rivalling or opposing force.

6.2.1.2 TARGET OF APPLIED FORCE

This conceptual metaphor represents more than 5% (See Table 5.32) of all metaphors used to describe Arabs in the NYT. It is the second most frequently occurring conceptual metaphor used to describe Americans in the NYT and constitutes more than 7% (See Table 5.32). It implies that there is an applied force acting upon Arabs and Americans and it is exerted by another entity (person or object) as in *push* or *urge*. This force implies movement from one place to another, and thus suggests applying force on entities to cause them to move from one place to another, thus causing them to change from one state to another. Unlike Arabs, APPLIED FORCE is the only type of force that describes Americans. It is worth remembering that the force describing Americans is of both weak and strong types of force while the one for Arabs is dominantly of a strong type. It is also worth recalling that the antagonist's force is exerted by the leadership of the country, or by Americans themselves, as indicated in the previous chapter and illustrated by the following example:

- (20) With President Bush and Mayor Giuliani *urging Americans* to return to work and show the terrorists that they had failed to rattle the American way of life, taking an airplane flight, buying stocks or going shopping suddenly became a patriotic act (*The NYT*, 23 September 2001).

In this example, advising Americans strongly to follow some course of action is described as using physical force by their leaders to move them into a particular direction. On the other hand, the force exerted on Arabs is from many antagonists' forces (as explained in Section 5.1.2.1.3) and there is nothing like one clear Arab source of force, such as leadership, as is the case for Americans. Consider the example (21):

(21) Israel is stepping up its building of settlements in the West Bank. Palestinians are living in wretched conditions. All of this allows Arab radicals to avoid facing their own inadequacies and blame their ills on Israel. By taking away the excuse, Washington could help *force Arabs* to face the truth of their problems (*The NYT*, 24 December 2002).

Example (21) implies the need to use physical force to move Arabs into the right direction which is facing their own problems. The two examples illustrate how Arabs, unlike Americans, are portrayed as the target of force from external entities. This takes us back to FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION and PROXIMITY-DISTANCE metaphors that depict Arabs as in conflict with other entities. Interestingly enough, when this metaphor is used with Americans, it shows that the force acting upon them is exerted mainly by their own people. Again, the image of Americans as independent of other groups is suggested.

In the ANM, this conceptual metaphor is the second most frequently used to describe Arabs. It is also used to describe Americans but much less often than Arabs in the ANM and Americans in the NYT. This conceptual metaphor depicts Arabs as the target of force exerted by foreign entities and Americans as the target of force exerted mainly by themselves. Consider the following examples:

(22) But The Palestine Papers reveal that Tzipi Livni, Israel's former foreign minister, did say it: During several 2008 meetings with Palestinian negotiators, Livni proposed annexing Arab villages to the future Palestinian state, *forcing* tens of thousands of Israeli *Arabs* to choose between their citizenship and their land (*Aljazeera.net*, 01 May 2009).

(23) On Wednesday, a 23-month-old Mexican child in Texas became the first person outside of Mexico to die from the virus. Barack Obama, the US president, has asked congress for \$1.5bn so the government can respond adequately to the threat. He *urged Americans* to take precautions such as washing hands and avoiding work, school and travel if ill (*Aljazeera.net*, 01 May 2009).

Both examples (22) and (23) show that the same conceptual metaphor is used in the NYT in the same way, which implies that the ANM maintains the same representations of Arabs and Americans as in the NYT.

6.2.1.3 TARGET OF FORCE IN A CONTAINER

This conceptual metaphor is used only with Arabs whether in the NYT or in the ANM and constitutes 4.8% and 4.2% of all metaphors respectively (See Table 5.32 and Table 5.33). This metaphor depicts Arabs as objects that are expelled out of a container, thus implying that they were originally there. Their expulsion then must have a strong motivation, such as them being a threat to the container. This metaphor is quite forceful as it ‘objectifies’ Arabs, then takes them out of a container. Consider the following examples from both news media:

(24) Mr. Karzai began traveling to Europe and the United States warning policy makers of the dangers the Taliban represented. Then, it became evident that Mr. Laden and his associates had taken over, leaving the Taliban as mere *puppets of the Arabs*, Mr. Karzai would tell his audiences. "My brother has always been telling the Americans to *expel the Arabs*," Ahmad Karzai said. "We've been telling the Americans for a long time that our country has been invaded and please help us" (*The NYT*, 05 November 2001).

As example (24) shows, the container is the country and Arabs are the objects that should be forced out. Arabs are presented as entities that need to be out of the container because they do not fit, are violent, promote terrorism, are not desired, act in opposing directions, have conflicting purposes etc. It seems that their expulsion is a natural and normal legitimate result of the way they have been described by other metaphors. FORCE IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER invokes the IN-OUT or CONTAINER image schema which in public discourse brings about the distinction between the group that is outside the container and the one that is inside; or the 'us' versus 'them' (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2006; Musolff, 2011, 2015). Being inside the container is viewed in a more positive light than being outside (Charteris-Black, 2006; Chilton, 2004; Goatly, 2007) especially if the container is the country. The COUNTRY/UK AS CONTAINER metaphor particularly has been identified (Charteris-Black, 2006; Chilton, 2004; Hart, 2011; Musolff, MacArthur & Pagani, 2015) as a means of arguing for the need for stricter immigration policy in Britain. The power of the previously identified conceptual mappings of A FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION and DISTANCE-PROXIMITY is that they legitimize the out-of-container image which completes the picture. We should also note that in example (24), the FORCE OUT-OF-CONTAINER metaphor interacts with a PHYSICAL MANIPULATION metaphor activated by *puppets*⁵². The Taliban are conceptualized as the puppets and Arabs as the people who manipulate how those puppets move by pulling wires. Again, presenting Arabs using PHYSICAL MANIPULATION metaphors portrays them negatively; but these metaphors will be the focus of the next section.

The ANM use the same metaphor but their choice can be explained differently, as the following example illustrates:

⁵² We are aware that *puppets* may refer us to the domain of shows, theatrical plays and the alike. However, our decision was to classify this as physical manipulation in view of the metaphor identification criteria we followed (See Chapter 4) and which stipulates the use of dictionaries to determine basic and contextual meanings. Accordingly we find that there is a strong conceptual link between the basic meaning of using hands and pulling wires or strings to move a model person and the contextual meaning of being controlled by a more powerful person or any other entity. In other words, the use of *puppets* in this example may be explained by a conceptual mapping across the domain of physical manipulation and control. The same justification applies for the categorization of *chess pawns* as objects that are physically manipulated in a game since the players move them as they wish, as seen below in Section 6.5.1.

(25) Yitzhak Rabin and other Israelis have admitted in Hebrew-language documents that there was a deliberate policy of *expulsion* or ethnic *cleansing* of Arabs from their homes (*Aljazeera.net*, 28 February 2011).

In example (25), the container is not a foreign country that they invaded, rather the container is their homes. Clearly, the occurrence of this metaphor in the ANM is justified by the wish to reveal the lack of involvement of the Israelis in the peace process.

The ARABS ARE A TARGET OF FORCE OUT-OF-CONTAINER interacts with a highly negative metaphor which is ARABS ARE DIRT, through *cleansing*. DIRT as a source domain however does not appear in Table 5.1 because no more metaphorical data were identified. Still, the huge importance of such a conceptualization should be highlighted; its use by media, even if limited, particularly invokes mass massacres that were conducted under similar conceptualizations of some groups as dirt, unclean, a disease or threat that needed to be dealt with. These representations legitimized the Nazi's 'Final Solution' against Jews in Germany and the more recent Yugoslav 'Ethnic Cleansing' Wars against Muslims in the former Yugoslavia. The journalist's use of this metaphor aligns Arabs with those victim groups and Israelis as Nazis or Serb perpetrators, and evokes all the associated implications and actions.

6.2.2 PHYSICAL MANIPULATION

The findings show that the source domain of PHYSICAL MANIPULATION is mapped to the four groups, but is most dominant, with nearly 16% (See Table 5.32 and Table 5.33), when used to describe Americans in both the NYT and the ANM. The conceptual metaphor AMERICANS THAT MANIPULATE ABSTRACT MATTERS ARE AMERICANS THAT MANIPULATE OBJECTS PHYSICALLY entails MANIPULATION OF ABSTRACT MATTERS IS PHYSICAL MANIPULATION.

As discussed in 2.4.6.4, when we hold, take, place, move, grasp, we use our hands typically for a purpose. Using hands clearly means contact between the human body and the object handled, which in turn suggests our ability to control different aspects of that object, including its motion, position shape etc. Physical manipulation of objects therefore indicates purpose, contact and control. The source domain of PHYSICAL MANIPULATION has commonly been used to refer to mental activity (Sweetser, 1991; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999; Kövecses et al., 2010; Jäkel, 1995; Goatly, 2007). In the NYT, however, it refers to different abstract matters as illustrated in the following examples:

- (26) This city has become a *front line* in a generational *battle* for jobs, as older workers increasingly compete against applicants in their 20s ... And older workers seem to be *winning*. With unemployment at a 26-year high and many older workers *chasing* entry-level jobs like those they *held* a half-century ago, 70 has become the new 20, as one economist put it. ... The proportion of older Americans who *hold jobs* has also risen strongly—16 percent of Americans 65 and over had jobs last month, up from 11 percent 10 years earlier (*The NYT*, 21 March 2009).

In example (26), JOBS ARE OBJECTS THAT CAN BE HELD, and older Americans are described as holding jobs, as if holding objects. The writer's purpose behind the use of this metaphor is to indicate the extent to which older Americans have control over jobs, in contrast with younger Americans. Jobs conceptualized as objects combine with conceptualizing competition between younger and older Americans to obtain jobs as a battle, thus activating OBTAINING A JOB IS A BATTLE/WAR. Accordingly, the idea of control that Americans have over jobs is emphasized by the idea of winning the battle over jobs. Conceptual metaphors based on the source domain of WAR will be presented in more detail in Section 6.3.1.1.

The ANM also uses AMERICANS THAT MANIPULATE ABSTRACT MATTERS ARE AMERICANS THAT MANIPULATE OBJECTS PHYSICALLY predominantly to

describe Americans as people who use their hands to control things, and thus represents them as predominantly controlling and manipulating. This is in line with earlier remarks about American exceptionalism and uniqueness which presuppose superiority. Superiority gives the Americans the power and legitimacy to interfere, to control and to bring change, as they judge necessary, to other nations, groups, or situations. Consider example (27) for an illustration:

(27) Hillary Clinton, the US secretary of state and Bill Clinton's wife, told reporters in Washington on Wednesday that the actions of the 10 Americans were "unfortunate". She said the group should have kept to proper procedures in trying to help children in the quake-hit nation. "It was unfortunate that, whatever the motivation, this group of Americans took matters *into their own hands*," she said (*Aljazeera.net*, 04 February 2010).

In this example, A SITUATION IS AN OBJECT; thus the children's disastrous situation following the earthquake is the object, and this group of Americans took this object using their own hands to control its course of action and change it into a better situation. Though not successful, it is implied that their manipulation is somehow heroic – though wrong-headed - not criminal, but rather unfortunate. They were not abducting those children, rather the control they were applying to their situation was a positive one. Thus the activation of the conceptual metaphor evaluates Americans positively in an attempt to arouse sympathy to them. This conceptual metaphor actually invokes one basic idea: the American exceptionalism which permeates both political and social life and which suggests that Americans are a unique nation with a unique role in changing the world (Lipset, 1996; Lockhart, 2003; Rodgers, 2004). Though this metaphor was used by Hillary Clinton, it was the journalist's choice to quote it and does not seem to challenge it or refute it in the context of the article.

ARABS THAT MANIPULATE ABSTRACT MATTERS ARE ARABS THAT MANIPULATE OBJECTS PHYSICALLY represents more than 5% in both news media (See Table 5.32 and Table 5.33) as illustrated in the following two examples:

(28) ... let's tackle a politically incorrect question head-on: Are Arabs too politically immature to **handle** democracy? (*The NYT*, 27 February 2011).

(29) We have to **take** our own destiny **in our hands** and *throw* the proverbial shoe at all the tyrannies in our region, great and small (*Arab News*, 22 December 2008).

In examples (28) and (29), democracy and destiny are conceptualized in terms of objects that can be picked up and held using somebody's hands. This implies that what can be held is under control. However, both the NYT and the ANM use this conceptual metaphor to highlight the Arabs' inability to exercise physical manipulation of objects. In example (28), the journalist uses a PHYSICAL MANIPULATION metaphor to question Arabs' success in dealing with democracy in terms of their ability to handle an object. In example (29), it is true that the journalist's use of the PHYSICAL MANIPULATION metaphor implies Arabs' inability to take control of their decision. However, the choice to use this source domain can be explained by the journalist's wish to arouse the Arab audience's emotions and persuade them about a desired course of action against their tyrannical regimes. This purpose is heightened by the use of a PHYSICAL FORCE metaphor, not only to evoke the incident of the Iraqi journalist throwing his shoes at the American President George W. Bush during a press conference in Iraq one week before the appearance of this article, but particularly to incite Arabs to become the SOURCE OF FORCE and not the TARGET OF FORCE as discussed above.

6.3 HUMAN-ORIENTED ACTIVITY

6.3.1 WAR

6.3.1.1 ENTITIES THAT RESIST ATTACK

AMERICANS ARE ENTITIES THAT RESIST ATTACK is the third most frequently occurring metaphor in the NYT with 7.02% unlike in the ANM where it represents only 1.48% (See Table 5.32 and Table 5.33). The following examples are illustrations:

(30) People with lots of financial assets or who are deemed "talent" by large companies are enjoying a solid *recovery*, but most Americans continue to *struggle*. In order for the public to understand what must be done, Mr. Obama has to be clear about what has happened and why (*The NYT*, 23 January 2011).

(31) However, Timothy Geithner, the US treasury secretary, acknowledged that the recession remained "alive and *acute*" for millions of Americans still *struggling* to cope with the financial downturn (*Arab News*, 29 October 2009).

Both examples (30) and (31) from the two news media illustrate how metaphors from the domain of war and conflict are used to describe economic activity. Thus, for instance ECONOMIC RECESSION/ UNEMPLOYMENT/FINANCIAL DIFFICULTY IS ENEMY is implied based on the underlying conceptual metaphor ECONOMIC LIFE IS STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL which highlights the need to fight the enemy to survive. In the NYT, by contrasting most Americans with a few Americans who are *recovering* from the recession, the writer invokes the contrast between ECONOMIC WELL-BEING IS A HEALTHY PERSON and ECONOMIC RECESSION IS ENEMY. By this conjunction of illness and struggle metaphors, the writer seems to stress the state of war most Americans are in, which meets the rhetorical purpose of heightening their commander-in-chief or president's

responsibility and need for action to bring their struggle to an end and to find them the cure for their injuries. Similarly, in the ANM, through the use of *acute* the recession is conceptualized in terms of a severe illness or strong pain affecting Americans (PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION are further discussed in Section 6.4.1). Still, in both media, the use of a WAR metaphor in both examples seems to depict Americans as fighters and survivors able to fight back against their enemy, which generally portrays them positively.

ARABS ARE ENTITIES THAT RESIST ATTACK represents 3.06% in the NYT and 2.1% in the ANM (See Table 5.32 and Table 5.33) and can be illustrated by and explained through the following examples:

- (32) The Obama team is fond of citing how many "allies" we have in the Afghan coalition. Sorry, but we don't need more NATO allies to kill more Taliban and Al Qaeda. We need more Arab and Muslim allies to *kill their extremist ideas* ... Only Arabs and Muslims can *fight the war of ideas* within Islam. We had a civil war in America in the mid-19th century because we had a lot of people who believed bad things -- namely that you could enslave people because of the color of their skin. We defeated those ideas and the individuals, leaders and institutions that propagated them, and we did it with such *ferocity* that five generations later some of their offspring still have not forgiven the North (*The NYT*, 16 December 2009).

In example (32), not only are different ideologies described as enemies at war, but they are also evaluated as bad and good, thus CHANGING IDEAS IS FIGHTING and EXTREMIST IDEA/EXTREMISM IS ENEMY THAT MUST BE KILLED (based on IDEAS/BELIEFS ARE PEOPLE) are used. The choice of these metaphors seems to be ideologically motivated by representing Arabs (and Muslims) as believing in bad things. This is heightened by the comparison of Arabs to Americans in the mid-19th century and the latter's fight against slavery and racism. Having represented them in line with bad things – that is negatively -

the WAR metaphor clearly enables the writer to frame the issue of a clash between ideologies in an attempt to highlight the need to push a more secular interpretation of Islam that is compatible with the secular values of democracy. Therefore the activation of ARABS ARE ENTITIES THAT RESIST ATTACK is used to imply its opposite, and to invite action to change.

- (33) Writing for Haaretz, right-wing journalist Nadav Shragai has aligned the settlements inside mixed cities as a *battlefront* in the so-called *demographic war* between Arabs and Jews (*Aljazeera.net*, 21 June 2010).

Example (33) from the ANM shows Arabs in a state of *demographic war* against Jews, thus activating POPULATION INCREASE IS WAR. The ANM writer refers to an Israeli writer, thus assigning this metaphor to him but without refuting it. In contrast, it seems that the writer re-employs it to frame the issues raised by mixed cities of Jews and Arabs on the West Bank. In addition, the use of this metaphor is important for its political implications for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, especially that establishing a Palestinian state could be one solution to ensure a Jewish majority in 'Israel'. The re-use of this metaphor could also be explained by saying that since this population increase is a war, Arabs need to win as part of their literal war against Israelis. We should remember, however, that when conceptual metaphors are interpreted on the basis of limited linguistic evidence, the explanation should also be regarded as tentative.

6.3.2 POSSESSION

6.3.2.1 POSITIVE POSSESSORS

AMERICANS AS POSITIVE POSSESSORS is the second most dominant conceptual metaphor describing Americans in the ANM, and the sixth in the NYT. Possessions metaphors are important as they convey the idea that these objects can be acquired, lost, contested and fought over. In addition, the type of possessions you acquire or lose is important. These metaphors help to frame issues by representing abstract matters as concrete objects. Thus history and culture, for instance, are visualized in the NYT as objects that people can possess, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (34) But the Civil War tells us that we *possess* a tragic history instead ... (*The NYT*, 12 April 2011).
- (35) *African-Americans possess* a cultural and historical fluency that immigrants lack, said Dr. Khan; they *hold* an unassailable place in America from which to *defend* their faith (*The NYT*, 11 March 2007).

In both examples (34) and (35) above, HISTORY/HISTORICAL FLUENCY IS A POSSESSION is used thus representing Americans as positive possessors. These examples however, illustrate how the same conceptual metaphor can be used to convey different evaluations depending on the type of possession – tragic or heroic, as discussed when we illustrated the POSSESSION source domain in Chapter 5. While in the first example, it conveys negative evaluation, in the second one, it conveys a positive one. Having said that, representing the history and culture of Americans as possessions make these look valuable especially if we remember that Americans' history is a very short one compared to other nations and civilizations of the world.

In the second example, POSSESSION, PHYSICAL MANIPULATION and WAR metaphors are combined to draw a picture of African-Americans in a favourable way, compared to immigrants.

6.3.2.2 NEGATIVE POSSESSORS

Both Arabs and Americans are described as negative possessors in both the NYT and the ANM. Consider the following example from the ANM:

(36) "In the first year of the stimulus, Americans have *lost* millions of jobs (*Aljazeera.net*, 18 February 2010).

In both the NYT and the ANM, and as illustrated in example (36), the conceptual metaphor which entails AMERICANS ARE NEGATIVE POSSESSORS is JOBS ARE POSSESSIONS THAT CAN BE LOST. This can be seen in line with JOBS ARE OBJECTS THAT CAN BE HELD, discussed above, and JOBS ARE CONTAINERS.

For Arabs, whether in the NYT or the ANM, the same metaphor is used to describe values such as faith, as illustrated by the following example:

(37) Arabs *lose faith* in Obama. Arab opinion of the United States and its president Barack Obama has dimmed in the past year (*Aljazeera.net*, 06 August 2010).

In example (37), FAITH IS AN OBJECT THAT CAN BE LOST is used. Underlying this metaphor is RELIGION IS AN OBJECT and POLITICS IS RELIGION.

6.4 THE HUMAN BODY

6.4.1 PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION

ARABS ARE A WEAK BODY and ARABS ARE A STRONG BODY both underlie the use of 3.49% and 2.62% of metaphors describing Arabs in the NYT (See Table 5.32). The following examples illustrate these two conceptual metaphors:

- (38) "The Israeli occupation represents a total humiliation of all the Arab regimes," says Sami Al-Arian, a Palestinian activist in Florida. "It's a continuous reminder of the *weakness* of the Arabs as people, of their society and political system, as well as an indication of the *impotence* and corruption of their regimes" (*The NYT*, 16 April 2002).

In example (38), Arabs are depicted as weak people with impotent regimes. Having a weak body implies the inability to move as needed, to do things, to perform actions and probably to fight back when needed. In addition, a physically weak body is prone to disease. Weakness, physically a state of the body, in this example describes the general situation of Arabs but more particularly their political state. Thus, we have POLITICAL WEAKNESS IS BODILY WEAKNESS which in this text interacts with the more specific POLITICAL WEAKNESS IS SEXUALWEAKNESS. When the body is weak then it can easily catch diseases or be overcome by stronger bodies one of which is Israel. This is rhetorically important, as it gives legitimacy to any action that will *strengthen this weak body*. Just as impotence is the inability to perform sexually and may not produce babies, these regimes need to be cured of their impotence or replaced by other regimes if they want to be as strong as other bodies. Illness metaphors are more specific versions of the BODILY WEAKNESS metaphor. Charteris-Black (2011), examining the metaphor SEGREGATION IS ILLNESS, stresses the rhetorical use of the ILLNESS metaphor to suggest that any cure to restore health is necessary, so "whatever actions undertaken to end it [segregation] are legitimate ones" (p. 100).

(39) But as the Arabs in Al Qaeda became more *powerful* in Afghanistan, cultural policies shifted significantly (*The NYT*, 09 July 2002).

In example (39), bodily strength is mapped onto political control of a country, thus POLITICAL CONTROL IS BODILY STRENGTH. The use of this metaphor to describe specifically Arabs in Al Qaeda can be seen within the context of the US invasion of Afghanistan, needed to *weaken* Al Qaeda as part of the USA's war on terrorism.

Examples (40) and (41) below illustrate these two conceptual metaphors in the ANM:

(40) Our standard recommendation to Israel is that it should move quickly to achieve agreements with the Arab states and the stateless Palestinians before it is too late. And the Israeli response is that there is no urgency to make peace — except on Israeli terms — because Israel is strong and the Arabs are *weak*. (*Aljazeera.net*, 09 February 2011).

The metaphors ARABS ARE A WEAK BODY and ARABS ARE A STRONG BODY are also used in the ANM. In example (40), POLITICAL WEAKNESS IS BODILY WEAKNESS is clearly activated in contrast with POLITICAL CONTROL IS BODILY STRENGTH. The writer in the ANM seems to present the same representation of Arabs as a weak body conveyed by the Palestinian referred to in the NYT (See example (38)).

Unlike examples (39) and (40), example (41) illustrates the use of a different underlying conceptual metaphor which is BUSINESS POWER IS BODILY STRENGTH:

(41) The percentage of Prince Alwaleed's share in Kingdom Holding Company is 95 percent, which is the largest by an individual investor ... Arabian Business ranked the prince No. 1 on its list of 100 Most **Powerful Arabs** for the fourth year running (*Arab News*, 07 September 2009).

In fact, this metaphor can be seen in relation to one of the stereotypes of Arabs as billionaires, and the ideological view that the Arabs are strong because they have money and oil.

In the NYT, there is evidence only for AMERICANS ARE A STRONG BODY which constitutes 3.07%. In the ANM, only AMERICANS ARE A WEAK BODY which is the seventh most dominant metaphor with 3.7% (See Table 5.32 and Table 5.33), is used to describe Americans. The following illustrates these mappings:

(42) We briefly celebrated one of the few clear-cut military victories we've had in a long time, a win that made us feel like **Americans** again -- smart and **strong** and capable of finding our enemies and **striking back** at them (*The NYT*, 08 May 2011).

In example (42), MILITARY POWER IS BODILY STRENGTH equates the military power of a nation with the physical strength of the human body, thus activating also A NATION IS A PERSON.

The NYT chooses to enhance Americans' military victory whereas the ANM chooses to remind of one of its military and political blunders. Consider example (43):

(43) Christopher Meyer told a hearing in London on Thursday ... "it's not that Saddam has to prove that he's innocent, we've now bloody well got to try and prove that he's guilty'." "And we - *the Americans*, the British - *have never* really *recovered* from that because of course there was no smoking gun," he said (*Aljazeera.net*, 26 November 2009).

The war on Iraq based on its possession of weapons of mass destruction is an injury/illness from which the Americans (and the British) had not yet recovered at the time this article was written. The ANM, by choosing to quote Meyer's metaphor, seems to appeal to his credibility to highlight the illegal and wrong action against Iraq. Example (43) particularly illustrates that although the ANM seems to evoke the ideology of American exceptionalism, at points it challenges it.

6.4.2 SIGHT AND OBJECTS OF SIGHT

6.4.2.1 SIGHT

Both the NYT and the ANM use SIGHT metaphors slightly more to describe Americans than Arabs. This metaphor is also used more with Americans than with Arabs in both corpora.

ARABS/AMERICANS WITH MENTAL ACTIVITY ARE ARABS/AMERICANS WITH SIGHT entails MENTAL ACTIVITY IS SEEING. Seeing some object implies evaluating it and this evaluation depends on where we stand to see and how much we can see. If two persons stand at the same angle, they will most probably see the same thing. Being at different angles therefore implies that they may see even the same object differently. Seeing also implies that we manipulate the objects by means of our sense but that manipulation makes our evaluation more objective because unlike using our hands, seeing is done from a distance. Both the NYT and the ANM use this metaphor to describe Arabs' and Americans' mental manipulation of events and groups, as illustrated by the following examples:

(44) The *perspective* is different, of course, from that of Americans watching the televised war in Vietnam. Arabs see the current conflict *through "Vietnamese" eyes* - as the story of a kindred people fighting to rid their land of a brutal occupying army (*The NYT*, 17 April 2002).

(45) But Arabs have so long *seen* Europe as a cultural concept rather than a political one and still think of trade and political relationships as being with Germany, with France, with the UK and the other EU members (*Arab News*, 14 October 2009).

In example (45) from the NYT, the journalist uses SIGHT metaphors to contrast Arabs' and Americans' ways of thinking and evaluating the issue of war. The journalist recalls the war in Vietnam to describe Arabs' *view* of the Israeli invasion of the West Bank and identifies their *perspective* with that of the Vietnamese. Because Arabs and Vietnamese see events from the same angle – that of an invaded country – they will have similar ways of thinking. More particularly, if Arabs use Vietnamese eyes, they definitely will see the same things. When we use our eyes to look at objects in the world, we at same time judge those around us. It is in that sense that seeing is associated with how we judge the situations and events in the world, and the attitude we show towards them.

In example (45) from the ANM, Europe is represented as an object that Arabs see from a particular angle in the space which here maps onto culture. The journalist seems to imply that changing the angle from culture to politics may give a different view that is a different way of thinking and evaluating the relations between Arabs and Europeans. Both examples (44) and (45) illustrate the use of metaphors for the “aesthetic purpose of creating textual coherence and alluding to” (Charteris-Black, 2014 p. 201) historical events.

6.4.2.2 OBJECTS OF SIGHT

This metaphor is used only to describe Arabs in both the NYT and the ANM. Since we explained above that seeing an object allows its evaluation, the use of ARABS ARE OBJECTS OF SIGHT may be accounted for by the desire to evaluate Arabs. The NYT uses this conceptual metaphor to present how Arabs are seen by other entities as illustrated by example (46)

- (46) "I want people to *see* Israeli Arabs as human beings," she said. "Not just as human beings -- as citizens that contribute to the vibrancy, the cultural life of Israel." ... Ultimately, Ms. Zabar said she most wanted to change the attitude among many Jews that Arabs are "the enemy, that they want to push the Jews into the sea." "They *see* Israeli Arabs as a threat," she said. "When you *see* somebody as a threat, you stop *seeing* them. All you think about is defending yourself" (*The NYT*, 29 October 2008).

In this example, Arabs are portrayed as objects seen by Jews as threatening which may, as noted earlier, justify exerting force to put them out of the same container in which both exist. This quotation shows also the interaction of the following metaphors with ARABS ARE OBJECTS OF SIGHT describing Arabs: ARABS AS INANIMATE ENTITIES/OBJECTS implied by the wish to see them as human beings, ARABS AS THE ANTAGONIST FORCE suggested by *push*. These would justify the Jews defending themselves by expelling them. It is the NYT decision to include an article about this woman who wants to challenge the mainstream attitude against Israeli Arabs and the journalist does not disagree with her. The activation of these metaphors may be to challenge them and arouse empathy, particularly in Israeli Arabs. This somehow nuances/deviates from the representations of Arabs presented so far.

Similarly, the ANM also uses this conceptual metaphor as illustrated in the following example to suggest a challenge to a negative image of Arabs:

(47) Some people in the US have a very *bad view of Arabs* and Muslims since the media often portrays them in such a negative *light* (*Arab News*, 19 March 2011).

As a primary sense, seeing is activated if there are no obstacles between the eye and the object and how well we can see depends on the presence of sufficient light. Thus if an object is ‘in the dark’, it cannot possibly be seen or can only be seen with distortion. Equally the person will not see or not clearly. Thus Arabs are depicted as objects that are exposed to a kind of light that distorts the way they appear to Americans. This seems to contradict the common use of light metaphors to convey positive evaluation (Charteris-Black, 2011, p.71). There is an implicit challenge to the way Arabs are portrayed and to the explanation of the negative image that Americans have about Arabs. Example (47) illustrates again the use of metaphors for a heuristic purpose to simplify an issue and make it more intelligible, and for an aesthetic purpose, to create textual coherence.

Again, Americans, unlike Arabs, are not depicted using this metaphor and thus not evaluated. It seems as if the way Americans are viewed or seen by other entities is not important or is assumed to be at least not negative. The image of Americans is not evaluated by other entities, whether it is positive or negative. This absence from both media confirms further that they are regarded as superior to the being under scrutiny.

6.5 INANIMACY

6.5.1 OBJECTS

Both the NYT and the ANM depict Arabs and Americans as objects. This conceptual mapping is important, not only because it is the most frequently occurring for Arabs in the NYT (9.17%), but also because it is much less used for Americans (3.07 %, See Table 5.32). Objects immediately evoke the idea of inanimacy which is used to serve different purposes. Inanimacy or depersonification can be used to evoke distance from a certain social group or ideology. Inanimate metaphors are used in political discourse as a discursive strategy to evaluate human beings. (Charteris-Black, 2011). An object is characterized by three main features; it is lifeless, which is in stark contrast to human and living creatures, and thus is not likely to arouse empathy, but rather may imply distance from a given entity or group of people, as illustrated in the following example:

- (48) This information does not include reports of the most recent contacts between the terrorist group and the terrorist state. However, combine that late-90's groundwork to what is known of (a) bin Laden's *supply* this year of *400 fanatic "Afghan Arabs"* to Saddam to attack free Kurds in Iraq's no-flight zone, and (b) this summer's observed contacts of Al Qaeda's suicide-hijacker Mohammed Atta with Iraqi spies under diplomatic cover in Prague. A pattern manifests itself (*The NYT*, 22 October 2001).

In this example, Afghan Arabs in particular are depicted as a mass of goods or commodities that can be traded, especially because of the use of the figure 400. Examining the first 100 collocates of *supply* in COCA, we found that the majority of them are inanimate. Example (48) is from an article that appeared a few weeks after 9/11 during the campaign for waging war on terror in Afghanistan; and the metaphor ARABS ARE OBJECTS can be explained by the need to de-humanize Afghan Arabs, view them as one mass, and thus legitimize attacking them. An object does not act but is acted upon, and therefore it can be

manipulated as held, thrown, used, put etc. When this is done by dangerous entities such as Bin Laden and Saddam, destroying that object is well-justified.

Contrastingly, and though much less used, object metaphors describing Americans in the NYT can be explained by a different motivation, as shown in the following example:

(49) I am beginning to suspect that this generation of Americans is not *made of* the same *stuff* as those who *paved the way* for our wealthy and powerful country...The war against terrorism is this generation's first real test (*The NYT*, 07 November 2001).

In this example, the conceptual metaphor AMERICANS ARE OBJECTS implies that human beings are objects that are made from a particular stuff, and suggests the quality of those objects depends on what stuff is used. Clearly, the contrast between the old good stuff of the older generation and that of the 2001 generation is meant to provoke the emotions of Americans on the need to engage in war against terrorism. This contrast is supplemented by using a JOURNEY metaphor to remind us of the efforts and hardships of those Americans who created the conditions that led to the US becoming a powerful country.

The ANM describes both Arabs and Americans as objects with similar frequency. Unlike the NYT, which uses object metaphors to provoke Americans to follow a certain course of action, the purpose in the ANM would seem to be more to portray Arabs as passive objects that are manipulated by other active entities, as illustrated in example (50):

(50) The USSR, for a long time, *used the Arabs as chess pawns*⁵³. After the war of October 1973, the Arabs abandoned the USSR because of its passive *role* and sought a European neutral *role*. ... Some Arabs believe that the Europeans are keen to *play* a parallel *role* to the American one in the international *arena*. In fact, there is bit more imagination in the *paralyzed* Arab way of thinking (*Arab News*, 17 February 2002).

In this example, world politics are conceptualized as an *arena* that holds a game/show, with the Russians, the Europeans and the Americans as players of roles. In contrast, the Arabs are portrayed not only as objects (through *used*) but also as pieces in a game – *chess pawns* – that players move when they play as they want. Even though the writer indicates that Arabs ceased being the chess pawns of the USSR, this metaphor still conveys a very negative evaluation of Arabs, as it implies passivity and incapability of action. The journalist goes on to imply that Arabs – with their *paralyzed* way of thinking - are still ready to be *used* by another player in this world game – the European. The metaphorically used expressions *used*, *chess pawns*, and their interaction with *paralyzed*, which activates WEAK BODY (See Section 6.4.1), all seem in turn to activate the concept of lack of movement and thus inaction. Objects are lifeless, and depend on living active entities to be moved; *paralyzed* means the inability to move and operate, thus depending on others is necessary.

Americans are also portrayed in the ANM as objects, as illustrated in the following example:

(51) The trio are being held in Tehran's notorious Evin prison ... In February, Ahmadinejad proposed *swapping the Americans* for Iranians that he says are jailed in the US, raising fears that the three are being held as bargaining *chips* (*Aljazeera.net*, 11 May 2010).

⁵³ The same justification for *puppets* above in Section 6.2.1.3 applies for the categorization of *chess pawns* as objects that are physically manipulated in a game since the players move them as they wish. *Chess pawns* belongs to GAME source domain but in this example the focus is on how it is used to describe Arabs. In other words a chess pawn entails an object.

In example (51), Americans are depicted as things that can be exchanged for other things. Particularly, it seems that when dealing with Iranians, Americans are reduced to *bargaining chips* and things that could be *swapped*. It is understood that since the coming of Barack Obama to the White House in 2007, the relations between the US and Gulf countries especially Saudi Arabia were not at their best, particularly because of the possibility of reconciliation between the United States and Iran. It is in the interest of the Gulf countries that the enmity between Iran and the US continues.

It seems that object metaphors used in both corpora, even when conveying negative evaluations, are used in a way that calls for action and changing from the state of passive objects into active beings.

6.5.2 SUPPORTS

Both Arabs and Americans are depicted as supports in both news corpora. AMERICANS ARE SUPPORTS is the third most frequent conceptual metaphor used in the ANM (See Table 5.32). Supports are things that hold the weight of some structure like a building so that it does not fall down and the metaphor is used by the ANM to highlight the type of structures that Americans are supports of: abstract entities such as torture and war. as illustrated in the following example:

- (52) His revelations are significant as, last July, a poll showed that 44 percent of *Americans supported* torture on "terrorist suspects." A key *architect* of America's torture program, Doug Feith, testified to Congress recently that torture is necessary because otherwise the US couldn't get any information out of the "bad guys" (*Arab News*, 14 December 2008).

Example (52) shows the use of TORTURE IS A BUILDING/STRUCTURE that was designed by an *architect*. This metaphor is used with a predicative purpose. The implication of this metaphor in addition to the negative evaluation of Americans, is the need to destroy that building which a good number of Americans support. When ARABS ARE SUPPORTS is used in the ANM, it is with the conceptual metaphor A PEACE PROCESS IS A BUILDING/STRUCTURE. Consider the following example:

(53) Since the end of the Cold War, the Middle East peace process has emerged as the US regional order ... Those, especially among *the Arabs* who *supported* it have been called moderates and those opposed as extremists (*Aljazeera.net*, 08 July 2010).

Though appealing, the evaluation of the peace process as a building in example (53), and of Arabs as its supports does not convey a positive evaluation of Arabs; rather the opposite. It suggests that holding the weight of the building of the peace process, which is an American creation, is necessary so as not to be called extremists and risk sanctions. PEACE PROCESS AS A BUILDING is activated in conjunction with PEACE PROCESS AS A CONTAINER.

6.6 ANIMALS

The source domain of ANIMALS is found to describe only Arabs in both media. The ARABS ARE ANIMALS conceptual metaphor constitutes only 3.06% of all metaphors in the NYT and 2.1% in the ANM (See Table 5.32 and Table 5.33) but it is interesting to try to understand why it is used, especially since the use of metaphors as a rhetorical strategy in order to dehumanize the other in political discourse is not uncommon. Charteris-Black (2011) notes how the conceptualization of Jews as animals and insects legitimized their annihilation. Therefore, consider the following examples:

(54) Mutual respect, a phrase Obama also used, begins with that. As Iranians often note, *carrots and sticks are for donkeys ... "The Arabs are chickens,"* he said. "Just look at what Egypt did about Gaza. Those big-bellied Arabs, you take up a *stick* and they run away." Scratch the surface and there's no love lost between Persians and Arabs, another reason to be careful in distinguishing Iranian rhetoric, which can seem monolithic, from Iran's many-shaded reality (*The NYT*, 12 February 2009).

In example (54), the writer quotes an Iranian speaker referring to ARABS AS CHICKENS, a more specific case of HUMANS ARE BIRDS/ANIMALS. The image of a chicken, which is the least fierce of animals, is used to imply cowardice. This interacts with another metaphor implied by the speaker, ARABS AS DONKEYS, which suggests stupidity and fearfulness. The only comment that the writer makes about this description is warning of being careful about it, as it is motivated by mutual dislike between Arabs and Iranians. Clearly, these metaphors convey negative evaluations of Arabs in contrast to Iranians in particular.

(55) The realist terminology of the 'domino effect' does not capture the agency that Arabs are today assuming to *unseat* Arab hegemons, from Cairo to Sana'a (*Aljazeera.net*, 02 February 2011).

In example (55), *unseat* activates the image of a horse throwing the dominant person riding it off its back, therefore suggesting the conceptual metaphor ARABS ARE HORSES. Unlike the donkey, the horse is the symbol of victory and freedom. It is very salient in the Arabic culture and is specifically a symbol of power and pride. This metaphor is used with the predicative purpose of evaluating Arabs positively, and is used to depict the Arabs' uprising in 2011. The image of the horse would also seem to depict Arabs as acting rather than acted upon, as suggested by the image of the 'domino effect'.

BUSINESS and SPACE IN POSITION metaphors are not considered here, not only because of their lower frequencies for all the groups, but also because they do not reveal any different findings with regard to their use.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed and illustrated the use of the most important conceptual metaphors referring to Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM. It answers the most important research question, which is accounting for the choice of metaphors referring to each group in each news media. It also shows how some of these metaphors are specific to one entity or to one news media. The chapter demonstrates that both news media use similar and different conceptual metaphors to describe Arabs and Americans. Some metaphors which represent Arabs in relation to other groups and entities in the world are absent from the presentation of Americans. This absence portrays Americans particularly as a group on its own, which introduces the idea of American exceptionalism, uniqueness and superiority – they are different from all other nations. This image of Americans is proposed in the NYT but also at times reiterated in the ANM. The negative images of Arabs given in the NYT are sometimes challenged, but at other times confirmed in the ANM. The use of metaphors indicating distance and describing them as being the target of force that leads them out of a container seems to reiterate the negative images of Arabs conveyed in the NYT. More importantly, the ANM also presents Arabs as powerless, incapable entities. Using metaphors that portray them as being the target of applied force from external entities, their inability to exert physical manipulation, while at the same time presenting them as objects used by others, all suggest a negative image of Arabs as powerless and passive entities. It is also the case that metaphors can be used to support negative evaluations of Americans in the American press. Finally, it should be noted that, in addition to the ideological and predicative motivations, metaphors are also used for more general purposes such as framing issues and enhancing textual coherence, even though these purposes could not be fully examined within the scope of this study.

7 CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS & FURTHER IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

This chapter will give a brief overview of the thesis and summarize its main findings. It will then discuss some socio-political implications of the representations of Arabs and Americans, present the main contributions of the thesis to the field of research, and highlight the limitations of the study. Finally, it will conclude by stressing the implications of the thesis for future research.

7.1 Overview of the Thesis

The aim of this thesis has been to evaluate the representations of Arabs and Americans in American and Arab news media. It attempts more particularly to evaluate the use of metaphors in news discourse. The thesis started by positioning the study in its real-world social and political context. It briefly summarized US-Arab relations between 9/11 in 2001 and the killing of Bin Laden in 2011, and how these could have had a huge impact on how Americans and Arabs view each other. The introduction of the thesis discussed the term ‘Arabs’ and the controversies that may arise from its use. It also outlined the theoretical background and research problems of the study, its significance and research questions.

Chapter 2 reviewed the literature about metaphor that is relevant to the research. It examined metaphor in cognitive theories, critical discourse analysis, and pragmatics, and reviewed Critical Metaphor Analysis, that constitutes the theoretical and methodological framework of this investigation. The thesis also examined news discourse and metaphor research in that field.

Chapter 3 highlighted the contribution of corpus linguistics methods and tools to metaphor research, and reviewed a few methodological issues regarding the identification of what

constitutes a metaphor by offering an evaluation of the most recent metaphor identification procedure - MIPVU.

Chapter 4 presented the different methods used in this thesis within the methodology of Critical Metaphor Analysis. It introduced the corpora and accounted for their selection. The chapter also described the method used to collect metaphor data from the corpora, in addition to the metaphor identification procedure that was used to identify metaphorical linguistic expressions in this research. After that, it explained the stages involved in the interpretation and analysis of metaphor data with respect to Critical Metaphor Analysis. Quantitative and qualitative findings constituted the focus of the fifth and sixth chapters. A more detailed summary of these will be given in the next section.

In Section 1.5, I stated that the current work asks whether there may be a difference between the metaphors used to represent ‘Arabs’ and those employed to represent ‘Americans’ in the US and Arab news media. To answer that question, the study addressed four main research questions. These were:

- 1- What metaphors describing ‘Arabs’ and ‘Americans’ occur in US and Arab news media?
- 2- What differences and/or similarities are there between the metaphors in each media corpus?
- 3- How can we account for the choice of metaphors in the two media?
- 4- What is the value of Critical Metaphor Analysis as a source of ideological insight?

To answer these questions, this thesis drew on both quantitative and qualitative analysis. It made use of a corpus linguistic methodology for collecting the data, in addition to a more qualitative manual analysis for its classification, interpretation and explanation. The classification of metaphor data was done in four stages. In the first stage, the metaphorical expressions were classified according to source domains, following Conceptual Metaphor

Theory. Then these source domains were further examined and classified into more specific sub-source domains, as applicable. The sub-source domain analysis showed that some aspects of the same source domains were highlighted for one group more than the other. Therefore, these formed the basis for the interpretation of conceptual metaphors later. Next, collocation analysis was undertaken, to compare and verify the findings against a reference corpus. In the last stage, the sub-source domains were mapped on to the target domains of Arabs and of Americans; thus conceptual metaphors were interpreted and stated in the form of A IS B. These conceptual metaphors were then discussed in more depth to account for the motivations justifying their occurrence in each news media.

In answer to the first question, metaphors that were found to describe Arabs and Americans in the NYT and the ANM were classified into source domains and sub-source domains. Overall, source domain analysis showed that JOURNEY and PHYSICAL FORCE are among the most dominant source domains describing Arabs and Americans in both corpora. PHYSICAL MANIPULATION, POSSESSION and ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER are most frequently used when describing Americans in both corpora. On the other hand, PROXIMITY/DISTANCE are used very frequently to describe Arabs in both news media. OBJECTS is noticeably more frequent when describing Arabs, not Americans, in the NYT. Other less frequently used source domains such as PHYSICAL BODY CONDITION and BUSINESS were also used variably in both corpora.

In greater detail, the findings showed that there are both similarities and differences between the metaphors used in each news media to describe Arabs and Americans, thus answering the second question. The findings revealed that many similar source domains in addition to sub-source domains were used to represent both groups in the same corpus and across both corpora. PHYSICAL FORCE, JOURNEY and SIGHT are among the most dominant source domains describing both Arabs and Americans in the NYT. In the ANM, PHYSICAL FORCE and JOURNEY are also the most dominant ones describing both entities. Surprisingly, the findings also revealed that the same most dominant source domains are used to describe Americans in the NYT and the ANM. These are PHYSICAL MANIPULATION, JOURNEY, WAR, PHYSICAL FORCE, and POSSESSIONS. Similarly, except for OBJECTS and WAR, the same most dominant source domains are used

to describe Arabs in both corpora. These are PHYSICAL FORCE, JOURNEY, PROXIMITY/DISTANCE and SIGHT.

Source domains analysis showed that in the NYT, PHYSICAL FORCE is the most dominant source domain used to describe Arabs, whereas for Americans, it is PHYSICAL MANIPULATION. While they are found to belong to the most dominant source domains referring to Arabs in the NYT, PROXIMITY/DISTANCE and OBJECTS source domains describing Americans comprise a comparably limited number of metaphorical expressions. Equally, ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER is employed much more frequently with Americans. The less frequent source domain ANIMALS describe Arabs only, while PARTICIPANTS IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES refers to Americans only.

In the ANM, both JOURNEY and PHYSICAL FORCE are equally the most dominant source domains describing Arabs, while for Americans, it is the JOURNEY and PROXIMITY/DISTANCE source domains that are used more often to refer to Arabs than to Americans. On the other hand, POSSESSIONS, SUPPORTS and ENTITIES IN/OUT OF A CONTAINER were found to describe Americans considerably more often than to describe Arabs. In addition, the less frequent source domains of ANIMALS, SLAVES, NATURAL PHENOMENON and PARTICIPANTS IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES describe Arabs only, while BUSINESS is used only to refer to Americans.

More specifically, the analysis of sub-source domains revealed that Arabs are particularly depicted as FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION and as ENTITIES DISTANT FROM OTHER ENTITIES, while Americans are referred to as A TARGET OF APPLIED FORCE, ENTITIES THAT RESIST ATTACK and ENTITIES IN A CONTAINER in the NYT. In the ANM, Arabs are referred to more specifically as ENTITIES IN PROXIMITY TO OTHER ENTITIES, A TARGET OF APPLIED FORCE, and TRAVELLERS ON A DIFFICULT JOURNEY. Americans, on the other hand, are depicted more distinctively in terms of POSITIVE POSSESSORS and SUPPORTS.

Generally, the findings revealed that both news media use similar conceptual metaphors to describe both Arabs and Americans, but demonstrated how some of these metaphors are however more dominant with respect to one group than the other. In addition, they showed that a number of metaphors are specific to one entity or to one news media either because evidence of their occurrence is very limited, or because there was no evidence they were used. In particular, metaphors which depict Arabs in relation to other groups are absent from the representations of Americans in the NYT, and are used to a very limited degree in the ANM. These findings guided our discussion of the third research question.

The thesis argued that in addition to the cognitive motivation underlying the choice of metaphors, there are rhetorical purposes and particular discursive goals. The critical analysis of the metaphors describing Arabs and Americans in the NYT and in the ANM explained that the use of metaphors has particular ideological and predicative motives. The use of metaphors of FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION to frame conflicting interests, the use of FORCE IN A CONTAINER metaphors to describe Arabs as threatening entities that are expelled, the use of PHYSICAL DISTANCE metaphors to invoke 'bad' relations between Arabs and other political entities, and the use of WAR metaphors to frame change of beliefs all constitute part of a world view that associates Arabs with danger, violence and threat in the NYT. The absence of such metaphors with regard to Americans in both media, together with the use of PHYSICAL MANIPULATION metaphors to describe dealing with political and economic situations and events, and the use of WAR metaphors to frame socio-economic crises and issues all form mental representations that contribute to the ideological view of Americans as a unique and exceptional nation, or more explicitly that contribute to the Myth of American Exceptionalism. Interestingly, the images given in the NYT about Arabs are in some instances found in the ANM through a similar use of FORCE IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION, and the use of DISTANCE metaphors, and OUT OF CONTAINER metaphors, in addition to the negative type of CONTAINER metaphors. More importantly, the ANM paradoxically and partially gives a negative self-representation by presenting Arabs as powerless, incapable and passive entities through the use of metaphors showing them as being the target of applied force from foreign entities, their inability to manipulate objects physically, and the use of OBJECT metaphors portraying them as passive entities manipulated by other entities.

The ideologically based motivation interacts with and benefits from other rhetorical purposes, such as simplifying and framing issues as conveying positive or negative evaluation. For instance, it seems that INSIDE A CONTAINER metaphors are used by the ANM to evaluate both Arabs and Americans negatively. However, the ANM have two different discourse purposes regarding CONTAINER metaphors. When used for Arabs, the container is struggle, but when describing Americans, the container refers to ignorance. Similarly, the NYT uses WAR metaphors with different rhetorical goals. When it uses these metaphors to describe Americans, economic problems are the enemy. When it uses WAR metaphors to describe Arabs' fight, the enemy is conservative Islam. This indicates that metaphors can be used with different discourse purposes, and that even when the representation is positive or negative (that is to say for instance the positive evaluation of Americans or negative evaluation of Arabs in the ANM), they may still be ideologically motivated and reproduced. In addition, PHYSICAL MANIPULATION is used by both the NYT and the ANM to describe Americans. In the NYT, manipulation is applied to jobs. This evokes the importance of jobs for Americans. In the ANM, manipulation applies to political situations and events in a suggestion that Americans manipulate the politics of the world. The NYT uses PROXIMITY metaphors to associate Arabs with terrorism and violence. The ANM also use similar metaphors but for a different rhetorical purpose which is emphasizing the need to bring Arabs together.

It was also argued that the evaluation of metaphors has shown evidence that not all the metaphors identified in the corpora are used in a homogenous way to achieve rhetorical ideological purposes, in spite of the evidence that metaphors are used to present a particular world view of Americans and Arabs, and particularly that the world view of Arabs portrays them essentially in a negative way and portrays Americans in a more appealing way particularly in the NYT. In the NYT, we have illustrated the use of metaphors to give a negative evaluation of Americans. While there is good evidence that the NYT uses metaphors to portray Arabs and Americans from a particular ideological perspective, we must acknowledge that there is also evidence that metaphors were not necessarily used all the time to present prevalent ideologies or to present negative or positive evaluations. Metaphors were at times used to challenge a dominant image and ideology, whether of the self or the other. The availability of such evidence could be attributed to the nature of news discourse, which is governed by many constraints. Whether each news outlet's aim is to

build a large global audience or to attract a more specific and targeted set of readers, audience engagement influences the overall editorial policy as well as the style of the news language, as readers will read what meets their demands (Bell, 1991). Authorial decisions in view of the audience, the editorial policy of the news media source, and other pressures such as the time and context of events, influence the ‘story’ or ‘narrative’ produced by journalists and editors. Furthermore, in this study, it is the online versions of the news media that were investigated. This implies that there may be different voices challenging the main news media voice through readers’ blogs and replies.

The last research question raised the issue of the value of Critical Metaphor Analysis as a source of ideological insight. The critical approach to the analysis of metaphor in discourse helps the discourse analyst to understand how language may be used to invoke ideologies and beliefs within a given social context. By integrating conceptual metaphor theory, critical discourse analysis, pragmatics and corpus approaches, Critical Metaphor Analysis offers a valuable theoretical and methodological framework for the interpretation of ideologies that may underlie the use of language in social and political contexts. Therefore, adopting CMA for the critical analysis of metaphors describing Arabs and Americans provided insights into the motives underlying their representations in both American and Arab news media. Thus, in addition to illustrating the conceptual basis of metaphors in news discourse through its use of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Critical Metaphor Analysis was a straightforward analytical framework for exposing the ideological and rhetorical purposes of a number of these metaphors.

7.2 Contributions of the Thesis to the Field of Research

This study contributes to the critical analysis of metaphors within discourse through an exploration of the news media representations of ‘Arabs’ and ‘Americans’. Its originality lies also in examining self-representations in addition to representations of the other. While many studies in different fields of research have focused on how Arabs are viewed as ‘the

other', threatening the world of democracy and its values, little scholarly work (to the best of my knowledge) has been done to examine how we – Arabs – see them – Americans, especially considering Anti-Americanism which is particularly and continuously nourished by the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Besides, there is little scholarship on how we – Arabs – see and represent ourselves in comparison to how others see us and considering our social and political context. This study is therefore an attempt to start filling that gap by offering an insight into how news discourse represents Arabs and Americans within a context of vulnerable American-Arab relationships following 9/11. One related contribution of the thesis is producing a list of the source domains and conceptual metaphors particularly describing Americans and Arabs in Arab news discourse.

Furthermore, by investigating and evaluating metaphors to provide an understanding of those representations, the thesis highlights the complex cognitive, discursive and pragmatic role of metaphor in conceptualizing experiences and issues. Undertaking this research within the framework of Critical Metaphor Analysis stresses its value not only in aiding our understanding of the use of metaphors but more particularly in providing insights into underlying ideologies. In turn, it also shows the role of critical discourse analysis in exposing ideologies, and understanding “the language use, and the intricate relations between discourses and social situations and institutions” (Van Dijk, 1985, p. 3).

In addition to its contribution to our understanding of news representations and Critical Metaphor Analysis, this study makes a contribution to corpus-based studies integrating, as it does, corpus approaches to metaphor analysis by making use of different corpus methods and tools to investigate metaphors in discourse. In this regard, in this study I did not only use available corpora but also compiled a part of the corpus analysed. The corpus is collected from the *Al Jazeera English* Website and covers the period between March and June 2011, a period that witnessed the very beginning of the uprising in Tunisia in December 2010, the subsequent uprisings in Egypt, Yemen, Libya and Syria, in addition to protests in other parts of the Arab world including Algeria, Morocco, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia. This corpus will be made publicly available and can be used for further research on the metaphors used to depict the Arab revolutions at their very beginning.

Another contribution of this thesis, is reviewing MIPVU by highlighting a number of issues and challenging cases, and proposing an adapted procedure for the identification of metaphors that are more suitable to the needs of the current research and to the Critical Metaphor Analysis framework. This adapted identification procedure also makes a modest contribution to the methodology of Critical Metaphor Analysis as it is used in its first stage of metaphor identification, instead of using the criteria of personification, depersonification and reification.

Additionally, this study proposes a different way of conducting the qualitative analysis of metaphors. It treats the retrieved citations as the basis for collecting a representative mini-corpus that can show patterns occurring across larger corpora and which can reveal the narrative about representations of Arabs and Americans. We are aware that other interesting features can be obtained through an extensive qualitative analysis of a number of complete articles, but unless the corpus is limited to such categories as political speeches by a specific politician or for a specific event such as inauguration speeches, or religious texts, the results will still be subjective and specific to that particular sample.

7.3 Limitations of the Study and Implications for Future Research

In spite of the contributions of this study to the field of research, a number of limitations have to be acknowledged. The first limitation has to do with the reliability of determining that an expression is metaphorically used. The adapted procedure applied in this study used both the Oxford English Dictionary and the Macmillan Dictionary in parallel, since one allows for the etymology of the word, and the other – based on corpus data – attends particularly to its contemporary uses. This may be considered to affect the consistency of the identification. Furthermore, this procedure has not been tested, but more importantly was conducted by only one analyst, which could lead to error and subjectivity of interpretation.

Despite the value of Conceptual Metaphor Theory as a tool to identify underlying cognitive representations via metaphors, the classification of metaphorical expressions poses a

considerable challenge, simply because the same expression can be classified under more than one source domain. For instance in '*throw Arabs*', *throw* can be categorized under OBJECTS or under APPLIED FORCE. This overlap across source domains can be said to thus form a serious obstacle to the critical analysis of metaphors.

Another major limitation that may have influenced the findings is not selecting a sample of articles from the corpora examined and conducting a qualitative analysis of it to investigate metaphor use. A future research paper can undertake to analyse small samples of the same corpora used here and compare the findings.

The fourth limitation concerns the corpus. The American media corpus was collected from one news source, *The New York Times* Online, which can be said to be a homogenous corpus clearly guided by one editorial policy and readership. The difficulty of obtaining a corpus from one Arab source of news that covers the periods relevant to this study resulted in depending on two sources. By being treated homogeneously as one corpus, any possible differences between *Al Jazeera English* and the *Arab News* in their authorial lines were ignored, which may influence the findings. Especially with regard to the current political situation involving the *Al Jazeera* Network, a future research study that focuses on each source separately or that compares them can provide insights into the ideological views promoted or challenged by each.

I am also particularly aware that, due to unavailability, the difference in size between the American news corpus and the Arab one could have affected the findings. A future research project could focus on creating a database of Arab news similar to Nexis Lexis. That could make a huge contribution to the study of news media language in the Arabic world. In addition, due to the unavailability of an Arabic corpus that meets the needs of the current research, the findings of the current research for the Arab news media were based on English written news and not their native language. Given the claim of the universality of metaphors, analysing a news corpus in Arabic language may enrich the current research findings and give more insights into the ideological motives of metaphor use. This can also be part of a

large database of Arab news comprising the different languages used, namely Arabic, English and French.

The restriction of the search terms in the target domains specifically to ‘Americans’ and ‘Arabs’ also poses a limitation to the findings. This gives direction to a future study that can extend the analysis to include, particularly for Arabs, references to other nationalities and investigate the extent to which the selection of the word ‘Arabs’ may influence the discourse of representation of people in the countries of the Arab world.

In addition, one limitation that may have influenced the findings is that this study examined the news corpus as homogenous, paying little attention to different sub-sections, particularly those in the online publication. This opens the door to a similar comparative critical analysis that undertakes the comparison of the representations of Arabs and Americans across editorials and blogs of the same news media source.

By examining the different goals of metaphor use, this study has added itself to the various research studies that ‘assume’ the persuasive and discursive power of metaphors in public and political discourse without investigating their actual impact on the receivers. It would therefore be valuable if a study could start with the findings of this research to survey their impact on news readers.

This study examines the conceptualization of Americans and Arabs in news discourse. When analysing articles, we came across a number of quotations from different leaders. These, however, were treated as part of the news discourse examined and were not given more attention as a separate component in the genre of news reporting. Therefore, a future direction of research could embark on an analysis of these representations in Arab leaders’ and politicians’ speeches and may compare them with findings from this news-focused research. This could give a fuller understanding of the metaphors identified in this study and, more importantly, assess the influence of political ideologies on news media discourse in the Arab world.

This study has examined the use of metaphors describing Americans and Arabs particularly in written news. Future studies could examine the interaction of textual metaphors with visual ones in online news versions and their rhetorical and ideological motivations. That would constitute an interesting contribution to the field of news media studies in the Arab world.

Finally, not only being but also assuming myself as an Arab, the interpretations proposed in this thesis may to some extent have been influenced by my own cultural background, my own world view, my 'admiration' of the Americans' pursuit of their own happiness, and my deep conviction that we Arabs are responsible for 'our' own current situation and 'our' future destiny.

Conclusion

This chapter gives an overview of the different parts of the thesis, answered the proposed research questions by summarizing the major findings of the thesis, stressed its contribution to the field of research, discussed the main limitations, and suggested directions for future research.

To conclude, the current thesis has evaluated the representations of Arabs and Americans through the evaluation of the rhetorical and ideological uses of metaphor in news media discourse. The findings of this study support critical analysis of metaphors as discursive and social tools, and give further evidence on the ideologically based representations of Arabs in American news. However, it is in this research study that for the first time the representations of both Arabs and Americans through metaphors were identified in Arab news media.

I am ending this thesis on a personal note. My journey as a Ph.D. student has been a LONG difficult tedious journey. However, what has kept me going is my firm belief that the invaluable research experience I am gaining on the way will be tremendously rewarding, not only as a learner and researcher, but also as a person.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Concordance sample showing a metaphorical pattern for ARABS in the NYT.

NYT ARABS 2811.cnc

File Edit View Compute Settings Windows Help

N	Concordance
2,139	Its passengers are unapologetically profiled. While most Israeli Jews quickly pass through security inspection, Arabs and certain other foreigners are singled out for intense questioning. "I think there is no end for security
2,140	, but I'm glad you asked about Palestine: It's a mistake for Bush to think he can make it a democratic state. Arabs ain't democrats. They need a strong leader who'll crack skulls when the time comes to make a deal. BY
2,141	SECTION: Section A; Column 6; Editorial Desk; Pg. 12 LENGTH: 110 words To the Editor: Re "Gingerly, Arabs Question Suicide Bombings" (front page, July 3): The debate occurring among Palestinians is not over
2,142	operate with accurate information on a target that is 100 percent real. "The people of Oruzgan are against Arabs and Taliban. They want American forces to operate against the Taliban, but they hate these kind of
2,143	Greece translates," the report said. In the 1,000 years since the reign of the Caliph Mamoun, it concludes, the Arabs have translated as many books as Spain translates in just one year. Laila Abou-Sail, an Egyptian write
2,144	Social Development, a development finance institution set up by members of the Arab League. The number of Arabs is expected to grow to between 410 million and 459 million by 2020. For the Palestinians in particular,
2,145	and sciences. Ms. Abou-Sail, a Coptic Christian who now lives in the United States, said that creativity among Arabs now often hewed to religious themes. Books are not being translated, in part because of Islamic
2,146	that there is a pervasive sense that life in the Arab world is repressed by both the state and religious vigilantes. " Arabs today feel monitored," he said, attributing a decrease in intellectual freedom to the growing power of a
2,147	of Middle East Studies at Johns Hopkins University and the author, most recently, of "The Dream Palace of the Arabs : A Generation's Odyssey" (Vintage Books, 1999) said in an interview that there is a pervasive sense th
2,148	Company 2020 of 2595 DOCUMENTS The New York Times July 3, 2002 Wednesday Late Edition - Final Arabs at the Crossroads BYLINE: By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN SECTION: Section A; Column 5; Editorial Des
2,149	2009 of 2595 DOCUMENTS The New York Times July 3, 2002 Wednesday Late Edition - Final Gingerly, Arabs Question Suicide Bombings BYLINE: By JAMES BENNET SECTION: Section A; Column 2; Foreign
2,150	is necessary to change this situation, but it's hardly sufficient. We also need to roll up our sleeves and help the Arabs address all the problems out back. The bad news is that they've dug themselves a mighty deep hole th
2,151	culture, why are Arab countries lagging behind?" "It's not outsiders looking at Arab countries," she said. "It's Arabs deciding for themselves." There are 280 million people in the 22 Arab countries covered by the report,
2,152	itself of the creativity and productivity of half its citizens," the report concluded. An advisory team of well-known Arabs in international public life was assembled to oversee the study. They included Thoraya Obaid, a Saudi
2,153	threatening the entire free world, and the feelings are very hard," he said. "We want the deportation of all the Arabs from Yatta." Settlers, many with assault rifles slung over their shoulders, strolled along the otherwise
2,154	its substantial Orthodox population and deep rifts between religious and secular Jews, and between Jews and Arabs , Jerusalem seemed an unlikely site for a parade celebrating tolerance and diversity. Similar parades ha
2,155	not know "what's feasible" in shaping a Middle East settlement was a disappointment, if not a surprise, for Arabs and Jews who wanted a signal that he has a plan that might give hope to Palestinians and security to
2,156	gratitude for his treatment, even by his immediate captors. "This Jewish policeman is better than many, many Arabs ," he said, indicating one of his monitors. A frail man with a wisp of beard, Mr. Zaydan may have hoped I
2,157	be subject to this registration requirement. I know the F.B.I.'s been recruiting as agents U.S. citizens who are Arabs or Muslims. Their service is critically important to our fight against terrorism. I'm very concerned, howev
2,158	where we have to negotiate with someone who has lost his own sanity," he said. But he said both Israelis and Arabs are stuck with Mr. Arafat. "We cannot hurt Arafat -- we made an obligation not to touch him," he said. E
2,159	stone, red-tile-topped buildings constructed on land conquered in 1967 that Jews regard as a neighborhood and Arabs as a settlement. From his bed later in the day, like many Israelis, he said he saw little hope. "I don't
2,160	. "My sister, where is my sister?" a woman cried as the police sealed off the area. Israelis -- and a handful of Arabs from Beit Safafa -- spoke frantically into cellphones, trying to find out about friends and relatives. Shlom
2,161	its fears, the bomber struck a bus that seemed to present a microcosm of the mixed, anxious city -- Jews and Arabs , workers and students, some of them nervously examining each new passenger. An 11-year-old girl wa
2,162	power while introducing just enough openness to ease the simmering frustration of the new generation. Young Arabs express increasing anger about their inability to find jobs and buy houses, and at watching the world
2,163	. There is an elephant in the room named Yasir Arafat. The Israeli government wants to drive him away. The Arabs say work with him because no one else in the room matters. The administration seems to be choosing
2,164	. I'm very concerned, however, the Justice Department's post-Sept. 11 policies with respects to Muslims and Arabs will seriously undermine your recruitment efforts. In particular, I'm troubled by the visa-holder-registrator
2,165	, and the loss of his job with a Middle Eastern airline. He sees his treatment as a sign of potential perils facing Arabs and Muslims who assist the F.B.I. in the war on terror. A1 A Shift on Global Warming In a stark shift fo
2,166	legal process and were ordered deported and flouted it. There is a rule-of-law issue here." As for the focus on Arabs and Muslims, the department defended it with a warning in January that "terrorist attacks by Al Qaeda
2,167	a lesser degree. A May 4 fund-raiser in Silicon Valley produced \$26,150, and more checks have trickled in from Arabs in Michigan and elsewhere since James Zogby, president of the American-Arab Institute, wrote a
2,168	viewed him as a security risk Mr. Al Ridi 43 sees his treatment as a sign of the potential perils facing Arabs and Muslims who help the F B I in its war on terror. Justice Department officials acknowledge that he

concordance collocates plot patterns clusters filenames follow up source text notes

2,811 Set s General Manager Ed Wade has said he will hold on to Rolan as long as the Phillies are competitive. URL: http://www.nytimes.com LOAD-DATE: July 3, 2002 LANGUAGE: ENGLISH PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper Copyright 2002 The New York Times Company

Appendix 2: Concordance sample showing a metaphorical pattern for AMERICANS in the NYT.

NYT AMERICANS 41469.cnc

File Edit View Compute Settings Windows Help

N	Concordance
1	LENGTH: 1034 words HIGHLIGHT: The Day: The reputation of the military plummeted in tandem with Americans' faith in the Vietnam War, but times and attitudes have changed. Also, what City Room is reading
2	anecdotal than part of a pattern. That said, the reputation of the military as a whole plummeted in tandem with Americans' faith in that war. Things are different now. The long wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are also unpopul:
3	picture for consumers. A new study by the National Bureau of Economic Research shows 50 percent of Americans would struggle to come up with \$2,000 in a pinch. Many warn that a commercial real estate "day
4	semifinals of the French Open championships, to be played on Wednesday at Roland Garros. PARIS --- Three Americans have reached the women's doubles semifinals of the French Open championships, to be played o
5	Shue's mother had died -- a farmer in Laos found human remains that JPAC officials determined were the three Americans from Reconnaissance Team Maryland: Sergeants Shue, Wald and Brown. A forensic report
6	." (Another sentence I almost tweeted from this review: "The kinds of quasi-blasphemous Catholic tropes Americans of all faiths have been trained to perceive as weighty and sexualized!") E. "In other words, people
7	the satisfaction of embarrassing Mr. Nazarbayev. For his part, the Kazakh leader wants to make sure that the Americans stay out of the dispute, and not allow it to affect their alliance with his government. The Obama
8	will the public understand that we face a rampant, devastating national emergency, one that strikes one in two Americans by age 85, costs our nation \$183 billion a year, and is the sixth leading cause of death. It is not
9	the coastal city of Zinjibar to self-styled holy warriors who claimed to have "liberated" it from "the agents of the Americans" fed into Western fears that militants sympathetic to Al Qaeda could exploit the breakdown of
10	blaring, "We declare that Zinjibar fell in the hands of mujahedeen after it was liberated from the agents of the Americans." A security official, speaking on condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to speak
11	to participate in during these coming weeks," she said in a written statement. "Discover the ties that bind Americans, our history, our traditions, and the exceptional nature of our country!" The first of those stops, the
12	Not Apply SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 18 LENGTH: 280 words Millions of Americans who lost their jobs to the recession and fell behind in payments to creditors are being penalized
13	information is substantially related to the job. Hawaii, Illinois and Maryland have similar laws. Nearly 45 million Americans have damaged credit. Using a credit record as a key factor in hiring could marginalize millions of
14	Straight Sets BYLINE: JOHN MARTIN SECTION: SPORTS; tennis LENGTH: 236 words HIGHLIGHT: Three Americans have reached the women's doubles semifinals of the French Open championships, to be played o
15	House election in New York, which hinged on a Republican plan to reshape the health care program for older Americans, members of both parties and independent analysts now predict a more competitive race next yea
16	Plan," points out that as the average length of sleep has declined in the United States, the average weight of Americans has increased. There are plausible reasons to think this is a cause-and-effect relationship. At leas
17	Times Company 111 of 1815 DOCUMENTS The New York Times May 31, 2011 Tuesday Late Edition - Final 2 Americans Are Indicted In Iraq Contract Bribery BYLINE: By JACK HEALY; James Glanz contributed reportir
18	fiance accompanied me, resigned and repentant, to rehab. I knew it was my fight. It's also a fight millions of Americans are waging. According to the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy, the number of
19	a name: the One Nation Tour. Or that she is documenting her family's movements on a Web site that invites Americans along. Or that she might just run for president. The family sneaked out in Washington on Sunday
20	Brazilian fought harder and longer against white supremacy and racism in Brazil in the post-slavery era. For Americans to understand him and his contribution, you'd have to say he was a little bit of Marcus Garvey, a
21	of the New York victory, which hinged on a Republican plan to reshape the health care program for older Americans, members of both parties and independent analysts now predict a more competitive race next yea
22	Despite the government's oil wealth, little has trickled down to the impoverished population. "The interest of the Americans here is money," said Marcial Abaga Barril, a member of an opposition party. On paper, in per-cap
23	by World War I and memorialized in "The Sun Also Rises." And so on. When the economy is bad, older Americans are often quick to blame young people when they can't find jobs. Somehow when the economy is
24	Reserved 211 of 1815 DOCUMENTS The New York Times Blogs May 31, 2011 Tuesday 4:00 PM EST Three Americans Gain Women's Doubles Semifinals; Straight Sets BYLINE: JOHN MARTIN SECTION: SPORTS;
25	Majority PAC, aiding Democrats. "Republicans are putting together a budget and policies that ask only some Americans to sacrifice. It is fundamentally unfair." A hint of where Democrats see their potential 2012 openin;
26	that has not caught on yet in the United States. "I suppose one way of looking at it is that's good news for Americans," said Tim Winship, publisher of FrequentFlier.com. "Our hometown carriers thus far have been
27	perhaps nowhere more so than in this oil-rich speck of a nation in the Gulf of Guinea. Officially and unofficially, Americans do business with one of the undisputed human rights global bad boys, Equatorial Guinea, Africa's
28	around noon on Christmas Day when camouflaged machine gunners supported by riflemen opened fire. The Americans dove behind a small ridge about 40 yards from the German emplacements. Mr. Wiedorfer, a privat
29	President Obama's election, a testimony to what she characterized as this country's openness, said many French-Americans found it difficult to talk to friends in France who suspect the arrest was a plot by Mr.
30	in such a conspiratorial fashion "The French adore the idea of plots," she said. "They see plots everywhere. French-Americans become more factual." Nevertheless, some French-Americans evidently still see such

concordance collocates plot patterns clusters filenames follow up source text notes

41,469 Set MENT-TYPE: News PUBLICATION-TYPE: Web Blog Copyright 2011 The News York Times Company All Rights Reserved 211 of 1815 DOCUMENTS The New York Times Blogs May 31, 2011 Tuesday 4:00 PM EST Three Americans Gain Women's Doubles Semifinals;

Appendix 3: Concordance sample showing a metaphorical pattern for ARABS in the ANM.

ANM ARABS 1051.cnc

File Edit View Compute Settings Windows Help

N	Concordance
910	Jerusalem. In past years, only 73 per cent of those surveyed said they were prepared for peace. The number of Arabs prone to continued belligerence with Israel has also declined: only 12 per cent said they "should
911	raid on the flotilla also raised his popularity. Arab opinion on Iran also remained divided. Though the number of Arabs who believe Iran wants peaceful nuclear power has shrunk, an increasing majority still believe Tehran he
912	to them and annihilate them," he said. "They are evil and damnable." Yosef's provocations are not limited to Arabs, either: In 2005, he blamed Hurricane Katrina on the "godlessness" of New Orleans, and on former US
913	joined up with the Taliban in any significant numbers. But Nato has claimed that Chechens - along with Uzbeks, Arabs, Pakistani and other "foreign fighters" - are present in Afghanistan. LOAD-DATE: August 26, 2010
914	Eastern and North African descent. He has made similarly offensive comments before: He has referred to Arabs as "vipers," and in a 2001 sermon during the Jewish holiday of Passover, he called for Israel to
915	as "vipers," and in a 2001 sermon during the Jewish holiday of Passover, he called for Israel to "annihilate" Arabs. "It is forbidden to be merciful to them. You must send missiles to them and annihilate them," he said.
916	hand, single out Muslims for contempt. They do it actively - i.e., by defending every single Israeli action against Arabs with vehement enthusiasm. And they do it passively, by refusing to evince an iota of sympathy for
917	their AIPAC (American Israeli Public Affairs Committee) talking points, enumerating all the terrible things Arabs have done while Israel has, Gandhi-like, consistently offered the hand of friendship. It would be laughable
918	9/11, an attack by Muslims from the Middle East. This hate is buttressed by the hatred of Muslims and Arabs that has been routinely uttered (or shouted from the rooftops) in the name of defending Israel for decades
919	with impunity. And here the liberals are worse than the conservatives because liberals exempt Muslims and Arabs (and now Turks) from the humanitarian instincts that inform their views of all other groups. Conservative
920	Ehud Barak, the defence minister, and other ministers. He also blamed "the international community and the Arabs" for failing "to do anything about the situation in Gaza". "The absence of the international community and
921	the Israelis." The three members of DAM were born and grew up in the slums of Lod (Lydda), a mixed town of Arabs and Jews 20 km from Jerusalem. The group's most popular song, released in 2001, was called Meen
922	Al Jazeera, said that the Ricu study "shows the ignorance of Western government and their media standards". "Arabs and Muslims are treated like a monolith with no distinctions and delineations permitted to categorise
923	for failing "to do anything about the situation in Gaza". "The absence of the international community and the Arabs has allowed the Israelis to escalate the situation," he said. There have been increasing tensions between
924	former Arab League ambassador to the UN, said Muslims and Arabs are receptive to Obama's overtures. "The Arabs feel, at least, that all sorts of initiatives might have certain positive results," he told Al Jazeera. However
925	lives and communities." Clovis Maksoud, former Arab League ambassador to the UN, said Muslims and Arabs are receptive to Obama's overtures. "The Arabs feel, at least, that all sorts of initiatives might have
926	recover the remains of the terrorists who were in the building". The rural Khalidiya area is dominated by Sunni Arabs and is the birthplace of the Sahwa, or Awakening, in which armed locals who once fought US forces
927	myself. I believe in a united Sudan, I see this in my family. They come from all over Sudan, Nuba mountains, Arabs, Darfur and Dinka tribe. So I represent the united Sudan that should stay united. I have to fight for unity,
928	recover the remains of the terrorists who were in the building". The rural Khalidiya area is dominated by Sunni Arabs and is the birthplace of the Sahwa, or Awakening, in which armed locals who once fought US forces
929	. There have also been a series of attacks in areas of northern Iraq where tension is high between majority Arabs, ethnic Kurds and other minorities. The violence has shaken public confidence just months ahead of
930	100 people. There have also been a series of attacks in areas of northern Iraq where tension is high between Arabs, Kurds and other minorities. The violence has shaken public confidence ahead of national elections in
931	terms of normalisation and the freezing of settlements, we warn against any hasty decision on the part of the Arabs in terms of what Obama and Israel are proposing. "We will take Obama's announcement at the UN
932	territories. "Non-Jews are already a slight majority of total citizens in this area, and within a few years Arabs will constitute a clear majority," he said. The 39th US president had been travelling in the region as a
933	"is the only united Arab position ... it's a tool of resistance after Arab nations have dropped all other means". "Arabs have to defend it and try to register this demand with the Quartet and UN Security Council as a minimum
934	: "I did this as a revenge for the victims and people killed in Iraq ... now the new US politicians should deal with Arabs properly ... as respectful counterparts not like slaves. I am neither afraid nor regretting what I did."
935	info, Al Bawaba.com 95 of 744 DOCUMENTS Aljazeera.net September 26, 2009 Saturday Clinton urges Arabs on Israel ties LENGTH: 425 words Hillary Clinton, the US secretary of state, has called on Arab nations
936	violations of Palestinians' rights confirms its complete bias in favour of the occupation and the danger of the Arabs counting on the American position towards the Arab-Israeli conflict," Sami Abu Zuhri, a Hamas
937	: "I did this as a revenge for the victims and people killed in Iraq ... now the new US politicians should deal with Arabs properly ... as respectful counterparts not like slaves. I am neither afraid nor regretting what I did."
938	north of the Iraqi capital Baghdad, and its surrounding area is one of the most violent regions in Iraq, with Arabs and Kurdish politicians locked in dispute over territory and oil. The US has said that opposition groups
939	groups are attacking Kurds in ethnically mixed areas in an attempt to stoke ethnic tensions between them and Arabs. Attacks have increased in recent weeks - becoming almost daily. On Tuesday four US soldiers and 10

concordance collocates plot patterns clusters filenames follow up source text notes

1,051 Set y prompting Iraqi security forces to declare a state of emergency there. The withdrawal of US forces from towns and cities in Iraq at the end of June had raised concern that the country would see a resurgence in violence. Over the last two months Iraq has seen

Appendix 4: Concordance sample showing a metaphorical pattern for AMERICANS in the ANM.

ANM AMERICANS 1839.cnc

File Edit View Compute Settings Windows Help

N	Concordance
539	people rally round the Bush administration and enable it to pass harsh bills guaranteeing the safety of Americans and bringing an end to global terrorism. The administration also succeeded in getting world support
540	help. A similar view is taking shape of America's traditional Arab allies. The feeling across the US is that the Americans stood by those allies in their times of need, but have not been repaid in kind in America's time of
541	There is one last reason for being less than dewy eyed about the EU's efforts for peace. The idea that with the Americans involved in the war against international terrorism and Afghanistan, it should be the Europeans who
542	Minister Guy Verhofstadt, it has put considerable effort to get the process back on the road, liaising with the Americans, the Russians, the UN and, not least, the Arab states. Nonetheless, it is simply not possible to
543	SOURCE: ARAB NEWS LENGTH: 192 words RIYADH--The US Embassy in Riyadh has asked thousands of Americans living and working in the Kingdom to limit their movement to avert possible retaliatory actions
544	2001 Moneyclips FOCUS - 261 of 391 DOCUMENTS Middle East Newsfile October 15, 2001 Monday Americans asked to limit movement SOURCE: ARAB NEWS LENGTH: 192 words RIYADH--The US
545	about it." So here we have a new interpretation of the freedom of expression and plurality of views which the Americans so cherish. Arabs can't express their views freely even on a subject they feel so strongly about
546	US citizens and interests throughout the world by terrorists" and their sympathizers, the advisory said. "Americans are urged to monitor the local news, contact the embassy or consulates and limit their movement,
547	officials in charge of this trust have expressed their desire to cooperate with the US investigators. Also, the Americans know that officials in the Pakistani government, including the finance minister, are supervising its
548	, especially educational and humanitarian projects," he said. "But it was closed down six years ago. The Americans think that it is still continuing its activities. All records related to the organization are available and I
549	right to suggest that all Arabs should be held responsible for the actions of a few claiming to be Arabs. If a few Americans--and most Israelis--point an accusing finger at the entire Arab world after the attacks in the US, we
550	US intelligence and the Pakistani security apparatus have more details about the activities of Jelaidan, as the Americans then were the main suppliers of arms through the Pakistanis. However, Peshawar was the main
551	Al-Qaeda--including those who appeared with Bin Laden or those who made statements or fatwas or abducted Americans or carried out terrorist operations against US interests. The new list is based on suspicions, a
552	constant claim that it was a kind of regional rampart for the US has been partly debunked. In fact, many Americans are beginning to see Israel as more of a hindrance than help. A similar view is taking shape of
553	"As a result, reports stated that all of the translated copies of the Qur'an sold out in local bookstores." "Many Americans are also reading books on Islam written by American Muslims. They want to know more about our
554	was the large number of Muslim volunteers who partook in the rescue and fire-fighting tasks with non-Muslim Americans. "Later on, we received the overwhelming support of many American organizations that have helped
555	. Even then countries will insist on trying their people themselves. An Israeli youth three years ago killed two Americans and ran off to Israel and the Israeli government refused to hand him back. Eventually the youth was
556	are excerpts from the interview: Q. What do you think of the present Afghanistan situation? A. I think that the Americans have made a big blunder by the route they have taken in dealing with Afghanistan. They have made
557	2001 Moneyclips FOCUS - 75 of 391 DOCUMENTS Middle East Newsfile December 4, 2001 Tuesday Americans 'more interested in Islam than ever before' BYLINE: By Mohannad Sharawi, Special to Arab News
558	been given fair representation. Friedman's cleverly opportunistic pieces may sound the right note to naive Americans. But when was the last time he, or they, were here? We may charitably forgive Friedman his
559	should not count on unreserved support from any traditional partners and allies. That recognition dawned on Americans when NATO's European members injected numerous "ifs" and "buts" into their promise of their
560	Hijaz Railway line, and the ancient Nabatean city of Mada'in Saleh. A 12-member group consisting of 10 Americans, one Canadian and a Mexican joined the desert safari exploring the Kingdom's cultural and
561	somebody who is interested in Islam, in its culture, its traditions, the people, and the food. I have seen many Americans who have visited Saudi Arabia just for the sake of record. They are not truly interested in the
562	in Indiana also arranged a lecture by Saeed, drawing thousands of company employees. Malabari described Americans as a tolerant and open society. "They are ready to learn. Common people of the country are,
563	2001 Moneyclips FOCUS - 143 of 391 DOCUMENTS Middle East Newsfile November 18, 2001 Sunday Americans open to message of Islam more than ever before: Dawa worker BYLINE: By P.K. Abdul Ghafour,
564	active member of the international coalition against terrorism." In a series of interviews he also reminded the Americans that Tehran has recalled hundreds of its Revolutionary Guardsmen from a dozen or so countries
565	quo. The principal effect of the attacks, and the most lasting ones, were psychological. They persuaded the Americans, at all levels from the ordinary public to decision-makers, that the United States military might did
566	those states to regain the influence they had in Washington before Sept. 11. The truth is that on Sept. 11 the Americans suddenly realized that they are alone, that they have no true friends except the British, and that
567	to be counterproductive. May be he did (act) behind the scenes but that role was not powerful enough to stop Americans making this mistake. Americans and their media already think that they have won the war against
568	refused Q What do you think should be the set-up of government in the post-Taliban Afghanistan? A If the Americans in the beginning had provided evidence also it was a much better time to build a broad-based

concordance collocates plot patterns clusters filenames follow up source text notes

1,839 Set by his promise to restore true democracy. "We don't see corruption at the top level and we give credit to Gen. Musharraf for that. But whether he should remain president of the country after the elections, that is something for an elected government to decide," in

Appendix 5: Concordance sample showing the top collocates of the expression ‘supply of’ in COCA

The screenshot shows the COCA website interface. At the top, there are navigation tabs: SEARCH, FREQUENCY, CONTEXT, and ACCOUNT. The 'CONTEXT' tab is selected. Below the tabs, there is a search bar and a 'SEE CONTEXT: CLICK ON WORD OR SELECT WORDS + [CONTEXT] [HELP...]' instruction. The main content is a table with columns for RANK, CHECKBOX, COLLOCATE, FREQ, ALL, %, MI, and a bar chart. The table lists 18 collocates, with 'WATER' being the most frequent.

	<input type="checkbox"/>	CONTEXT	FREQ	ALL	%	MI	
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	WATER	306	209150	0.15	4.26	
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	FOOD	222	127069	0.17	4.52	
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	OIL	195	97257	0.20	4.71	
4	<input type="checkbox"/>	STEADY	185	15671	1.18	7.27	
5	<input type="checkbox"/>	ENDLESS	134	9794	1.37	7.48	
6	<input type="checkbox"/>	ADEQUATE	122	11836	1.03	7.08	
7	<input type="checkbox"/>	FRESH	120	50175	0.24	4.97	
8	<input type="checkbox"/>	ENERGY	102	83917	0.12	3.99	
9	<input type="checkbox"/>	LARGE	94	148577	0.06	3.05	
10	<input type="checkbox"/>	LABOR	93	42497	0.22	4.84	
11	<input type="checkbox"/>	GAS	93	47947	0.19	4.67	
12	<input type="checkbox"/>	AMPLE	89	4311	2.06	8.08	
13	<input type="checkbox"/>	LIMITED	84	44780	0.19	4.62	
14	<input type="checkbox"/>	NATURAL	80	72490	0.11	3.85	
15	<input type="checkbox"/>	ABUNDANT	79	4447	1.78	7.86	
16	<input type="checkbox"/>	AVAILABLE	78	85438	0.09	3.58	
17	<input type="checkbox"/>	INCREASE	76	66158	0.11	3.91	
18	<input type="checkbox"/>	DEMAND	75	31805	0.24	4.95	

