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METAPHOR CLUSTERS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES PRESS REPORTS OF THE 2012 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN THE U.S.

Abstract: Through a combined quantitative-qualitative approach the present paper explores the role of *metaphor clusters* in the political discourse of daily newspapers. Metaphor identification procedure is adopted from the Pragglejaz Group (2007), while the procedure for identifying *metaphor clusters* is adopted from Koller (2003) and Cameron and Stelma (2004). Theoretical framework of the paper is predominantly based on Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT), where special attention is paid to the treatment of conceptual metaphors and the ways individual integration networks might interact when clustered together within the immediate discourse context. Such an approach is expected to yield a thorough insight into both the structure and the specific mappings that take place within clusters of metaphorical integration networks.

Key words: metaphor clusters, conceptual blending, compression, backward projections, coupled elaboration, political discourse of daily newspapers

1. Introduction

The present paper aims to investigate the role of metaphor clusters in the political discourse of daily newspapers, and to explore the ways in which individual metaphorical networks might interact in the fully developed *discourse lattice* (in the sense of Fauconnier, 1994; 1997) by relying on the main guidelines of Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002; Coulson and Oakley, 2005). To that end, a combined quantitative-qualitative sample analysis of an article from the online edition of *The New York Times* dealing with a report of the 2012 presidential elections in the U.S. will be presented.

Firstly, the paper will outline the basic tenets of the theoretical framework, which will be followed by a detailed description of the methodologies and procedures used in the identification of individual metaphors and metaphor clusters. From this

point onward, the paper investigates the structure and interaction of metaphorical networks and explores their role in the construction of political reality as presented in daily newspapers. In line with previous research, daily newspapers will be understood as a conduit of the *mediated political discourse* (in the sense of □del, 2007). Finally, based on the obtained results the paper will offer some of the main conclusions and possible directions for future research.

2. Conceptual Blending: Introducing the Main Tenets

The *blending* paradigm, essentially an extension of Fauconnier's Theory of Mental Spaces (Fauconnier, 1994; 1997), poses as a plausible conceptual model of *online meaning construction*. The idea is essentially grounded in the *many space model* (Fauconnier and Turner, 1994) which, unlike CMT's restriction to unidirectional cross-domain mappings between two domains (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003[1980]; Lakoff, 2006[1993]; Kövecses, 2010), introduces a minimal network of at least four spaces: *two inputs, the generic space*, and *the blend* (Fauconnier and Turner, 1994; 2006[1998]; 2000; 2002).

In line with the general definition of mental spaces presented in Fauconnier (1994; 1997), input spaces in a blending network stand as partial assemblies, constructed online as discourse unfolds, and are necessarily conditioned by the immediate discourse context, space-building prompts active in the *current discourse space* (in the sense of Langacker, 2008), interlocutors' space-building strategies, etc. These input spaces are structured by frames that stand as background knowledge structures available for recruitment and are themselves organized hierarchically with marked patterns of prototypically effects.

One of the key ideas of CBT is *compression,* which allows for the organizing frames of input spaces to interact, and the resolution of these frame-level conceptual clashes yields a variety of networks, where metaphors are normally realized via single- or double-scope networks. In the former type, the blend acquires its organizing frame directly from the source input, while elements from the target are projected into the pre-compressed topology of the source (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002). In the latter, the frame-level clash is more profound; as a result, the network needs to 'work harder' in order for the clash to be resolved, owing to which the organizing frame of the blend is actually the product of interaction between the organizing frames of the two inputs (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002). Additionally, compression normally involves the compression of *vital relations* that represent salient conceptual relations that exist between the inputs in an integration network (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002).

Regardless of the type of a network, the blend develops novel *emergent structure* not present in the inputs (Fauconnier and Turner, 2000; 2002), which is licensed directly by the notion of *compression,* which allows the negotiation of conditions of *network equilibrium* and the construction of meaning at *human scale* (in the sense of Fauconnier and Turner, 2002: 323). In plain terms, compression allows us to *merge*

elements from different inputs and construct both novel elements and novel *vital relations* in the blend, thereby licensing new, emergent understandings of familiar, or not so familiar, concepts. These novel understandings, i.e. the developed emergent structures, typically give way to *backward projections* (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002) or *retrospective projections* (Coulson, 2001). With metaphorical networks, the most valuable are backward projections to the target input, where the developed blend actually influences not only our understanding, but can also produce emotional reactions (Figar, 2013; 2014) that reflect the idea of *coupled elaboration* where running of the blend can alter reasoning and behavior in real-time (Coulson and Oakley, 2000).

While defining the notions of *inputs* and the *blend* appears to be relatively straightforward, at least in theory, defining and introducing the *generic space* in the analyses is anything but. Fauconnier and Turner (2006[1998]: 308) defined the *generic space* as a mental space that contains elements common to all spaces in the network. However, the notion of the *generic space* has proven to be a highly disputed construct in the blending community. As a result, Coulson and Oakley (2005) introduced the Coded Meaning Model with a slightly altered version of the minimal network, where instead of the generic space they introduced the *grounding box*, which renders the entire model more suitable for discourse analysis. Additionally, Coulson and Oakley (2005: 1517) introduced two variants of the grounding box: the (i) *deictic grounding box*, which captures elements such as immediate discourse participants, forum, etc., and the (ii) *displaced grounding box*, more suitable for capturing 'covert' conceptual structures such as underlying image schemas, etc. The present research will utilize the notion of a *combined grounding box* which makes use of the two afore mentioned variants.

Finally, regardless of whether the *canonical generic-space model* or the *coded meaning model* of conceptual integration is adopted, it needs to be understood that the *blending paradigm* involves a lot more than a set of diagrams. Namely, the paradigm was developed to reflect the dynamic nature of the process of *meaning construction*, with the ideas of *compression* and *conceptual integration* at its core. Therefore, caution is advised in order not to become 'enslaved' by its analytical complexity. While the issue of grounding is crucial, the true essence of the model lies in the interaction between different mental spaces and their organizing frames along with the recruited background knowledge structures, which allows the construction of novel blended spaces with emergent topologies. In plain terms, neither the generic space nor the grounding box is always necessary for the analysis. As discussed in Oakley (2011), the generic space is extremely useful in cases like tracing the historical development of complex numbers, where it captures elements that the network holds in common during its evolutionary path. In cases of highly entrenched metaphors like the ones often found in political discourse, the generic space is often redundant, and if analysis requires such an element, it is in fact more suitable to introduce a grounding box to account for the contextual variables.

3. Previous Research on Metaphor Clusters

In addition to their own investigation of metaphor clusters in *conciliation talk*, conducted via specialized software VisDis that allows for metaphor clusters to be detected visually, i.e. where „metaphors can be identified from the visual display of metaphors as points on a time line" (Cameron and Stelma, 2004: 124), Cameron and Stelma (2004) also provided a comprehensive overview of methodologies used for cluster identification in previous research. These include *cumulative frequency graphs* and *statistical procedures*.

Cumulative frequency graphs represent the increase in the number of metaphors as discourse unfolds, and any given coordinate on the vertical axis represents the cumulative number of metaphors produced up to that point. In this approach, metaphor clusters can be identified visually by identifying sudden steep climbs in the curve, i.e. by analyzing „where the gradient changes sufficiently from the average slope" (Cameron and Stelma, 2004: 112). However, the main issue with this approach is that of *scale*, i.e. a decision needs to be made at which level it is suitable for discourse to be 'dissected'. Cameron and Stelma (2004: 127) concluded that for the purposes of their study *intonation units* posed as „more absolute and comparable measures than sentences" (Cameron and Stelma, 2004: 127).

Corts and Polio (1999, cited in Cameron and Stelma, 2004: 112□113) used a statistical method, where the nature of distribution of metaphors across the discourse needs to be identified. In this approach a cluster is identified „where the probability of an increase in frequency arising from chance is less than the chosen significance level" (Cameron and Stelma, 2004: 112). Additionally, this method also includes the use of *centered moving averages*, which, in this case, are calculated by computing the means of all possible sets of five consecutive sentences in the corpus. In the final stage of cluster identification Corts and Polio (1999, cited in Cameron and Stelma, 2004: 112) also relied on the Poisson distribution, and „calculated the probabilities that specific values of centered moving averages could occur by chance from a Poisson distribution" (Cameron and Stelma, 2004: 113).

Application of the methodology for visual metaphor identification via VisDis software and a comparative analysis via afore mentioned cumulative frequency graphs and statistical procedures enabled Cameron and Stelma (2004) to show that their novel methodology offers similar results, rendering it equally applicable for cluster identification.

Building on the Hallidayan framework of systemic-functional linguistics, Koller (2003) explored the multifunctionality of metaphor clusters and metaphor chains in business media discourse by exploring their interpersonal, ideational and textual functions. The research was based on a combined quantitative-qualitative approach, and building on the obtained results the author managed to stress the fact that metaphors „should be seen as a phenomenon with multiple functions at multiple levels" (Koller, 2003: 128). In her analysis of a sample article, Koller (2003) managed to isolate WAR, SPORTS, and GAMES metaphors as the most frequent ones, respectively.

Through the analysis of *dispersion plots* produced by the concordance tool in WordSmith 3.0 she determined that clusters of WAR metaphors were present at the beginning and towards the end of the article, „thus serving a defining and persuasive function" (Koller, 2003: 122). SPORTS clusters, on the other hand, were more dominant in the middle section, while GAMES metaphors were not frequent enough for a textual pattern to be identified (Koller, 2003). Additionally, a combination of WAR and SPORTS metaphors at the beginning of the article served to give the topic „a two-fold metaphoric structure right from the beginning of the text" (Koller, 2003: 122). Furthermore, the three metaphors appear to be working in concert throughout the article, i.e. „they extend and elaborate on each other…*thereby forming*[1]…a cohesive cognitive scenario" (Koller, 2003: 125).

Additionally, the author also explored the relationship of grammatical parameters of aspect and trajectory to the identified metaphor chains, and found „frequent instances of predecessive aspect with completive trajectory" (Koller, 2003: 126) and an even more frequent combination of „progressive aspect plus durative or intensive trajectory" (Koller, 2003: 126).

4. Present Research

The current section will present an overview of procedures and methodologies used in the identification of individual metaphors and metaphor clusters, which will be followed by the description of the sample, and quantitative and qualitative sample analysis. In line with the main aims of the research, the paper will attempt to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: How are *metaphor clusters* in the sample distributed, and how are they structured?

RQ2: In which ways do individual integration networks interact when *clustered* together within the immediate discourse context?

RQ3: What are the possible rhetorical functions of *metaphor clusters* in the political discourse of daily newspapers, and which cognitive mechanisms enable them to perform those functions?

4.1. Metaphor Identification Methodology

Metaphor identification procedure (MIP) was adopted from the Pragglejaz Group (2007), and it involved: (i) the stage of reading the entire text to become familiarized with the context; (ii) determining lexical units, especially in problematic cases like phrasal verbs, as suggested in Pragglejaz (2007: 25□28); (iii) establishing the contextual and basic meaning for each of the identified lexical units, as well as the relationship between the two identified meanings in order to finally determine

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[1] Our italics.

(iv) whether the lexical unit has been used metaphorically, i.e. whether its contextual meaning can be understood as a function of its basic meaning.

The choice of this particular procedure is justified by the fact that it „starts from the actual discourse, and inductively builds the case for why a particular word was used metaphorically in context" (Pragglejaz, 2007: 34), instead of starting with a predetermined set of conceptual representations based on which discourse is analyzed only for particular conceptualizations. Such an approach enables the researcher to identify all specific conceptualizations that may appear in a particular text, regardless of their frequency. Furthermore, the procedure has also been supported by the reliability analysis (Pragglejaz, 2007: 20□22). As suggested in the original article (Pragglejaz, 2007: 13□14), details pertaining to the results obtained from the procedure are outlined in Table 1.

Text details
Title: Obama and Romney, in First Debate, Spar over Fixing the Economy
Source: The New York Times, online edition
Mode: Written
Genre, register: newspaper article, report
Length of text: 1,503 words (excluding the title)
Length of context read by the analysts (as apart from coded): none
Readership assumed for the analysis
A present day audience was assumed.
Lexical unit decision
In line with the guidelines outlined in Pragglejaz (2007: 25□28)
Resources used
Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 7th Edition (Hornby, 2006)
Oxford Dictionary of Collocations (Lea, 2008)
Oxford Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs (Cowie and Mackin, 2005)
Coding decisions
All coding decisions were made based on the relationship between the basic and contextual meanings of the previously identified lexical units, with the reference to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 7th Edition. Additionally, individual researchers' intuitive decisions also played an important role in the process.
Analysis details
Number of analysts: 2
Analysts: Both analysts were linguists, non-native speakers of English, and staff members of the English Department, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, with previous experience in metaphor research.
Number of „passes" (codings): The analysis was carried out in three passes, with a period of two weeks between the passes, where each analyst compared the results between the two adjacent passes, as well as the overall result after the final pass was completed. This was followed by a discussion between the analysts, after which the final list of metaphorically used lexical units was compiled.

Table 1. MIP Report

4.2. Cluster Identification Methodology

Identification of metaphor clusters was carried out in two steps: (i) the first step involved the use of the concordancing function of WordSmith Tools 6.0 (Scott, 2010, 2014; Tribble, 2010), in line with the methodology presented in Koller (2003: 119□120); (ii) in the second step, cumulative frequency graphs were used to assess the sections of the text in which clusters appeared (in line with Cameron and Stelma, 2004). Finally, the results of the two procedures were compared in order to ascertain the validity of the findings.
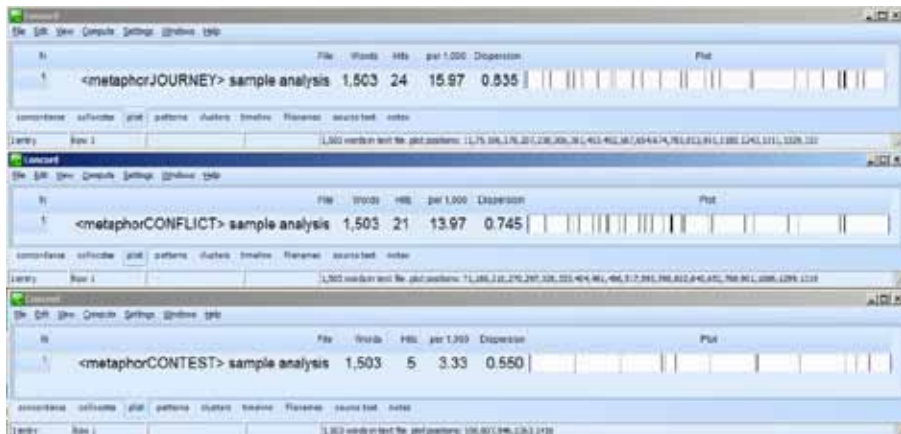

Figure 1 – Dispersion Plot

Figure 2 – Subdivided Dispersion Plots

After completing metaphor identification procedures described in the previous subsection, the database was tagged manually for instances of all of the previously identified metaphorically used lexical units and their corresponding conceptualizations. This enabled an additional 'concordance over tags' search, where WordSmith provides a representation of clusters through its *dispersion plot* (Figure 1). Visual inspection of the dispersion plot then enabled the identification of sections of the article in which individual metaphors were clustered together, and it also provided an overview of the structure of those clusters. Bearing in mind that metaphorical expressions belonging to same conceptual keys were tagged separately, the dispersion plot can be subdivided to show only specific conceptualizations (Figure 2). Furthermore, the concordance search allows stops at sentence and paragraph breaks, thereby facilitating the identification of sentence- and paragraph-level clusters.

Additionally, based on the metaphor count carried out for individual sentences and paragraphs, cumulative frequency graphs were constructed (Figures 3 and 6). They enabled the identification of clusters at the level of individual sentences and paragraphs, thereby preserving topicality links in these narrow contexts. Namely, by restricting the investigation to the sentence-, i.e. paragraph-level, respectively, the researchers made sure that all of the identified clusters were related not only by their proximity in the sample, but also by the topic, i.e. the general idea they were used to introduce or elaborate.

4.3. Sample Description

The analyzed sample was an article published on 3 October 2012 in the online edition of The New York Times, titled *Obama and Romney, in First Debate, Spar over Fixing the Economy*, and it was extracted from a *small specialized corpus* (in line with Koester, 2010; Reppen, 2010) constructed in accordance with the methodology described in Garretson and Ädel (2008). The corpus consists of articles dealing with reports of the 2012 presidential elections in the U.S., published during October 2012 in the online editions of The New York Times. The sample contains 1,503 words, excluding the title, and it was chosen due to its high density in the number of metaphorical expressions (in line with Koller, 2003).

Table 2 gives an overview of metaphor structure of the sample in terms of generalized *conceptual keys* (in the sense of Charteris-Black, 2004). It can be seen that the most dominant conceptualizations are those of JOURNEY, CONFLICT, and FORCE. Although the targets FORCE and CONFLICT are inherently related, the distinction in the overarching conceptualizations was made based on contextual effects. Additionally, the same line of reasoning was applied to target inputs of JOURNEY and EXPANDING MOVEMENT. Still, for the purposes of quantitative analysis, both CONFLICT and FORCE, and JOURNEY and EXPANDING MOVEMENT can be viewed as 'joint sums'. As a result, the two most dominant conceptualizations are CONFLICT&FORCE and JOURNEY&EXPANDING MOVEMENT, with 39 and 26 occurrences, respectively, thereby accounting for 55.08% of all the identified conceptualizations.

Conceptual key	Number of occurrences	Percentage [%]	Hits per 1,000 words	Dispersion[2]
JOURNEY	24	20.34	15.97	0.835
EXPANDING MOVEMENT	2	1.7	1.33	0.300
CONFLICT	21	17.8	13.97	0.745
FORCE	18	15.25	11.98	0.767
LIVING BEING	7	5.93	4.66	0.723
CONTAINMENT	6	5.08	3.99	0.553
SHOW	5	4.24	3.33	0.282
CONTEST	5	4.24	3.33	0.550
SPORT	4	3.39	2.66	0.596
TIME IS SPACE	4	3.39	2.66	0.429

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[2] „A dispersion value is the degree to which a set of values are uniformly spread […] It ranges from 0 to 1, with 0.9 or 1 suggesting very uniform dispersion and 0 or 0.1 suggesting burstiness." (Scott, 2014: 423).

ORIENTATIONAL	3	2.54	2.00	0.478
ABSTRACT IS PHYSICAL	3	2.54	2.00	0.478
MACHINE	3	2.54	2.00	0.478
STRUCTURE	2	1.69	1.33	0.300
EQUILIBRIUM	2	1.69	1.33	0.300
DEPTH	1	0.85	0.67	-0.069
SOBRIETY	1	0.85	0.67	-0.069
FLOW	1	0.85	0.67	-0.069
CONDUIT	1	0.85	0.67	-0.069
WORDS ARE IMAGES	1	0.85	0.67	-0.069
WEEDS	1	0.85	0.67	-0.069
GAS	1	0.85	0.67	-0.069
SHIP OF STATE	1	0.85	0.67	-0.069
DISCUSSION IS DISCONNECTED COMPOSITION	1	0.85	0.67	-0.069
Total	*118*	*100*	*78.51*	*0.858*

Table 2 –Sample Structure

4.4. Quantitative Analysis and Discussion

The present research is interested in sentence- and paragraph-level clusters. Such an approach allows for the identification of topically related clusters within the narrower contexts of sentences and paragraphs, and it is also favorable owing to the limited nature of the sample. The initial identification of clusters was carried out through the use of WordSmith concordancing tool and dispersion plots, which was then further supported by cumulative frequency graphs. Table 3 and Figure 3 provide an overview of the identified sentence-level clusters, while Table 4 and Figure 6 present an overview of paragraph-level clusters. Owing to high metaphor density recorded in the sample (78.51 per 1,000 words; 2 per sentence; 3.69 per paragraph), the present research adopted a convention according to which both sentence- and paragraph-level clusters need to contain a minimum of 3 metaphors, which corresponds to the calculated mean value of the sum of metaphor averages per sentence and per paragraph.

In terms of article structure, visual inspection of the dispersion plot (Figure 1) showed reduced metaphor density in the third quarter of the article, and this conclusion is further supported by the sudden 'jumps' between sentences 15 and 21 (Table 3), and paragraphs 16 and 24 (Table 4). A similar trend is identified towards the end of the article, where sentences 56 through 59, and paragraphs 31 and 32 did not show the presence of clusters. The remainder of the article, on the other hand, showed a high degree of consistency in metaphor clustering. In addition to the visual inspection of the dispersion plot, and *word positions*[3] given in Tables 3 and 4, the identified clusters are further supported by the sudden steep climbs in the curves of cumulative frequency graphs (in line with Cameron and Stelma, 2004; see Figures 3 and 6).

In terms of size, sentence-level clusters range from 3 to 7 metaphors, with a total of 20 clusters (see Figure 4 for details). In terms of structure, it is important

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[3] Indicate positions of the lexical units identified as having been used metaphorically, starting from the beginning of the text.

to note that each of the identified clusters contains at least one of the most frequent conceptualizations from the sample: JOURNEY, FORCE, or CONFLICT. Furthermore, there are two clusters that contain only the most frequent conceptualizations: sentence #6 (JOURNEY, FORCE, FORCE), and sentence #18 (CONFLICT, FORCE, JOURNEY, CONFLICT). Additionally, there are three clusters that contain only one conceptualization different from the most frequent ones: sentence #13 (CONFLICT, SHOW, FORCE), sentence #21 (CONFLICT, SPORT, CONFLICT, CONFLICT), and sentence #24 (TIME IS SPACE, CONFLICT, JOURNEY, FORCE). The remainder of sentence-level clusters is

Cluster #	Sentence #	Number of metaphors	Word positions	Structure
1	1	4	11, 14, 19, 30	JOURNEY, CONTAINMENT, ORIENTATIONAL, LIVING BEING
2	2	4	59, 68, 71, 75	MACHINE, SHIP OF STATE, CONFLICT, JOURNEY
3	5	3	159, 162, 166	CONTAINMENT, IRRELEVANT ARGUMENTS ARE WEEDS, CONFLICT
4	6	3	178, 185, 197	JOURNEY, FORCE, FORCE
5	10	7	290, 294, 296, 297, 301, 306, 308	LIVING BEING, SHOW, CONDUIT, CONFLICT, INFORMATION FLOW, JOURNEY, SOBRIETY
6	11	7	328, 331, 332, 333, 339, 343, 356	CONFLICT, SPORT, CONTAINMENT, CONFLICT, GAS, TIME IS SPACE, SHOW
7	12	6	361, 361, 365, 371, 373, 381	FORCE, JOURNEY, ORIENTATIONAL, FORCE, CONTAINMENT, ABSTRACT IS PHYSICAL
8	13	3	404, 406, 407	CONFLICT, SHOW, FORCE
9	14	3	437, 450, 453	SHOW, SERIOUSNESS IS DEPTH, JOURNEY
10	15	6	458, 461, 472, 478, 486, 492	STRUCTURE, CONFLICT, SHOW, LIVING BEING, CONFLICT, JOURNEY
11	16	3	517, 520, 530	CONFLICT, SPORT, WORDS ARE IMAGES
12	21	4	593, 595, 598, 602	CONFLICT, SPORT, CONFLICT, CONFLICT
13	24	4	649, 652, 654, 659	TIME IS SPACE, CONFLICT, JOURNEY, FORCE
14	28	3	760, 768, 775	EQUILIBRIUM, CONFLICT, LIVING BEING
15	30	3	810, 813, 818	LIVING BEING, JOURNEY, CONTAINMENT
16	44	5	1132, 1142, 1144, 1149, 1155	FORCE, MACHINE, FORCE, LIVING BEING, FORCE
17	48	3	1233, 1236, 1243	EXPANDING MOVEMENT, DISCONNECTED COMPOSITION, JOURNEY
18	52	4	1299, 1311, 1311, 1319	CONFLICT, FORCE, JOURNEY, CONFLICT
19	54	3	1333, 1338, 1341	JOURNEY, MACHINE, JOURNEY
20	55	6	1354, 1357, 1363, 1370, 1388, 1390	SPORT, ABSTRACT IS PHYSICAL, CONTEST, EQUILIBRIUM, JOURNEY, LIVING BEING

Table 3 – Sentence-level clusters
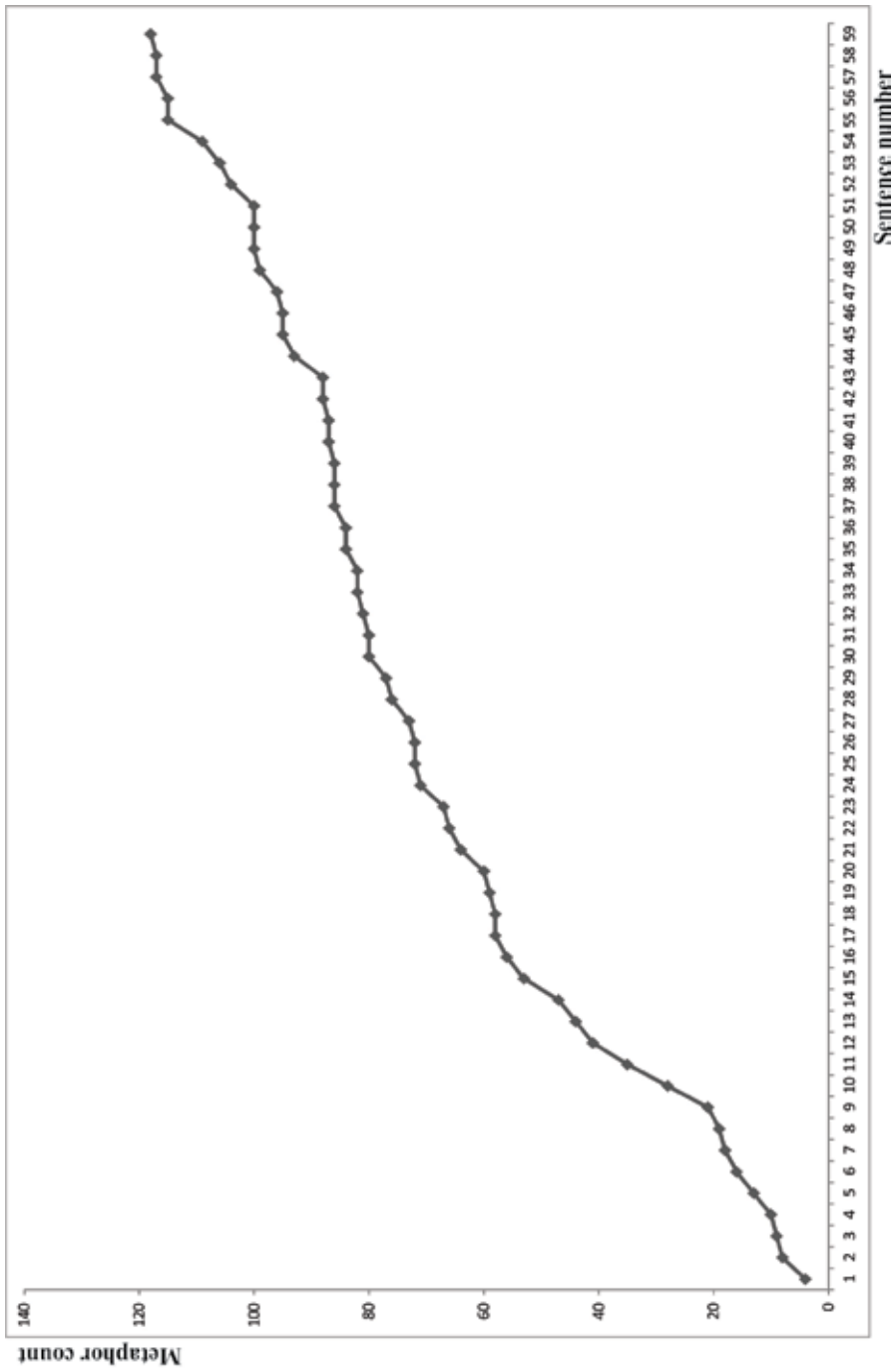
Figure 3 - Cumulative frequency graph for sentence-level clusters

markedly heterogeneous; however, such structure does not compromise their overall function, nor does it affect the text flow.
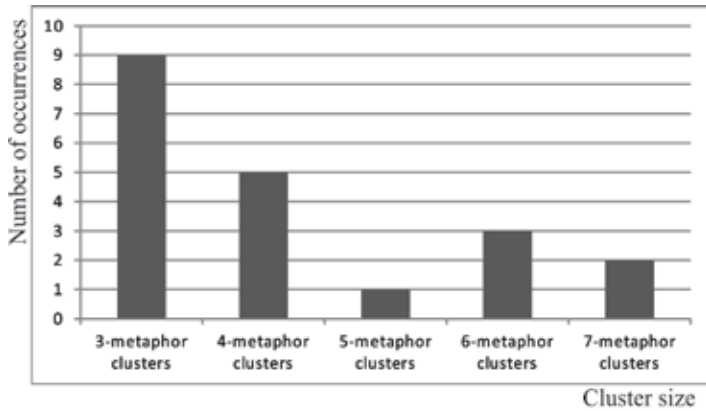
Figure 4 - Sentence-level clusters

Namely, although most clusters combine metaphors that belong to different conceptual keys, these actually reinforce and support each other's role, rendering the text more coherent. For instance, sentence #1 contains four different metaphors (see Table 3 for details) that combine the notions of a journey, movement out of a container, the negative evaluation linked to downward orientation (in the sense of Lakoff and Johnson, 2003[1980]), and the instilment of living qualities into the abstract notion of candidacy.

> **Sentence #1:** Mitt Romney on Wednesday accused President Obama of failing to **lead** the country **out of** the deepest economic **downturn** since the Great Depression, using the first presidential debate to **invigorate** his candidacy…

As a result, the combination of these metaphors yields a *cohesive cognitive scenario* (in the sense of Koller, 2003: 125) that serves as an introduction to the remainder of the article. While the CONTAINMENT and ORIENTATIONAL metaphor appear as elaborations of the initial JOURNEY metaphor, the final LIVING BEING metaphor signals the importance of the election campaign stressed through its personification. Furthermore, the JOURNEY metaphor is coupled with the negative evaluation of president Obama's politics owing to the elaboration provided by the negative downward orientation and the unfavorable container that stands for the economic crisis. In that sense, the four metaphors actually work in concert, thereby facilitating the process of meaning construction. Additionally, clustering can also increase the emotional and affective potential of individual metaphors (Cameron, 2007).

Analysis of paragraph-level clusters showed a total of 19 clusters, ranging from 3 to 14 metaphors (see Figure 5 for details). Additionally, the analysis of *word positions* in Tables 3 and 4 revealed that the majority of paragraph-level clusters were extensions of sentence-level clusters, which is in line with the conclusion presented in Cameron (2007: 51) where „most short clusters were contained within longer clusters". Namely, clusters in paragraphs 4, 7, 9, 13, 29, and 30 correspond to those in sentences 1, 12, 15, 24, 54, and 55, respectively. Additionally, clusters in paragraphs 14 and 8 represent combinations of clusters in sentences 10 & 11, and

13 & 14, respectively. In turn, this combination gave way to the largest cluster in the sample: paragraph-level cluster #6. Finally, the cluster in paragraph 5 is the only new cluster that appeared when a transition was made from sentence- to paragraph-level, which stresses the importance of context for the process of cluster formation.
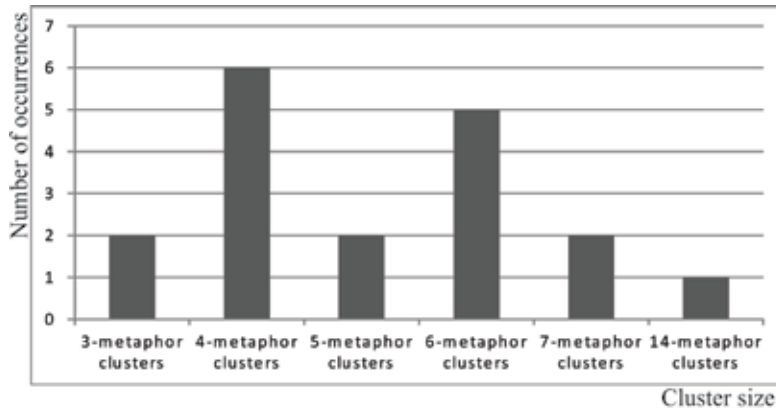

Figure 5 - Paragraph-level clusters

> **Paragraph #4:** If Mr. Romney's **goal** was to show that he could **project** equal stature to the president, he succeeded, perhaps offering his campaign the **lift** that Republicans have been seeking. Mr. Obama often **stopped short of challenging** his rival's specific policies…

The cluster in paragraph #4 represents an extension of the cluster in sentence #6. As a result, the initial three-metaphor cluster is expanded into a five-metaphor cluster. Furthermore, both the initial and the final cluster contain only CONFLICT, FORCE, and JOURNEY metaphors, i.e. only the most frequent conceptualizations in the sample. While the cluster in sentence #6 serves to describe Romney's behavior, the extended paragraph-level cluster incorporates an additional description of president Obama. Romney's destination in the first presidential debate is elaborated through two additional FORCE metaphors that serve to emphasize the competitive nature

Cluster #	Paragraph #	Number of metaphors	Word positions	Structure
1	1	4	11, 14, 19, 30	JOURNEY, CONTAINMENT, ORIENTATIONAL, LIVING BEING
2	2	5	59, 68, 71, 75, 106	MACHINE, SHIP OF STATE, CONFLICT, JOURNEY
3	3	4	127, 159, 162, 166	EXPANDING MOVEMENT, CONTAINMENT, IRRELEVANT ARGUMENTS ARE WEEDS, CONFLICT
4	4	5	178, 185, 197, 207, 210	JOURNEY, FORCE, FORCE, JOURNEY, CONFLICT
5	5	3	238, 270, 274	JOURNEY, CONFLICT, TIME IS SPACE
6	6	14	290, 294, 296, 297, 301, 306, 308, 328, 331, 332, 333, 339, 343, 356	LIVING BEING, SHOW, CONDUIT, CONFLICT, INFORMATION FLOW, JOURNEY, SOBRIETY, CONFLICT, SPORT, CONTAINMENT, CONFLICT, GAS, TIME IS SPACE, SHOW
7	7	6	361, 361, 365, 371, 373, 381	FORCE, JOURNEY, ORIENTATIONAL, FORCE, CONTAINMENT, ABSTRACT IS PHYSICAL
8	8	6	404, 406, 407, 437, 450, 453	CONFLICT, SHOW, FORCE, SHOW, DEPTH, JOURNEY
9	9	6	458, 461, 472, 478, 486, 492	STRUCTURE, CONFLICT, SHOW, LIVING BEING, CONFLICT, JOURNEY
10	10	5	517, 520, 530, 545, 550	CONFLICT, SPORT, WORDS ARE IMAGES, ORIENTATIONAL, CONTEST
11	12	7	593, 595, 598, 602, 607, 617, 640	CONFLICT, SPORT, CONFLICT, CONFLICT, CONTEST, FORCE, CONFLICT
12	13	4	649, 652, 654, 659	TIME IS SPACE, CONFLICT, JOURNEY, FORCE
13	15	4	753, 760, 768, 775	FORCE, EQUILIBRIUM, CONFLICT, LIVING BEING
14	16	4	783, 810, 813, 818	JOURNEY, LIVING BEING, JOURNEY, CONTAINMENT
15	24	7	1132, 1142, 1144, 1149, 1155, 1180, 1183	FORCE, MACHINE, FORCE, LIVING BEING, FORCE, JOURNEY, CONTAINMENT
16	26	4	1233, 1236, 1243, 1254	EXPANDING MOVEMENT, DISCONNECTED COMPOSITION, JOURNEY, FORCE
17	28	6	1299, 1311, 1311, 1319, 1329, 1329	CONFLICT, FORCE, JOURNEY, CONFLICT, FORCE, JOURNEY
18	29	3	1333, 1338, 1341	JOURNEY, MACHINE, JOURNEY
19	30	6	1354, 1357, 1363, 1370, 1388, 1390	SPORT, ABSTRACT IS PHYSICAL, CONTEST, EQUILIBRIUM, JOURNEY, LIVING BEING

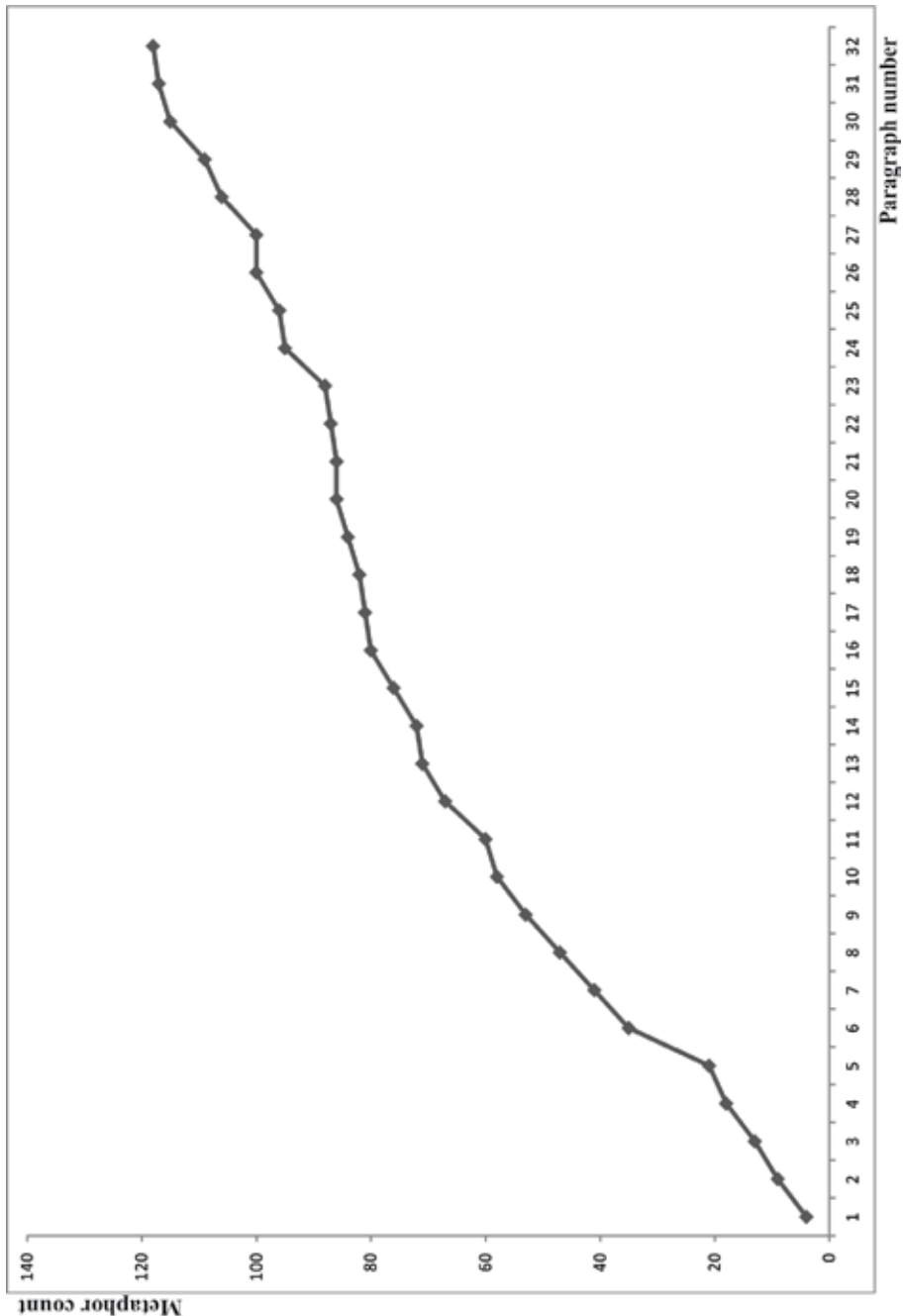**Table 4** – Paragraph-level clusters

Figure 6 - Cumulative frequency graph for paragraph-level clusters

of the debate. The combination of MOVEMENT and CONFLICT in Obama's case shows hesitation, but also signals the tactical, competitive, and even threatening dimension of the debate.

In all, the two sections of this cluster that are related by the overlapping conceptual keys of JOURNEY, CONFLICT, and FORCE, serve to juxtapose the open initiative of one candidate against the somewhat tactical approach of the other. Combined, they again offer a cohesive cognitive scenario that stresses the competitive and tactical nature of the debate. Additionally, such framing is further supported by the recruitment of background knowledge structures activated by the immediate context, which are necessarily governed by the shared cultural conventions.

4.5. Qualitative Analysis and Discussion

The present section will be dealing with the qualitative analysis of a section of the metaphor cluster extracted from the sample, which will be conducted in the CBT model.

The two selected sentence-level clusters, i.e. the single paragraph-level cluster combine a number of metaphors shown in Table 5. Figures 7 and 8 represent the following section of the discourse lattice: *„Mr. Obama, who has appeared to take command of the race in most battleground states“*, which shows interaction between two CONFLICT metaphors, one SPORT metaphor and a CONTAINMENT metaphor. Namely, the campaign is initially conceptualized through a combination of SPORT and CONFLICT metaphors, where the race which stands for the campaign is described through the use of war terminology: *„took command of the race“*. This is shown in Figure 7, where the discourse lattice first develops the RACE IS A BATTLE blend which then serves as the input space for an additional step in conceptual integration that yields the final blend.

> **Paragraph #6:** A **boisterous** campaign, which has **played out**   **through**   **dueling** rallies and an endless **stream** of television commercials, took a **sober**   **turn** as the candidates stood at facing lecterns for the first time. Mr. Obama, who **has appeared** to take **command** of the **race** **in** most **battleground** states, *seemed* to adopt an **air** of caution **throughout** the evening that left some of his liberal supporters disappointed in his **performance**.

Of particular interest in this specific example is the fact that the entire metaphorical expression that involves interaction of two conceptual metaphors is further modified by the presence of a modality marker *has appeared*. This element prompts the recruitment of an additional input space in the final stage – *the epistemic assessment space* (in the sense of Raden and Dirven, 2007) which itself represents a precomressed blend, i.e. a *borrowed compression* (in the sense of Fauconnier and Turner, 2008), available for recruitment. Although not metaphorical, this network crucially contributes to the process of meaning construction by introducing a *graded continuum* between the two extreme cases projected from the two *potentiality spaces* (adopted from Raden and Dirven, 2007), where a *point* from this continuum, selected based on the immediate discourse context *(has appeared)* is projected into the final blend and fused with *Obama, team captain* and *general* (see Figure 7 for details).

Metaphorical expression[4]	Conceptual metaphor(s)
boisterous campaign	CAMPAIGN IS A LIVING ENTITY
played out	CAMPAIGN IS A SHOW
through	DUELING RALLIES ARE A CONDUIT
dueling rallies	CAMPAIGN IS A BATTLE
stream of TV commercials	TV COMMERCIAL IS FLOW
took a **sober turn** as the	CAMPAIGN IS A JOURNEY + SERIOUS MOMENTS
candidates stood at	IN A CAMPAIGN ARE MOMENTS OF SOBRIETY
to take **command** of the **race**	RACE IS A BATTLE + CAMPAIGN IS A RACE
	STATES ARE BATTLEGROUNDS +
in most **battleground** states	STATES ARE CONTAINERS
an **air** of caution	DISPOSITION IS GAS
throughout the evening	TIME IS SPACE
in his **performance**	CAMPAIGN IS A SHOW

Table 5 – Cluster overview

The final blend also develops its novel emergent structure, and as it can be seen in Figure 7, it is analogous to the emergent structure developed in the RACE IS A BATTLE blend. Namely, both emergent structures are leading to the inference that assuming certain positions on the political map can harm the opponent. Such a relationship between the two emergent structures suggests that the two conceptualizations actually work in concert, thereby amplifying each other and making that section of the discourse lattice more cohesive.

If we take a closer look at the topologies and vital relations in the networks, it can be concluded that the most dominant vital relation is *Analogy*[5]. Namely, the *matching process* shows that elements from input spaces in metaphorical networks are linked by outer-space vital relations of *Analogy* which is then compressed into *Uniqueness* in the blend. The frame-level clash is normally resolved by projecting the organizing frame of the source input as the organizing frame of the blend. However, although a clear-cut definition in theory, in practice this need not be so simple.

Namely, while the blend □ in our example, RACE IS A BATTLE blend □ does adopt its organizing frame from the *battle* input, certain frame-level interaction between the organizing frames of the two inputs may still be present, making it difficult to draw a straight line between single- and double-scope networks in general. As a result, different readers may achieve different levels of integration owing to their different personal histories, and different space-building strategies. However, despite the differences, the key is that the network needs to negotiate a state of *equilibrium* in which it can serve as a conventionalized conduit of meaning at *human scale*. In other words, although different paths may be undertaken in the construction of the blend, the end product, i.e. the central emergent structure needs to be the same, or at least analogous for all readers in order for successful communication to be achieved.

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[4] Lexical units identified as having been used metaphorically are bolded and underlined.

[5] Bearing in mind that metaphor is essentially grounded in analogy and similarity, it could also be argued that the matching process is facilitated by the outer-space vital relations of *Similarity*. However, the present research will adopt the above described approach.

In this particular example, this is facilitated by the presence of an *entrenched*, i.e. highly conventionalized mapping between *war* and *sport* inputs. The presence of this conventional metaphor actually serves to pre-align the topologies of input spaces, which makes it easier for the network to resolve potential frame-level clashes. Owing to such organization, and bearing in mind that the great majority of metaphors used in the political discourse of daily newspapers are highly conventionalized, they can be dubbed good approximations of single-scope networks.

Apart from *Analogy*, another very important outer-space vital relation is *Disanalogy*, and it will be stipulated here that it is the compression of *Disanalogy* that is crucial for the development of emergent structures in single-scope networks (in line with Figar, 2013; 2014). Specifically, in the first network, it is the *Disanalogy* between the means for achieving the goals in the two inputs, i.e. the discrepancy between casualties and physical training that licenses the novel inference: *leading position in the race can harm opponents*.

In terms of the rhetorical effect, of vital importance are *backward projections* that work from the blend back to the target input. Essentially, these projections serve to amplify the influence of the emergent structure on the understanding of the concepts and issues present in the target.

Furthermore, backward projections can also serve to influence reasoning and behavior in real time, and, for example, stir affective and emotional involvement. In that sense, backward projections can also be understood as facilitators of *coupled elaboration*. As a result, backward projections and coupled elaboration can be forwarded as two potentially vital mechanisms that sanction the rhetorical function of metaphors. With metaphor clusters, backward projections need not be restrained to initial networks but can work wider across the discourse lattice, which can especially be strengthened in cases of networks with analogous emergent structures like the ones in Figure 7. Additionally, the emotional impact of metaphor clusters has also been addressed in previous research in terms of *affective discourse dynamics of metaphor clustering* (Cameron, 2007). Namely, Cameron (2007: 59) suggests that „where metaphors cluster together the affective impact is increased".

Figure 8 depicts the interaction between a BATTLE and CONTAINMENT metaphor. Namely, the U.S. states are first conceptualized in terms of *battleground*, and then further in terms of a *container*. As a result, the blend BATTLEGROUND STATES serves as the target input in the final step of conceptual integration. Additionally, the metaphor U.S. STATES ARE A BATTLEGROUND can be seen as an extension of a more generalized conceptualization ELECTION CAMPAIGN IS A BATTLE. Again, the emergent structures of the two blends can be understood as analogous (see Figure 8 for details), which makes this section of the discourse lattice more 'structurally sound'. Furthermore, such conditions facilitate backward projections and coupled elaboration in the network. In addition, the same conclusions pertaining to vital relations and network structure outlined above in relation to Figure 7 also apply here.
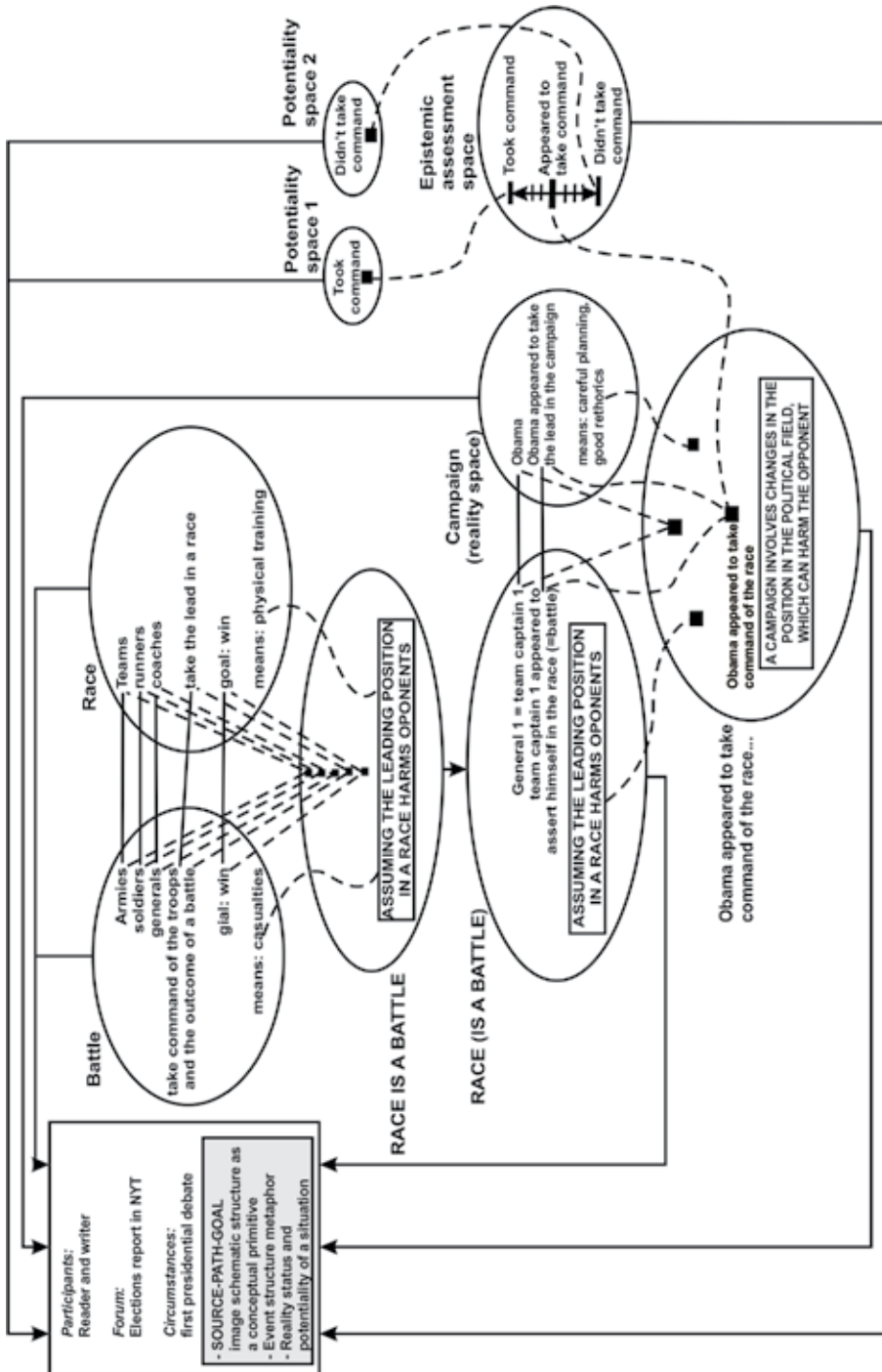
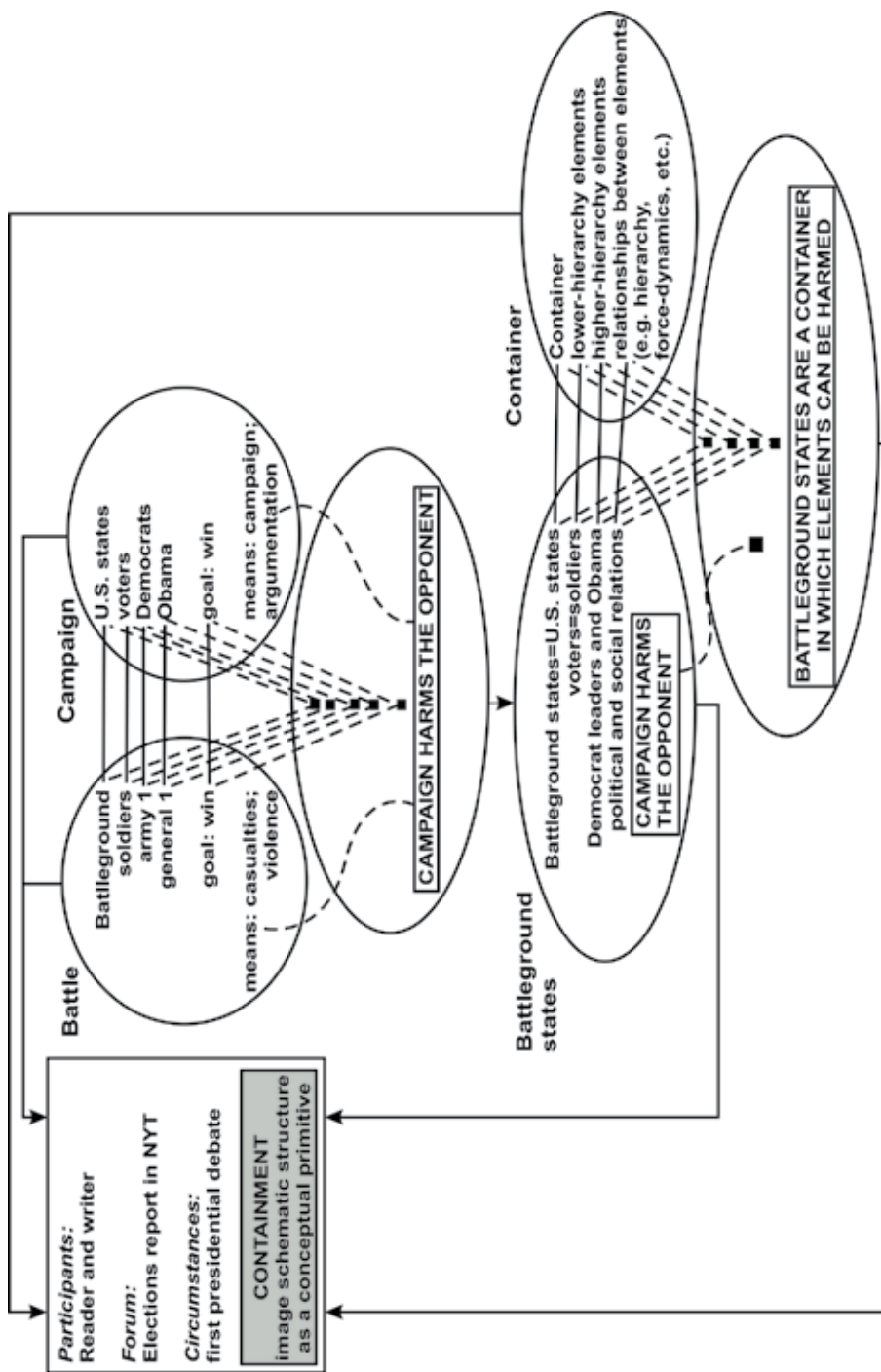**Figure 7** - Obama appeared to take command of the race

Figure 8 - ... in most battleground states ...

As mentioned above, backward projections need not be restrained to the initial network. Figure 9 shows possible backward projections that may work across this section of the discourse lattice, where the arrows with full lines represent backward projections restricted to the initial network, whereas the dotted lines represent possible backward projections between the two adjacent networks. In that sense, the rhetorical potential of backward projections reaches across the cluster, thereby licensing mutual interaction between individual metaphorical networks and allowing them to either work together, or compete. Furthermore, such mechanisms also increase the possibility for coupled elaboration that can allow actual real-time realizations of the rhetorical effect that a cluster or its sections may carry.

With the form of emergent structures in mind, it can be concluded that the analyzed section of the metaphor cluster is dominated by the two CONFLICT metaphors, while the SPORT and CONTAINMENT metaphor serve to further support and amplify them. Namely, the RACE metaphor works in concert with the BATTLE metaphor owing to the goals the two organizing frames have in common, and a marked competitive dimension of the RACE frame that is emphasized through combat terminology and further reflected in the form of emergent structure of the RACE IS A BATTLE network. In the section of the cluster shown in Figure 8 the CONTAINMENT metaphor also serves to further emphasize the restricted character of the venue, i.e. the U.S. states where the campaign is taking place, and where all participants, regardless of their status in the hierarchy, can be affected by the outcome of the election campaign. As a result, in addition to possible backward projections, *analogical alignment* of emergent structures in the networks constituting a cluster, which can be achieved through the introduction of similar or related conceptual keys, can also serve as a conduit of the rhetorical effect.

Finally, what remains to be discussed is the issue of *grounding*. Namely, as outlined is section 2, the present research utilizes the notion of a *combined grounding box* that incorporates both elements of the immediate discourse context, and more 'covert' cognitive constructs. In the presented analyses the latter include image schematic structures and the reality and potentiality status of a situation (see Figures 7 and 8 for details). Such structure of the grounding box is meant to incorporate some of the most salient contextual parameters that both condition and guide the process of meaning construction in the presented networks. However, despite the fact that it provides grounding, it needs to be understood that the grounding box is essentially an artifact of analysis, and it can be argued that it can incorporate a smaller or larger number of elements, depending on multiple factors, including the specific goals of the ongoing research.
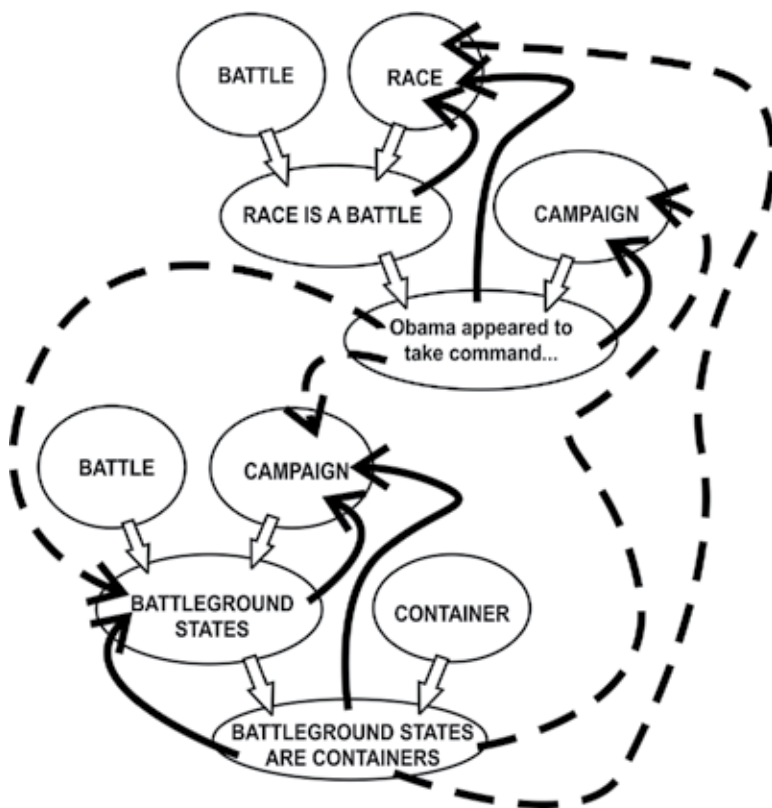
Figure 9 - Backward Projections

5. General Discussion

In order to provide answers to the three main research questions that the paper is concerned with, the present section will give a brief summary of the results that have been presented and discussed in subsections 4.4 and 4.5.

RQ1: *How are metaphor clusters in the sample distributed, and how are they structured?*

The selected sample has high metaphor density, with clusters distributed relatively evenly across the text. The only exception is the third quarter of the article where no clusters have been identified, and a similar trend was also recorded in the concluding section. The analysis of word positions in Tables 3 and 4 showed that most paragraph-level clusters were extensions of sentence-level clusters, while some paragraph-level clusters either coincided with sentence-level clusters, or represented combinations of sentence-level clusters (see subsection 4.4 for details). In terms of structure, the majority of clusters are highly heterogonous; however, such structure did not compromise the construction of cohesive cognitive scenarios.

RQ2: In which ways do individual integration networks interact when clustered together within the immediate discourse context?

The obtained results suggest that when clustered together metaphorical networks usually work in concert and support each other, thereby facilitating the process of meaning construction at human scale. Interaction between networks normally takes place via backward projections that need not be restrained to initial networks, but can also work on a larger scale. Such interaction can, for instance, increase the overall emotional and affective response of the readers, owing to the fact that backward projections can be understood as facilitators of coupled elaboration (see subsection 4.5 for details). Additionally, sections of a cluster can also serve to elaborate and stress the main inference offered by the central metaphor, or to juxtapose the positions of opposing parties (see subsection 4.4 for details).

RQ3: What are the possible rhetorical functions of metaphor clusters in the political discourse of daily newspapers, and which cognitive mechanisms enable them to perform those functions?

The present research suggests that one of the primary functions of metaphor clusters in political discourse of daily newspapers is the construction of political reality. This is achieved through *backward projections* that can work across a larger span of networks, *coupled elaboration*, and *analogical alignments of emergent structures* in the developed blends. As a result, networks can interact, amplify each other, increase the overall emotional and affective response, stress certain favorable evaluations, or emphasize the competitive and tactical nature of political campaigns. Additionally, bearing in mind that the discourse of daily newspapers is here treated as *mediated political discourse* (in the sense of del, 2010) it is also necessarily influenced by the 'original input' provided by politicians themselves. Consequently, the entire process of meaning construction is additionally conditioned by the immediate socio-cultural context and the recruited background knowledge structures that can, and will vary across individuals. As a result, not everyone will achieve the same level of integration, and, moreover, not everyone will be equally affected by the intended message. In other words, the power of „the rhetorical effect of the text […] depends in part on the readers' willingness to construct the blend" (Coulson and Oakley, 2006: 51).

6. Conclusions and Future Perspectives

The main roles and functions of individual metaphors in various spheres of political discourse that have been addressed in detail in previous research (e.g. Mio, 1997; Charteris-Black, 2004; Bednarek, 2006; Richardson, 2007; etc.) seem to apply to cases of metaphor clustering as well. Moreover, metaphor clusters offer fertile ground for network interaction that can in turn amplify the initial rhetorical potential of individual metaphors. Cognitive mechanisms that include backward projections,

coupled elaboration, and analogical alignment of emergent structures have been proposed as the main facilitators of these rhetorical functions.

While the discussion presented in subsection 4.5 outlines a plausible descriptive model for the process of meaning construction and interaction of networks within a cluster based on the tenets of the CBT paradigm, further experimental testing that would offer more definitive support not only to the present analysis, but to the paradigm as a whole is necessary. Namely, the structure and pattern of backward projections are expected to vary across different contexts, and across different individuals, depending on their personal histories, personal traits, etc. In order to pinpoint the actual patterns of activity that take place in the human brain, an interdisciplinary approach will be required.

In summary, metaphor clusters present a unique challenge for future research, not only in terms of formulating a completely objective methodology for cluster identification that can be successfully replicated, and exploring the role of clusters in the context of political discourse of daily newspapers, but also in the wider context of the process of meaning construction at human scale. As a result, further explorations in this area should yield a more complete understanding of the cognitive architecture that lends support to the highly diverse nature of the human mind.

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KLASTERI METAFORA U IZVEŠTAJIMA O PREDSEDNIČKIM IZBORIMA U AMERICI 2012. GODINE OBJAVLJENIM U DNEVNIM NOVINAMA *THE NEW YORK TIMES*

Rezime

Kroz kombinovanu kvantitativno-kvalitativnu analizu rad istražuje ulogu klastera metafora u političkom diskursu dnevnih novina. Procedura za identifikaciju metafora preuzeta je iz Pragglejaz (2007), dok je procedura za identifikaciju klastera preuzeta iz Koller (2003) i Cameron and Stelma (2004). Teorijski okvir rada većim delom je zasnovan na teoriji konceptualne integracije (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002; Coulson and Oakley, 2005), pri čemu je posebna pažnja posvećena tretmanu konceptualne metafore i načinima na koje individualne mreže međusobno interaguju kada se nađu u vidu klastera. Ovakav pristup ima za cilj da pruži detaljan uvid u strukturu i preslikavanja koja se odvijaju unutar klastera metaforičkih mreža konceptualne integracije.

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