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A Study of Metaphors in Editorials online from “The New York Times” in 2013

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Abstract

The study of Metaphors in the English language has revealed a vacuum regarding newspaper editorials. The present research study reviews the origins and concept of Metaphor as described by different philosophers and linguists, and explores the occurrence of Metaphors and metaphorical expressions in editorials online from The New York Times throughout the period July - December 2013. The definitions provided by Reddy (1979), Lakoff (1980), and Glucksberg & Mc Glone (1997) make up the Theoretical Framework for the study. Editorials dealing with the topics of Politics, Economy, and International Affairs were included in the research.

The results showed that, although metaphorical expressions are used in the three topics, the highest number of Metaphors is found in editorials dealing with Politics and political issues. The aim when using metaphorical expressions is to criticize and attack politicians and the government, particularly in the United States.

The results from this research will be a contribution both for Teachers of English and Teacher Trainees. The first will be able to count on an additional and reliable resource to teach vocabulary and metaphors which are not culled from literary texts. The latter will benefit from this study by having the possibility to learn metaphors in a new context – journalistic language – and also by being able to analyze and compare the results from this research to their own findings as they read the editorials online.

Key words: metaphor, cross-domain mapping, conceptual blending, reference, resemblance, word, proposition, context, discourse

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1. Introduction

Why do we find metaphors appealing? Why do we rejoice when we hear or read a felicitous metaphor? Is it, perhaps, that we somehow acknowledge a creative talent behind it that we do not possess? Do we feel gratified and rewarded that somebody else is able to produce a metaphorical expression to convey an accurate meaning or image? The ancient Greeks, for example Aristotle, were not the only thinkers to ponder about the meaning of events in human existence and communication. A linguistically oriented mind, at some point, will inevitably wonder about these phenomena. Hence the researcher's drive to study metaphors in general and, in particular, those from newspaper editorials.

Metaphor and man have always been together. When man created language he also created metaphor, it has existed since time immemorial. We can say that metaphors have stood the test of time. They have been used for centuries both in oral and written communication and continue to be a tool for communicating ideas, concepts, and feelings (Ricoeur, 2012).

Most of us tend to associate metaphor with a literary genre, typically poetry. The reason for this automatic connection is grounded on the fact that, early in life, we were introduced to metaphor through fables, myths, stories, and poems which used metaphors to convey figurative meaning and visual images. Thus, we became aware of the function this figure of speech performs in a literary piece. Later on, however, we found out that metaphors are ubiquitous both in written language in general and in everyday speech (Lakoff, 1980).

As readers of newspapers we find metaphors there too, throughout its different sections, and even on the editorial page. What are our expectations when reading a newspaper editorial? Is there a specific, particular kind of discourse or language we expect to find? We are familiar with the kind of topic dealt with in the editorial section of a newspaper, namely, politics, international affairs

and economy. Since the newspaper editorial, by definition, is not a literary genre, we would expect direct language given the constraint in space and the purpose of communicating events and the editor's opinion effectively. In a way, we are mentally prepared to read about facts along with an opinion about those facts and our expectation does not include metaphors and metaphorical expressions. Nevertheless, more often than not we find metaphors and metaphorical expressions used in editorials.

The purpose of a newspaper editorial is to provide a critical summary where facts are presented and reasons assessed (Bonyadi, 2013). Although they are not signed it is taken for granted that the editorial means the newspaper's opinion. Van Dijk, in his work entitled "Opinions and ideologies in editorials" (1996), points out that given the evaluative and biased view on affairs provided in a succinct and concise manner by editorials, there is an inverse proportionality between relevance/ informativeness on the one hand and economy of expression on the other. This forces the editorials to encapsulate meaning and semantic weight with language means whose organisation and implementation is expected to be to some extent distinct from an expository-type of text.

The study of metaphors in newspaper editorials is an important issue and it is worthy of analysis because, although metaphors have been studied and researched in depth for many years and by several different authors (Bednarek 2005, Carbonell 1983, Gibbs 2006, Glucksberg 1992, Krenmayr 2005, Lakoff 1980, Ortony 1993, Ricoeur 2012), their focus has been on literary pieces, expository writings, everyday communicative exchanges, and writings in general. From the literature reviewed, only Krennmayr (2005) and Bednarek (2005) studied metaphors in newspapers and Bonyadi and Samuel (2013) did research on headlines. Metaphors in Editorials make up a sub-field which was addressed in this study.

As a teacher of English I can learn new words and expressions used by the media in new or novel contexts. In turn, as teacher trainer, I will provide my

students with a fresh and updated corpus of metaphors which are being used by the most influential written media in the English speaking world. Teacher trainees will benefit from this study by having the possibility to access a new and broader scope of linguistic study: that of metaphors used in newspaper editorials, with the impact that can have. Teachers of English as a foreign language need to have a deep and broad lexical knowledge and this entails being up to date with the language used by native speakers in the media as well as in everyday conversations. Reading the press contributes to the command of the language being taught and, in turn, allows trainees to become better language teachers.

This analysis focused on the metaphors and metaphorically used expressions found in editorials from New York Times online in second semester 2013. The topics analyzed were the following: International Affairs, Politics, and Economy. Editors and editorial staff use metaphorical expressions along with literal, direct language to address their readers. This might be an indication that readers grasp conceptual meanings and ideas with metaphors as effectively as with direct language or sometimes even more so. Newly invented metaphors may be found in editorials. The media creates new words and expressions and, at the same time, prints metaphorical expressions which are being used by people in everyday speech.

Metaphors and metaphorical expressions may also arise from the contact with other languages. Some of them are added as new lexical items, become lexicalized and remain in the language. Others might fall into disuse and eventually disappear, as is the case of many slang expressions. As far as the researcher has investigated, the study of metaphors in the field of editorials is up to this day a research that has not been addressed and needs further attention and analysis. The researcher believes that the study of metaphors in editorials will contribute to the understanding of the scope of the metaphorical meaning from journalistic language in written mass media. This entails learning new metaphorical expressions that come into the language through different sources. These expressions can be regarded as “new” if the meaning

conveyed by the individual word or expression which is used metaphorically is not included in the latest, most updated edition of the most comprehensive dictionaries in the English language.

The choice for editorials over other sections from a paper is grounded on the fact that the editorial provides the reader with the editor's point of view regarding current issues. The editorial not only informs the reader on the topics chosen but also shows a line of thought regarding domestic and international affairs. There are very few studies on the structures, strategies and social functions of editorials, and most of them have been written by former journalists (Van Dijk 1996). Editorials have been studied and analyzed by authors such as Bonyadi (2013), Lagonikos (2005), Van Dijk (1996, 1995b), and Westin (2002). The fact that editorials are distinct text-types with evaluative meaning and a biased view on reality calls for a specific treatment. Consequently, the study and analysis of metaphors for this specific text-type is worth pursuing (Van Dijk 1996, 1995b).

Contributions from different authors have been taken into account to build the theoretical framework and allow the researcher to compare, contrast, and analyze metaphorical expressions in the context of newspaper editorials. This study comprises the following sections: Introduction, Literature Review, Hypothesis and Research Questions, the Study, Conclusions, and references.

The Introduction sets the purpose and scope of study. The Literature review includes the concept of metaphor as understood by Aristotle and researchers which have defined it since the nineteenth century. This chapter also covers the origin of metaphor, the roles of resemblance and reference in the construction of metaphorical meaning, and the classification of metaphors as defined by Lakoff (1980), Reddy (1979) and Glucksberg (1990). Finally, editorials are analysed as a specific type of text which serves a clear communicative purpose in mass media. After the literature review follows the study in which metaphors and metaphorical expressions are identified and analyzed. Following the study, we find the conclusions, the references, and

then the appendices.

2. The Literature Review

2.1 The Concept of Metaphor

History and the past determine the present and shape the future. In that light, Johnson (2008) claims that Philosophy's debt to metaphor is profound and immeasurable because, he says, without metaphor, there would be no philosophy and hardly any significant human intellectual activity or discipline. Philosophers have to use the same conceptual resources that any other human Being has and, he believes, the potential for any philosophy at all to make sense of a person's existence depends directly and entirely on the fact that we are all metaphoric animals, or creatures. He says that since time immemorial – not just in our days – philosophers have been reluctant to accept this idea. In fact, throughout most of philosophical history, the idea that metaphor lies at the heart of human conceptualization and reasoning has been rejected. It would be possible to make a sharp distinction between two kinds of philosophy - objectivist/literalist philosophies which regard metaphor as a dispensable linguistic artifact or device and those that see philosophies as creative outcomes of basic conceptual metaphors.

We can say that throughout the history of western philosophy man has witnessed the lengthy development of the objectivist dismissal of metaphor, and rarely contrasted by strong claims that metaphor is pervasive in thought. The most famous proponent and advocate for this idea is Nietzsche.

Where exactly a philosopher stands on this very key issue can be determined by his answer to one important question: does metaphor define our abstract concepts, or not? Once the question is thought and structured this way, it is easy to see the profound philosophical interests at stake. If the most fundamental abstract concepts – that is, causation, events, will, thought,

reason, knowledge, mind, justice, and rights – are metaphoric by nature, then philosophy should encompass the analysis, criticism, and elaboration of the metaphorical concepts out of which philosophies are made. If, on the contrary, we regard our most important philosophical concepts as being, ultimately, literal, then we will consider metaphor as being cognitively insignificant, and we will displace it to a marginal place in the realm of philosophy, typically the field of aesthetics, which has been unfairly negatively biased. He proceeds to say that if someone believes that there is really nothing very significant at stake here, he should consider the following fact. There are several perennial philosophical questions that arise over and over again throughout history every time people ponder on the nature of human experience. These questions are, for example, What is the mind, and how does it work? What does it really mean to be a man or woman? Does human will really exist, and is it free? What is the nature of reality? What is reality and how “real” is it? What am I able to know and learn, and how can I obtain that knowledge? What objects or mental states are “good” and should therefore be pursued? Are certain behaviors morally required of us? Does God exist (and what difference would it make)? Does human existence have any meaning at all? or is life meaningless?

It is fair to say that even now in the 21st century we are asking the same questions. So, neither Johnson nor ancient philosophers have been alone in this spiritual quest for meaning. For this author, both the structuring of these questions and the way we answer them depend on metaphor. It is impossible for him to address any of these questions without engaging metaphor. As a result, a proper philosophy should include an extensive inquiry into the workings of metaphor and how it shapes our most fundamental philosophical ideas. He firmly believes that we use metaphors to define all of our abstract concepts and thus all of our philosophical concepts.

2.2 Two Approaches to understand Metaphor

Metaphor in written text can be approached from the semantics of discourse and/or from the semantics of the word. Hamlin (2012) develops the notion of the semantics of discourse regarding “the *statement* as the sole contextual milieu within which the transposition of meaning takes place”. In other words, metaphor conveys all its meaning, manifests and comes to life in the statement, not in a word in isolation. He examines the role of the statement as a vehicle that carries full meaning and, in that context, he speaks of the *metaphorical statement*. However, this author acknowledges the fact that the word remains the locus of metaphor, following Aristotle’s definition, but focuses on the metaphorical process itself. For him, the sentence makes up the “frame” while the word is the “focus” in metaphorical discourse. He proceeds further by citing Benveniste (1967) when he refers to the syntagmatic relations of metaphor within the sentence. Syntagma is understood as the specific formation in which the meaning of the sentence is achieved. “It is a consequence of their being set together, that words take on qualities they did not possess in themselves, which even contradict those they possess otherwise” (La forme 38).

Hamlin also reminds us that, contrary to Aristotle, the use and functioning of metaphor can be witnessed in everyday usage, and agrees with Shelley that language is vitally metaphorical. Other authors who also assign more importance to the statement than to the word are Black (1962), Genette (2012), and Eliade (2012).

Black (1962) aims at building a “logical grammar” of metaphor, which he understands as being a set of answers for the old and typically asked questions when trying to identify metaphor or metaphorical expression within a sentence. These questions are, for example: How can we identify a metaphor with absolute certainty or accuracy? What features in a sentence determine that we are in front of a metaphor? Are there established criteria for the identification of metaphor? Should metaphor be regarded as an ornamental element that has

been added to the original meaning? What is the exact relationship between metaphor and simile? What did the writer or speaker using metaphor attempt to convey that he did not do by means of literal, direct language? This author says that metaphor is a statement in which some words are used metaphorically while others are not, this is the way a metaphorical statement is formed.

Following Hamlin, the explanation of metaphor depends on rhetoric and logical grammar. Also, Frege (1952) is mentioned regarding the idea that when we understand the sense, we proceed to the reference. It is the reference which empowers metaphor to project and reveal a world. There are two principles that rule the construction of meaning, Hamlin says. These entail a transposition from what he calls the microcosm to the macrocosm, that is, from the metaphor to the poem. First, there is the principle of *selection*, which accounts for the process of restricting the range of connotations as we read a poetic statement until we are left with the meaning or meanings which make sense in the overall context of the poem. The second is a principle of *plenitude*, which means that all the connotations that make sense in the context of the poem are possible and acceptable meanings for the metaphor.

Black (1962) asks himself whether newly invented metaphors are not those metaphors that precisely add to the existing meaning and connotations other meanings and connotations. He also claims that there are, or might be, potential connotations waiting in the nature of things and language to be discovered and used in a future context. In other words, the range of connotations and “metaphors to be” can be virtually endless, according to this idea. In turn, Beardsley (1967) says that saying that a new metaphor arises from an unspecific source, or from nowhere, means acknowledging that it is a new linguistic creation which comes into life at the moment it is used, that is, it makes up a semantic innovation. This idea is similar to that expressed by Ryle (1963).

Hamlin (2012) says that metaphorical attribution is basically the building

of a network of interactions which bring about a context that turns out to be real and unique. Following this idea, metaphor would be a semantic event which occurs at the specific point where a number of semantic fields meet and cross. He asserts that only living metaphors are at the same time meaning and event. For him, a dead metaphor is one in which the shift of meaning increases polysemy.

Regarding the semantics of the word, Benveniste (1967) understands the foundation of language as based on two kinds of units: sentences – pertaining to discourse – and signs, which make up the units of the language. He agrees with the basic hypothesis of classical rhetoric which claims that metaphor is a figure of one word only.

Konrad (1959) noted, from his logico-linguistic approach, that more than any other noun, the metaphorized noun resembles the name of an attribute. The metaphorical word names the new object completely, with its whole structure, in the same way that it previously named the object alone when it first became extended. So, metaphor performs the function of classification. Here, we inevitably link his idea with the description provided by Glucksberg (1997) in the AC View. Resemblance plays an important role here, in that the common attribute, which arises from the abstraction, makes up the basis for the similarity between the transposed meaning and the proper meaning.

Ulmann (1965) states that, regarding metaphor, the blossoming of new meaning is sudden, without intermediate gradation, while its spreading in a social context is slow. Also, he believes that what allows for changes in meaning is the fact that the lexical system gives meaning a vague nature and broad scope with unclear boundaries which give room for a cumulative trait in the meaning of words. So, for him it would not be enough for words to have the ability to convey different meanings at a specific time in a communicative event, but it is also necessary for them to have the capability of acquiring new meanings in several contexts without losing the first, basic, original meaning. The context is the key element which allows for possible deviations and the use

of unusual or accepted meanings. The author regards this cumulative capability as essential for the understanding of metaphor. Along with Richards (1971), Ulmann says that metaphor is ultimately an abridged simile which summarizes and encapsulates analogies in an image which has the air and flavor of identification. At the same time, he agrees on the idea that the bigger the gap between tenor and vehicle and the more unexpected their combination, the more striking and surprising the result of the metaphor. This idea is in keeping with Eliade's (2012) concept of contradictory demands for a metaphor and Gibbs' (2008) "paradox of metaphor".

Benveniste (1967) sees an extension of meaning of the word which leads us to connect the semantics of the sentence and the semantics of the word, between the interaction theory and the substitution theory of metaphor. He comes to the conclusion that, granting this extension functions in the language, the proper place of metaphor in the theory of discourse would be located somewhere *between* the sentence and the word, that is, *between* predication and naming.

There are three clues which connect the semantics of the sentence and that of the word. The first is established by the non-systematic aspects of the lexical system. This means that, although the total number of phonemes and grammatical categories are limited, the number of existing lexical units is an amount which is impossible for any person to memorize and, besides, nobody needs to understand all the words in a language in order to be linguistically functional. In addition, if one takes into account the fact that the almost unlimited nature of the language allows speakers to add new words to it without changing its foundations, one would have to regard the structure of vocabulary as "a loose aggregate of an infinitely larger number of units" than the other systems. In other words, a language can grow and increase its lexical basis *ad infinitum* without altering its fundamental structure. The second clue is given by the actual contextual characteristics of the word. For example, as often happens in English and Indo European languages, a word belongs to different lexical categories (noun, verb, etc), it is grammatically determined. Still, a word

acquires meaning according to its use in the language.

Ryle (1963) says that if someone understands the meaning of a word, he knows how to use it in a wide range of sentences conveying different messages. This reminds us of Beardsley (1967) and the concept of semantic innovation.

Yet, understanding a sentence does not entail the same principle as that applied to the word since a sentence does not have a specific role or function to perform; rather, it depends on the speaker using it for a specific purpose. Here we are talking about the communicative context, as mentioned by different authors in this study. The third clue which connects the two semantics is the fact that the dependence of word-meaning on the meaning of the whole sentence becomes even more obvious when we focus on its actual, effective functioning in discourse. As Benveniste (1967) points out, the sentence conveys the meaning of an idea whereas the word acquires its meaning in a pragmatic fashion.

Wittgenstein (1968) says that what makes up the referent of a sentence is a “state of affairs”, while a word has an “object” as referent. This idea of “state of affairs” is understood as “context” by Ulmann (1965), Gibbs (2008), Dufrenne (2012), and Jakobson (1971). Benveniste also claims that there is a false symmetry between metaphor and metonymy that prevails in the “restrictive rhetoric” based on the idea of semantic and psychological association. Metonymy is defined as “the substitution of the name of an attribute of a thing for the name of the thing itself”. Examples of metonymy are: *crown* for *king*, *city* for *inhabitants*. The theory of metonymy does not take into account an exchange between discourse and the word. This is why the role of metaphor in discourse is more significant than that of metonymy. Metaphor includes more complex variables than just the differences between two kinds of associations. Metaphor prevails over metonymy because metaphorical equivalences produce predicative operations that metonymy does not include.

Gibbs (2008) claims that metaphors seen and heard in everyday discourse arise from the interaction of different human elements like brains,

bodies, languages, and culture, as some interdisciplinary studies have witnessed. Likewise, other domains of experience, such as gesture, art, and music have contributed to the research and study of metaphors in people's speech both orally and in writing.

Scholars who have studied and researched metaphor in the past few decades have shown to what extent the analysis of metaphorical language in context, for example, reveals the simultaneous presence of neural, psychological, linguistic, and cultural influences. Because of this complexity of forces working together in the construction of metaphor it is often difficult to come to simple, definite conclusions about metaphor, its roots, and the way people use it in everyday linguistic exchanges.

Gibbs (2008) refers to the "paradox of metaphor" which, to him, means that metaphor is able to be creative, novel, culturally sensitive, and allow people to transcend the mundane while at the same time be rooted in pervasive patterns of bodily experience which all ordinary people share. He also mentions that just linking metaphor to the body, or entrenched conceptual thought, as in the idea of "conceptual metaphor," is for some authors an idea which is too reductive and which dismisses the power of metaphoric language to give our imagination new impulse and shape. Nevertheless, he points out, creative, poetic metaphors are extensions of enduring schemes of metaphorical thought and not necessarily completely new creations. For him, it is a real challenge to understand how metaphor is at the same time fundamental to several aspects of thought and yet specially suited for literary works and creative language. Gibbs believes that the state of the art in metaphor studies is an abundant array of colorful and rich ideas, and he does not venture to predict the future of metaphor studies because he considers that a risky endeavor given the enormous diversity of research being done by different scholars. However, he mentions three topics which he believes are likely to become issues of greater interest as topics of discussion and debate in the near future. He also suggests their implications for metaphor research.

One issue that is often discussed in informal discussions of metaphor studies relates to the degree of reliability and generality of the approach – or tool –used by different scholars to undertake the study and analysis of metaphor. First, he, along with other experts, wonders for example, on how representative particular isolated examples of verbal metaphor are of the ways ordinary people talk of the concept or topic. Secondly, he also leaves an open question regarding the degree of reliability of analyses of individual linguistic metaphors in terms of whether they are really and completely metaphoric and not metonymic, for example. Thirdly, he raises the question on how exactly an analyst of metaphor came to the conclusion that a specific pattern of metaphorical thought exists as a result of the examination of several or many instances of individual verbal metaphors. For him, a relevant and important role here has to be played by scholars' intuitions when they are to make claims about the nature of metaphor, what its meaning is, and how they can be possibly interpreted or understood. Yet, he notes, some metaphor scholars show concern in relation to the variability of analysts' intuitions in making judgments about linguistic and even nonlinguistic matters, such as gesture, music, and art. This author is confident that many metaphor scholars have undertaken the endeavor to establish more objective criteria for identifying and determining instances of metaphor and for making connections between patterns of metaphoric language use and metaphorical thought. He believes that a major focus of concern in future metaphor studies is the establishment of reliable, and replicable, criteria for identifying metaphor in people's behavior and also for finding relationships between metaphorical language/behavior and metaphorical thought.

2.3 The Origin of Metaphor

Resemblance is a key element in the concept of metaphor. According to Aristotle, "to metaphorize well implies an intuitive perception of the similarity in dissimilars" (*Poetics* 1459 a 3-8; also *Rhetoric* 1412 a 10). Following this idea,

resemblance is semantically located somewhere in the middle between identity and difference of this predicative innovation unleashed by semantic innovation (Ricoeur, 2012).

In his book entitled *Models and Metaphors*, Black (1962) understands metaphor as the rhetorical process whereby discourse unleashes the potential that written texts have to redescribe reality and present it in a different, new, novel light. Ricoeur (2012) comes to the conclusion that the locus, the proper place of metaphor is the copula which means both “be” and “be like”. So, according to this author, metaphor and simile would convey the same meaning with a slight difference in terms of degree. That is, a simile is a developed metaphor. What metaphor and simile have in common is the assimilation which makes up the foundation for the transfer of names, it entails acquiring an identity within the difference between two ideas or concepts.

Metaphor originated from Rhetoric, as conceptualized by Aristotle. The Aristotelian definition of Rhetoric is “the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion” (1355 b 25, 1356 a 19-20). Rhetoric remains as the art of “saying things well”. In book 3 of the *Rhetoric*, Aristotle mentions the virtues of lexis, and, among them those which pertain to metaphor, specifically: clarity, warmth, facility, appropriateness, and urbanity or elegance. It is particularly in the context of appropriateness – elegance and liveliness of expression – that Aristotle first talks about the *instructive* value of metaphor. For him, the primary function of metaphor is to instruct by combining words that have not been put together before. So, the aim is to instruct or teach by surprising the hearer – or audience – and calling his attention, securing thus the understanding and retention of the message conveyed by the speaker. Again, function fulfills a persuasive aim. He also says that Metaphor “sets the scene before our eyes, making it visible”, as a proper function of a figure of speech. Metaphor makes us see things because “it represents things as in a state of activity” (1411 b 24-5).

In poetry, the referential function of metaphor is made up by the double tension that characterizes the imitation of our actions: a submission to reality and extraordinary invention, that is, faithful representation and ennobling elevation. As to the ontological function of metaphorical discourse, Aristotle believed it is to present men “*as acting*” and all things “*as in action*”, where every potentiality of existence seems to be blossoming forth, and every latent capacity actualized. What conveys the idea of being *alive* is a *lively* expression.

Décarie (2012) reminds us that Rhetoric, as a discipline, died towards the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was no longer a part of the collegial *cursus studiorum*. The old Sicilian definition of Rhetoric is “the master of persuasion” and according to this author, this definition has to be borne in mind when studying and analyzing metaphor. For Aristotle, metaphor pertains and belongs both to the domain of poetry and rhetoric, performing thus a poetic and rhetorical function, and this concept has remained for several centuries. Regarding rhetoric, Aristotle provides the following definition: “the art of inventing or finding proofs”. Hence, its persuasive nature and aim.

Décarie (2012) provides four characteristics that define metaphor. The first is that “metaphor is something that happens to the noun”. The second is that “metaphor is defined in terms of movement”. The third is the fact that “metaphor is the transposition of a name”. Aristotle calls this “alien” (*allogrios*), which is different from the name used by all speakers, the “current” name (*kurion*). The fourth trait to define a metaphor is that the production of meaning (*epiphora* according to Aristotle) counterbalances the classificatory tendency that predominates in the later taxonomies, “a typology of metaphors is outlined in the continuation of the definition”. The transfer goes from genus to species and from species to species.

Genus means “a class, kind, or group marked by common characteristics or by one common characteristic”. In turn, species means “a particular group of things or people that belong together or have some shared quality”. In other

words, the first, original meaning is preserved while at the same time creating new shades or nuances of meaning. The author also mentions that the concept of transposition and the embryonic classification make up the meaning for the genus “metaphor”. He suggests three interpretative hypotheses. The first is that in all metaphors we should consider not only *the* individual word or *the* name in isolation whose meaning has been displaced, but rather, the pair of words or expressions where the transposition takes place - from genus to species, from species to genus, from species to species – in a proportional relationship, since two ideas are required to make a metaphor. The second hypothesis points to the idea of categorical transgression, which is understood as a deviation or alteration regarding a pre-existing logical order; in other words, breaking a classification scheme. The outcome of this deviation is not the destruction of the old, original meaning but the creation of a new one, thus redescribing reality. The third hypothesis arises from the second in that it suggests the idea that the process of displacement or transgression of a conceptual hierarchy is the same process from which all classification originates. So, actually, this disruption of an established order does not produce a new order but simply creates rifts in an old order.

Genette (2012) refers to metaphor in the context of the decline of rhetoric and the focus on semantics. He develops the concept of trope – a figure of speech used to create an artistic effect – and a rhetorical model of tropology. According to this author, the proper way to treat metaphor from a semantic point of view starts from the acknowledgement of the sentence as the primary unit of meaning. He mentions that tropology – the theory of tropes – reduced metaphor to resemblance and metonymy to contiguity. We are reminded that Aristotle treats metaphor as genus, not as species, and for him the true trope consists of *one* word only. Further on, Genette cites Fontanier (1968) when he says that the three species of tropes – metonymies, synecdoches, and metaphors – occur through the relationships of correspondence, connection, and resemblance. Synecdoche is defined as “a figure of speech in which a

part of an object or idea stands for the whole; or the whole stands for a part". An example of synecdoche is "Give us this day our daily *bread*".

Correspondence and connection point to two different types of relationships: exclusion and inclusion. In the relationship of connection, however, objects are understood as belonging to the same whole if the concept of one is contained in the concept of another. A difference between metaphor and the other tropes – metonymies and synecdoches – is that metaphor can allude to words of several lexical categories while the other two can only refer to nouns. The adjective, the participle, the verb, and the adverb are suitable for metaphorical usage since they take two words or expressions within a sentence where one is taken as non-metaphorical support for another which is a metaphorical expression. The author also says that connection and correspondence are basically relationships between objects, whereas resemblance is mainly a relationship between ideas, between generally held beliefs. Later on, he says that "there are more tropes used in the marketplace in a single day than in the entire *Aeneid*, or in several consecutive sessions of the Academy". He is referring here to standardized tropes, which can be placed halfway between the tropes of invention and catachresis – the forced extension of the meaning of words.

2.4 The Role of Resemblance

Dufrenne (2012) examines the work of resemblance in the explanation of metaphor. He says that in the tropology of classical rhetoric, the place assigned to metaphor among the figures of speech is specifically determined by the role that the relationship of resemblance has in the transfer from initial idea to new idea. Metaphor, he claims, is the trope of resemblance *par excellence*. Resemblance functions first between the ideas named by words. Resemblance is the foundation of the substitution that is set in motion in the metaphorical transposition of names and, more generally, of words. The agreement between metaphor and resemblance is reinforced by an initial argument. The relation that Aristotle saw between metaphor and simile was

eventually reversed; simile is no longer a kind of metaphor, but metaphor a kind of simile, namely an abbreviated simile.

Other authors who acknowledge the determinant role of resemblance are Genette (2012), Black (1962) and Jakobson (1971). Only with contemporary neo-rhetoricians is tropology restricted to the opposition of metaphor and metonymy. At the same time, the role of resemblance is confirmed and amplified by a simplifying operation that makes it the sole counterpart of a single opposite, specifically, contiguity. Metaphor and metonymy do not just define figures of speech and tropes; they define general processes of language. Metonymy rests on the principle of contiguity (words being next to each other and influencing each other's meaning) and metaphor on that of resemblance, that is, being similar or alike. Metaphor will characterize a general semiotic process and by no means a form of attribution whose first condition is the distinction between discourse and sign.

Jakobson (1971) points out that the meaning of a sign is ultimately the sign it can be translated into, because in all these instances what we do is to substitute signs. The basic problem of the difference between newly invented metaphor and metaphor in common use disappears with the omission of the predicative character of metaphor, to the same extent that the degrees of freedom in combination affect the syntagmatic and not the paradigmatic side of language.

Catachresis is ultimately an extension of naming and, by virtue of that, a phenomenon of language. Metaphor and, above all, newly invented metaphor, is a phenomenon of discourse, an unusual attribution. It is a linguistic creation of meaning. Dufrenne (2012) believes that we have to seek the secret of metaphor in the region of unusual syntagmatic relations, of new and purely contextual combinations. If metonymy is regarded as a deviation, in the same way as other tropes, this deviation is nothing else but an ellipsis in the very relation of reference.

There would not be any metaphor if there was no deviation between the figurative meaning of a word and the semantic homogeneity of a statement or part of it: “Metaphor, on condition that it be a living and image-triggering metaphor, strikes one immediately as being foreign to the isotopy of the context in which it is inserted” Greimas (1966). Metaphor is not an abbreviated simile, as a formal analysis of surface structures may lead us to believe. Simile is related to metaphor rather than to quantitative comparison, since both disrupt the semantic homogeneity of the context. However, simile and metaphor do not restore that homogeneity in the same way. There is no transfer of meaning in the case of comparison as simile. In the case of metaphor, perception of incompatibility is essential to the interpretation of the message. The incompatibility is expressed in metaphor *in praesentia* (for example, Paul is an ass), and it is implicit in metaphor *in absentia* (what an ass!); but, even when it is implicit, it is still a concept which can have figurative interpretation.

Henle (1958) reformulates Aristotle’s definition in a way that even though it does not make up a predicative theory of metaphor, it nevertheless shows all the features that by force cause it to be detached from naming and attached to predication. The difference between trivial, ordinary metaphor and metaphor in poetry is not the fact that one can be paraphrased and the other not, but rather the potential for never ending paraphrase of the latter. It is endless exactly because it can always spring back to life. If metaphor creates thought throughout a long discourse, is it not because it is itself a short, brief discourse? Metaphor has the capability of enlarging vocabulary, whether by providing a guide for naming new objects or by offering specific equivalents for abstract terms. If metaphor adds nothing to the description of the word, at least it does in terms of the ways in which we perceive concepts and ideas, and this is the poetic function of metaphor.

It is important to distinguish metaphor from simile and allegory. A simile is “an imaginative comparison for purposes of explanation, allusion, or ornament, introduced by a word such as *like*, *as* or *such*. For example, “My heart is like a singing bird”. Allegory is defined as “a figure of speech in which

abstract ideas and principles are described in terms of characters, figures and events". For example, "Faerie Queen", a masterpiece by Edmund Spenser, is a moral and religious allegory where the good characters of the book stand for the various virtues, while the bad characters represent vices. In the first, no word is taken in a figurative sense and the parallelism operates between two sequences of literal terms; in the latter, however, all the terms are taken figuratively, giving rise accordingly to two parallel interpretations, each equally coherent.

Jackobson (1971) asserts that every substitution of one word for another occurs within the scope of resemblance. On the other hand, interaction is functional to any kind of relation. The tenor-vehicle relationship still points to resemblance between "that which is actually thought or said" and "that to which it is compared"; but the broader, more general idea of "transaction between contexts" does need this reference.

In spite of the fact that analogy is the relation metaphorical statement puts into play, it explains nothing, since it is rather the result of the statement than its cause or reason. All of a sudden a resemblance becomes visible between two objects that one had never thought of juxtaposing and comparing before. It can be argued that resemblance and analogy might be misleading words, which could eventually make the analysis confusing. When Aristotle uses them, that seems to confirm the criticism of the logical weakness of resemblance. The one rigorous use of the word refers to what Aristotle over and over calls analogy, which is a relationship of proportionality. Since the *Poetics* ignores it, and the *Rhetoric* subordinates it to metaphor, simile is not the foundation of metaphor.

Without showing a clear reference or allusion to the logic of proportion and comparison, Aristotle states at the end of the *Poetics*: "But the greatest thing by far is to be a master of metaphor, it is the one thing that cannot be learnt from others; it is also a sign of genius". For him, being able to write good, rich metaphors was a skill of the highest order.

What is directly connected with resemblance is the idea of “image”, because to resemble is, in a sense, to be the image of something or somebody. A portrait or photograph is “the image of” or “resembles” the original person or thing. Resemblance, therefore, is precisely the property of that which depicts, of the portrait broadly speaking. Again, this argument was supported by Aristotle himself when he points out that a vivid metaphor is one which places something in front of our eyes. The metaphoricity of metaphor is made up by the power resemblance has of encompassing proportion, comparison or simile, similarity and iconicity. Metaphor is of transfer with Aristotle, of vehicle with Richards (1971), of screen, filter and lens with Black (1962).

The metaphor is what forms a meaningful self-contradictory statement from a self-destructive self-contradictory statement. In other words, an original statement must be decomposed –destroyed, as it were- in order to build a new statement which carries a different yet similar meaning. It is in this mutation of meaning where resemblance plays an important role. In order to serve a purpose in metaphor, resemblance should be a trait of the attribution of predicates and not of the substitution of names. What makes up the new relevance is the kind of semantic “closeness” established between the words despite their “distance” apart within the statement. Things that until then were “far apart” suddenly appear as “closely related.” Metaphor reveals the logical structure of “the similar” because, in the metaphorical statement, “the similar” is perceived despite difference, in spite of contradiction. Resemblance, therefore, is the logical category which pertains to the predicative operation in which “approximation” (bringing close) clashed with “being distant.” In other words, “same” and “different” are not just mixed together, they also remain opposed. Through this specific trait, enigma lives on in the heart of metaphor. In metaphor, “the same” operates *in spite of* “the different.” It is important for us, Dufrenne (2012) notes, to ask ourselves in what sense transfer from genus to species, from species to genus, and from species to species are all different sorts of *epiphora*, which reflect the same controversial unity of the similar.

Following Aristotle, metaphor says “this is that” directly. This application of a predicate despite the incompatibility involved makes up the instruction that metaphor gives. Simile is something else; it is a paraphrase, which takes away the power of the unusual attribution. Would it not be possible to say that the strategy of language at work in metaphor consists of the destruction of the logical and established boundaries of language, with the purpose of highlighting new resemblances the previous classification prevented us from seeing? To put it differently, the power of metaphor would be to break an old categorization, in order to establish new logical borders on the remains of their forerunners.

Metaphor allows us to block the formation of the genus at the initial stage because, in the metaphorical process, the movement towards the genus, which is identified by the resistance of difference, is captured somehow by the rhetorical figure. In this way, metaphor shows the process at work in the creation of semantic fields, which merges with the genesis of concepts through similarity. Before the rule of a logical class dominates individual members of a family, resemblance brings them together. As figure of speech, Metaphor presents in an *open* manner, through a conflict *between* identity and difference, the process that *covertly* generates semantic networks by blending differences *into* identity.

Esnault (1925) claims that synecdoche is actually an alteration of extension, and metaphor and metonymy a variation in comprehension. The difference between them is that metonymy follows the order of things and works analytically, whereas metaphor functions at the level of comprehension in a synthetic and intuitive way, through a reaction that starts and finishes with imagination. This is why the imaginative equivalence established by metaphor has a stronger impact on the real than does metonymy, which respects the connections inherent to the facts.

According to Hester (1967), we must consider the possibility that metaphor is not constrained to suspending natural reality, but when allowing

new meaning arising from the imagination it also opens the possibility of a dimension of reality which is not in keeping with what everyday language regards as natural reality. He claims that here we are within the boundaries of the following theme: the fusion of sense and *sensa*, or the iconic opening of sense and imagery. Iconicity involves meaning controlling imagery. In other words, this is imagery involved in language itself as part of the linguistic game itself. The notion of “seeing as” is Hester’s positive contribution to the iconic theory of metaphor. The “seeing as” is the positive link between vehicle and tenor, and also the intuitive relationship that allows sense and image to hold together.

In *Troilus and Cressida*, Shakespeare uses the metaphor “time is a beggar”. To depict time as having the traits of a beggar is to view time as such. This is what people do when they read the metaphor, and to read is to establish a relationship such that X is like Y in some aspects, but not in all of them. Once it is re-interpreted on the basis of “seeing as”, the theory of fusion is completely compatible with interaction and tension theory. Seeing X as Y encompasses X is *not* Y, seeing time as a beggar is, precisely, knowing also that time is *not* a beggar. Fusion of sense and the imaginary, which is characteristic of iconized meaning, is the necessary counterpart of a theory of interaction. The secret of *epiphora*, then, seems actually to lie in the iconic nature of intuitive process. Metaphorical meaning as such feeds on the semantic weight carried by the words and released by the poem.

2.5 The Role of Reference

Reference plays a fundamental role in the construction of metaphor and the creation of meaning. Different authors have described this process and phenomenon in a number of ways, analyzing their implications and scope.

Eliade (2012) studies reference in relation to metaphor. He points out that in order to answer the question on what the metaphorical statement has to

say about reality, we have to cross the threshold from the *sense* towards the *reference* in discourse – similar to Frege's idea. He mentions that the issue of reference can be approached either from the level of semantics and that of hermeneutics. At the level of semantics, reference refers to items which pertain to the sentence. At the level of hermeneutics, it deals with entities which are larger than the sentence, and it is at this level that the problem reaches its full complexity.

When studying reference, it is important to take into account the distinction between semantics and semiotics. Three points have to be mentioned here, he argues. First, predication is essentially synthetic, and it is opposed to the simple interaction of different features between and among the sounds and the words within a natural language. Secondly, that which discourse aims at, the message conveyed by the whole sentence, inevitably ends up being the signified (according to semiotics) of a language. The third important element regarding the distinction between semantics and semiotics is that when we take the predicative act as a basis, what discourse aims at is extra-linguistic reality, that is, its referent. While the sign always refers back to other signs within the linguistic system and establishes differences among signs, discourse deals with things and refers to the world.

Difference pertains to the realm of semiotics and reference to semantics. "One is never concerned in semiotics with the relation between the sign and the things denoted, nor with relationships between language and the world" (Benveniste, 1967). Semiotics, clearly, depends on semantics. We can also say that the first is an abstraction of the second and, as stated before by different authors, the sign acquires meaning inasmuch as it is used in discourse. We would not be able to tell what a sign *stands for* if its use in discourse was not in keeping with the scope that links it to the very object for which it stands. Semiotics, then, connects the inner structure of the sign to the far-reaching aims of reference.

This difference between sense and reference, which Benveniste established clearly and thoroughly, had already been introduced by Frege (1952), but within the boundaries of a logical theory. The working hypothesis here is that the Fregean distinction applies, basically, to all of discourse. The distinction that Frege established between *Sinn* (sense) and *Bedeutung* (reference or denotation) means that the sense refers to what the proposition states, and the reference or denotation is the thing about which the sense is stated. Following Frege, we should internalize the current, constant association between a sign, its sense, and its reference. This "regular connection" is so strong that a definite sense is attached to the sign and, in turn, a definite reference corresponds to that, whereas more than one sign can belong to an individual reference (an object). He mentions the famous example of the "evening star" and "morning star" with the same reference but, evidently, a different sense. This lack of correspondence between sense and reference is a common trait among natural languages which sets them apart from systems of perfect signs or artificial languages, like those developed by computers. This non-correspondence makes up a feature of reference which reminds users of a language that the issue of reference is always opened by that of sense.

According to Eliade (2012), one objection could be made about Frege's distinction – different from Benveniste's - in the sense that the distinction he makes between sense and reference applies initially to words and, specifically, to *proper names* (common nouns) and not to the whole proposition, or the entire sentence. Frege starts by defining the reference of the proper name, which is the object itself, named by its means. When the whole statement is regarded from the point of view of its reference, it plays the role of a proper name in relation to the state of affairs it names or refers to. With Frege we can say that "a proper name (words, sign, sign combination, expression) expresses its sense, *stands for* or *designates* its reference". When we use a common noun such as "the moon" we do not limit ourselves to one mental event, visual

image, or specific idea, and we are not satisfied with the sense alone, either. Apart from that, we take for granted there is a reference, and it is this presupposition that can lead us to make mistakes because our need for truth demands a reference. This drives us to go from the sense to the reference, and this need for truth is of paramount importance all through the proposition: so much so, that it can be contained within a common noun.

For Frege (1952), this common noun acts as an intermediary for the proposition to have a reference. It is through the reference of the noun that the predicate can be asserted or denied. We can see that when defining reference in discourse, Frege and Benveniste go in opposite directions. For Frege the reference is conveyed from the common noun to the entire proposition. This proposition, in turn, becomes the name of a state of affairs.

For Benveniste (1967), on the other hand, reference goes from the entire proposition to the word, by means of a subdivision within the syntagma. Over time, and because of usage, the individual word acquires a semantic value, which is its specific sense in that use. In that way the word has a referent, which is defined as a specific thing or object to which the word is attached in an actual situation or an instance of usage. So, with these two authors we can say that the individual word and the sentence make up the two poles of one and the same entity, together they acquire sense and reference.

Eliade (2012) believes that the two conceptions of reference - that from Frege and from Benveniste - are complementary and reciprocal, regardless of their origin. One is the result of synthetic composition from the common noun towards the entire proposition, and the other goes down through analytic dissociation from the sentence to the semantic unit of the individual word. At the point where they cross, both interpretations of reference show the polarity within the concept of reference. When the referent of the name is taken into account, this polarity can be called the *object*. If we regard the referent of the

entire statement, we call this the *state of affairs*.

Wittengstein's (1922) definition of the word is “the totality of facts (*Tatsachen*), not of things (*Dinge*)”. He then defines fact as “the existence of states of affairs” (*das Bestehen von Sachverhalten*). After that, he claims that what makes up a state of affairs is “a combination of objects (things) (*eine Verbindung von Gegenständen, Sachen, Dingen*)”. To him, reference is directly connected to the function of individual identification, which is conveyed by a proper name in a logical way. To him, the predicate as such, inasmuch as it characterizes but does not identify, does not refer to anything that exists. He believes that there is complete asymmetry between the identifying function and the predicative function since the first is concerned with existence whereas the second is not. This makes up an example of how the proposition refers as a whole to something by means of the function of individual identification of one of its elements.

In *Speech Acts*, Searle (1970) is determined when he sets forth the thesis that something must exist first in order to be identified at all. This idea of existence as the foundation of identification is exactly the notion that Frege (1952) had in mind when he claimed that the sense alone is not enough for us, we take for granted there is a reference. What makes up the sense of the work is its structure, and its reference is the world.

Hermeneutics can be understood as the theory that governs the transition from structure of the work to world of the work. Through the suspension of the first-level denotation, discourse describes its denotation as being of second-level in literary texts. This idea, again, takes us to the issue of metaphor. It is indeed possible that the metaphorical statement is the example that most clearly shows this relationship between suspended reference and displayed reference. The metaphorical statement takes its sense from the remains of the literal sense and, in a balanced way, it bases its reference from

the remains of the literal reference. By suspending the first-level reference, a process is released which allows for an interpretation of a second-level reference, that is, of literal sense and metaphorical sense. This interpretation makes up the metaphorical reference. Eliade (2012) praises Hester's (1967) contribution for the role assigned to the image in the creation of metaphorical meaning. Reference is also an issue for Hester: he points out that poetic language is the language where "sense" and "sound" function in an iconic fashion, creating thus a blending of "sense" and "sensa".

The self-destruction of meaning, Eliade (2012) points out, is actually an innovation of meaning within the entire statement. We are able to achieve this innovation by means of the "twist" of the literal meaning of the words. When speaking about living metaphor we are speaking about innovation in meaning. The author wonders here whether we are not given the key to metaphorical reference in this very movement.

Goodman (1968) claims that Symbolization should be assessed based on the criterion of how well it serves cognition and the cognitive purpose. To him, aesthetic excellence is actually a cognitive excellence. We should talk about the truth of art, provided truth be defined as "fit with a body of theory" and between hypotheses and the facts described; this would make up the "appropriateness" of a symbolization. These characteristics apply both to art and to discourse. He concludes that his aim has been to lead in the direction of a systemic study of symbols and symbol systems to find out how they function in our perception of reality and, in turn, how we create and understand our own worlds.

Eliade (2012) wonders about the meaning of the literal application of predicates. He states that in order to answer this, we have to establish an important conceptual network that should include the ideas of denotation, description, representation, and expression. To this author, reference and

denotation are synonyms on a first approximation. Yet, later on it would be necessary to make a difference between the two ways of referring: that is, by denotation and by exemplification. At the beginning, denotation should be defined in broad terms in order to include both what art does, namely, to represent something, and what language does: to describe. Saying that representing is one way of denoting is actually making a parallel with the link between a picture and what it depicts and the relation between a predicate and that to which it is applied. Also, this reasoning tells us that to represent is not to imitate in the sense of resembling or copying.

The theory of metaphor has benefitted from the theory of reference, which is connected by the transference of a relation. This relation is the inverse of denotation, and a species of this is representation. The author points out that if we admit the fact that metaphorical expression is, actually, transference of possession previously proven (the inverse of denotation) of which representation is a species, then all the distinctions fall into the category of reference, bearing in mind that their aims differ.

For Goodman (1968), metaphor is the unusual application of a known, familiar label – whose usage has a past - to an object which is new and which initially shows resistance and eventually gives in. He calls this action "a matter of teaching an old word new tricks". The author refers to metaphor using another metaphor when he states that "metaphor is an affair between predicate with a past and an object that yields while protesting". As well as Ryle (1963), he focuses on the semantic weight and protagonist role the word has in discourse.

Eliade (2012) reminds us that we have to take into consideration an interesting extension of metaphor, namely what is called "schema". This word is used to refer to a group of objects that share a characteristic that identifies them, that is, they make up "a realm". He states that metaphor has the power

of reorganizing our perception of things, and this power is developed in the process of transposing an entire "realm". The idea of "transporting" meaning turns into a conceptual migration. A remarkable point here, he notes, is the fact that the structure applied to the new conceptual area is guided by the use of the entire network in the original area. In other words, the old practice rules the usage of the labels in the new field. Therefore, using schemata entails being governed by the law of precedence.

However, if we still wish to speak of resemblance, we must refer again to Black, who points out that rather than finding and expressing resemblance, metaphor creates it. The creation of metaphorical meaning following a given schema conveys information in the same way as literal communication does. In both communicative instances we are likely to make mistakes and our message might be corrected or improved. We, as speakers of a language, are simply more familiar with the literal application of words, since that is what we use on a daily basis. Therefore, the question of truth, according to Eliade, is not restricted or peculiar. To him, what is indeed peculiar is metaphorical application because the application of a schema - or label - should comply with certain demands that are contradictory: namely, "it must be new but fitting, strange but evident, surprising but satisfying". The outcome of the emigration of a schema is new discriminations, new organization, and not a simple "labeling" or "re-sorting".

Both for Aristotle and for Goodman (1968), metaphor is not another figure of discourse along with several others, but the transference principle that operates in all of them. If we function with the notion of "realm" or "schema" instead of "figure", all transfers from one realm to another will be included in a first group, non-intersecting realm. So, we would have personification, synecdoche, and antonomasia – a figure of speech in which a proper name is used to express a general idea. For example, a *Solomon* for a wise ruler. A second group would be made up by all transfers between intersecting realms:

hyperbole (an exaggeration) with upward displacement, and litotes (an ironically moderate form of speech) with downward displacement. There is another group, still, in which transfers do not alter extensions. Here we find the reversing of irony.

In *Models of Archetypes*, Black (1962) states that the fundamental argument regarding the relation to reality, "metaphor is to poetic language what the model is to scientific language". In other words, metaphor belongs and pertains to poetic language in the same way and to the same extent that the model belongs and pertains to scientific language. Eliade (2012) warns us that extending the theory of metaphor to that of models has another impact apart from confirming the main features of the original theory, namely the interaction between main subject and secondary predicate, cognitive value of the statement, production of new information, non-translatability, and the almost limitless possibility of paraphrasing. To him, the fact of reducing a model to a psychic tool is similar to the reduction of metaphor to a mere decorative process, it is misconception.

Wheelwright (1968) states that language is tensive and alive. He takes into account the different contrasts between perspective and openness, designation and suggestion, imagery and concrete meaning, individual and plural signification, accuracy and affective resonance, etc. In particular, he believes, this tensive trait of language resides in metaphor, as opposed to "epiphor" and "diaphor". Epiphor, on the one hand, juxtaposes and blends words assimilating them at image level, whereas diaphor functions indirectly and through combination of specific words. The tension between epiphor and diaphor is what makes up metaphor, according to this author. He adds that it is this very tension which ensures the transference of meaning and provides poetic language with traits of additional semantic value, and allows it to be open towards new angles, dimensions, as well as new horizons in meaning.

2.6 Classification of Metaphors

The authors cited in the first part of the Literature Review defined metaphor and the metaphorical process in philosophical, cognitive, and linguistic terms. Yet, when moving away from Philosophy and focusing on Linguistics, it is necessary to turn to those authors who not only defined metaphor but also classified it according to a specific view. They make up the Theoretical Framework used in this research study. These authors are: Reddy (1979), Lakoff (1980), and Glucksberg & McGlone (1992).

2.6.1 Attributive Categorization View (AC)

The Attributive Categorization View (AC) claimed by Glucksberg & McGlone (1997) states that metaphors are not implicitly and automatically turned into comparison - or similes - of the form *X is like Y*. Rather, metaphors must be understood as statements of property attribution in which properties from a source vehicle are attributed to a target topic. That is, they are understood as class-inclusion assertions. This means that metaphors either change meaning or become nonsensical when reversed. According to these authors, for metaphors to function as class-inclusion assertions, two requirements must be met: metaphors should be asymmetrical and non reversible.

Glucksberg's (1997) analysis and structure of AC also uses Lakoff's concept to develop his own ideas about metaphors. In addition, Sweetser (1998) refers back to Lakoff and agrees with him on the idea of understanding an area of knowledge and experience in terms of a different one, that is, "mapping".

Other researchers who acknowledge Lakoff's contribution to the study of metaphor are Hopper and Closs-Traugott (2009). These authors support Lakoff's idea of mapping as a mental framework determined by similarities between domains.

2.6.2 Conceptual Metaphor

Lakoff (1992) defines metaphor as a “cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system”. He acknowledges Reddy’s contribution to the study and understanding of metaphor in the English language by stating that ordinary everyday English is largely metaphorical, and that “the locus of metaphor is thought, not language. Metaphor is a major and indispensable part of our ordinary, conventional way of conceptualizing the world, and our everyday behavior reflects our metaphorical understanding of experience”. According to Lakoff, Reddy’s research on the way we conceptualized the concept of communication by metaphor gave us a tiny glimpse of an enormous system of conceptual metaphor. The most important assumption that is challenged by contemporary research is the traditional division between literal and figurative language, with metaphor as a kind of figurative language. This entails, by definition, that what is literal is not metaphorical. The main difference between the contemporary theory and views of metaphor prior to Reddy’s work lies in this false assumption. A reason for the difference is that, in the intervening years, 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. A major difference between the contemporary theory and the classical one is based on the old literal-figurative distinction. According to Lakoff (1992), the existence of a system of conventional conceptual metaphors has an evidence of five types:

- 1 Generalizations governing polysemy
- 2 Generalizations governing inference patterns, that is, cases where a pattern of inferences from one conceptual domain is used in another domain
- 3 Generalizations governing novel metaphorical language
- 4 Generalizations governing patterns of semantic change
- 5 Psycholinguistic experiments

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim the existence of Structural metaphors, Orientational metaphors, and Ontological metaphors. Structural metaphors refer to abstract metaphorical frameworks where a complex mental concept is construed in relation to a more concrete concept. The term Orientational metaphors points to the association of spatial orientation with an abstract conception based on how human beings perceive and understand location and movement in the physical surroundings. The main referent for this kind of metaphor is the human body. According to this metaphor, the human mind has fixed spatial references associated to quantity, time and processes. For example, the future is understood as being in front, the past at the back; the concept of an increasing quantity goes upwards, a decreasing amount – or degree – goes downwards; change is understood as motion, and causes are deemed to be forces.

Ontological metaphors help structure our understanding of abstract concepts and experiences, such as events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., in terms of people's experience with actual physical objects and substances in the real world.

An example of this subtype is the metaphor *Inflation is an entity*.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) note that

“By treating an abstract concept such as monetary inflation as though it were a physical object we can use the everyday language we typically use to talk about such objects to understand the concept better”.

Hurford & Heasley (2007) provide the following examples for this ontological metaphor:

Inflation is increasing every year.

Inflation is ruining our economy.

We have to fight *inflation* or it will conquer us.

The above examples show that speakers treat this and similar concepts as if they were living entities, animals, or people who can impact and change people's lives. This classification is a useful one but it does not exhaust the whole range of possible metaphors.

2.6.3 Conduit Metaphor

It is a type of conceptual metaphor commonly used in English to talk about the process of communication. Reddy (1979) points out that the Conduit Metaphor is not a specific expression; rather, it names the metaphoric assumptions that enable a range of common expressions such as *getting the message across*, *putting thoughts into words* and *getting a lot out of a text*. Ideas, concepts, thoughts, feelings are conducted, transferred from one domain to another. Containers (words, sentences) are filled with contents (meaning) which, in turn, are transported to a "destination" where they are opened, emptied, decoded, and understood: the message is internalized. The obvious parallel to the conduit metaphor is the mail system which sends letters and packages from one point in space to another. At the addresser's point they are packed, sealed (encoded) and later on they are unpacked at destination (decoded).

Four categories constitute the major framework of the Conduit Metaphor:

- 1 language functions like a conduit, transferring thoughts bodily from one person to another;
- 2 in writing and speaking, people insert their thoughts or feelings in the words;
- 3 words accomplish the transfer by containing the thoughts or feelings and conveying them to others, and
- 4 in listening or reading, people extract the thoughts and feelings once again from the words.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) describe what they call the Conduit Metaphor

as a cross-domain mapping consisting of the following main correspondences:

Ideas (or meaning) are objects
Linguistic expressions are containers
Communication is sending

This formulation of the Conduit Metaphor has since become the most widely accepted account of the dominant way in which speakers of English talk and think about communication (e.g. Taylor 2002: 490 and Kövecses 2002: 73-74). More recently, however, Grady (1997, 1998, 1999) has questioned the validity of the Conduit Metaphor alongside that of many other well-established formulations of conceptual metaphors, for the following reasons: first, it lacks a clear experiential basis; second, it does not explain why some prominent elements of the source domain are not conventionally mapped onto the target (e.g. the notion of opening or sealing packages is not conventionally projected from the domain of the transfer of objects to the domain of communication); and third, it does not account for why many expressions that have been associated with the Conduit Metaphor are in fact conventionally used in relation to other domains of experience as well. The metaphor *Actors are manipulators* is used by Reddy (1979) to exemplify the way we project the story of manipulating objects onto the story of communicating. He showed that a story of communication is usually understood by projection from a story of body action, specifically manipulation. A speaker places a physical object, the meaning of a word or sentence, into a container – language - and sends it along a conduit to a hearer, who, in turn, opens this container to extract the object, which is the meaning (Turner 1996).

2.7 Editorials

2.7.1 Origins and Definition

The newspaper editorial was born in England at the beginning of the

XVIII century. It was called leading article (or just “leading”). Both Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) and Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) are considered its creators. Defoe was the first to write an editorial for the *Weekly Review*, founded by himself in 1704. An editorial is a critical summary where facts are presented and reasons assessed. Although they were not signed it was taken for granted that the editorial meant the newspaper's opinion. This custom of publishing an editorial eventually became a tradition in British journalism.

An editorial is understood as an opinion piece written by a journalist or a group of journalists and serves the purpose of monitoring and directing readers attention (Bonyadi 2013). It differs from most news pieces in that it advocates a particular point of view, policy or other non-objective opinion. It may contain assertions that are controversial or non-factual and it usually does not seek to be as unbiased and objective as true newspaper stories. Generally, editorials are found in the Editorial/Opinion section of a newspaper, to make it especially clear that something is an opinion, rather than an objective news story (Bonyadi 2013). Given the evaluative and biased view on affairs provided in a succinct and concise manner by editorials, there is an inverse proportionality between relevance/ informativeness on the one hand and economy of expression on the other. This forces the editorials to encapsulate meaning and semantic weight with language means whose organization and implementation is expected to be to some extent distinct from an expository-type of text (Van Dijk 1996).

2.7.2 Types of Editorials in Newspapers

The editorials published in most newspapers usually convey an issue that interests the public or has an effect on the majority of people. Accordingly, editorials can be classified as follows:

1. Editorials concerning an important or world figure or movement, and the political decisions made by the presidents and prime ministers of many nations.
2. Editorials concerning political issues such as government policy and decisions, vote-buying and foreign matters.

3. Editorials concerning the environment and social issues such as child and woman labor and sex abuse, unemployment, traffic crisis, deforestation, and pollution.

4. Editorials concerning the arts, culture and education.

5. Editorials concerning economic and business matters or views such as inflation, deflation, depression, the stock exchange, the value and devaluation of the bank, money laundering, the rise of oil prices, and IMF issues (International Monetary Fund).

The high-frequency periodicity of editorials (every 24 hours) should guarantee the effectiveness of the writer's intentionality, given the biased and persuasive purpose of editorials (Lagonikos 2005). Metaphor is expected then to be a central linguistic means that serves this effectiveness because most opinions in editorials are not expressed explicitly. Also, the readers' minds are used to understanding ideas and concepts in this way rather than directly. (Van Dijk 1985, 1996).

There has been some important research done by Krennmayr (2005) on *Metaphor in Newspapers*. She carried out a two-year research for her doctoral dissertation. She worked with a group of colleagues and graduate students who helped her collect data from newspapers to identify, classify and analyze metaphors in different types of text. The study comprises metaphors pertaining to different sections in a newspaper. To her, it often remains a mystery how researchers arrive at conceptual mappings for linguistic expressions. She criticizes Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in that they do not reveal how they identify conceptual metaphors and why the mappings are formulated the way they are. This is precisely one of the most important findings from her research. In order for linguistic metaphor identification to move away from intuition, she suggests a tool for identifying metaphors in news, namely, a protocol called MIPVU (Metaphor Identification Procedure).

Another author who has contributed with a valuable research paper is

Bednarek (2005). She analyzed event-construal metaphors in news stories from The Sun, The Guardian and The New York Times. She defines event-construal as “the way in which a particular event in the “real world” is construed via textualization”. In the context of her research she takes the notion of metaphors as creative stylistic devices in news stories. This author claims that event-construal through metaphors has several functions within a text, being the most central ones those of *evaluation* and *dramatization*. Her most significant findings are the facts that **1** the choice of a particular event-construal crucially depends on the emotional potential of reported statements, and **2** conceptual metaphors are particularly important for strategically building up event-construals which, in themselves, are important cognitive devices that help the reader to create coherence. The emotional potential of reported statements can be particularly relevant in politics in that the language found in editorials can appeal to readers’ emotions and feelings in order to attract them as voters. Thus, messages conveyed this way – by means of metaphorical language – can influence voters’ decisions towards a specific candidate or political stance.

Bonyadi and Samuel (2013) carried out a contrastive research study on Headlines in Newspaper Editorials. They explored the field of research in intercultural rhetoric analysis and EFL/ESL studies. In particular, these researchers analyzed features of editorial headlines and their role in monitoring and directing reader’s attention. The authors conducted a constructive textual analysis of selected headlines, culled from the editorials of the American newspapers The New York Times and those of Persian newspaper, Teheran Times aimed at exploring the kind of textual and rhetorical strategies the two newspapers used for propagating their preferred ideologies. Regarding metaphors, their analysis concluded that the two papers used them in approximately the same proportion.

It is relevant to study metaphors from New York Times online because this newspaper has been rated as a reliable source of information which has

developed a national and worldwide reputation for thoroughness, according to Yale College Writing Centre 2013.

(<http://writing.yalecollege.yale.edu/advice-students/using-sources/scholarly-vs-popular-sources>)

The kind of language found in NYT is a reflection of standard American English which can appeal to and be understood by both educated and uneducated readers (Roberts, Want 2002). The fact that metaphors are ubiquitous in newspapers helps journalists and readers to convey and understand ideas and concepts which should otherwise be explained more thoroughly. There is then a textualising process of an event that metaphor serves (Bednarek 2005). The specific function is expected to be of instrumental significance in editorials, precisely because these manifest the property of incorporating an event in a brief but thematically inclusive, cohesive and coherent way. We can say, then, that the type of vocabulary used in editorials, in principle, favors the use of metaphors to convey meaning more effectively by textualising an event over which an evaluative stance is held (Van Dijk 1996), <http://www.discourses.org/>.

3. The Study

3.1 Research Questions

- 1 What are the types of metaphor found in New York Times editorials?
- 2 Are there certain types of metaphors that are more recurrent than others in New York Times editorials?
- 3 Are there metaphors which do not fall into the categories described by Lakoff (1980), Reddy (1979), and Glucksberg & McGlone (1992)?

3.2 Hypotheses

- 1 Editorials from New York Times are using different types of metaphors.
- 2 The use of metaphors in New York Times editorials is more frequent when

the topic deals with Politics and Economy.

3 Editorials from New York Times are using metaphors which do not fall into the categories described by Reddy (1979), Lakoff (1980), and Glucksberg & McGlone (1992).

3.3 General Objective

To identify and characterize metaphors found in New York Times editorials online in order to account for metaphors currently being used by this newspaper in the topics of Politics, International Affairs, and Economy.

3.3.1 Specific Objectives

1 To identify and characterize the type of metaphor that can be found in editorials from New York Times online.

2 To identify the frequency of occurrence of metaphors as defined by Reddy (1979), Lakoff (1980), and Glucksberg & McGlone (1992) in relation to the topics of Politics, International Affairs, and Economy.

3 To identify metaphors which do not qualify for inclusion in the types described by Reddy, Lakoff, and Glucksberg & McGlone and compare them in order to account for the usage of such metaphors.

3.4 Type of Research Study

Following the definition provided by Sampieri (2003), this research includes features mainly from the exploratory and some from the descriptive category. It is exploratory in that, according to the literature reviewed by the researcher, no studies have been found regarding the use of metaphors and metaphorical expressions in newspaper editorials in the English language. The aim of an exploratory study is to find a trend, in this case, regarding the use of the language by a written medium. The study is also descriptive inasmuch as it collects, describes, assesses, and analyzes data in order to show the different aspects of a phenomenon.

3.5 Methodology

3.5.1 Corpus

The study of metaphors was carried out in New York Times editorials online published between July and December 2013 which deal with the topics of American and International Politics, Economy, or Social Conflicts because editorials mainly tackle these issues. A sample of 42 editorials was collected for this study. From the total number of editorials used in this research 14 deal with Economy, 10 with International Affairs, and 19 with Politics. The amount chosen for each topic is proportionate to publication. That is, most editorials deal with Politics and a smaller number with the other two topics. The corpus for this study is made up of forty two editorials published in New York Times during July and December 2013 on the online edition.

The choice for this limited period is grounded on the aim of providing an updated account of metaphors used in editorials. Each editorial has an average of 370 words which yields a total of 15.540 words for the corpus used in this research. The size of the sample is based on corpora from previous studies: those carried out by Krenmayr (2005) and Bonyadi (2013). The first included a corpus of 190.000 words comprising 4 registers. It was the research work for a doctoral dissertation. The latter was a contrastive study which included 40 editorial headlines culled from the electronic versions of The New York Times and Teheran Times.

After a first review of editorials it was found that approximately 80% of them discuss the topics of politics, economy and social conflicts. The types of metaphor researched were: Conceptual, claimed by Lakoff (1980); Conduit, developed by Reddy (1979); and AC, outlined by Glucksberg (1992).

The online version of New York Times was chosen over the printed one since it offers more updated information and can be accessed from any computer in the world at any time. It is the edition that is read on a daily basis worldwide by millions of readers and, the researcher believes, this fact

determines and reinforces the influence the language used in the paper has on its readers. The printed version is not available anywhere outside the United States and, therefore, its readership is smaller. At present, it cannot be found in big countries such as China and India. In addition, in 2008 in a blog called journalism.co.uk some influential people in the media, such as Netscape Co-founder and Investor in Twitter Marc Andreessen, advocated for the end of printed editions for newspapers given their financial losses. In an interview published by *Portfolio Magazine* the same year, he says the New York Times should cut its print losses and focus on 'the market of the future'. <http://siliconvalleystudytour.ning.com/profiles/blogs/1102003:BlogPost:28805> This shows a trend in thought for the media in the near future. In other words, according to this idea, the future will have no readers of printed editions from newspapers.

The New York Times is an American newspaper which is published daily and uninterruptedly since its foundation in 1851, in New York City. It is the most read newspaper in the English speaking world, specifically the online version. Millions of readers are informed and, to an extent, are influenced by its editorial (Van Dijk 1996). The language used in it accounts for the language that the most important and influential written medium in the US is using to inform American and foreign English speaking readers.

A specialized web site called *Encylo*, claims that The New York Times is by far the most visited newspaper website. In addition, in April 2011, according to comScore – the specialized analysts for the digital world - its website was the fifth-most-popular news site on the web. It has an edition of 877.000 printed copies. Its readership amounts to 2.560.840 readers. These analysts also state that The New York Times appeals to largely upscale, educated readers throughout the United States. The paper is rated as the most influential news organizations in America. It is recognized as an important actor in setting the nation's agenda. Along with that, over the years it has been recognized as one of the best newspapers in the United States. It has won over 100 Pulitzer

Prizes, more than any other news organization. The paper, they claim, also has a significant international reach. *Encyclo* also claims that “The Times has developed a reputation as one of the top innovators within web journalism”. Its website was launched in 1996 and its continuous news desk in 2000. The New York Times is also regarded as a reliable source of information, according to the School of Education from the University of Arizona <http://dgibbs.faculty.arizona.edu/sites/dgibbs.faculty.arizona.edu/files/reliable.pdf>

One of the ways people perceive and picture reality on a day-to-day basis is through the media, particularly the written text, that is, newspapers. Readers encounter headlines everyday both on printed paper and online (Van Dijk 1996).

The steps in this research follow the logical stages of identification, classification, analysis – including comparison and contrast – of metaphors, and conclusions in descriptive and semantic terms. In addition, from the conclusions some predictions can be made in terms of linguistic trends. The researcher believes that these trends usually introduce changes in the language for the long term.

The analysis carried out in this study used a tool developed specifically to identify metaphorically used expressions in discourse. The tool used is called MIP. This stands for A Method for Identifying Metaphorically Used Words in Discourse. This tool was developed by Gerard Steen and a group of graduate students from the Department of English Language and Culture, Vrije University in Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Therefore, the expressions found were classified according to the definitions of metaphor provided by Lakoff (1980), Reddy (1979) and Glucksberg (1990). This study will help witness changes in the language as well as the establishment of expressions which remain stable - in force - in terms of their usage.

3.5.2 Tool

The tool for analysis used in this study is MIPVU procedure as outlined by Steen (2007). The MIP (metaphor identification procedure) comprises four basic steps. In step 1 the researcher has to read the entire text-discourse in order to establish a general understanding of the meaning. The lexical units in the text-discourse are determined in step 2. That is, they are identified as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, proper names, articles, prepositions, etc. Step 3 includes three stages for each lexical unit. The first stage is definition of meaning in context, the second is identification of a more basic contemporary meaning in contexts different from the given context, and the third is contrasting contextual meaning with basic meaning in order to make a decision on whether the lexical unit is metaphorical or not. In Step 4 the lexical unit is labelled as metaphorical when the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

The analytical framework suggested by Krenmayr (2005) comprises the following steps (Steen, 2009):

- 1 Identification of metaphor-related words.
- 2 Identification of propositions.
- 3 Identification of open comparisons.
- 4 Identification of cross-domain mapping.

This tool was previously tested with a small number of editorials. Results of data collection are shown in descriptive charts of frequency distribution. This tool has been considered suitable for our investigation since it proved successful for the research done by both Krenmayr (2005) and Steen (2007). The tool used for data analysis, along with the framework developed by Lakoff (1980), Glucksberg (1990) and Reddy (1979) allowed the researcher to classify editorials into topics and, within each topic, account for the number and percentage of the different types of metaphors found. Thus, by comparing

metaphors within the corpus the researcher was able to draw conclusions regarding the frequency of the type of metaphor used and the topic in which they were found in each editorial, be it politics, international affairs, or economy. At the same time, the hypothesis for new metaphors or metaphorical expressions was tested.

4. Analysis of the Results

For the purpose of analysis, editorials were grouped by topics, that is, Economy, International Affairs, and Politics. This division is relevant in that it shows patterns and trends pertaining to the specific areas covered in editorials. It has to be noted, however, that some editorials fall into more than one category and, more often than not, these categories overlap. All three have metaphors and metaphorical expressions which show certain patterns.

The criterion for classifying editorials into one topic or another was grounded on the dominant idea in the specific editorial. It has to be borne in mind, however, that editorials dealing with Economy also pertain to international Affairs, given the globalized nature of financial activity in most countries in the world. So, financial decisions taken in and by the United States almost immediately impact markets worldwide.

At this point of the analysis it is relevant to refer to steps 2 (Identification of propositions), 3 (Identification of open comparisons) and 4 (Identification of cross-domain mapping) from the tool used in this study. This will shed light to the understanding and proper classification of metaphors and metaphorical expressions found in the texts researched.

Below is a detail of the classification of metaphorical expressions according to topics found in editorials from New York Times between July and December 2013.

The numbers shown on the chart below tell us that, although Conceptual Metaphors appear in the three topics, half of them are used in Politics. This

result is an indication that the stronger type of assertion – *x is y* – is preferred over similes or expressions based on resemblance or conceptual blending. The choice for Conceptual Metaphors in the examples cited is in keeping with the biased nature of editorial language, according to Van Dijk (1996), and the intention of manipulating the reader's thoughts in a certain direction. It is linguistically more powerful and semantically more effective to say "bipartisan cooperation *is* an obsolete relic" than it is to say "bipartisan cooperation *is like* an obsolete relic". The latter sounds weaker and does not convey the full idea with the emotion and intention of a Conceptual Metaphor.

The same applies to "a delayed political decision *is* a rapidly spreading fatal disease". These Conceptual Metaphors found in political discourse serve the purpose of harsh, hostile criticism, which is what readers encounter in editorials about politics.

A similar phenomenon occurs in the realm of Economy, yet not as marked as in Politics. So, to convey a strong, clear, deliberate criticism on an issue, the most suitable resource for that purpose is a Conceptual Metaphor with its full domain mapping. Thus, the brain is spared time and mental energy when reading, decoding, and internalizing a concept or idea. In biological terms, this fast cognitive process can be compared to a needle into the vein: the substance goes straight into the brain in no time.

In the topic of International Affairs, the use of Conceptual Metaphor is scarce since the need to convey powerful, definite concepts is not as compelling as in Politics. In each one of the Topics we find a metaphor that used conceptual blending and becomes non-sensical when reversed. This is the kind described by Glucksberg (1997) in his AC view. The idea and meaning these metaphorical expressions convey by means of a simile – comparison based on resemblance – is not as strongly intended as the examples of Conceptual Metaphor in Politics. According to Black (1962), this resemblance can be real or created through the metaphorical process.

Only one example of Conduit Metaphor was found. Its very definition makes it limited in language usage in general, and also in the topics dealt with in this research.

In all three areas, most metaphors deviate from the definitions given by Lakoff, Glucksberg, and Reddy. A great majority qualify for the category of Metaphorical Expression. In these expressions, usually one word is used metaphorically while the others are not, as stated by Black (1962). The metaphorically used word – a noun, adjective, or verb - carries the metaphorical meaning turning the whole expression into a metaphor which, in turn, makes the whole statement become metaphorical. This statement, ultimately, radiates its meaning to the whole text and permeates it, as if it was a screen colored in a particular hue.

When analyzing the total number of metaphors used per topic, we found that most of them are used in Economy and Politics. In these two areas, both governments and the media have a more urgent need to convey their message effectively in order to take the readers – or consumers – in a specific direction.

Regarding International Affairs, the use of metaphors is also considerable, yet this topic, in particular, has less impact on American readers' daily life. What happens outside the United States is of secondary importance to the American public unless it affects its economy or security. Therefore, both the number of editorials dealing with this topic and the number of metaphors in them are smaller.

4.1 Types of Metaphor per Topic

N° of Editorials	18	14	10		
Topic Met. Category	Politics	Economy	International Affairs	Total Amount	%
Conceptual Metaphor	5	3	2	10	8
AC View	1	1	1	3	2
Conduit Metaphor	1	-	-	1	1
Metaphorical Expression	36	41	32	109	89
Total	43	45	35	123	100%
%	35	37	28	100%	

Table 1: Number of Metaphors per Editorial and Topic

4.2 Metaphorical Expressions by Topic and Domain

The chart below shows the distribution of Metaphors and metaphorical expressions by Topic and Domain. The findings are further analyzed and explained in the Discussion section.

Lexical Category	Topic / Domain	Politics	Economy	International Affairs	Total	%
	Adjectives	Physical / Material	7	5	3	15
Physical / Human body		-	-	1	1	0,8
Emotional / mental		4	6	2	12	9,8
Nouns	Thing	10	8	8	26	21,2
	Human Body	6	7	5	18	14,7
	Animal	1	-	2	3	2,4
	Domestic	2	-	-	2	1,6
Verb	Physical Action	7	9	10	26	21,2
	Emotion	-	5	1	6	4,9
	Bodily Action	6	5	3	14	11,4
Total		43	45	35	123	100%
%		35	37	28	100%	

Table 2 : Number of metaphorically used words per Topic and Domain

5. Discussion

There are different ways of expressing metaphorical meaning in the three topics analyzed in this study. It can be noted that in the topic of **Politics** metaphorical meaning is achieved mainly through nouns mapped onto the

physical/material domain, of what was labelled as “thing”, that is, not alive. The examples below illustrate this mapping.

*“It’s unlikely that Mr. Obama would have ordered any review if Edward Snowden’s leaks had not revealed **the vacuum-cleaner approach** to electronic spying.”*

In this proposition, the action taken by President Obama regarding electronic spying is compared to a vacuum-cleaner, to convey the image and idea of a clean place and immaculate action. It is taken for granted that the reader understands the cross-domain mapping between a way of thinking and acting – an approach – and witnessing the result of the action from a vacuum-cleaner. An implied simile conveys this meaning that the approach acts like a vacuum-cleaner, as if it were one, as a way to guarantee Americans that their government is doing things well

*“In other words, they would refuse to raise the **debt ceiling** if their demands aren’t met, just as they did during a similar debacle in 2011 that damaged the nation’s credit rating and led to the sequester.”*

In this proposition a concrete, very familiar word is used to convey the image for limitation, boundary and constraint. A ceiling is what every reader sees every morning upon waking up.

In the topic of **Politics**, nouns and adjectives carry the weight to convey metaphorical meaning both at word and sentence level. For example, in the sentences which have these expressions, metaphorical meaning is achieved through the noun. Most of the nouns used in the expressions below point to a negative or risky situation with eventual bad consequences. Metaphorical language is useful in political messages since it can both intensify meaning and very often provide the reader with a visual image. The idea of aggression, violence, and bad will is repeated throughout. By turning an idea, concept, or action into an object, this idea is reduced in status and importance. It loses power – semantic weight - by being downgraded in discourse. A portion of its

neutral, original meaning is taken away in order to serve the purpose of the new meaning in this specific context.

In the example below, it is the adjective which performs the metaphorical function. These adjectives are positive, optimistic or pessimistic, negative. When positive, they point to a desired action or state; that is, something the government – its actors – should have done for the people’s welfare. When the adjectives are negative, they refer directly to flaws or shortcomings in political terms. So, either way, the meaning is that the government – and politicians – have not been efficient enough at work.

*“There is no reason for Mr. Obama to attend unless Mr. Putin provides **solid assurances** that he is prepared to address **contentious issues** in a substantive and **constructive way**.”*

In this proposition, the manner in which issues have to be addressed leads to the idea of a stable and enduring physical creation, with a reliable basis - solid assurances – which enables the achievement of a good solution. The idea expressed in the proposition operates on the principle of resemblance: that of erecting a building.

The main findings show us that the most useful linguistic resources for criticism in a short text and constrained space – an editorial – continue to be verbs and nouns used metaphorically. They serve the purpose well and get across with the message fast and effectively into the readers’ minds. Likewise, each editorial includes between one and three metaphorical expressions, and the longer versions of editorials can include as many as five.

The chart below shows that in the Topic of Politics, most metaphorical expressions are conveyed through nouns which transfer meaning from the abstract domain onto the physical one. By doing this, the writer is telling us that the original meaning – the denotation – is not important or valid anymore: what our mind has to consider and understand is the negative meaning assigned to that noun, this is the command our brain receives and follows.

Lexical Category \ Topic	Domain	Politics: Examples
Adjectives	Physical / Material	sluggish, torn, solid, constructive, bleak, pressing, tighter
Nouns	Thing	patch, tracks, ceiling, tool lever, stunt, relic, wing whip, hostage
Verbs	Physical action	kick, stick, to toe, whet, grab, tear, dodge

Table 3: Metaphorical expressions used in the topic of Politics

The most effective way of attacking in Politics is by using a noun. In Economy, it is by using verbs of action and also nouns.

Metaphorical meaning originates in the noun – the word – as claimed by Ryle (2012), Goodman (2012), and Decarie (2012). This word, in turn, impacts the whole sentence in which the metaphorical expression is used. Naming is more important than performing an action, and in this topic the most important function of metaphor is to assess by assigning a label.

Politicians and governments are expected to have achievements. Therefore, the political arena is a realm in which things – material and non-material – are the issues to be experienced and assessed by voters, and, ultimately, by people in general. This confirms the idea presented by Bednarek (2005) when she says that the most important linguistic function here is to evaluate.

In **Economy**, metaphorical expressions are expressed mainly through verbs which point to action, like the examples below:

*“The settlement was with UBS and Bank of America, and though the precise terms will not **be nailed down** until the bankruptcy judge **weighs in**, Detroit is set to pay an estimated \$250 million to terminate a soured*

derivatives transaction from 2005”.

The metaphorical expression written here in a proposition uses the principle of resemblance as described by Dufrenne (1973). Accuracy and assurance of payment are compared to the outcome of the action performed by a carpenter when using a hammer to secure the nails. The meaning of physical strength and definite, reliable result is conveyed successfully.

*“This group will, of course, **push the city** and state to also force concessions on city workers and retirees, whose pension funds are underfinanced by about \$3.5 billion”.*

The metaphorical expression in this proposition uses personification and metonymy to convey the meaning of city authorities being obliged to make a political decision. Consequences of financial decisions turned out to be physiological and emotional experiences for people. They can impact people’s wellbeing mentally and physically.

Nouns also play a role to convey an idea through metaphors. The following sentences point to material objects or the human body as reference:

*“It would help regulators and policy makers detect **bubbles** and impending **crashes**, because those often correlate to widening pay gaps.”*

The metaphorically used words in this sentence point to the idea of weakness and instability first, and then the notion of accidents with harmful results and destruction.

*“The fiscal chaos has also given China, **America’s largest creditor**, an opportunity to **scold** the United States.”*

Through personification, China is perceived as a more powerful person than the US and, by virtue of that, has the right and authority to scold the less powerful actor in the financial scenario.

The chart below shows the metaphorical expressions used in this Topic.

Lexical Category \ Domain	Topic	Economy: Examples
Nouns	Thing	debt load, Wall Street, the city, banking pitch, bubbles, crashes, ceiling, yoke
Verbs	Physical action	drop that wording, be nailed down, push the city, wipe out, be watered down, derail, price dropped, pull democrats, to combat

Table 4: Metaphorical expressions used in the topic of Economy

In the topic of **International Affairs**, metaphor is expressed mainly through verbs of action, as in the following examples:

*“Increased migration has been exploited by far-right political parties to **fan fears** of refugees as threats to living standards and national identities.”*

In this context, “fan” indicates the action of publicly showing and expressing an emotion.

*“Mr. Abe has to stop **rubbing raw the wounds** of World War II.”*

The cross-domain mapping of this metaphorical expression occurs between the human body and the mind or soul. There is no actual, physical rubbing, but an insistence on a painful issue for many Americans. This insistence has the same impact, according to the writer, as if someone was rubbing on a wound to make it raw and bleed again, In other words, to cause unnecessary pain and suffering. The meaning here is conveyed successfully both for those who went through the experience of war and for the informed readers.

The other lexical category which also plays a role in the construction of metaphor is concrete nouns, as shown in the table below:

Lexical Category \ Domain	Topic	International affairs: Examples
Nouns	Thing	a major casualty, the path, cold water, economic gloom, Japan, political space, front row seats, the strength
Verbs	Physical action	fan fears, to shred, rubbing raw the wounds, poured, has fueled, to lift itself, would rise, to rein, to shed

Table 5: Metaphorical expressions used in the topic of International Affairs

In this topic, actions – social processes – are more important than people or things. That is the reason why the domain of Physical Action yields the highest number of metaphorical expressions. In this topic, in particular, we can say that metaphorical meaning is achieved in the whole sentence, as claimed by Hamlin (2012), Genette (2012), and Eliade (2012). The examples above illustrate this idea.

The tool used in this study (MIP) is aimed at identifying metaphorical language in discourse. The steps it includes served this purpose well for the first stage of the analysis. It allowed the researcher to select and organize information saving, thus, valuable time. In addition, this tool proved to be reliable when tested with a small group of editorials. However, for analysis and further study, it was necessary to refer to the concepts set forth by the authors included in the literature review of this research. First, the authors that make up the theoretical framework of this study – Lakoff (1980), Glucksberg (1992), Reddy (1979) – and then, those researchers who studied and defined the elements which play a role in the construction of metaphorical meaning. Their concepts were essential both for the understanding and the analysis of metaphorical language. These authors help us understand not only how metaphors are constructed in language but also how they function in the

cognitive process in the human brain. This insight enables us to relate, compare, contrast, and link elements from metaphorical expressions.

6. Conclusions

From this research we can conclude that metaphors are being used in editorials from New York Times everyday in the three topics analyzed, particularly in Politics and Economy. In both areas the main objective is to criticize and judge decisions, actions, and shortcomings from politicians and policymakers. In the area of International Affairs, this phenomenon of discourse is also evident but to a lesser extent and with a lower frequency. It is possible to predict that New York Times editorials will continue to use this metaphorical type of language and discourse when dealing with the topics analyzed. Contrary to the language found in popular songs, and traditional writings like poetry and fiction, metaphorical expressions are used, in this context, negatively, as mentioned before in this research. Common expressions such as “She is the light of my life”, “The parks are the lungs of London”, or “You are the apple of my eye” (a Conceptual Metaphor with metonymy) are not found in newspaper editorials.

The study of Metaphor is by no means finished. On the contrary, there is still much to be discovered and analyzed. In the realm of newspaper editorials research has just begun. The contribution provided by this study makes up an updated account, and an exploration and analysis of the metaphors and metaphorical expressions used in the online version of The New York Times in 2013. This specific kind of research has not been done until now. From this study we are able to predict linguistic behavior in an influential written media, as the one studied here. In turn, the awareness regarding the type of language used and the predictions made from the study can have an impact on the teaching of English for future generations of native speakers and non-native speakers alike.

Lakoff (1980) provides some light into the lure of metaphors. His discovery of NTL (Neural Theory of Language) accounts for mental – biological

– processes which explain how language and, in particular, metaphorical language is embedded –hardwired, as it were – in the human brain.

In his book entitled *Descartes' error: Emotion, reason and the human brain*, Damasio (2008) mentions the connection between the body and the mind regarding knowledge, human reactions and behavior. Both the body and the mind react towards language received and perceived (input) as well as to language processed in the brain. The latter becomes utterances and written messages, as it were. All through the period covered by this research – July to December 2013 - metaphorical language was used consistently both in the more traditional fashion as well as in novel ways.

As stated by Van Dijk (1996) in “Opinions and Ideologies in Editorials” and “Power and the news media” (1995b), editorials use language in a way that persuades, convinces, and often manipulates readers for ideological purposes, either financial, political, social. Metaphors and metaphorical expressions serve this purpose well by conveying ideas that the mind can take in fast and easily. One of the aims that metaphors achieve, particularly in editorials about politics, is to show and highlight negative political decisions or events. Also, in the topic of Economy, metaphorical expressions are used for enlarging potential threats for people and calling their attention towards current financial issues mainly in the United States. In International Affairs metaphorical expressions are used almost as much as in the other two topics and with the same purpose, yet the degree of negative criticism is a bit milder.

Following Lakoff (1980) and the Neural Theory of Language (NTL), we can say that thoughts and ideas are physiologically embedded in the brain. They are not just abstractions of untraceable events that happen in the mind. Concepts are “computed” by brain structures. That is to say, they are perceived, decoded, analyzed, and internalized by virtue of the activation of neuronal groups in the brain which, in turn, activate other neuronal groups. This complex and extremely fast process allows us to understand, relate, analyze, and store information as well as be able to retrieve it when it is necessary. And,

what is information, ultimately? It is the overall bulk of concepts, thoughts, images and ideas – conscious or unconscious – that the mind can keep.

One of the ways the mind stores and processes information is by using language. This part of human experience is so important that it is almost impossible for us to imagine the acquisition of knowledge – cognition – without language. The human brain – the mind – is equipped with a linguistic structure: first, to internalize and produce oral language and, on a later stage of development, do the same with the written form. NTL claims that a word recognition task – identifying a word as English or foreign – takes about half a second, an extremely short time. So, if this task is so short and fast, it follows that the processing of information in the brain is in parallel and not sequential. This leads us to the concept of embodiment, which is central to the understanding of NTL. When we perceive language, there is an activation of specific motor or perceptual areas in the brain.

The appeal that metaphors and metaphorical language have to us is grounded on the fact that, in most cases, those conceptual metaphors that we regard as new, are actually using pre-existing conceptual mappings and are just adding connections as a network of circuits that bind, link, map, extend, and form gestalt. Likewise, according to this theory, understanding language that uses a conventional conceptual metaphor should take about the same time as understanding non-metaphorical language. The mind cannot exist without the body and, conversely, a body without a mind is simply non-human. The body is the seat, the home of the mind. Damasio (2008) reminds us that the body is the concrete, physical support for the mind – its ground reference. By being embodied, intellectual and linguistic perception makes the brain as well as the body react. When we encounter a metaphorical expression in an editorial, our mind and body perceive it and react to it together and in a natural way, as if it was literal language found in an ordinary type of text, like an instruction or objective description.

A felicitous metaphor is one that sounds, looks, and reads well. It is perceived in the mind as a natural and meaningful linguistic unit. Although it might sound unusual or novel at first glance, neural connections process the information very quickly to bridge it to entrenched structures in the brain resulting in successful comprehension.

The ability to produce metaphors that create meanings and accurate visual images lies on the linguistic and mental richness a person has. In other words, the more words, concepts, images, and ideas a person has, the richer and more resourceful his mind will be. This linguistic and intellectual richness – creativity – is achieved by both being exposed to and using the language at demanding levels.

The embodiment of metaphor and language includes the interaction of different human elements such as all the senses and the culture, as Gibbs (2008) points out. When we hear a spoken message or read a message from a printed page, our perception with both senses is a “feeling of the body” (Damasio, 2008) as we hear and see. This is the way we construct reality in the mind. These mental processes mentioned above ultimately determine how creatively and efficiently a speaker can use a language.

The shortcomings of this study, though few, have to be taken into account for future research. We can point out that only three topics were included in the study. As mentioned before in this research, these topics make up approximately 80% of editorials online. The total number of editorials for the research was 42 and the time period covered was July-December 2013. For future research a larger corpus including more topics is suggested. For example, editorials dealing with environmental issues, the arts, education, or an important world figure or movement. These topics make up about 20% of editorials published online. By including all topics a richer and complete scope of analysis can be achieved.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Metaphorical expressions used in editorials comprising the three topics studied.

ECONOMY

Editorial

Another Banking Scandal

Published: November 21, 2013

*“The Commodity Futures Trading Commission, which emerged from the financial crisis as the most **aggressive market regulator**, has also opened an investigation, as have authorities in Britain, the European Union, Switzerland and Hong Kong.”*

In this proposition an entity is described and judged as being aggressive, a trait that exists only in humans and animals. In this context, “aggressive” points to a careful and strict economic control of the economy.

*“It is possible to have **fair and robust markets**, but not without **wise laws and tough enforcement**.”*

In this context, “fair” refers to a human quality which entails showing compassion and making a sensible decision about a social phenomenon. In this context, “robust” refers to markets that are stable and enduring, that provide people and investors with a feeling of security. Here “wise” indicates laws which were designed and passed by wise lawmakers which, in turn, would enforce these laws for people’s welfare.

Editorial

Lasting Damage From the Budget Fight

Published: September 25, 2013

*“It will preserve the **deeply damaging spending cuts**, known as the sequester, that are costing jobs and **hurting** the lives of millions”.*

This sentence is a proposition with cross-domain mapping: between a physical action (cutting) and its consequence in the human mind and soul (hurting). In this context, “deeply” highlights and emphasizes the extent of the damage of financial constraints. In this context, “cuts” refers to reduction in government budget.

*“The Senate plans to **drop that wording**, and, if the House doesn’t agree, the government will shut down on Tuesday.”*

In this context, “drop” conveys the meaning of doing without or getting rid of something. By using personification of the Senate and a concrete verb which describes a visual action, language – wording – is given an attribution of weight. Language and ideas originate in the mind and come out of the mouth. That specific language regarding financial issues has to be gotten rid of as if it was a physical element one has to do without. The action of dropping something entails a vertical movement going down, like that of throwing away garbage.

Editorial

No Banker Left Behind

Published: August 15, 2013

*“The settlement was with UBS and Bank of America, and though the precise terms will not **be nailed down** until the bankruptcy judge **weighs in**,*

Detroit is set to pay an estimated \$250 million to terminate a soured derivatives transaction from 2005”.

The metaphorical expression written here in a proposition uses the principle of resemblance as described by Dufrenne (1973). Accuracy and assurance of payment are compared to the outcome of the action performed by a carpenter when using a hammer to secure the nails. The meaning of physical strength and definite, reliable result is conveyed successfully.

*“It will also reduce its **debt load**, according to city officials, because the banks have agreed to a discount of as much as 25 percent off what they are owed.”*

The metaphorical expression written here in a proposition uses cross-domain mapping from the physical dimension to the abstract concept of money. A financial amount is understood as a heavy weight that has to be borne and carried, it has got the attribute of a physical load.

*“Municipal officials are prey for **Wall Street**.”*

Through metonymy, this proposition presents Wall Street as a greedy person, or even as a bird of prey. In both cases an entity is given traits of someone who is alive. What is meant here is that the people in charge of making financial decisions from the Stock Exchange have municipal officials as targets for measures to be taken.

Editorial

The Cash Committee

Published: August 17, 2013

“Every term, scores of members, particularly freshmen, demand a seat on

*the panel — not because they **have a burning interest** in regulating banks and Wall Street, but because they know that they will be able raise much more money if one of the 61 seats has their name on it.”*

The metaphorical expression written here as a proposition uses the principle of resemblance as described by Dufrenne (1973). Interest is compared to fire in its urgency and power of consumption.

*It's **the banks' way of saying**, welcome to the committee and our culture, we hope we can continue to do business.*

Personification makes up a Conceptual Metaphor, namely “banks *are* people who can speak and have an opinion expressed in a particular way”. There is cross-domain mapping because only human beings can speak and say something at all.

Editorial

Getting Detroit Back on Its Feet

Published: July 22, 2013

*“After suffering through decades of economic decline and official mismanagement, the city of Detroit sought bankruptcy protection last week, becoming the largest American municipality **to take that extreme step.**”*

This statement uses a metaphorical expression with personification when referring to an entity, the city: only people take steps, that is, walk deliberately in a specific direction. It was the authorities who made a decision which had an economic and political impact on the city. The principle of attribution is operating here.

*“This group will, of course, **push the city** and state to also force concessions on city workers and retirees, whose pension funds are underfinanced by about \$3.5 billion”.*

The metaphorical expression in this proposition uses personification and metonymy to convey the meaning of city authorities being obliged to make a political decision.

*“Even if the city is able **to wipe out much of its debts** in bankruptcy court, officials in Detroit and at the statehouse will have to develop a much more comprehensive and far-reaching plan to deal with the city’s problems.”*

In this context, “to wipe out” refers to the settlement of a debt. Debts have to be eliminated fast and forever as if they were an unpleasant stain, which has to be removed before it causes harm.

*“Detroit’s decline is not just bad for its residents, it also **hurts the surrounding suburbs**”.*

This proposition with personification uses a metaphorical expression to refer to the harmful consequences of financial problems in people’s lives. The inhabitants of Detroit’s suburbs are suffering because of unemployment caused by the shutdown of factories from the automobile industry.

Editorial

Back to the Future on Wall Street

Published: August 19, 2013

*“As public offerings have ramped up again on Wall Street — with \$10.4 billion in proceeds generated from private-equity-backed offerings in 2012 and \$12.6 billion so far this year — banks have clamored for **looser restrictions** and got them in the JOBS law.”*

The proposition expressed here compares restrictions to something that can

be physically oppressive, like a belt or tight clothes. Restrictions are an abstract concept which acquires a physical dimension by virtue of the metaphorical expression in the sentence above.

*“The law allows analysts to attend an **investment banking pitch** for a public offering of an “emerging growth company.”*

In this proposition, a bad financial decision and impact is understood as pitch, a dirty and harmful substance that can stain and contaminate. This metaphorical expression illustrates the idea of negative outcome in banking operations.

Editorial

Rules for Wall Street to Live By

Published: August 20, 2013

*“Rules that are hurried through are likelier **to be watered down**, because the only way to avoid lengthy industry challenges is to make the rules too soft to draw **Wall Street’s disapproval**. So in addition to urging regulators to hurry up, Mr. Obama has to use **his bully pulpit** both to support regulators (and rules) who might **anger Wall Street** and tell Congressional Democrats who would **derail strong rules to back off**. “*

Rules are compared to a physical process that is weakened by virtue of a downward movement of running water. Rules can be made less strict.

Wall Street – the stock market – is treated as a person who judges others’ behavior and approves or disapproves decisions. Then, President Obama is endowed with a religious-like nature: his powerful position is compared to that of a priest when preaching and influencing an audience.

Different mappings occur in the propositions above. The natural, human, religious, psychological and machine domains are used to convey the meanings of softness, objection, anger, and chaos.

Editorial

Exposing the Pay Gap

Published: September 24, 2013

*“It would help regulators and policy makers detect **bubbles** and impending **crashes**, because those often correlate to widening pay gaps.”*

The metaphorically used words in this sentence point to the idea of weakness and instability first, and then the notion of accidents with harmful results and destruction.

Editorial

The International Fallout

Published: October 7, 2013

*“The fiscal chaos has also given China, **America’s largest creditor**, an opportunity to **scold** the United States.”*

Through personification, China is perceived as a more powerful person than the US and, by virtue of that, has the right and authority to scold the less powerful actor in the financial scenario.

*“On Monday, most global markets were lower, and the price of oil **dropped** as traders became increasingly anxious about the standoff in Washington, particularly over the **debt ceiling**.”*

Economy is viewed in a physical dimension in that markets and prices increase their profit and value when they are at a high level. At the same time, the limit for debt is understood in domestic terms by using the word “ceiling”, a clear reference for a building like a house or office. When something reaches the ceiling it cannot go any further up. The negative

meaning for the limit of debt is achieved this way.

Editorial

Europe's Slow Progress on Banking Reform

Published: October 19, 2013

*“The European Union last week **moved one step closer** to establishing a banking union that could help address problems in its financial system.”*

The European Union is treated as a person who can actually move in space and walk. In this proposition, the metaphorical expression points to financial and political decisions aimed at reaching an agreement.

*“While a good start, giving the E.C.B. supervisory authority will do little to clean up financial excesses that have become **a yoke** around the euro zone's economy.”*

A Conceptual Metaphor – namely, financial excesses are a yoke – is used to convey the meaning of economic entrapment.

*“But those plans have been stymied and delayed by Germany, which has a strong aversion to having a central European fund used to bail out **reckless banks** that were not properly regulated.”*

Through personification banks are depicted as irresponsible people who are not concerned about bad results or negative consequences from their actions.

*“But it is important that the E.U. **act soon.**”*

The E.U. is perceived as an actor who has to start an act, a performance and, at the same time, a person who has to solve a problem.

Editorial

Germany's Blind Spot

Published: October 31, 2013

*“That has made it hard for countries like Greece and France to increase their exports and **revive their economies.**”*

Economies are understood as people who are ill, depressed and need help to recover their energy.

*“Germany makes things that the world wants to buy. The problem is that **the country's obsession** with exports comes at a high cost for its neighbors and its own economy.”*

An implicit Conceptual Metaphor is achieved through personification. Germany is seen as a person, a human being who is obsessed with an idea. The cross-domain mapping occurs between human and national.

Editorial

Budget Grief for the Poor and Jobless

Published: November 1, 2013

*“The danger, as always, is that Republicans will **pull Democrats in their slipstream**, winning their agreement to cuts that are deemed acceptable simply because they are not as harsh as Republicans demanded.”*

In the sentence above, a physical action is used to convey the meaning effectively.

*“The current program, begun in 2008, has been renewed many times, though in recent **renewals benefits have been cut far more deeply** than is warranted by continued high unemployment.”*

An abstract concept – benefits – is understood in the physical dimension to

convey the idea of reduction. Only a knife can cut deeply into a surface or substance. The meaning is achieved by providing the reader with a visual image.

*“As a result, the program is doing less and less **to combat poverty.**”*

Poverty is understood as an enemy that has to be fought and defeated in a battle, rather than a pitiful condition people are in.

Editorial

JPMorgan Pays

Published: November 20, 2013

*“It is **a black eye for the bank**, but not particularly punitive.”*

In this implicit Conceptual Metaphor, the bank is perceived as a person who was punched in the face and now has a black eye. In other words, the personification of the bank tells us that it could not defend itself from vicious external action and ended up wounded.

*“It could be **less than meets the eye** because JPMorgan will get credit for relief it probably would have provided anyway.”*

This metaphorical expression in the proposition uses synecdoche to convey the idea that a person has to deal with a situation.

Editorial

All That Glitters Online

Published: November 21, 2013

*“Users can transfer the digital coins without using banks and can use the bitcoins to pay for goods and services from merchants who take this currency; so far, that includes the dating site OkCupid and **murky websites** that sell illegal drugs and firearms.”*

The idea of potential unlawful action is conveyed through an adjective which is ordinarily used to describe weather conditions. The familiar, visual image of dark or foggy atmosphere is applied to a website in a novel way.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Editorial

Testing Europe's Conscience

Published: October 14, 2013

*“Increased migration has been exploited by far-right political parties to **fan fears** of refugees as threats to living standards and national identities.”*

In this context, “fan” indicates the action of publicly showing and expressing an emotion.

Editorial

Angela Merkel's Next Challenge

Published: September 23, 2013

*“Her previous partner, the pro-business Free Democrats, **were a major casualty of the vote**, falling below the minimum 5 percent threshold for entering Parliament.”*

The proposition found here makes up a Conceptual Metaphor, as described by Lakoff (1980), in that it states that Free Democrats *are* a casualty. There is also cross-domain mapping between one concept and the other; that is to say, Free Democrats have the essential traits of a casualty.

*“Those measures have stymied growth and forced those governments **to shred social services** for their poorest citizens.”*

In this proposition, social services are conceptualized as a physical object, like a piece of cloth, that can be torn into pieces, to convey the meaning of an image of destruction and uselessness for the people who need them. The principle of resemblance, as described by Dufrenne (1973), is present in the sentence.

Editorial

Opportunity and Risk in Japan

Published: July 22, 2013

*“And he needs to resist pressure from **deficit hawks** to increase consumption taxes, at least until economic recovery is more firmly established.”*

People who have to deal with financial constraints and political decision concerning taxes are conceptualized as being birds of prey ready to attack and cause damage. There is cross-domain mapping because, even though human beings are not mentioned, it is understood from the context that the President will have to fight the pressure excreted by those “hawks”. This proposition can be paraphrased as “the President fighting birds of prey”.

*“Mr. Abe has to stop **rubbing raw the wounds** of World War II.”*

The cross-domain mapping of this metaphorical expression occurs between the human body and the mind or soul. There is no actual, physical rubbing, but an insistence on a painful issue for many Americans. This insistence has the same impact, according to the writer, as if someone was rubbing on a wound to make it raw and bleed again, In other words, to cause unnecessary pain and suffering. The meaning here is conveyed successfully both for those who went through the experience of war and for the informed readers.

*“Nor should his government divert budget resources into **military muscle flexing.**”*

The metaphorical expression used in this proposition refers to the wasting of money on pointless and useless training of soldiers. What is meant is that the budget a government has should be used more effectively on other important issues for the country. The cross-domain mapping in this proposition is achieved by reducing misuse of budget to the comparison of professional military training to ordinary workout programs for strengthening muscle.

Editorial

Inching Forward in the Mideast

Published: July 25, 2013

*“Even if they do, the **path** will never be **smooth.**”*

In this proposition, expressed as an assertion, the metaphorical expression is assimilated and paralleled to a physical path. The path referred to here means the course of action to be taken by authorities and the difficulties encountered along its implementation as well as the impact it can have on people’s lives.

*“After Mr. Kerry announced last Friday that he would bring Israeli and Palestinian negotiators to Washington “within a week or so,” both sides **poured cold water on the idea.**”*

In this proposition the idea of negotiating between Israeli and Palestinian is conceptualized as fire or an object which is burning and can cause damage. They want to calm things down and, for that purpose, the image of putting out a fire or lowering the heat is used. The idea that high temperature is dangerous is applied to the potential disagreements between the parties.

*“No good can come if Israel, with its growing Palestinian population, evolves from a Jewish majority state to an Arab majority state; if disenfranchised Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza remain stateless in an increasingly restive region; and if the long sought dream of a **Palestinian state is left to die.**”*

The metaphorical expression in this proposition uses personification and human attributes to refer to the Palestinian state, as if it was a person. There is also an implied simile in this proposition in that the state is understood as being alive, yet weak and in danger of perishing if not looked after, just like a patient in hospital.

Editorial

Narendra Modi’s Rise in India

Published: October 26, 2013

*“But Mr. Modi’s strident Hindu nationalism has **fueled** public outrage.”*

*“That **incendiary response** created a **political uproar** and demands for an apology.”*

The cross domain mapping in this proposition goes from the animal to the social and political domain/realm. In this context, politicians are understood as animals which react to a particular behavior from political opponents.

Both metaphorical expressions convey the idea of extreme and outspoken nationalism which brings about a very negative emotion from people.

Editorial

Libya’s Security Crisis

Published: October 10, 2013

*“The country is **awash in arms** and the situation is so chaotic that militants, some affiliated with Al Qaeda, have begun to use Libya as a base and to*

smuggle weapons beyond its borders, including into Mali.”

The image of flood is used to illustrate the big amount of weapons a country has: there are too many and can be found everywhere.

Editorial

Fukushima Politics

Published: October 14, 2013

*“Ever the acute reader of political moods, Mr. Koizumi argues that a zero nuclear policy could be cause for a great social movement in a country still **gripped by economic gloom** after 15 years of deflation.”*

In this metaphorical expression darkness acquires the meaning of a strong hand or claw which makes the financial situation in a country difficult for the people.

*“Prime Minister Abe has been stressing the need **to shed the deflation mentality** for Japan **to lift itself** out of economic stagnation. **Japan can** certainly do with a **change in attitude**. Mr. Koizumi makes a compelling argument that if the ruling Liberal Democratic Party were to announce a zero nuclear policy, “the nation could come together in the creation of a recyclable society unseen in the world,” and the **public mood would rise in an instant.**”*

By means of personification, Japan becomes someone with a mentality who is able to encourage himself and change his attitude. The reader understands this domain transfer and adds the concept of mood – an individual mental state – to a collective identity.

Editorial

Can Iraq Be Saved?

Published: November 1, 2013

*“But the escalating bloodshed **has steadily poisoned the political space**, undermined incipient democratic institutions and made a stable future that much more elusive.”*

A harmful, physical substance – poison – has damaged political space as if the latter was also understood in those terms. In order to achieve this meaning successfully, the political domain is given attributes it does not have.

Editorial

A New Alliance on Climate Change

Published: November 13, 2013

*“In an effort to compensate for the failure of central governments to address the dangers of climate change with comprehensive national policies, cities, states and regions have developed their own strategies **to rein in** emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases.”*

*“Together, the three states and British Columbia have an enormous economy, a population of more than 50 million people, a history of economic and technological innovation, and **front-row seats on the ocean**, where climate change will have a profound effect.”*

Carbon dioxide emissions are compared to an animal out of control, namely a horse. Both metaphorical expressions point to the idea of danger and potential harm for people. In the second sentence, a privileged position – in physical and financial terms – is threatened by climate change.

Editorial

Sri Lanka’s Climate of Fear

Published: November 13, 2013

“Ms. Pillay denounced, in particular, attacks on freedom of expression and

*a climate of fear that is undermining democracy and **eroding** the rule of law.”*

The rule of law is given physical, concrete characteristics, like the soil on the Earth. It is what holds and sustains us. If this is “eroded”, that is, threatened and weakened, political stability in society is at stake. This threat is assimilated to a harmful process in Nature which can be controlled and prevented.

*“Journalists and news organizations that **do not toe** the official line have their offices sacked, their staff detained, their equipment destroyed and their lives threatened.”*

The reference to the human body is used in this metaphorical expression to show the trespassing of a boundary.

*“Despite such tactics, the Tamil National Alliance’s decisive victory in the elections demonstrated **the strength of the people’s desire** for political rights.”*

People’s desire acquires a physical characteristic like that of a muscle or force capable of defeating and overcoming obstacles.

POLITICS

Editorial

The High Cost of Low Politics

Published: October 19, 2013

*“Early this year, it was widely acknowledged that the economy was in **for a tough patch**.”*

In this context, “to be in for” refers to the low expectations political authorities had for the economy. In the basic meaning, this expression is applied to human experience whereas the contextual meaning transfers that semantic scope to that of a country’s economy.

*“As a result, the year will end much as it began, with growth of around 2 percent at best, which **is too sluggish to spur hiring**, raise wages, reduce unemployment or boost corporate earnings.”*

In this context, “sluggish” refers to an economy that is not functioning as dynamically as it should to benefit citizens. The contextual meaning points to lack of movement, like that of stagnant water.

Editorial

Wolves Under Review

Published: August 15, 2013

*“The Fish and Wildlife Service is now busy **covering its tracks**.”*

An entity is compared to an animal and becomes alive by virtue of its sly behavior, which is an important trait of wolves. In this context, “covering” refers to the action of hiding evidence from the public. The difference between the contextual and basic meaning is that in the latter the action is visual and physical whereas in the first it implies not speaking about an issue or being reluctant to provide evidence (documents).

Editorial

The White House on Spying

Published: October 28, 2013

“It’s unlikely that Mr. Obama would have ordered any review if Edward

*Snowden's leaks had not revealed **the vacuum-cleaner approach** to electronic spying."*

In this proposition, the action taken by President Obama regarding electronic spying is compared to a vacuum-cleaner, to convey the image and idea of a clean place and immaculate action. It is taken for granted that the reader understands the cross-domain mapping between a way of thinking and acting – an approach – and witnessing the result of the action from a vacuum-cleaner. An implied simile conveys this meaning that the approach acts like a vacuum-cleaner, as if it were one, as a way to guarantee Americans that their government is doing things well

*"That Chancellor Merkel's cellphone conversations could **fall under that umbrella** is an outgrowth of the post-9/11 decision by President Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney that everyone is the enemy, and that anyone's rights may be degraded in the name of national security".*

The proposition here uses the visual image of an umbrella and the metaphorical meaning of comprising a wide scope of concepts within the domain of US government national security.

Editorial

The Government as a Low-Wage Employer

Published: August 12, 2013

*"In 1965, in **a nation torn** by racial strife, President Johnson signed an executive order mandating nondiscrimination in employment by government contractors".*

This proposition with personification understands the nation as being a person. There is cross-domain mapping as described by Lakoff (1980).

Here, it is implied that the nation as a person, “the nation is a person which was torn”, something injured it, in this case racial strife. However, the sentence does not state that the nation *is* a person.

Editorial

More Hunger for the Poorest Americans

Published: December 24, 2013

*“The deal being finalized would not **kick people off the rolls**, but it would end a practice used in some 16 states to boost food stamp benefits”.*

The metaphorical expression found in this sentence uses a human action – kicking – applied to the bad consequences of a deal being reached by political officials. So, the deal acquires human potential to affect – or not affect – people’s lives.

Editorial

What’s the Point of a Summit?

Published: August 6, 2013

*“On top of all the other legitimate grievances with Mr. Putin’s policies came his decision to essentially **stick a thumb in Mr. Obama’s eye** by granting asylum to Edward Snowden, the man who disclosed to the world the National Security Agency **sweeps** of Americans’ telephone records.”*

The use of the physical domain of the human body as explained by Radden & Dirven (2007) to show and convey the meaning of blatant aggression against President Obama. The reader understands the strong negative meaning in the sentence since this metaphorical expression is commonly used both in oral and spoken language.

The concept of power from the American government is expressed by the word “sweep” in that the National Security Agency can remove virtually anything that is considered a threat or potential danger to the government and political stability.

*“There is no reason for Mr. Obama to attend unless Mr. Putin provides **solid assurances** that he is prepared to address **contentious issues** in a substantive and **constructive way**.”*

In this proposition, the manner in which issues have to be addressed leads to the idea of a stable and enduring physical creation, with a reliable basis - solid assurances – which enables the achievement of a good solution. The idea expressed in the proposition operates on the principle of resemblance: that of erecting a building.

Editorial

Republicans Retreat From a Shutdown

Published: August 20, 2013

*“In other words, they would refuse to raise the **debt ceiling** if their demands aren’t met, just as they did during a similar debacle in 2011 that damaged the nation’s credit rating and led to the sequester.”*

In this proposition a concrete, very familiar word is used to convey the image for limitation, boundary and constraint. A ceiling is what every reader sees every morning upon waking up.

*“But the prospect doesn’t seem to bother Republican leaders — like Speaker John Boehner who are still raising expectations in the party’s base that the **debt ceiling remains a useful tool** for **extracting significant concessions** from Democrats.”*

The household, domestic environment is mapped onto the political realm to convey the idea of limitation and a practical application, just like an ordinary tool is used at home. The framework of the Conduit Metaphor (Reddy, 1979)

expresses the idea of taking meaning out of a container; in this case Democrats can give concessions, or they can be obtained from them.

Editorial

Silencing Scientists

Published: September 2, 2013

*“There was trouble of this kind here in the George W. Bush years, when scientists were asked **to toe the party line** on climate policy and endangered species.”*

*“It involves checking and double-checking, self-criticism and a willingness **to overturn** even fundamental assumptions if they prove to be wrong.”*

The metaphorical meaning gives assumptions a physical, concrete identity in order to convey a visual image, like that of a boat on the water.

Editorial

New York Legislators’ Secret Income

Published: September 23, 2013

*“What they found merely **whets the appetite for even greater disclosure.**”*

Eagerness and greed are conveyed through the everyday, familiar image of food.

23 Editorial

The Embarrassment of Senator Ted Cruz

Published: September 24, 2013

*“Like hard-liners in the far right corner of the House, Mr. Cruz has **grabbed** for every possible **lever** in his campaign against President Obama’s health law, fully aware that he will not succeed but eager for the accolades and donations that will inevitably follow from the Tea Party’s misguided faithful.”*

A concrete verb and noun are used in this proposition to convey the image and idea of strong, deliberate and purposeful action against President Obama. The metaphorical expression means that Mr. Cruz has used every resource to oppose the passing of a law.

*“After he lost their support, he began an extended tirade anyway, **a stunt** that might resemble a filibuster but in fact will have to end Wednesday morning before a prescheduled vote on the House bill takes place.”*

The concept of a dangerous, difficult, and unnecessary physical action is used to describe a politician’s wrong behavior. His angry speech resembles a stunt.

*“His own goal of **tearing down the law**, he said, was a dream on par with President John F. Kennedy’s promise to put a man on the moon.”*

In this proposition, the idea of destruction is depicted by means of a visual image of concrete material.

Editorial

A Breakthrough on Iraqi Visas

Published: October 7, 2013

*“Even as the shutdown of the federal government **dragged** on last week and it seemed bipartisan cooperation had become **an obsolete relic**, members of Congress managed to honor a moral obligation.”*

This Conceptual Metaphor is saying that bipartisan cooperation is something not only old but also useless and unwanted.

*“For the moment, though, this limited, short-term solution to a pressing problem is worth noting in the **bleak dysfunction** of Washington.”*

A wrong political decision in Washington acquires an emotional and psychological dimension which impacts people's feelings.

Editorial

The Senate Tries to End the Crisis

Published: October 14, 2013

*"If he continues **to cater to the Tea Party wing of his caucus**, piling on new demands, the delay could be catastrophic — a **"rapidly spreading fatal disease,"** as the co-chief executive of Deutsche Bank put it. The time to stop it has arrived."*

The idea of a political party is conveyed through metonymy referring to an event from American history. After that, a Conceptual Metaphor defines the impact of a delay in political decision-making. The domain of illnesses is mapped onto that of time: both advance in a negative way.

Editorial

For Extending New York's Judicial Terms

Published: October 27, 2013

*"This would give court administrators new flexibility to assign judges to family court and other areas where there is **a pressing need.**"*

In this metaphorical expression, a physical, visual image is used to convey the idea of urgency and demand for action.

*"Just a few years ago, the state's former chief judge, Judith Kaye, one of the nation's most able jurists, was forced **to step down** because of that rule for no good reason."*

In this metaphorical expression, a jurist had to had to go down from a higher position, that of authority and power which are understood as being

“higher up”. Power is up on the scale, lack of power is at the bottom, as understood by Radden and Dirven (2007).

Editorial

A Delayed Deadline Could Disrupt Reform

Published: October 28, 2013

*“It is their latest ploy **to disable a law** that they have tried repeatedly to repeal.”*

A law and its effects are treated as a concrete, physical object – or a machine – that cannot function properly. It acquires a material nature by virtue of a domain transfer.

*“Jeffrey Zients, the troubleshooter appointed to fix the site by President Obama, told reporters on Friday that by the end of November the portal **“will work smoothly** for the vast majority of users.”*

An efficient way of functioning is compared to a gliding, natural movement across a surface. It is understood in concrete terms.

Editorial

The Politics of Petulance

Published: October 31, 2013

*“Putting aside the flatly dishonest use of that term, the Republicans’ real concern, as the **Senate minority whip**, John Cornyn, told reporters this week, is that nominees like Ms. Millett will **“tilt the court ideologically in a way that favors the big-government agenda of the Obama administration.”***

A Republican congressman has been stripped of his human condition and has been turned into an object used for punishing people by hitting them to

cause physical damage. An implicit Conceptual Metaphor operates here stating that John Cornyn *is* a whip, he lacks reasoning and free will.

*“Senator Patrick Leahy, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, warned before the vote Thursday that “if Republican senators are going **to hold nominations hostage** without consideration of their individual merit, drastic measures may be warranted.”*

By using the word “hostage” in this context of political analysis and criticism, the linguistic bias in newspaper editorials as depicted by Van Dijk (1996) is clearly exemplified in this proposition.

Editorial

Pressure and Passivity on Immigration

Published: November 26, 2013

*“By suggesting that large-scale immigration overhaul can be done incrementally, he was retreating from an argument that has guided reform advocates for a decade: fixing the broken system requires three things at once — **tighter enforcement**, an improved flow of new immigrants and legalization for the 11 million living here outside the law.”*

The enforcement of a legal system acquires a concrete, material nature as if it was a belt or rope which can press or squeeze something.

*“A comprehensive bill passed the Senate with a strong bipartisan majority five months ago and could pass the House **in a heartbeat**.”*

This proposition uses cross-domain mapping from the human body onto the political realm of Congress and its efficiency in passing a law. The implied meaning here is that nothing is – or could be – faster than a heartbeat, the most natural and ancient way of measuring time and speed.

Editorial

Sandy's Unfinished Business

Published: October 28, 2013

*“On the first anniversary of the storm, politicians are busily touting what they’ve done since, while, at the same time, assiduously **dodging** legitimate complaints from people who are still suffering.”*

The human body is used as a reference to convey the meaning of not taking responsibility for other people’s suffering.

*“The delays have been **excruciating** for many.”*

An adjective which describes physical pain, in this context refers to people’s suffering. An emotional, psychological affliction resembles bodily pain.

*“Because the storm was **just a taste** of what’s coming as the earth’s temperatures rise and oceans expand into human territory, many politicians and private citizens have realized the folly of rebuilding what was there before.”*

One of the senses is used to foreshadow the experience of another sense – touching – as well as the mental and emotional domains: understanding and feeling.

*“Mayor Michael Bloomberg of New York City has argued that flood insurance for homeowners of modest means should not skyrocket to the point where it becomes unaffordable, but, in the long run, it makes sense to demand that insured properties be made **more resilient**.”*

By the use of this adjective, properties acquire a psychological and emotional trait, just like human beings. They resemble people.

Appendix 2

Samples of editorials from the three topics studied

Editorials dealing with **Politics**

Editorial

The White House on Spying

Published: October 28, 2013

Update: *The Obama administration said late Monday that it was [considering banning eavesdropping](#) on the leaders of American allies.*

[The White House response on Monday](#) to the expanding disclosures of American spying on foreign leaders, their governments and millions of their citizens was a pathetic mix of unsatisfying assurances about reviews under way, platitudes about the need for security in an insecure age, and the odd defense that the president didn't know that American spies had tapped the German chancellor's cellphone [for 10 years](#).

Is it really better for us to think that things have gone so far with the post-9/11 idea that any spying that can be done should be done and that nobody thought to inform President Obama about tapping the phone of one of the most important American allies?

The White House spokesman, Jay Carney, kept repeating that Mr. Obama ordered a review of surveillance policy a few months ago, but he would not confirm whether that includes the tapping of the cellphone of Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany, or the collection of data on tens of millions of calls in France, Spain and elsewhere. It's unlikely that Mr. Obama would have ordered any review if Edward Snowden's leaks had not revealed the vacuum-cleaner approach to electronic spying. Mr. Carney left no expectation that the internal reviews will produce any significant public accounting — only that the White House might have “a little more detail” when they are completed.

Fortunately, members of Congress have been more aggressive in responding to two broad disclosures. One, that both the Obama and George W. Bush administrations misinterpreted the Patriot Act to permit the collection of metadata on phone calls, emails and text messages of all Americans, whether they were international or domestic. And, second, that the 2008 amendments to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act were being stretched to excuse the routine collection of data from [60 million](#) telephone calls in Spain and [70 million](#) in France over two 30-day periods.

Legislation scheduled to be introduced on Tuesday by Patrick Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and Representative Jim Sensenbrenner, Republican of Wisconsin, would end the bulk collection of Americans' communications data.

The administration has said that such data collection is permitted by Section 215 of the Patriot Act, although Mr. Sensenbrenner, who wrote that section, has said it is not. The bill, [the U.S.A. Freedom Act](#), would require that the "tangible things" sought through data collection are "relevant and material to an authorized investigation into international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities." They would also have to pertain to a foreign power or its agent, activities of a foreign agent already under investigation or someone in touch with an agent.

Currently, the government conducts metadata collection by periodically vaguely informing a federal court in secret that it is working on security-related issues.

The bill would require a court order in order to search for Americans' communications in data collected overseas, which falls under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, and it would restrict "reverse targeting" — targeting a foreigner with the goal of getting information about an American. The bill would not address spying on foreigners, including such abuses as in the Merkel affair. Those activities are governed by a presidential order that is secret and certain to remain so.

We are not reassured by the often-heard explanation that everyone spies on everyone else all the time. We are not advocating a return to 1929 when Secretary of State Henry Stimson banned the decryption of diplomatic cables because “gentlemen do not read each other’s mail.” But there has long been an understanding that international spying was done in pursuit of a concrete threat to national security.

That Chancellor Merkel’s cellphone conversations could fall under that umbrella is an outgrowth of the post-9/11 decision by President Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney that everyone is the enemy, and that anyone’s rights may be degraded in the name of national security. That led to Abu Ghraib, torture at the secret C.I.A. prisons, warrantless wiretapping of American citizens, grave harm to international relations, and the dragnet approach to surveillance revealed by the Snowden leaks.

Editorial

Republicans Retreat From a Shutdown

Published: August 20, 2013

Whether out of pure self-preservation or a sudden attack of common sense, a growing group of Republicans is saying no to the strident extremists who want to shut down the government this fall if health care reform is allowed to proceed. [“I think it’s the dumbest idea I’ve ever heard of.”](#) Senator Richard Burr, a Republican of North Carolina, said recently.

He and others in his party are pushing back hard against the idea — promulgated by Senators Ted Cruz, Marco Rubio and Mike Lee, as well as others in the Tea Party camp — that Republicans should not agree to any legislation that keeps the government going after Sept. 30 if it also pays for the new health care system. So far, only 13 reckless senators have signed on to this movement; most of the others recognize that the attempt would not only be futile but also ruinous to what little remains of their party’s reputation for governing. Adam Kinzinger, a Republican congressman from Illinois, said that

once voters realized the damage that could be caused by a shutdown, they might [push his party out of control of the House](#). “Potentially there will be a collapse of will to keep the government shut down because soldiers are not getting paid, and all this other stuff’s happening, and we turn around and lose 10-20 seats in 2014,” he said.

That doesn’t mean, however, that Republicans are out of foolish ideas. Virtually every one of the party’s elected officials takes it as an article of faith that health care reform must be stopped, and many are still looking for other ways besides a shutdown to make sure the uninsured remain that way. As [National Review recently reported](#), several lawmakers who consider a government shutdown a political liability — including the leadership of the House — are still willing to threaten a government default later this year if health care reform isn’t stopped or delayed.

In other words, they would refuse to raise the debt ceiling if their demands aren’t met, just as they did during a similar debacle in 2011 that damaged the nation’s credit rating and led to the sequester. That would be far worse than a brief shutdown, inflicting much greater damage on credit markets and the overall economy. But the prospect doesn’t seem to bother Republican leaders — like Speaker John Boehner who are still raising expectations in the party’s base that the debt ceiling remains a useful tool for extracting significant concessions from Democrats. If the leadership can send out signals that a shutdown is unacceptable, it is irresponsible for them not to do the same on a government default.

It is not clear, however, that Mr. Boehner has enough control over his rowdy caucus to prevent either kind of disaster. Even if health care is removed from the table, House Republicans are still demanding spending cuts in the upcoming fiscal year that are significantly below the levels of the sequester, which has already inflicted severe pain. They have refused to sit at a conference table with Senate Democrats. When Congress returns from recess in September, moderate Republicans who care about their party’s reputation may be waging a losing battle.

Editorials dealing with **Economy**

Editorial

No Banker Left Behind

Published: August 15, 2013

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The [Detroit bankruptcy case](#) has been cast as a contest between bondholders and pensioners that can be resolved only by shared sacrifice.

In principle, we have no problem with that, though in practice, the pensioners' fair share will have to take into account their [extreme vulnerability](#): Public pensions are not federally insured and many municipal retirees do not receive Social Security.

What we do have a problem with is shared sacrifice that does not seem to apply to the big banks that abetted Detroit's descent into bankruptcy.

Last month, just days before its bankruptcy filing, Detroit reached its [first settlement with creditors](#). The settlement was with UBS and Bank of America, and though the precise terms will not be nailed down until the bankruptcy judge weighs in, Detroit is set to pay an estimated \$250 million to terminate a soured derivatives transaction from 2005.

The derivatives, known as interest-rate swaps, were supposed to protect Detroit from rising interest payments on a chunk of its variable rate debt. The banks would pay Detroit if interest rates rose, and Detroit would pay the banks if rates fell. By 2009, both interest rates and the city's credit rating were falling, forcing Detroit to pay the banks some \$50 million a year and to pledge roughly \$11 million a month in casino-tax revenue as additional collateral.

In the settlement, Detroit will keep the casino-tax revenue. It will also reduce its debt load, according to city officials, because the banks have agreed to a discount of as much as 25 percent off what they are owed. But the haircut doesn't mean that the banks will suffer. They have already made money on the

swaps; the true extent of any discount will not be known until the deal is finalized.

This much is clear:

- The banks' 25 percent hit is nothing compared with the 90 percent cut to pensions suggested by the city — a cut that would be disastrous in both human and political terms and that the State of Michigan must prevent from happening.

- Municipal officials are prey for Wall Street. The Dodd-Frank financial reform law called on regulators to establish “enhanced protection” for municipalities and other clients in their dealings with Wall Street, but the Securities and Exchange Commission has not yet completed rules, while the Commodity Futures Trading Commission’s rules are so weak as to virtually invite the banks to exploit municipalities.

- The special treatment banks receive when debtors are in or near bankruptcy is unfair and economically destabilizing. Detroit’s agreement with the two banks requires court approval, but, in general, swap deals by banks are not subject to the constraints that normally apply in bankruptcy cases; in effect, the banks are paid first, even before other secured creditors and certainly before pensioners. That privilege, dating to the heyday of derivatives deregulation in the 1990s and 2000s, is destabilizing because the assurance of repayment fosters recklessness.

Detroit’s problems are a reminder of broader challenges, identified but still unmet: protecting pensions; protecting municipalities from Wall Street; and, at long last, revoking the obscene privileges of banks that allow them to prosper on the failings of others.

Editorial

Exposing the Pay Gap

Published: September 24, 2013

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Of all the provisions in the vast and complex Dodd-Frank financial reform law, one of the most far-reaching is also the most direct and easily understood. It requires public companies to compute and disclose the ratio of a chief executive's pay to that of a typical employee.

For more than three years, however, corporate America has resisted the mandate, warning that following the law would be a logistical nightmare, unduly complex and ultimately meaningless. The complaints never rang true. Companies already disclose executive pay and surely know how much they pay their employees. From there, computing the "pay ratio" is not rocket science.

Even so, these arguments have long prevailed at the Securities and Exchange Commission, delaying regulations to put the pay-ratio provision into effect. No longer. [Last week](#), the S.E.C. proposed a strong, common-sense rule that basically tells the companies to follow the law. The proposal addresses concerns about complexity by giving corporations clear guidance and sufficient flexibility to compute the ratio, but without undermining the law's intent, which is to give the public a clear picture of the gaps between pay at the top and pay at the median.

The information is vital. It would allow investors to more accurately judge the effect of pay structures on company performance. It would inform investors' votes on executive pay, because it would be a benchmark for determining whether executive pay is excessive. It would help regulators and policy makers detect bubbles and impending crashes, because those often correlate to widening pay gaps. It would help alert consumers and taxpayers to companies where work forces are underpaid, even as executive pay soars, a circumstance that often requires taxpayer dollars be spent on assistance to low-wage workers.

Disclosing the pay ratio is not the only way to confront those issues, but it will be enormously helpful. In recent decades, changing corporate norms have allowed C.E.O. compensation over all to balloon to nearly 300 times what typical employees make. Company-specific data on pay gaps will force chief

executives and their boards to justify just how out of kilter pay scales have become.

For the next 60 days, the S.E.C. will gather public comment on its pay ratio proposal. Count us in favor.

Editorials dealing with **International Affairs**

Editorial

Testing Europe's Conscience

Published: October 14, 2013

After the drowning of more than 300 Africans near the Italian island of Lampedusa, the [European Commission](#) president, José Manuel Barroso, [pledged 30 million euros](#), or about \$40.7 million, last week to help Italy deal with an overwhelming influx of refugees. While this is a good start, it is far from enough.

On Friday, another boat carrying more than 200 refugees capsized off the coast of Sicily, leaving more than 30 people dead. Over the past two decades, [20,000 migrants have died](#) trying to make it across the Mediterranean to Europe's shores. According to [Frontex](#), the European agency charged with managing Europe's borders, 73,000 migrants illegally crossed Europe's borders in 2012 and 115,000 more were turned away. Most flee political turmoil and economic collapse at home, with thousands seeking refuge in Europe after regime change in Tunisia, the war in Libya and, most recently, the conflict in Syria. These numbers have spawned organized criminal networks that prey upon desperate refugees.

Increased migration has been exploited by far-right political parties to fan fears of refugees as threats to living standards and national identities. [Polls](#) last week showed that, ahead of French municipal elections, there was record-breaking

levels of voter support for National Front, the far-right party led by Marine Le Pen.

To prevent more tragedies, the European Commission proposes expanding search-and-rescue operations by Frontex. Such a move would need additional funding from [European Union](#) members, which may prove a political challenge. Equally challenging is breaking up the human-trafficking networks and providing aid to those who qualify under immigration law to stay in Europe and arranging for humane repatriation for those who do not. It is cruel to impose, as does Italian law, stiff fines and deportation on survivors of human trafficking.

President François Hollande of France says he will [discuss migration policies](#) with European leaders this month. The international community could help by offering more refugees sanctuary beyond Europe's borders. Europe alone cannot deal with the consequences of war and repressive regimes in Africa and the Middle East. The tragedy near Lampedusa is more than an European tragedy. It is a human tragedy.

Editorial

Opportunity and Risk in Japan

Published: July 22, 2013

Sunday's election for the upper house of Parliament in Japan was [a strong vote of confidence for Prime Minister Shinzo Abe](#) and the pro-growth fiscal and monetary policies he has pursued since entering office in December. His conservative coalition now seems assured a working parliamentary majority through 2016, which would end the trend of weak revolving-door governments, which saw six successive prime ministers over the past six years.

Mr. Abe should not, however, treat the results as an endorsement of his disturbingly right-wing foreign-policy views, which include a nationalistic revision of World War II history, overheated rhetoric toward China and attempts to rewrite Japan's Constitution to permit more assertive military actions. This election was about economics.

Mr. Abe challenged conventional economic wisdom during winter by using deficit spending and easy money to jolt Japan's inert economy back to life. As a result, Japan's annualized growth rate is now 4 percent, the highest among the leading developed economies. If he were wise, he would use his new strength to push through the remaining, and politically most difficult, parts of his economic agenda, like paring back agricultural subsidies, regulations on retail commerce and labor market restrictions that have weakened Japan's growth for decades. If these issues cannot be tackled now, it is hard to imagine when they would ever be addressed.

Sustaining growth will require structural reforms to retool Japan's high-wage, high-cost, high-regulation economy so that it can compete more effectively in a world where lower-wage countries can produce many of its exports for less. Japan's educated work force helps, as does its first-class transportation systems and port infrastructure. But those assets have not been enough to get the country out of two decades of stagnation and will not be enough today.

Mr. Abe should use the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade talks, which Japan is scheduled to join this week, as a lever to win domestic support for the cutting farm subsidies, and he should pare back labor market restrictions that discourage workers from moving out of fading sectors like traditional manufacturing. He should also push for expanded immigration of foreign workers, which would add new energy to the labor force and help pay for the pensions of a rapidly expanding elderly population. And he needs to resist pressure from deficit hawks to increase consumption taxes, at least until economic recovery is more firmly established.

To keep commerce going with China, Japan's most important Asian trading partner, Mr. Abe has to stop rubbing raw the wounds of World War II. That includes not visiting the Yasukuni Shrine, where war criminals from that conflict are honored. Nor should his government divert budget resources into military muscle flexing. Pushing into these politically contentious areas would erode the economic progress and promise of stable political leadership Mr. Abe has just worked so hard to achieve.

Appendix 3

Charts classifying editorials and metaphors

N° of Editorials	18	14	10		
Topic Met. Category	Politics	Economy	International Affairs	Total Amount	%
Conceptual Metaphor	5	3	2	10	8
AC View	1	1	1	3	2
Conduit Metaphor	1	-	-	1	1
Metaphorical Expression	36	41	32	109	89
Total	43	45	35	123	100%
%	35	37	28	100%	

Table 1: Number of Metaphors per Editorial and Topic

Lexical Category	Topic / Domain	Politics	Economy	International Affairs	Total	%
		Adjectives	Physical / Material	7	5	3
	Physical / Human body	-	-	1	1	0,8
	Emotional / mental	4	6	2	12	9,8
Nouns	Thing	10	8	8	26	21,2
	Human Body	6	7	5	18	14,7
	Animal	1	-	2	3	2,4
	Domestic	2	-	-	2	1,6
Verb	Physical Action	7	9	10	26	21,2
	Emotion	-	5	1	6	4,9
	Bodily Action	6	5	3	14	11,4
Total		43	45	35	123	100%
%		35	37	28	100%	

Table 2 : Number of metaphorically used words per Topic and Domain

Lexical Category	Topic / Domain	Politics: Examples
		Adjectives
Nouns	Thing	patch, tracks, ceiling, tool lever, stunt, relic, wing whip, hostage
Verbs	Physical action	kick, stick, to toe, whet, grab, tear, dodge

Table 3: Metaphorical expressions used in the topic of Politics

Lexical Category \ Topic	Domain	Economy: Examples
Nouns	Thing	debt load, Wall Street, the city, banking pitch, bubbles, crashes, ceiling, yoke
Verbs	Physical action	drop that wording, be nailed down, push the city, wipe out, be watered down, derail, price dropped, pull democrats, to combat

Table 4: Metaphorical expressions used in the topic of Economy

Lexical Category \ Topic	Domain	International affairs: Examples
Nouns	Thing	a major casualty, the path, cold water, economic gloom, Japan, political space, front row seats, the strength
Verbs	Physical action	fan fears, to shred, rubbing raw the wounds, poured, has fueled, to lift itself, would rise, to rein, to shed

Table 5: Metaphorical expressions used in the topic of International Affairs