METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS IN INDIAN ENGLISH: A CROSS-CULTURAL USAGE- BASED STUDY

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Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
July, 2009

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ENGLISH: A CROSS-CULTURAL

USAGE-BASED STUDY

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I consider myself very fortunate to have been trained under my esteemed professor and adviser, Prof. Carol Lynn Moder. Mere words are not enough to express my gratitude for her continued support throughout my academic journey. All I can say is I *owe this to you,* Dr. Moder! Beyond her, my special thanks go to my dearest professors, Gene Halleck, Ravi Sheorey, and Jean Van Delinder, who were always there for me as academic advisers, mentors, and above all, as genuine friends. Without their constant support, friendship and advice, I would not have been able to complete this journey of mine which had a lot of bumpy roads!

My gratitude also goes to Dr. Suzan Garzon, Dr. Marty Heights, Dr. Rebecca Damron, Dr. Shelia Kennison, Dr. Judit Simo, Dr. Alan D'Souza, Dr. Sabaazian, Frances Griffin, Phillip Heasely and all other friends in the US, Malaysia, and India. My special thanks go to members of my family circle who have in one way or the other contributed to this accomplishment.

I am greatly indebted to my mother who was responsible for making my first step of this academic journey strong and stable. Without her persistence in making the right decision at the right moment, I would not have come this far. Thank you, mom!

Finally, I dedicate this dissertation to my two loving daughters, *Mansi* and *Pooja,* who have been my pillars of strength throughout these testing years. I could never have accomplished this without their constant love and support. Thank you, my *sweethearts*!

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

A glimpse into the daily conversation of the speakers of English tells us that the following expressions are commonly used when talking about life.

Some people have direction in life
I have to go through a lot
They will go far in life
I am at a crossroads
It was a bumpy road

While participating in daily conversations, people understand and respond to such metaphors unconsciously and effortlessly, based on their shared metaphoric knowledge. However, on closer observation, these expressions seem to have a much deeper meaning than what they literally showcase, and the speakers seem to arrive at some shared meaning. While on the surface these metaphorical expressions might seem just part of the shared lexicon or repertoire, they clearly indicate that the speakers are making connections between two concepts, namely, *life* and *journey*. Referring to this, conceptual metaphor scholars might suggest that we not only talk about life this way, but we also think about life in terms of a journey because underlying all these different expressions

about life is the unifying concept of a "journey," and such concepts both guide and structure our ways of thinking about life.

Since Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) groundbreaking work nearly three decades ago, the study of metaphor has grown considerably. These past decades have seen a great deal of scholarship in the field of psychology, cognitive linguistics, anthropology, and philosophy emphasizing the centrality of metaphor. The huge contribution in linguistic theory made by cognitive linguists is the *conceptual theory of metaphor*. According to this view (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999), metaphors are not a matter of language, but of thought; our conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is inherently metaphorical in nature, playing a major role in defining our everyday realities. However, this conceptual system is not something we are normally aware of, because in most of the things we do every day, we simply think and act automatically. At the cognitive level, metaphors are conceptual, and the individual instantiations such as the ones cited above are called *metaphorical expressions*. The essence of metaphor is to think about something in terms of a different kind of thing, which involves a mapping between two conceptual domains called *source* and *target* domains (Lakoff and Johsnson, 1980, 1999; Lakoff, 1993). These *domains* or *frames* are our organized knowledge based on our abilities to categorize the world around us, and *metaphor* is the cross-domain mapping between these domains (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 1999). Abstract concepts are usually structured in terms of concrete concepts (Grady, 1997, 1999; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 1999). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1999), the evidence for the existence of conceptual metaphors is that a number of individual metaphorical expressions make use of the same source domain to describe a target phenomenon and this is manifested in

language. Since the pattern involves associations at the conceptual level, it can be expressed by many different lexical means which reflect the same basic set of associations.

Central to the theory of metaphor is the idea of embodiment (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999), which is interpreted in its broadest sense in recent years as the claim that human physical, cognitive, and social embodiment ground our conceptual and linguistic systems. This also includes the social and cultural contexts in which the body, cognition, and language are perpetually situated (Rohrer, 2007; Grady, 2007, 2008). The earlier version of embodiment and the later clarification which includes three natural kinds of experience--experience of body, of the physical environment, and of the culture--are what constitute the basic source domains upon which metaphors draw (Rohrer, 2007; Grady, 2007).

Since interhuman communication is based on this conceptual system, language mirrors both how the system is structured, and how it works. However, the fact that language is the medium which indicates that our conceptualization is largely metaphorical raises an interesting question as to the differences in languages. For instance, the examples cited above are from the Anglophone world, which means these metaphorical expressions are common to the native speakers of the English language. However, are these metaphors exclusive to the native speaking Anglophone world? What happens when speakers of other languages encounter such metaphorical expressions? If our conceptual systems are largely metaphorical and language mirrors them, and if these conceptual systems are in turn grounded in physical experiences based on our bodies, physical environment, and culture, how do cultural variations relate to this phenomenon?

Are these expressions common across cultures, or are there variations in the use and comprehension of metaphors? These questions arising from the groundbreaking work by Lakoff and Johnson (1980; 1999), and other scholars from the field of cognitive sciences and philosophy have sparked a great interest in cognitive linguistics in cross-cultural studies which investigate whether and to what extent metaphors are universal and/or culture specific (Gibbs, 1999; Gibbs, Jr., Lima, and Francozo, 2004; Yu, 1995, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003; Quinn, 1987, 1991; Ibarretxe-Antunano, 1999; Emanatian, 1995; Cienki, 1999; Littlemore, 2003; Deignan, 2003; Kövecses, 2002, 2003, 2006). These cross-cultural studies, focusing on different languages have compared and contrasted their findings with those in the English language. However, to date, no study has been conducted in a variety of the English language which is transported and housed in a culture that is different from that of the native speaking Anglophone world.

In the course of time, transplanted varieties acquire local features and flavors and develop as "indigenized varieties" (Kachru, 1982, 1986, 1990) of English. "Indian English" is one such variety spoken in the sub-continent of India, a former British colony. The English language, a legacy and heritage of British rule and culture has been retained in independent India as an *international* as well as an *intra-national* language, although it is influenced by the local languages. As the spread of the English language and the mushrooming of the indigenized varieties in general, including the specific case of Indian English, have become the recent focus in the field of teaching and learning of English as a second language, it is vital to explore such varieties especially in terms of connecting thinking and talking. This study focusing on the indigenized variety Indian English

explores the use of metaphorical expressions found in Indian English and compares them with those of British English, the parent language.

Adopting the discourse approach as outlined by Cameron (1999, 2003) and Deignan (2005), I used newspaper articles as my data. I chose to use the naturally occurring discourse or "language in use" as my data because I believe that authentic language used by speakers is probably the only means to get insights into different aspects of language, specifically, in this case, metaphor which is a combination of body, mind, culture, language, philosophy, social and political ideologies, and other construals.

Through this study, I aim to spark interest among scholars of the indigenized varieties of English from across the world to share their knowledge and experiences and enrich the field of metaphor research, thereby contributing to the existing pedagogical knowledge of language acquisition and applied linguistics.

Summary of Organization

Following this introduction, the dissertation continues with a review of the relevant literature in Chapter II. This chapter discusses the most important contributions to the literature of the field, which serves as the underlying theoretical background for this dissertation. Chapter III provides a brief illustration of the Indian history of colonialism and the resultant language policy, against the backdrop of Vedic philosophy and cultural background which define English in India. Chapter IV comprising the methodology of the study offers an account of the steps undertaken to fulfill the goals of the dissertation. Chapter V presents and discusses the findings obtained from the descriptive statistical tools of frequency analysis, and this is followed by a case study in

Chapter VI, which analyzes the source domains of a few common metaphorical expressions identified in a set of matching texts. Finally, Chapter VII concludes the study by summarizing the findings and discussing limitations and the implications of the study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

In its long journey from the work of *Aristotle*--a rich and important source up until now--*metaphor* has been visited and revisited by many scholars in their effort to know and understand exactly what a metaphor is, and its omnipresence in the everyday life of ordinary people. The view of metaphor metamorphosed from *ornamental* to something *essential* and inevitable in everyday life because it structures and guides our daily activities has sparked a lot of debate and scholarship over the years. In this chapter, I review some of the studies that shed light on understanding, evaluating, and defining certain concepts and issues that deal with the study of metaphor. To that end, I discuss some of the competing approaches to the nature and study of metaphor, cross-cultural studies and methodologies employed by some of the studies, and finally explain how I situate my study.

Traditional Views on Metaphor

The history of metaphor dates back to Aristotle, the original source whose treatment of metaphor in *Poetics* and *Rhetoric* generated considerable debate and misunderstanding about his views on metaphor. For Aristotle, metaphor was to be used intentionally as a deliberate stylistic effect in political rhetoric. To him, the best discourse style was the infusion of clarity, and unusual words that differed from ordinary idioms.

Aristotle's discussion of metaphor has been discounted by many scholars, most importantly by Richards (1936) who focuses on the parts of *Poetics* that describe metaphor as an ornamental deviation from normal language, that requires a genius to create and use, and that cannot be taught. However, scholars such as Mahon (1999) and Cameron (2003) have defended Aristotle by asserting their interpretation of how Aristotle actually defined metaphor. The general arguments in favor of Aristotle is that contrary to the given notion, in the two texts, *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*, Aristotle discusses the importance of metaphors and how they can be used effectively in poetics as well as the rhetorical world of civil discourse. It is further believed that discussing the immense value of metaphor, Aristotle asserted that through metaphor people learn to discover. According to him, by using metaphors, people can be persuaded, which results in thinking. Thus, the persuading rhetorical value of metaphor is emphasized especially in public discourse.

However, for centuries scholars continued to make the same inaccurate assumptions about metaphor as ornamental and the result of a genius. The view that metaphor is poetic and ornamental is regarded as the "traditional approach" to metaphor. Furthermore, those who hold this traditional view of metaphor tend to see metaphors as a "substitution" for literal statements. Despite criticisms from scholars, the traditional view of metaphor continued to dominate until the beginning of the 20th century when in an attempt to connect thinking and talking, some scholars began to treat metaphors as non-literal statements (Searle, 1993), others to consider them similarity statements (Miller, 1993), and yet others to see them as class inclusion statements (Glucksberg & Keyser, 1993).

Cognitive Approaches to Metaphor

Around the same time, challenging the fundamental assumption that most of our thinking about the world is literal, directly corresponding to an external reality, cognitive science contributed a significant development in metaphor theory by showing that metaphor is not merely a linguistic, rhetorical figure, but constitutes a fundamental part of people's ordinary thought, reason and imagination (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 1999; Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Gibbs, 1999; Lakoff, 1987) A real breakthrough was made when Lakoff and Johnson took metaphor study in a new direction with their seminal work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), laying the foundation for the *cognitive theory of metaphor*.

In the past two and a half decades, taking a rather radical approach in considering metaphor a fundamental mode of cognition, rather than as a linguistic phenomenon, cognitive linguists/scientists and scholars have adopted *cognitive approach* to explaining metaphor. Within the discipline of cognitive linguistics, there are two major perspectives from which scholars approach metaphor, namely, the *conceptual theory of metaphor*, attributed mainly to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and *conceptual blending*, attributed mainly to Turner and Fauconnier (1995), and Fauconnier & Turner (1998, 2000, 2002).

Conceptual Theory of Metaphor

The complex theoretical construct of *conceptual metaphor* was originally developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) illustrating the basic concepts and tenets of the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), put forth the radical view that metaphor is not just a linguistic form, but "figurative thought," a cognitive

structure rather than a linguistic phenomenon. To them the locus of metaphor is thought and not language because metaphor is an indispensable part of our normal, ordinary, conventionalized way of conceptualizing the world around us. This is reflected in our everyday behavior.

The main thrust of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is that "our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (p.3), and that abstract concepts are explained in terms of more concrete, physical concepts. To illustrate with an example, we think of time in terms of motion, which results in the TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT metaphor and this is seen in expressions such as "*the deadline is approaching"* or the most common expression "*time is flying by."*

For Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff (1993), metaphor is "conceptual metaphor," (CM) the cognitive process that structures one thing in terms of another, and the lexical items that express such a conceptual metaphor are called "linguistic metaphors" or "metaphorical expressions." They illustrate this with the linguistic instantiation, "*I don't have time to spend on you*" which is based on an internally held conceptual metaphor, TIME IS MONEY. In this conceptual metaphor, our mind structures the abstract concept of "time" by using the more experientially grounded concept of "money," and this metaphor is expressed in terms of linguistic metaphors. As originally established by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999) and Lakoff (1993) in cognitive linguistics, it is conventional to denote a cognitive conceptualization or a conceptual metaphor in capital letters as illustrated in the example, TIME IS MONEY.

According to CMT, metaphors are cognitive mechanisms because they are essentially general mappings across conceptual "domains." A domain is a base for the understanding of concepts. A concept usually evokes knowledge residing in several domains. The cognitive linguistics concept of domain was developed by Langacker (1987), who states that "all linguistic units are context-dependent to some degree. A context for the characterization of a semantic unit is referred to as a domain. Domains are necessarily cognitive entities: mental experiences, representational spaces, concepts, or conceptual complexes" (p.147). Three important properties of domains are their degree of basicness, their dimensionality, and their being locational, configurational, or both. Domains form a hierarchy; for example, the immediate domain for [KNUCKLE] is [FINGER], for [FINGER], it is [HAND], for [HAND], it is [ARM], and so on (Langacker, 1987, p.147). Thus, domains are structured mental representations of a conceptual knowledge of the world.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff (1993) define metaphor as the perception of one thing as another and call this process *mapping*. More technically, Lakoff (1993) explains metaphor as a mapping from a *source* domain to a *target* domain. For example, the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY can be understood as a mapping from a source domain (in this case, *journey*) to a target domain (in this case, *love*) (Lakoff, 1993, p. 207). In other words, the LOVE IS A JOURNEY mapping is a set of ontological correspondences mapping knowledge about journeys onto knowledge about love. Metaphors are mappings, or sets of conceptual correspondences (Lakoff, 1993, p.207). The cross mapping is between a *source* and a *target* domain, wherein the source is a more

physical or concrete (not always though) and the target a more abstract kind of domain, or TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN.

In CMT, a cross-domain mapping between a source and a target domain essentially refers to two different domains: the source domain being more concrete, based on bodily experiences in the physical world. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) term this "bodily experience" or "embodied realism." According to them, CMs are formed by a person's experience in the physical world which is "bodily experience." These bodily experiences, which form an integral part of perception processes of the human mind, are conceptualized into meaningful interpretations of experience, and these conceptualizations provide the cognitive structure for interpreting new experience. Thus, embodied experience leads to conceptualization, and conceptualization later is realized by semantic linguistic expressions. Linguistic metaphors are the result of the metaphors residing in a person's conceptual system.

Furthermore, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) explain that CM organizes thought and language systematically, and is unconscious and automatic, and therefore CM is universal and ubiquitous. The systematicity of metaphorical concepts is seen in the way the mind functions organizing thought and language and this is discussed at three levels, namely, at the level of the correspondence existing between the elements of the two domains; at the level of the direction of mappings that constitute the metaphor which is from the source domain to the target domain; and, finally, at the linguistic level in which the linguistic expressions refer to the corresponding metaphorical concepts. The implied principle that CMs are required for the mind to function is evidenced in the way the metaphorical or linguistic expressions are organized into conceptual systems with many expressions

grouped together under a specific CM. For example, linguistic expressions such as, *Your claims are indefensible, I demolished the statement,* and *He shot down all of my arguments* refer to the conceptual metaphor, ARGUMENT IS WAR. These linguistic expressions which refer to the metaphorical concept ARGUMENT IS WAR allow us to understand one aspect of a concept in terms of another. In this particular example, "arguing" is understood in terms of "battle." The systematicity is seen in terms of both thought and language organized by CMs. More specifically, each conceptual metaphor (EX: ARGUMENT IS WAR) represents and reflects the concept (ARGUMENT) that it signifies and that particular concept motivates or instantiates linguistic expressions such as the ones cited above. The concrete or physical experience of WAR is mapped onto the abstract idea of ARGUMENT. The mapping of the experiential *source* domain to the abstract *target* domain gives rise to the conceptual metaphor, ARGUMENT IS WAR or any particular CM which is instantiated systematically in linguistic expressions. More precisely, the concepts of "argument" or "love" (discussed earlier) are comprehended via the entities of "war" and "journey" although it is debatable whether the concept of war is actually more experientially based than argument for most people.

The basis or motivation for such a systematic way of particular target concepts going together with particular source domains of physiological and perceptual functions or entities is explained by Lakoff and Johnson (1999) in *Philosophy in the Flesh.* To illustrate a CM example, AFFECTION IS WARMTH, the feeling of affection correlates with bodily warmth. Such embodied correlations are experienced very early on in life. To be hugged and to be close to the mother or the caretaker produces this kind of warmth that gives comfort and eventually the feeling of affection. In fact, most embodied

experiences or correlations are experienced early on in life and these experiences lead to conceptualizations. Embodiment is a cover term for discussing the physiological or "embodied" nature of mind, which means our understanding of reality is grounded in our physical experiences and all abstract concepts grow from those basic physical or sensorimotor experiences. Thus, the basic process of CM instantiation is the mapping of a concrete, physiological or biological experience onto an abstract, concept of knowledge. In essence, the notion of *embodiment* illustrates that mind is embodied and that there is no fully autonomous faculty of reason separate from and independent of bodily capacities, such as perception and movement, as was previously thought (although some still think so). Because reason is embodied, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999) speculate that the concepts used in reasoning are embodied as well. Lakoff and Johnson's notion of embodiment has its source in "primary" metaphor which was originally put forth by Grady (1997, 1999) which is discussed in the following section.

Primary and Complex Metaphor

Grady (1997, 1999) is credited for developing the two concepts, "primary metaphor" and "complex metaphor," which Lakoff and Johnson (1999) integrated in their own theory. Initially, Grady, Taub, and Morgan (1996) analyzed the original theory of conceptual metaphor arguing that some experiential aspects of the source domain failed to map to the target domains, and that the concept "experiential motivation or basis" was not clearly defined. Adopting a new perspective on the structure of the metaphor, Grady et al., (1996) explained that all metaphors are either "primitives" or "compound metaphors" and these compound metaphors are composed of a combination of

"primitives." Grady (1997, 1999) renamed these more basic metaphors "primary" metaphors in his later work, and explained that these primary metaphors are the most basic connections between our physical experiences and abstract concepts. Based on this notion of primary metaphors which are grounded in basic human bodily experiences in the world, Grady notes that because humans everywhere share the basic patterns of perception and experience that are reflected in primary metaphors, these patterns ought to show up in languages around the world.

To cite a more common example given by Johnson (1997) and Lakoff and Johnson, (1999), is the primary metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING, as in the expression such as *"I see what you are saying or what you mean."* As discussed earlier, the child during its period of conflation goes through a stage in which the knowing and seeing domains are conflated. The child makes the association when the adult utters *"Let's see what's in the box"* or *"What's in the box?"* and the child sees a toy inside. According to Johnson, when such an experience is repeated, a primary scene develops as a "schematic" cognitive structure of the experienced physical scene, and the child's seeing what's in the box correlates with knowing what's in the box. In this way, embodied experiences provide bases for conceptualizations of physical scenes into images which are used in interpreting the world around us. However, it should be noted that just the primary scenes or the schematic representations are not the only sources of conceptualizations because cultural knowledge is also a major influencing factor.

In essence, the main idea of the physical or the bodily motivation for the primary metaphor is that the primary metaphors can be traced back to "conflation" periods in childhood (Johnson, 1987, 1997) when the connections between two separate domains, a

bodily, and an abstract are activated simultaneously, and the domains are not experienced as separate, instead, they are conflated. However, later these previously conflated domains are differentiated and get conceptualized into metaphorical source and target domains. The associations made during the period of conflation are realized neurally in simultaneous activation and result in permanent neural connections that are made across the neural networks or the areas of the brain that define conceptual domains. This concept is based on Narayanan's neural theory of metaphor. For example, when we pile more books on the desk and their height goes up- a complex inference is drawn by the sensorimotor networks via the neural connections and the results of these connections are "projected" from the sensorimotor *source network* (verticality) to the subjective judgment *target network* (quantity) (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999, p. 55). This gives rise to linguistic instantiations such as *Prices went up* from the conceptual metaphor, namely, MORE IS UP.

More precisely, for children, subjective/non-sensorimotor experiences and judgments, on the one hand and sensorimotor experiences on the other, are so regularly conflated that for a long time children do not distinguish between the two when they occur together. For example, as explained earlier, for an infant, the subjective experience of affection is typically correlated or conflated with sensory experience of warmth, the warmth of being held close to the body. These persistent associations are the mappings of the conceptual metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH that will lead the infant later to speak of expressions such as "*warm smile*" or "*they greeted us warmly.*"

Experience is the nucleus of Lakoff and Johnson's (1999) CMT. They distinguish between subjective experience (subjective judgments about abstract things) and sensorimotor experience, and they argue that we conceptualize subjective experiences in terms of sensorimotor experiences and the mechanism that allows us to do so is *conceptual metaphor* (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999, p.45). Metaphor allows conventional mental imagery from sensorimotor domains to be used for domains of subjective experience. For example, we may form an image of something going by us or over our heads (sensorimotor experience) when we fail to understand (subjective experience) (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999, p. 45). A gesture tracing the path of something going past us or over our head indicates vividly a failure to understand, and this is because things are at a distance and not very close to us, thus we are unable to "catch" them. Illustrations from ordinary, routine activities show that CM is pervasive in language and thought, and it is hard to think of a common subjective experience that is not conceptualized in terms of metaphor.

Looping back to the CMT, in connection to the cognitive reality of embodied realism of conceptual metaphor is another principle, which is the "image schema" or "mental images" based on the conceptualized "scene." The scene is one of the basic constructs of Cognitive Linguistics apart from what has been discussed until now such as cross domain feature mapping and systematicity. According to Lakoff (1993), Lakoff and Johnson (1999), and Grady (1997, 1999), the scene provides the experiential input necessary for cognitive realization or conceptualization to take place. The scene provides the content such as a representation of the scene or a part of the scene called an "image schema." For example, when we understand a bee as being "in" the garden, we are

imposing an imaginative container structure on the garden, with the bee “inside” the container. The cognitive structure imposed on the garden is called the “container image schema” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999, p. 117).

Based on the theory of primary metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson (1999), and Grady (1997, 1999) explain that all other “complex” metaphors are constructed through the combining of primary metaphors. As primary metaphors are the most basic and independent, they form the basis for the complex metaphors, which are composed of two or more primary metaphors. This is illustrated by Grady (1997, 1999) when he reanalyzes the metaphor, THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS (or ARGUMENT IS WAR), presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and points out that there are no such experiential correlations or embodiment between theories and buildings or between various complex concepts which are linked in conventional pairings or mappings. In such complex concepts, Grady (1997) claims that for complex metaphors such as THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS we have to dig deep into the bottom for the existence of metaphor. By examining the possible motivations for the metaphor, he concludes that it is actually based on two or more basic metaphors ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE and PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT. Unlike THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, these metaphors have some motivation for their occurrence in basic knowledge of physical structures. Similarly, PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT connects to basic experiences with objects such as houses falling down because they have lost their defining characteristic of standing.

The two points which emerge from the above discussion are that complex metaphors are a combination of two or more primary metaphors, and these primary

metaphors are grounded in basic human experiences with the physical world. As basic human experiences are believed to be universal because humans have the same basic patterns of perception and experiences which form the basis for primary metaphors, Grady (1997, 1999, 2007) speculates that primary metaphors are widespread across languages that are not related genetically, areally, or culturally. Grady (2007) explains this pattern with a broad cross-linguistic distribution of the semantic extension from "large" to "important" observed in languages such as Hawaiin, Malay, Russian, Turkish, Zulu in a similar way as it is used in English expression, "*Today is a big day for the company"* (p. 194). Therefore, it is noted that the primary metaphors are natural or even inevitable consequences of recurring associations in daily life and are believed to be widespread across languages, or maybe universal.

Adding the cultural dimension, Grady (1999a) and Lakoff and Johnson (1999) explain that in addition to primary metaphors, complex metaphors are also built out of forms of "commonplace knowledge," where commonplace refers to cultural models, folk theories, or simple knowledge or beliefs that are widely accepted in a culture. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) illustrate this with an example, A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1999) this conceptual metaphor is based on the *cultural belief* of the Western culture wherein people are supposed *to have purposes in life,* and *they are supposed to act so as to achieve those purposes.* The anatomy of this complex metaphor according to Lakoff and Johnson (1999, p. 61) is,

> A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY:
> Primary metaphors involved:
>
> PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS
> ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS

Adding the above stated entrenched cultural belief, the metaphorical version would be:

> People are supposed to have destinations in life, and they are
> supposed to move so as to reach those destinations.
> The above is combined with the simple fact:
> A long trip to a series of destinations is a journey
> (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999, p. 61)

In sum, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1999), each complex metaphor is formed out of primary metaphors, and each primary metaphor is embodied in three ways: (1) through bodily interactions with the external, physical world, which combine sensorimotor experience with subjective experience (2) through the validation of the source domain by the inferential structure of the sensorimotor system (3) through the neural instantiations because of the neural connections in the brain (p. 73). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1999), these complex metaphors are everyday metaphors that are *conventionalized*, and *entrenched*, constituting a major part of our conceptual system, and therefore, our linguistic repertoire, and cultural models play an important role in this phenomenon.

A few studies on metaphor including Moder (2004, 2007) have approached the analysis of metaphorical expressions found in the natural discourse using blending theory. As the present study also uses blending theory for the analysis of a few of metaphorical expressions found in the data, the following section reviews the theory.

Conceptual Blending or Conceptual Integration Theory

Fauconnier and Turner (1995) introduced a new analytic framework which treats metaphors as products of a more general process of human cognition. Conceptual integration theory also referred to as "conceptual blending," "the theory of online meaning construction," "the mental-space theory" or "the network theory" is the study of human information integration or the integration of several events into a single unit. This cognitive operation or mechanism involves the combination, often but not always figurative, of selected conceptual material from two or more distinct sources. Like metaphor in CMT, blending is understood as a pervasive phenomenon in human thought, which affects everyday language. Fauconnier and Turner (1998, 2000, 2002), approach metaphor from the perspective of conceptual blending or conceptual integration. Central to conceptual blending theory is the notion of conceptual integration network, an array of *mental spaces* in which the processes of conceptual blending unfold. In Fauconnier and Turner's model of the network, the mental spaces or conceptual elements are *input spaces*, the generic *space*, and the *blended space.* Mental spaces are domains (CMT) or frames which are cognitive structures of knowledge, or are partial assemblies containing conceptual elements, structured by conceptual domains or frames or cognitive models. These mental spaces, instead of simply mapping onto each other as in CMT, partially blend their conceptual content in terms of *input spaces* from the *generic space* to become a *blended space*, resulting in "conceptual integration" or "blending" (Fauconnier and Turner, 1998, 2000, 2002). In this process, our mental representations or conceptual elements for each phenomenon being comprehended constitute *input spaces*. These input spaces project conceptual material into the *blended space* and the fourth space, the

generic space contains material shared by the two inputs. This theory is also referred to as *the theory of online meaning construction*, *the many-space model*, or *the network theory* (Coulson & Oakley, 2000). This mental process is illustrated with an example in the following paragraphs.

In CMT, metaphors are cross-domain mappings of source and target domains, and the connection between the two domains is established by the metaphor's basis. Basic elements of the source are mapped onto elements of the target; each source has an entailment potential that can be mapped onto the target. Based on such basic and extended mappings we have linguistic metaphors that express conceptual metaphors. Conceptual blends, on the other hand, are not simply mappings between two domains or spaces; they are cases where two or more input spaces contribute some conceptual material to a blended space on the basis of a generic space. This blended space projects an emergent structure which is the crux of this cognitive mechanism (Turner and Fauconnier, 1995; Fauconnier and Turner, 1998, 2000, 2002) as explained in the following paragraphs.

Fauconnier and Turner (1998) illustrate the process of conceptual integration in explaining the metaphor, *to dig one's own grave. "You are digging your own grave"* is a conventional expression typically used as a warning or judgment, characteristically implying that (1) you are doing bad things that will cause you to have a very bad experience, and (2) you are unaware of this causal relation. In their explanation of the metaphor, Fauconnier and Turner explain that there is a projection from the concrete domain of graves (source domain or *source Input*) to the abstract domain of getting into trouble (target domain or *target Input*). They maintain that the blend in *digging one's*

own grave preserves both the concrete structure of graves, digging, and burial, from the *source Input,* and causal, intentional, and internal event structure from the *target Input*. At this point, what is most interesting is that the blend develops an *emergent structure* of its own, caused by an inversion in the causal structure, namely *the existence of grave* causes *death,* instead of *death* causes the *existence of a grave.* This *emergent structure* expresses "the undesirability of digging one's grave, exceptional foolishness in not being aware of it, correlation of depth of grave with probability of death" (p. 150). According to Fauconnier and Turner, this emergent structure is not in the Inputs, but it is a part of the cognitive construction in the blend (p. 150).

The emergent structure caused by the inversion in the causal structure is what distinguishes conceptual integration from that of the theory of conceptual metaphor. Scholars of integration theory claim that a complex metaphor such as the above can only be explained by conceptual integration theory as it involves an intricate interaction of mental spaces that ultimately yields an emergent structure through blending. In the construction of the blend, a single shift in causal structure, *the existence of a grave* causes *death,* instead of *death* causes *the existence of a grave,* is sufficient to produce *emergent* structure, specific to the blend: undesirability of digging one's grave, exceptional foolishness in not being aware of it, correlation of depth of grave with probability of death (Fauconnier and Turner, 1998, p. 150). A noteworthy point here is that this causal inversion is guided and projected from the target and *not* from the source, which is possible in conceptual integration theory, but not in CMT.

The theory of conceptual integration owes a great deal to the theory of conceptual metaphor but also complements it in important ways (Grady, Oakley, and Coulson,

1999). The most obvious difference between the two is that instead of working with only two domains (source and target), conceptual integration works with four or more spaces. These mental spaces enable us, in general, to think and to act quickly, unconsciously, and with ease. The masterful manipulation of these mental spaces on our part makes it possible to find meaning in our experience.

Furthermore, the conceptual metaphor theory analyses are stated in terms of entrenched conceptual relationships. However, blending theory emphasizes blending as an on-line process, which both instantiates entrenched metaphors and yields short-lived and novel conceptualizations to complement them. Furthermore, Grady (1999) suggests that the conventional blends are the mechanism by which two or more primary metaphors can be brought together to form larger complex metaphors.

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) consider conceptual blending as part of the Integrated Theory of Primary Metaphor. In a way, conceptual metaphor is also based on cross-space (domain) mapping, although conceptual integration has more components and additional mechanisms involved as discussed above. Also, whereas the two-domain model is highly parsimonious, and is useful and effective for a number of purposes such as the ongoing hunt for conventional metaphors, it is claimed that the many-space model explains a range of phenomena invisible or untreatable under the two-domain model and reveals previously unrecognized aspects of even the most familiar basic metaphors. A brief analysis of both theories reveals that each theory has its own strengths and weaknesses. However, the strength of any particular theory depends on its applicability to a specific context. The specific context in question here is the cognitive process, metaphor. Whereas the theory of conceptual metaphor exclusively explains the process of metaphor,

conceptual integration theory has a wider range of application. Conceptual blending, with its great interdisciplinary appeal, is an on-line meaning making process that explains thought in general, involving many areas of cognition and action, including metaphor, counterfactuals, and conceptual change.

Another essential point of interest is that although conceptual integration theory has its own merits, especially, with respect to explaining a range of phenomena invisible and untreatable under the two-domain model, it does not explicate how the mental representations or mental spaces are grounded in the real world of human experience. CMT, on the other hand, illustrates that the metaphors are grounded in the bodily experiences of the individuals. The inference that can be drawn from some of the empirical studies such as Moder (2004, 2008) is that both cognitive mechanisms- CM and conceptual blending are mechanisms of human mind which influence our everyday language.

To sum up the preceding discussion, according to CMT, metaphor is the main cognitive structure or mechanism through which we comprehend abstract concepts and perform abstract reasoning. This includes the most mundane everyday activities to the most complex scientific theories. Therefore, it is argued that metaphor is fundamentally conceptual, not linguistic in nature. Whereas “metaphor” is the mapping of the conceptual domains, “metaphorical expressions” are the instantiations of such conceptual metaphor. Mappings of correspondences and features are systematic. Each mapping is a fixed set of ontological correspondences between entities in a source domain and entities in a target domain, and when these fixed correspondences are activated, mappings project source domain inference patterns onto target domain inference patterns.

Essentially, CMs are formed automatically and unconsciously. CMs are constituted by primary metaphors, complex metaphors and primary scenes and images. We acquire a large system of primary metaphors automatically and unconsciously simply by functioning in the most ordinary ways in the everyday world from our earliest years. Complex metaphors build on these primary metaphors, and more abstract concepts from love to causation to morality are conceptualized through these complex metaphors. As these are embodied, automatic and unconscious, it is said that the human mind is organized by CM which acts like a "hidden hand" controlling our everyday activities.

However, these mappings are not arbitrary, but grounded in the bodily experiences with the external world and knowledge that come from various sources such as commonplace information and folk models which are derived from culture and cultural knowledge. Thus the entrenched shared system of knowledge gets conventionalized in the minds of people of the discourse community, and therefore, the conceptual system is said to constitute innumerable conventional metaphorical mappings. As CMT discusses different terms such as *conventional, extended and novel metaphors,* a brief discussion on such terms is presented in the following section titled "degrees of metaphoricity" as Deignan (2005) labels the terms.

Conventional, Extended and Novel metaphors: Degrees of Metaphoricity

As discussed in the preceding sections, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1993) and Lakoff and Johnson (1999) metaphor is not a matter of language but of thought and reason because it is a cross-domain mapping across conceptual domains. They further state that the mapping is *conventional* because it is a fixed part of our

conceptual system, and one of our conventional ways of conceptualizing concepts such as love relationships in the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY. They regard each conceptual mapping as a conventional mapping across conceptual domains.

However, Lakoff (1993) explains that the lexical items that are conventional in the source domain are not always conventional in the target domain. Instead, each source domain lexical item may or may not make use of the static or fixed mapping pattern. If it does, it has an *extended lexicalization* sense in the target domain, where that sense is characterized by the mapping. If not, the source domain lexical item will not have a conventional sense in the target domain but may still be actively mapped in the case of *novel metaphor* (p. 211). Lakoff (1983) illustrates this point with the help of a novel expression which he calls a *novel extension* of a conventional metaphor, "*We're driving in the fast lane on the freeway of love*" (p.210). This expression draws on the conventional conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY mapping which is a part of our shared cultural conceptual system. However, the above expression is a novel extension of the conventional metaphor because the *driving in the fast lane* and *freeway* are not usual mappings of the CM. The lexical items *freeway* and *fast lane* are not used conventionally, but the knowledge structures associated with them are mapped by the conventional CM LOVE IS A JOURNEY in the case of "*We're driving in the fast lane on the freeway of love."* The understanding of this novel extension is possible because the correspondences of the conventional metaphorical mapping of LOVE IS A JOURNEY already exist in our conceptual system.

In CMT, conventionality is conceived of as the degree to which either a linguistic or a conceptual metaphor has become entrenched or rooted in the course of its use among

speakers of a community (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 1999; Lakoff 1993). Similar to the views discussed above with reference to Lakoff (1993), Grady (2007), demonstrates that some metaphorical expressions are extended and used in a different way although these are from conventional conceptual metaphors. For instance, in the poem, "The Road Less Travelled," the words *road* and *traveled* are metaphorical expressions from the conventional conceptual metaphor, LIFE IS A JOURNEY. If at the conceptual level, the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is conventionalized, by using different lexical items such as *forked road*, fork *in the path*, we get *extended* metaphorical expressions.

While Lakoff (1993) and Lakoff and Johnson (1999) focus on conceptual metaphors and refer to the mappings of specific correspondences as conventional, Cameron (2003) analyzing her data of spoken discourse identifies metaphorical items or expressions as conventional instead of conceptual metaphors. Furthermore, whereas Lakoff determines the notion of conventionality based on idealized speakers of a particular community, Cameron (2003) refers to the metaphorical expressions as conventional or otherwise within the discourse context. In her data analysis, Cameron (2003) determines and identifies some metaphorical items as conventional when they show up very frequently in the given discourse. Furthermore, Cameron (2003) defines and explains these "conventionalized metaphors" as the "expressions" that have become part of people's language resources because of some particular ways of talking about things (p. 110). The basic difference that surfaces between the CMT proponents and Cameron (2003) who adopts a discourse based approach is while the former refer to the "metaphor" or the "mapping" and its "correspondences," Cameron refers to the linguistic or metaphorical expressions or the lexical items that are metaphorical.

Evaluating different classifications of the degrees of metaphoricity, Deignan (2005) scrutinizes the terms dead, historical, conventional and novel metaphors and notes that each writer puts forward classifications of metaphors that vary in the way they are defined. From this variation in the use of terms, it appears that individuals differ in their criteria while identifying and using the terms conventional, extended, and novel.

It seems that the degree of conventionality or novelty depends on where these metaphorical expressions are placed along a continuum. If on one end of the continuum are the entrenched metaphorical expressions, the novel expressions are on the other end of the continuum. Placed slightly away from the entrenched metaphorical expressions are the conventional ones and the ones that come after them are the extended metaphorical expressions.

Extended metaphors, as discussed earlier with reference to the expression, "*We're traveling in the fast lane on a freeway of love,"* refer to the metaphorical expressions in which some new lexical items are used in a more creative way in poems and songs, although they are from the same conventional mapping. Such extended metaphorical expressions are generally used while interpreting some unfamiliar metaphors as was done in Cameron's (2003) study, using new correspondences between domains. Novel metaphors, on the other hand, must have one of the domains that is not conventional or it should be novel, thus generating novel metaphorical expressions. Novel metaphors cannot be treated as extensions. Some novel metaphors do not structure our existing conceptual system. They are meant to be new ways of thinking about something. Lakoff and Turner (1989) point out that, generally, writers and poets "go beyond the normal use

of conventional metaphor to point out, and call into question, the boundaries of our everyday metaphorical understandings of important concepts" (p.69).

In addition to what is discussed above, in my study, I would consider metaphorical expressions *more* conventional if they appear frequently in the data, and consider the ones that appear one time or just a couple of times as *less* conventional. In a sense, I make a distinction of more and less conventional in terms of degree depending on the frequency of their appearance in the discourse context. Factors such as people belonging to a particular discourse community, familiarity in terms of history, philosophy, culture, and shared knowledge influence the assignment of these terms to metaphorical expressions or metaphor mapping and this result in conventionalized metaphorical expressions from the conventional metaphors.

To summarize the discussion in the preceding sections on cognitive theories on metaphor, more specifically, CMT, the profound emphasis placed on thought and the notion of embodiment (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; 1999) gave rise to the question of universality of metaphor, especially primary metaphors (Grady, 1997, 1999). This overemphasis mainly on cognitive aspects including embodiment and universality by the CMT proponents has triggered in recent years, a substantial amount of metaphor research in languages other than English.

Although the enlightening idea of conceptual metaphors is a breakthrough in the field of metaphor, the overemphasis on cognitive aspects including the overstatement of primary metaphor as being universal (although a cultural dimension in terms of "commonplace knowledge" was added in the discussion of the complex metaphor) has led to a relative lack of attention to cultural issues within cognitive linguistic metaphor

research. With certain major exceptions, researchers have been exploring more ways in which human biology and cognitive predispositions shape conceptualization, underexamining the ways in which cultural factors shape those conceptualizations. A matter of interest in the relationship between cultures and patterns of metaphorical conceptualization is which metaphors (if any) are culture-specific, or narrowly distributed across cultures, and which ones (if any) are universal or broadly distributed, and this should be investigated on a large scale involving data from the numerous languages across the globe. Of course, such cross-cultural studies are under way and recent cross-cultural studies have added to the metaphor literature giving various findings and inferences which are reviewed in the next section.

Cross-Cultural Studies on Metaphor

Language holds a special place in human life. It provides the dominant medium for social interaction helping to form cultures. It also provides an important medium of psychological representation, which constitutes the distinctive forms of thought called "mind." As language mediates both culture and mind, it necessarily draws all three into a close-knit relationship. Extending the discussion that language encodes/encapsulates metaphor, and the universality or the cross cultural nature of primary metaphors, in this section, I review studies that discuss the role played by culture and cultural models in defining and shaping conceptual metaphor.

According to anthropologists (Scollon & Scollon, 1995; Bonvillain, 2000; Shore, 1996) culture is a system of knowledge by which people design their own actions and interpret the behavior of others. Culture is a shared system of meanings, is learned,

revised, maintained, and defined in the context of people interacting. More precisely, in the anthropological sense, culture is any of the customs, worldview, language, kinship system, social organization, and other day-to-day practices of a people which set that group apart as a distinctive group (Scollon & Scollon, 1995, p. 126). Such culturally shared aspects are cultural models, and are based on people's ideas about the world they live in. Cultural models are expressed in several ways, but language is the key to their transmission (Bonvillain, 2000, p.48). The anthropologist, Quinn (1987; 1991), defines culture as "the shared understandings that people hold and that are sometimes, but not always, realized, stored, and transmitted in their language" (p.57). As language mirrors culture, and it is often only through language we know about conceptual metaphor, manifested through metaphorical expressions, what is the role of culture in metaphor? Despite criticisms leveled against Lakoff and Johnson, by Quinn and others for undermining the predominant role played by culture and cultural models, they are worthy of credit for spearheading a number of cross-cultural studies to see whether and to what extent metaphors are universal or widely spread across languages or culture-specific. Some of them are reviewed in this section.

Drawing on the notion of Grady's theory of primary metaphors Lakoff and Johnson (1999) and Kövecses (2002) claim that complex metaphors arise through combinations of primary metaphors (although without extensive research), and argue that these primary metaphors are embodied. The assumptions that our sensorimotor experiences are acquired through our bodily experiences, and that there is a correlation between the bodily experiences and conceptual metaphors, form the basis for the argument of universality of metaphors. Reiterating some cognitive linguists' view on

conceptual metaphor, Sweetser (1990) emphasizes the correlation between sensorimotor experience and subjective experience, which she maintains is possibly universal or widespread. Sweetser uses evidence from a number of languages to show that mappings such as the conceptual metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEIZING are systematic and widespread across languages, because we perceive understanding as an extension of literally grasping and holding an object. She attributes this universal nature to the commonality of human bodily experiences with the external world.

One area of cross-cultural metaphors that showed some promise of universality was metaphors of emotion**,** based on the argument that emotions are motivated by bodily changes and sensations that are experienced due to those emotions. The particular emotional terms that have been given special attention in several studies are anger and happiness. Lakoff and Kövecses (1993) study the cognitive model of anger in American English, and conclude that the conceptual metaphors and metonymies used in the comprehension of anger are based on a cultural theory of the physiology of anger, which involves heat and internal pressure, which in turn, corresponds with the actual physiology of the body/external world (p.219).

However, embodied experiences alone cannot account for all metaphor, because the universal metaphors discussed in some studies are further refined into emotion metaphors, reflecting cultural overtones. Some metaphors are more closely tied to direct experience of the world than others which are grounded in culturally-mediated experience. But some are observable and some are posited based on cultural views of the source of emotions. Emphasizing the role of cultural models and shared cultural knowledge which might serve as the source domain for such metaphors of emotion,

Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) and Mischler (2007) point to the influence of the four humors model on our metaphors for emotion and health. According to them, rather than an embodied connection between heat and anger, the four humors model provides a folk-understanding of emotions as imbalances in humors, and that physical experience is filtered culturally. Critics claim that many of Kövecses's examples of ANGER IS PRESSURIZED SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER or ANGER IS HEAT might have grown from this cultural model, and the cultural knowledge of these medical traditions. As the earlier studies generated controversial issues of the source of metaphors, more cross-cultural studies started flooding in, opening a different set of debate and discussion.

Yu (1995; 1998; 2002), opens a window into the enculturated and embodied nature of human cognition with his cross-linguistic study of metaphors on two emotions, namely anger and happiness. The main thrust of his argument is that English and Chinese share the same central conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT, which has two sub-versions in both languages; ANGER IS FIRE and ANGER IS THE HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER (Chinese), ANGER IS FIRE and ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER (English). Thus, although they share ANGER IS HEAT, they differ in the other. Likewise, both English and Chinese share the conceptual metaphors HAPPY IS UP, HAPPINESS IS LIGHT, and HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Also, both languages follow the same metonymic principle of talking about emotions by describing their physiological effects. Yu (1995; 1998), attributes the similarity in the emotion metaphors in two languages to the common bodily experiences of human beings that could potentially be either universal or widespread, whereas the differences could be because of the influence of the specific cultural models. Yu (1998) based his argument

supporting the commonly accepted theory that cognitive universals exist because of the commonality in the bodily experiences. However, cognitive variations exist because of the variations in the physical, social and cultural environments of such bodily experiences. Yu (1995; 1998) claims that his study supports Lakoff & Kövecses (1987), and concludes that metaphor is primarily grounded in physical experience but the results suggest that metaphor is also constrained and colored by cultural models.

In other studies, Yu (2000; 2001; 2002; 2003), analyzing metaphoric and metonymic expressions in Chinese and English involving body organs such as face, hand/palm, finger, and gall bladder, further illustrates through his studies that conceptual metaphor is grounded in the body, but shaped by the culture-specific metaphorical understanding of the different parts of the body. Yu (2003) notes that folk knowledge, diversified across cultural boundaries, precedes scientific knowledge and preoccupies the general population's minds (p. 28). Based on his empirical evidence, Yu (2001; 2003), summarizes the relation between body, metaphor, and culture through a "circular triangle," demonstrating their inseparability, interrelation and interdependence. In short, according to Yu (2001; 2003), our world views are formed by our bodies. However, the lenses of these world views are "culturally colored" and "metaphorically framed," and through such "glasses" we cognize the world (p.29). Yu (2003) illustrates this notion graphically in his hypothetical "Triangle Model" summarizing the relation between metaphor, body, and culture.

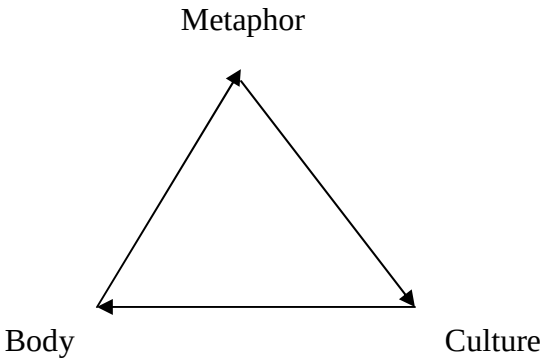

Figure 1: Yu's Triangle Model

The triangle depicts the notion that "cultures and languages are all wired to the very essence of humanness, which is the human body" (Yu 2001, p. 29). According to Yu (2001), although two languages and cultures are set apart or distanced due to boundaries, they are brought together by commonalities (between two languages and cultures) arising from the common structure and function of the human body (embodiment). In other words, however different two languages and cultures may be, they should always have a shared dimension that extends across them. They are inseparable because they are all tied together by their humanness between language, culture and body, and that the cognition is the totality of the relationships (Yu, 2001, p. 30). Through the above figure, Yu (2003) summarizes that the CMs are usually derived from bodily experiences. However, cultural models filter bodily experiences for specific target domains of CMs, and cultural models are often structured by CMs (p. 29). Thus, CMs shared by two or more languages are because of the bodily basis. However, they might differ in specific linguistic expressions because of cultural influences and/or constraints.

A similar perspective of the tri-dimensional relation between body, culture and mind/language is expressed by scholars studying emotions and/or senses (Ibarretxe-Antunano, 1999; Emanatian, 1995). Ibarretxe-Antunano (1999), in her study on metaphorical mappings in the sense of smell, compares metaphorical expressions between English, Spanish and Basque. She rejects Sweetser's (1990) claim that these metaphoriclal mappings between different conceptual domains are universal or cross-linguistic. She identifies the prototypical properties of smell as *internal, voluntary (yes), voluntary (no), detection, identification, subjective and emotional.* According to Ibarretxe-Antunano, this set of properties is drawn from the physical experience that human beings have when they perceive through this sense (smell) and this set of properties constitutes the bodily basis that grounds these metaphorical mappings. However, she argues that these metaphors are culture-specific, and not cross-cultural although semantic extensions of these metaphorical mappings could be cross-linguistic. Rejecting the view that the primary metaphor, BAD IS FOUL SMELLING is universal, Ibarretxe-Antunano, claims that the sense of smell depends on the cultural models as well as on personal odor/memory association: what for one person is nice smell could be bad or simply neutral to another. Thus, she emphasizes the relationship between body, culture and language/cognition.

Other studies focusing on concepts such as desire (Gibbs, 1999), and honesty (Cienki, 1999), give us a rich illustration of how the overall similarities, as well as some of the differences, are remarkable, and can be seen as support for the view of culture and cognition as embodied experience. Cienki (1999) particularly concludes that metaphors are profiles against the bases of cultural models. Likewise, Emanatian (1995), in her

cross-linguistic study finds the occurrence of similar metaphoric mappings for eating and sex in English and Chagga, a Zambian language, with some differences in linguistic expressions. She explains that these similarities and differences are due to the fact that our embodied interactions in the world provide the fundamental "shape" of experiences, and that our cognitive abilities perceive and further abstract and schematize those basic shapes (p. 178). And both get filtered through the culture to which we belong.

Yet another group of researchers focuses on cross-cultural variation in metaphors challenging and rejecting the emphasis on the universality of metaphors. The anthropologist, Quinn (1987), for example, investigated metaphors of marriage based on interviews, and concluded that Americans' conception of marriage is formed through folk models closely tied to culture. Bringing in the evidence against the view that metaphor constitutes understanding (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), Quinn (1987; 1991) argued that this understanding is culturally given, thus, highlighting the predominant role of culture and cultural models of any given culture. Criticizing and challenging Lakoff & Johnson's (1980) notion of "ubiquity" of metaphors, Quinn (1991) argues that they claim too large an amount of "explanatory territory" to the detriment of culture (p. 56). According to her, primary metaphors are not only cognitive but are cultural, because experiences are primarily culture-based and metaphors are nested in cultural models.

Kövecses (2002) investigated the concept of anger in eight genetically unrelated languages –Chinese, English, Hungarian, Japanese, Polish, Tahitian, Wolof, and Zulu, and found that the ANGER IS PRESSURIZED SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER metaphor seems to hold in all of them with slight differences in elaborations in terms of the different parts of the body used in the expressions. Based on his findings, Kövecses

(2002) claimed that this conceptual metaphor is present in a vast number of languages, because it is motivated by the shared physiological experiences of increased body temperature and anger, and this leads to a number of underlying metonymies, where the symptoms such as redness in the face and neck stand for emotion. Kövecses noted that because the word *blood* is present in the linguistic examples of the data, the blood and other fluids of the body can be assumed as the fluid component of the CONTAINER metaphor. He also noted that all the languages seemed to have the image of a pressurized container with or without heat. He further added that anger is an emotion experienced by all humans in the same manner, and therefore it is conceptualized in similar ways, especially, in the same way as A PRESSURIZED SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER. However, body parts used as metonymies differ across languages depending on the choice of body parts by a particular culture. Although his study showed that some of the languages differed with respect to lexical elaborations, he was not able to make any generalizations because of the limitations of the study with reference to the data, and also because the emotion, anger is rooted in the human body, it is very likely to produce similar physiological effects, resulting in characterizing at least one near-universal metaphor at the generic level.

Similarly, Gibbs (1994) examined the metaphorical expressions such as "*I was fuming"* and *"She got all steamed up"* that are generally used in talking about anger, and claimed that these expressions were from the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Gibbs explains that because we perceive our body as a container, and when we become angry, the physiological changes we notice in the bodily organs that build up due to internal pressure and heat are perceived within the

container. This is because of the physiological changes that are experienced in association with anger.

Kövecses (2006), in his later studies offers a somewhat balanced view that takes into account both universality and diversity of metaphor, and discusses the cultural variation in metaphor. In doing so, he first discusses the universality in metaphorical conceptualization. He speculates that several unrelated languages may share several conceptual metaphors for particular emotion concepts, and discusses, particularly one emotion concept, "happiness." Citing examples from Hungarian, Chinese, and English, Kövecses (2006) illustrates that some conceptual metaphors may be universal because the bodily experiences on which they are based are universal. According to him, many of the same conceptual metaphors may reflect certain culture-specific features at a more specific level of conceptualization. Other conceptual metaphors may be entirely based on unique cultural phenomena.

In this context, Kövecses (2006) explains that the two major dimensions along which conceptual metaphors vary are the cross-cultural and within-culture dimensions (p.177). Cross-culturally, metaphors vary because people can use alternative conceptualization for the same target domain. Within-culture variation occurs as a result of subdimensions such as social dimension, regional dimension, subcultural dimension, individual dimension, and others. Kövecses (2006) also notes that two languages may have the same conceptual metaphor, but the linguistic expressions of the conceptual metaphor may be shaped by differences in cultural-ideological traits and assumptions that characterize the different cultures involved.

With the contemporary widespread focus on researching and applying metaphor across languages (Gibbs, 1999; Gibbs, Jr., Lima, and Francozo, 2004; Yu, 1995, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003; Quinn, 1987, 1991; Ibarretxe-Antunano, 1999; Emanatian, 1995; Cienki, 1999; Littlemore, 2003; and Deignan, 2003), cognitive linguists have started referring more to culture, especially, focusing on the relationship between body, metaphor, and culture. As language mirrors the culture that it is housed in, the role of culture in metaphoric conceptualization has become evident in recent years. However, the experiential motivation/sensorimotor experience is equally emphasized by many scholars.

Emphasizing the specific aspect of the source domains of metaphor, Deignan (2003), based on her corpus data analysis, explains that the possible reason for cross-cultural variations in metaphors is because different cultures use different source domains. She further argues that even if the same source domain is used, different features may get mapped. Examining a large corpus of British English, on the metaphoric usage of "horse," Deignan found that expressions used in English are not found in Spanish and four other languages. Since horses were just as much used for work and transportation in Spain as in England, Deignan concludes rather than being a synchronic reflection of culture, metaphorical expressions are to some extent a cultural reliquary. Some metaphorical expressions such as idioms and conventional expressions that are opaque derive from historical situations, and other, transparent metaphorical expressions could also be historical, still shared as cultural repository, but no longer experienced (Diegnan, 2003, p. 271). Diegnan's (2003) findings are supported by Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) and Mischler (2007).

The best way to pin down the extent of universality of conceptual metaphors is to examine the metaphorical expressions in natural language use or discourse, and in this context, it is relevant to examine the view put forward by Gibbs (1999). To him, metaphor is linguistic and therefore culture based; it is conceptual also, therefore, it is embodied. Based on empirical evidence, Gibbs (1999) suggests that important parts of metaphoric thought and language are as much part of the cultural world as they are internalized mental entities in our heads (p. 146). According to him, "theories of human conceptual systems should be inherently cultural, in that the cognition which occurs when the body meets the world is inextricably culturally-based" (Gibbs, 1999, p. 153), in **a** sense, for something to be "conceptual," cognition arises and is continually re-experienced when the body interacts with the cultural world. As such, the bodily experiences that form the source domains for conceptual metaphors are themselves complex social and cultural constructions. Therefore, Gibbs (1999) concludes that conceptual metaphor arises from the cultural contexts that the individual lives in. Fundamentally, our social/cultural interpretation of an event shapes how our bodies experience emotions and feelings. Experiencing an emotion such as anger or fear too is socially/culturally constructed and interpreted. Therefore, embodied metaphor arises not from within the body alone, but emerges from bodily interactions that are to a large extent defined by the cultural world, and are then represented in the minds of individuals.

In short, from the abundant research with variations in views, we can infer that metaphorical expressions are based on cognitively and culturally rooted conceptual metaphors. Culture is a plethora of salient aspects such as history, geography, economy, society, religion, and philosophy constitute the "external" world of an individual and

contribute to the conceptualizations of this world in an individual. This point is very well made by Eubanks (1999) in his argument, “Conceptual metaphors are broadly operating cognitive mechanisms constituted by innumerable concrete instances, and that each instance of a conceptual metaphor is inflected by history, politics, culture, philosophy, social attitudes, social contexts, and individual construals of the world” (p. 420). Construal is a socio-psychological term that refers to the way in which people perceive, comprehend, and interpret the world around them. We all need to interpret the world around us so that we can make sense of the world and determine our own actions and judgments, and this is reflected in the language we use, and therefore, metaphors. In short, metaphor depends both on the direct contact we have with the world and on the understanding of the world based on the direct contact we have with the external world. This is illustrated very well in Eubanks’s study on how metaphors are licensed as explained by the participants of the study.

Eubanks (1999), basing on and framing his study in CMT, focuses on concrete expressions that constitute mappings. According to him, metaphors are used by the historically and culturally situated speakers and metaphors constitute an individual’s historical, political, social, economical, philosophical, religious and individual commitments. Explaining that these individual commitments or construals of the world are expressed as stories or licensing stories, Eubanks examines a few metaphors as part of his data. His methodology consisted of 8 focus groups, each comprised of 3-8 participants. The participants were given a questionnaire that asked them to rate the truthfulness of a series of trade and business metaphors. The scale on truthfulness ranged from “absolutely true,” “very true,” “somewhat true” to “not very true.” The option of

"false" was not included to avoid a rigid literalness which would render all metaphors false. The participants were also expected to write down the rationale for their answer justifying their stance. This was followed by an audiotaped discussion which was formal as well as informal with an objective of having participants express and elaborate on their opinions. These discussions were their "licensing stories" that constituted metaphors that were in focus.

What emerged from the analysis of the data is the crux of metaphor theory which includes feature mapping, systematic mapping, and image-schematic mapping. They were not mutually exclusive; instead, they overlapped especially in the blending of two or three conceptual metaphors. According to Eubanks, although the discussants used all three mappings, the aptness of any one particular mapping depended on the ideological bent of the discussant. Besides, the licensing stories also reflected individual aspects such as the generation to which they belonged, their age, profession including their position in the job, and influencing factors such as involvement (or non-involvement) in the military. These features factored into their justifying of the aptness of the metaphor mappings. The findings of the study showed that for us to regard any mapping as apt--it must comply with our licensing stories--our repertoire of ideologically inflected narratives, short and long, individual and cultural, that organize our sense of how the world works and how the world should work. More precisely, Eubanks's findings showed that our world-making stories give us the license or provide the requisite justification needed to regard possible metaphoric mappings as sound in interpreting such metaphors.

Additionally, offering evidence of how licensing stories guided discussants' feature based, systematic, and image schematic mappings, Eubanks demonstrates that

licensing stories are narratively structured representations of an individual's ideologically inflected construal of the world. Metaphoric aptness which is the aptness of possible mappings depends crucially upon this construal.

Arguing along the same lines that metaphor is ideological, Deignan (2005) discusses how studies have analyzed texts which showed that metaphors have been used to present a particular interpretation of situations and events. This is also seen in Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) claim that the use of the WAR metaphor (initially by President Carter) affected public perceptions of the search for cheap energy resources in the US in the 1970s (p. 156). Carter's war metaphor took for granted the prevalent concept of ENERGY and focused on how to get enough of it. According to Lakoff and Johnson one inference that was suggested but not made explicit was THE SERACH FOR ENERGY IS WAR which referred to the existence of a hostile foreign enemy. Lakoff and Johnson claim that creation of such inferences through the WAR metaphors influenced the thought and behavior of politicians and the public. Although in this instance, the creation of inferences has influenced thought and behavior, looking from an opposite direction, we can also say that the ideological metaphors that are conventionalized reflect the ideology and represent certain ways of thinking that are rooted in a common social practice. This argument goes back to Eubanks's inference that conceptual metaphors are preexistent structures available to be concretely instantiated, and they are seen as underpinnings of any given culture. Needless to say this culture refers to a group of people who are historically situated sharing similar ideologies and social practices.

Along with the features of cognitive theories, Eubanks's (1999) findings and inferences have a great deal of relevance to my study because my study investigates the

metaphorical expressions found in the indigenized variety of English which is historically situated and embedded in the British language and cultural reliquary against the backdrop of the native culture, and of course the rapid spread of American ideology and culture resulting in "Americanization" of the contemporary Indian society. Drawing on Eubanks's study, the data analysis of my study will be evaluated in terms of history, politics, religion, philosophy and other social and economic ideologies that contribute to the individual's construals.

As the studies reviewed above indicate, some cognitive linguists and cognitive scientists tend to put a heavy burden on metaphor, positing that it structures and constrains human understanding and reasoning. Some anthropologists and scholars, on the other hand, claim that metaphors play a comparatively minor role in constituting our understanding of the world, and that a relatively major role in constituting this understanding is played by cultural models of that world. Because knowledge is the construct of individual minds, public, and yet shared, a vast amount of this understanding is relative to given cultures, although some basic biological experiences could be universal. Even though our common human experience of ourselves with the physical world is universally shared because of the cognition we are endowed with, our specific cultures could set us apart in terms of thought and language, which could be manifested in the use of specific linguistic metaphors or metaphorical expressions even if the conceptual mapping is the same. Put briefly, although the human body plays an important role in human meaning and understanding in the mode of metaphor, this role is tinted by specific cultures.

A few of the cross-linguistic/cultural studies have demonstrated the above observation. However, such cross-linguistic and cross-cultural studies are very few. Besides, most of these cross-linguistic studies have compared other languages with the English language. However, to my knowledge, to date no study has been reported on a variety of English which is indigenized. The present study comparing Indian English- an indigenized variety of English with British English, its parent language aims to explore the cognitive phenomenon amidst the hot controversial debate about the roles of basic biological experiences, culture, philosophy, religion, history, geography and individual construals that constitute metaphors.

In addition, proponents of CMT, in their overemphasis on cognitive perspectives, and trying to make a connection between thought and language have ignored some major issues, some of which are methodological. In addition to the general problems, the main concern that surrounds the theory of conceptual metaphor is that despite its central tenet that metaphors are a matter of thought, most studies fail to make inferences and connections between linguistic data (expressions) and thought or conceptual metaphors.

Reviewing the most important literature has enlightened me about problems some of the most important studies of CMT have. This review has helped me decide to adopt a discourse approach to my study and use the natural discourse corpora which reflects all factors that contribute to the individual construals that license the conceptual metaphor and the resultant linguistic metaphors or metaphorical expressions as I label them in my study. The following section reviews the discourse approach some of the studies have adopted so far and evaluates my reasons for adopting such an approach to my study.

Discourse Approach to Metaphor Research

While cognitive and psycholinguistic approaches explore the nature and structure of mental mappings, and emphasize the importance of mental processes in producing metaphorical expressions, the discourse approach to metaphor analyzes how metaphorical expressions contribute to the creation of text and message and thereby connect talking to thinking via cognitive theories of metaphor. According to Deignan (2005), studies based on **a** discourse approach tend to use CMT as a framework for their analysis (p.123). These studies do not generally attempt to test the theory or the theoretical models as the studies using corpus linguistic approach tend to do. Instead, the main goal of the discourse approach studies is to investigate how speakers use language to create meaning, metaphor being one of the main devices to connect thinking with talking. Furthermore, studies adopting a discourse approach generally use naturally occurring texts/discourse (published or unpublished) as data. The other forms of data used by discourse approach studies include data elicited from participants through lengthy, structured interviews. These attempts are made to recreate natural discourse with a main focus on content and not on linguistic choices per se. The other reason for using the discourse approach is to avoid some of the methodological problems of the cognitive approaches, especially CMT, and these are discussed in the following paragraph.

While Lakoff and Johnson have laid foundations for the study of metaphor with their immense contribution, their methods and conclusions are not without criticism. Although the main tenet of CMT is that metaphors are a matter of thought, Lakoff and Johnson do not provide enough evidence for the link between thought and linguistic metaphors**,** as they do not make strong claims as to how we can access internal

conceptual metaphors, using only linguistic data as evidence. The other issue is about the methodology of their work, because in their work, Lakoff and Johnson mostly use self generated linguistic samples as evidence for each conceptual metaphor. However, natural discourse might have linguistic metaphors in various forms which might help us better understand the semantic meaning conveyed by different forms that are metaphorical. Finally, many argue that focusing only on cognitive processes (represented by the conceptual metaphors) ignores the vast differences between individuals which arise out of differences in aspects such as history, culture, philosophy, religion, political and social ideologies, education system, individual experiences and all other aspects that make up individual construals. As the vast body of literature in the past two and a half decades has shown that metaphor is a cognitive mechanism and not just a linguistic device, looking at it from an opposite view, we can say that metaphor is not only a cognitive mechanism but a communicative device as well. Our communication, in terms of language is nothing but a combination of the factors listed above. So it is essential not to ignore these important aspects that form an integral part of an individual's construals.

Not ignoring the above mentioned aspects as contributing factors for the creation of domains, or frames that result in individual construals, Cameron (2003) outlines what she calls an "applied linguistic approach to metaphor in discourse." In her study, Cameron (2003) upholds the choice and use of language as the most important methodological issue to plumb into the depths of processes of a cognitive mechanism such as metaphor, because language does affect how we construct our conceptualizations and therefore the nature and use of conceptual metaphor. Using a "discourse perspective" or "discourse approach" (Cameron, 1999; Low, 1999; Deignan, 1999a; Moder, 2004,

2008), Cameron (2003) grounds her work in a naturally occurring discourse of the classroom setting.

A discourse based approach studies metaphor and how it functions in natural communicative settings that include both large "corpora" as well as smaller recorded or transcribed data that are elicited or natural. Deignan (2005), adopting a corpus linguistic perspective in most of her studies, defines and explains the types of corpora. The term "corpus," which is the singular form of "copora," refers to any collection of texts. According to Deignan (2005), "corpus" is also used to refer to collections of citations of various kinds such as dictionary entries, or a pre-selected collection of words and phrases containing a linguistic aspect of research, such as metaphor. "Corpus" also refers to a relatively large collection of naturally-occurring texts stored in machine-readable forms, which is then studied using various computer programs and this branch of linguistics is called "corpus linguistics" (Deignan, 2005, p. 76).

Selecting and Using of Linguistic Data: Methods in Metaphor Research

Connected to the above discussion is the unresolved point of the conceptual metaphor theory, especially with reference to Lakoff and Johnson's studies, which is the source of metaphorical expressions themselves. While many scholars do make use of the data from published or informally collected sources, a large portion of the expressions used in CMT is self-generated, which has been Cameron's main criticism. Supporting Cameron's views, it can be argued that the researcher generated data consisting of metaphorical expressions can have methodological problems concerning *authenticity* and *decontextualization*.

Researcher generated examples are not the same as the ones produced in a real communication. Real communication can produce a wide variety and range of expressions depending on the context, interlocutors or the participants, their age, status and their experiences. More precisely, natural communication has a lot of variables that factor into the production of language which will not be present in researcher generated examples. So this might give skewed results which muddy the inferences that might result in murky generalizations. Additionally, studies based on researcher generated examples may not be replicable either.

Similarly, the other methodological issue of decontextualization can be best avoided by adopting a prosaic or discourse based approach as outlined by Cameron (2003), especially in a metaphor study. Context is very important for production of any language, and metaphor study is no exception to it. Language functions are best accomplished and realized in contexts. The essential components such as pragmatics, semantics and social aspects are important means of communication. A few metaphor studies (Cameron, 2003; Deignan, 2005; Moder, 2004, 2008) confirm that contexts are very much important in interpreting metaphors, especially for metaphorical expressions occurring in particular lexical forms such as prepositions or verbs, or compound nouns with two nouns such as *government watchdog*, and these are the metaphorical expressions that frequently appear in natural discourse.

The best way to avoid these problems and to prove the basic tenet of the CMT- that metaphors are a matter of thought, and that they are pervasive and essential to everyday life and not limited to poetic language is to adopt a discourse approach (Cameron, 2003) to metaphor study. The discourse based approach would ground our

study of metaphor in more authentic sources of communication, especially by using data from naturally occurring discourse or language in use. These sources could include among others, corpora, which comprise compilations of published or collected material, elicited data, or naturally recorded speech. Deignan (2003, 2005), Gibbs (2007), Gibbs and O' Brian (1990), Low (1999), Cameron (2003), and Moder (2004, 2008) provide an excellent overview of the value and limitations of the different approaches using authentic data. Whereas Cameron (2003) uses classroom talk between teacher and student, Deignan's (2003) data tell us how the data is read and written about. Gibbs and O'Brian's (1990) study showed how consistent mental images created by numerous participants and the elaborations provided on the images for interview questions is evidence for idioms being motivated by conceptual metaphors. Whereas Cameron discusses extensively the metaphor "clusters" from her spoken discourse data, Koller's (2003) study on media discourse analyzes the multifunctionality of metaphor "clusters" and "chains" from the natural language of magazine texts on marketing. Eubanks (1999), rooting his argument in methodology, uses a discourse based approach. His data consisted of the published instances of TRADE IS WAR and discussions by focus groups that included different forms such as truisms, anecdotes, personal stories, and fictional stories, and he calls them collectively "licensing stories." This seemed to be one of the most authentic data used in the metaphor studies to elicit more insightful cognitive and linguistic aspects that is valuable to metaphor research.

Another important problem presented by the conceptual metaphor theory is their method of explaining cross domain mapping between the source and target domain which is mostly ambiguous and limited, for example, in relation to the ARGUMENT IS WAR

metaphor. In the classic Lakoffian approach, “conceptual metaphors” are written in the form TARGET IS SOURCE DOMAIN, wherein the “target domain” is the concept being structured (argument), while the “source domain” is the concept which provides structure (war). Several researchers have pointed out that singling out war as the source domain is somewhat arbitrary and that argument could be anything depending upon cultural beliefs. Furthermore, most examples that the conceptual metaphor theory has used are in the form of A IS B as explained above, which has explicit source and target domains. However, in the natural discourse we hardly ever come across metaphorical expressions in that form. Instead, most metaphorical expressions occur in different lexical forms, such as verbs, nouns, adjectives and prepositions, out of which, prepositions occur without any explicitly stated target domains.

In addition, using natural discourse or language in use opens up a lot more interesting features because the interpretation of most metaphorical expressions in any given discourse depends on the discourse context in which they are found. The meaning of the expressions is best retrieved with the help of the contextual clues.

The discourse contexts and the contextual clues invariably consist of a group of metaphorical expressions clustering together as mentioned earlier with reference to the studies by Cameron (2003) and Koller (2003). Metaphor clustering is when multiple metaphors appear in a discourse and they are semantically related to the source domain of the main metaphorical expression in the discourse. Such “metaphor clusters” facilitate identification and comprehension of the main metaphorical expression that is in focus. Cameron (2003) discusses this extensively in her study, which was based on the classroom interaction between the pupils and the teacher, because pupils tended to figure

out the meaning of the main metaphorical expression by mediating with multiple metaphorical expressions. Inferring from her data analysis and findings Cameron (2003) explains that factors such as discourse, content and psycholinguistic features contribute to the occurrence of such metaphor clusters (p.137).

All three factors seemed relevant to her study which is based on spoken discourse which is an on-going communication between the teacher and pupils, and therefore, repetition and reformulation of lexis might be featuring in the mediation of meaning. However, as my data is written genre of media discourse, the content factor is more relevant. According to Cameron (2003), the content factor refers to the topic of discourse which necessitates the use of multiple metaphorical expressions, which are generally conventionalized expressions. As conventionalized metaphorical expressions are based on the shared knowledge of the people, these expressions are needed to deliberately mediate the conceptual content and to develop and summarize the discourse ideas. Cameron (2003) calls the expressions that are used deliberately to negotiate and understand the meaning of the main metaphorical expression, "deliberate metaphors." Cameron (2003) differentiates them by saying that whereas conventionalized metaphorical expressions are generally verbs, the deliberate metaphorical expressions are nominal (p. 101). To my study, conventionalized metaphorical expressions are more relevant because of their functional value. In written discourse, the functional value is dependent upon the genre- written or spoken discourse, and my data is written although sometimes deliberate metaphors do occur in written discourse.

In essence, the discourse contexts and contextual clues including metaphor clusters and other such discourse contextual variables are necessary to extract meaning

from the discourse and the metaphorical expressions in question. As discussed in the preceding paragraphs, these contextual variables are present only in naturally occurring language or natural discourse, giving the language authenticity and contextualization which are necessary for the metaphor research.

The above mentioned are the practical methodological problems that a metaphor researcher might encounter if caution is not exercised. The best way to avoid such problems is to use a discourse based approach, in which natural language is used which is authentic, contextualized, and is representative of real communication among ordinary people. This is the only way to get a realistic picture of metaphors in order to make a link between thinking and talking or to assert that our conceptualization is metaphorical or that metaphors are a matter of thought and of ordinary language.

I use newspaper articles from media discourse as data for the present study. The motivation to use newspaper articles is because most societies are pervaded by media language. Globalization and advancement in technology in the present era have connected people across the globe. This connection is possible mainly due to communication, which is interactional as well as transactional, and the media plays an important role in this. The abundance of language as well as its availability makes this genre an important tool to be used as data, especially for metaphor research. Furthermore, as this genre is delivered and received by ordinary people, it gives the language the authenticity or the "real world" language status which is very much required especially for the metaphor research because it is the "window" to the minds of the ordinary people and their use of metaphor. Therefore, my study uses the news genre, which is a written discourse, to study metaphors found in an *indigenized* variety of English.

Most importantly, most cross-cultural studies have compared other languages with the English language. However, to my knowledge, to date, research is scant in a variety of English which is indigenized. The present study comparing Indian English- an indigenized variety of English with British English, its parent language aims to explore the cognitive phenomenon amidst the hot controversial debate about the roles of basic biological experiences, culture, philosophy, religion, history, geography and individual construals that constitute metaphors.

Furthermore, although most cross-cultural studies have focused on culture and cultural models, not many studies discuss philosophy as one of the main influencing component of culture, as Lakoff and Johnson (1999) in their *Philosophy in the Flesh* link philosophy to the realm of metaphor. However, nothing much is fleshed out of philosophical dimension of culture or metaphors although metaphor has been a topic of philosophical discussion since *Aristotle*. Ancient Greeks and Indians believed that metaphors, similes, analogies, and inferences contribute to the cognitive meaning of our discourse and they are indispensable, not only to religious discourse but to ordinary and even scientific discourse. As metaphors are believed to be influenced by culture and cultural models which in turn have roots in philosophy, religion, history- political as well social, and other individual construals, the next chapter briefly introduces and reviews certain features of Indian history and philosophy.

CHAPTER III

A GLIMPSE INTO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND THE HISTORY OF INDIAN ENGLISH

Introduction

From the abundant metaphor research we know that metaphors feature in discourse of all types, and philosophy is one of them. Metaphor in philosophy may be distinguished from metaphor in poetry and other realms by being primarily an explanatory device rather than an aesthetic one. Its explanatory function is to aid in conceptual clarification, comprehension, or insight regarding a mode of philosophical thought (Cohen, 2004). Most philosophical discourse, including Indian philosophy, is permeated with metaphors because of its explanatory function and persuasive nature. It is noted that philosophical discourse rich with metaphors, analogies, inferences, allusions, allegories makes use of one part of experience to illuminate another-to help us understand, comprehend, even to intuit, or enter into the other in terms of understanding. India, with its heritage of rich and complex philosophy or philosophical thought which is intricately combined with spiritual underpinnings has a vast number of scriptures. These scriptures, mostly in the form of deductive thought expressed in numerous ways of discourse, use metaphors abundantly.

The essence of Indian philosophy as delineated by the ancient Vedic schools (see below) is to prioritize mind and spirit in explaining the functions and the importance of body and uphold the fact that the unconscious mind should be released from ignorance by activating it. This activation refers to the path of “enlightenment” or Nirvana or Salvation. Most philosophical teachings are taught using metaphorical discourse with an aim to lead the reasoning mind in the path of enlightenment. According to the Vedic philosophy, this enlightenment is the liberation of the suffering of human kind. The following section is a brief introduction and explanation of Indian philosophy.

Indian Philosophy: A Metaphor Nest?

The extensive use of metaphorical language in India, whether in everyday speech or journalistic writing, can be traced to the long tradition of using figurative language to express both simple and complex thoughts. As mentioned above, the bulk of India’s wisdom is enshrined in the *Vedas*, the ancient scriptures, whose title means "wisdom." These Vedas or the sacred scriptures are said to have been passed on from one generation to another through word of mouth until the invention of writing. The Vedas, written in Sanskrit, are a storehouse of India’s intellectual knowledge, expressed mostly in persuasive and metaphorical discourses in which the ancient Indian philosophers developed the salient, unified metaphor of a “Metaphysical God,” the Lord of all existence, including life and death – all in figurative language featuring allegory, simile, and metaphor. India’s great epics, such as the "Mahabharata," are simply an extended metaphor of the unending conflict between the forces of good and evil, of light and darkness. Even the complex theme of the cycle of birth and rebirth, originally proposed

by Indian philosophers (and later expressed in Buddhism as the concept of reincarnation), is a sacred metaphor for Hinduism.

Given the metaphorical nature of ancient Indian philosophical and religious discourse, it is no wonder the well-known Indologist, Müller (2003), famously complained that Indian philosophy, especially the "Vedanta" philosophy (one of the major schools of Indian philosophical thought) "deals too much in metaphors" (p. 195). What Müller was saying is that the ancient Indians spoke and wrote in a special kind of "Indian idiom" as they tried to figure out the nature of the Ultimate Reality, and they chose to do so in metaphorical terms. Indeed, in the everyday life of Indians, even a routine visit to the temple and its inner hallowed space is nothing but a metaphor for a mystical, religious experience. According to Narasimhacharyaji (2009, personal communication, March 20, 2009), the chief priest of the Hindu Temple in Oklahoma City, the Indian rituals which include offering flowers, fruit, and other things are based on "illusion" or "Maya." The various human forms given to God are nothing but abstractions, which are based on the common physical entities that we see and use in our everyday life. According to the priest, humans are endowed with physiological bodies to experience the external world and to conceptualize our experiences. The conceptual structures, in turn, shape our worldview. These thoughts and ideas are expressed in the scriptures also. By way of illustration of the metaphorical language, one can look at the following passage from *Bhagvad Gita*, which is a part of the Mahabharata, wherein Lord Krishna tells Arjuna to "renounce the *fruits* of action":

> You have the right to work, but never to the *fruit* of work. You should never engage in action for the sake of reward, nor should you long for inaction. Perform work in this world, Arjuna, as a man established within himself- without selfish *attachments,* and alike in success and defeat, for yoga is perfect evenness of mind (2:47-48).

"Fruit" in the above excerpt is the metaphorical expression referring to the results or the outcomes. What Krishna means is to give up attachment to the outcomes of what one does: that is, one should give one's best to every undertaking without insisting that the results turn out to be what is desired. Examples from Indian philosophy govern every sphere of the Indian society and this is reflected in the languages Indians speak because the philosophical teachings are internalized by most individuals, and the English language that Indians speak is no exception to this. Religious scriptures and rituals have a strong impact on Indian people. In the Indian context, philosophy, religion and culture are intertwined and are inseparable from the daily life of Indians. The philosophical discourse and the ritual practices which are largely metaphorical have been internalized by most Indians and therefore, they have an inclination to use metaphors in everyday life. What all this means is the philosophical discourse and the rituals are conceptualized by the people. As talking and thinking are very much related, all Indian languages reflect this aspect, and Indian English is no exception to this because it is indigenized, and considered one of the local languages (Sridhar, 1978, 1988). In the following paragraphs, I present and discuss briefly, the history of Indian English.

The Spread of the English Language: *World Englishes*

"Indian English" is an indigenized variety of English spoken in the sub-continent of India, a former British colony (Sridhar and Sridhar, 1978, 1988; Sheorey, 1999). The English language, a legacy and heritage of the British rule and culture has been retained in independent India as an "international" as well as an "intra-national" language, although it is very much influenced and therefore colored by the local languages. Over the last couple of centuries, the English language has spread from local through national to international situations, changing significantly along the way to become a global language. Factors instrumental in such a change are not only the historical but also the cultural, economic and political roles and responsibilities accorded to the language. During its course of diffusion, the English language has acquired different flavors according to the environment in which it has been housed. This diffusion and the emergence of different varieties are evidenced when they are taken over as a second tongue by speakers of other languages who retain some features of their regional forms of expression. Just as the standard language moves into new dialects, opening up and expanding its meaning, the global language has also moved in different directions according to the societal needs, acquiring new functions, meanings and expressions. When English is housed especially in the Outer or the Expanding Circles (Kachru, 1990) it brings cultural and linguistic diversity to the language, spawning several varieties of English called "World Englishes" (Kachru, 1990). Essentially, World Englishes are the result of diverse sociocultural contexts and environments and diverse uses of the language in culturally distinct international contexts. A few resultant examples of this phenomenon are Brazilian English in Brazil, Denglish in Germany, Franglais in France,

Indian English in India, Malaysian English in Malaysia, Nigerian English in Nigeria, Singlish in Singapore, and Spanglish in Spanish speaking countries.

The emergence of world Englishes with their amazing form, function and spread has been the result of nativization or indigenization, in which the variety acquires local flavors as regards its phonological, syntactic, and morphological features (Sridhar and Sridhar, 1986, 1994; Kachru, 1982, 1986). The variety in focus for the present study is Indian English as spoken in the sub-continent of India (a former British colony), which is the sediment or the residue of colonial imperialism. Taking an integrated approach in defining and explaining the origin and nature of "Indian English," in the following sections, I present a brief overview of the history of English in India starting from the establishment of the East India Company to the colonial rule, and end with the current state of the English language in India. For this purpose, I divide the time span of the sociolinguistic history into five different phases and describe the history of the English language, in a similar way that Krishnaswamy and Burde (1998) have explained in their work on Indian English.

1600: The Establishment of the East India Company

The history of English in India began on the 31st of December, 1599, the day the East India Company was granted permission to trade in the "East Indies," as the subcontinent was then referred to (Krishnaswamy and Burde, 1998, p.79). The British merchants did not assume power immediately after establishing the Company in 1600 AD. Instead, they remained merchants for almost a century and a half. Their language was not a codified or standardized language at the time, and those who came to India at

the time were mostly uneducated merchants, sailors, and soldiers, and their schooling was minimal. It was only the missionaries and scholars, who came to India a century later, who were learned and had received classical education but not necessarily English language and literature education as Latin was the predominant language or the "lingua franca" at the time. It was only in the 19th century that "English-educated" British interacted with Indians in India. In this context, it can be said that the concept of "governing" the Indian subcontinent materialized only toward the end of the eighteenth century. England's own political development, the Industrial Revolution, the utility of India as a "market" and political supremacy over Mughals and other Europeans on the Indian subcontinent shaped the British policy of ruling the colony and establishing "the State" only by 1800 (Krishanswamy and Burde, 1998, p. 81).

1813: The Renewal of the East India Company's Charter

In 1813, the East India Company's Charter was renewed for trade in the subcontinent. It is towards the end of the 18th century that the power struggle started in terms of spreading Christianity and the English language. The Indian "Pathshalas" (Hindu schools), "Madrassas" (Muslim schools), and "Maktabs" (Persian schools) were teaching modern Indian languages (as opposed to Sanskrit and Devanagari languages), and this domestic education was termed as the "indigenous education" by the British. This continued until the end of the 18th century. It was only after the Company became a political power that some centers of learning were started and Christian missionaries were allowed to undertake educational activities to spread Western light and knowledge and "to instruct" the locals to be the Company's slaves or servants. It was at the end of the

eighteenth century that the Indian subcontinent (except for Punjab and Sindh) came under British control, and it was at that time the missionaries became active in spreading Christianity and converting people to Christianity. Strangely, these missionaries learned the Indian languages and translated Indian scriptures such as Ramayana into English. Sanskrit grammar books were written by the missionaries. What all this means is that the English language was not taught to the Indian masses before 1800 as there was no clear education policy until the Charter Act of 1813 (Krishnaswamy and Burde, 1998, p.83).

It was only after the Act of 1813 that the history of English began in India. The language was used only between the Indian rulers who were trying desperately to keep their kingdom and the British merchants who were trying to seize their kingdoms and become rulers. It was at that time, the English language was used, especially in the written mode, replacing Persian, which was the principal language of trade and commerce. Wherever the British gained control, the Persian and other Indian languages were replaced by the English language. A combination of the inadequate knowledge in English and the use of Persian for royal, administrative and legal purposes with its royal ostentatious formality and the deeply entrenched feudal mentality in the Indian subcontinent resulted in the unique register for English featured by extreme formality and this is present even to this day in some places, especially, in the official correspondence. Gradually, with the renewal of the Charter in 1853, English became the language of instruction in missionary schools, private schools and District schools. The English education, formerly reserved for the Anglo Indians or the children of the Anglophones, was given at this time to Indians also. Around the same time, the print- media and creative writing in English started. With the introduction of formal English education, the

comprehensibility of Indian English improved to a greater level, and it got better as more and more educated British started coming in to the subcontinent and started imparting education to Indian people.

1857: The British Crown Taking Over from the East India Company: Setting Up of the First Three Universities

In 1857, the British Crown took over from the East India Company and the British Government was established in the subcontinent resulting in the expansion of the use of English. Its "status" and "prestige" shot up in terms of its value in the society. In this third phase, which is also named the Mutiny year of 1857, the first three universities were set up in Bombay (the present Mumbai), Calcutta, and Madras (the present Chennai), and English became the language of the Government and Indians as "subjects" accepted the governing authority and the language of the rulers (Pennycook, 1998; Phillipson, 1992).

During the period of British Raj or British rule, the country witnessed the presence of the British rulers and their imperialism over the colony, specifically, in terms of language. British governance and imperialism impacted the life of the local people politically, socially, and, above all, linguistically, and therefore, culturally (Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1998). The covert and overt policies implemented by the colonizer, especially with regard to political and education systems, had a tremendous effect on the society and culture of the governed through the language (Pennycook, 1998; 2002). The role of the English language in colonial India was ambiguous: On the one hand, it was a pragmatic tool for training clerks and other government officers for service to the royal crown; on the other hand, it was withheld from the masses out of fear that the people might demand more from the crown. Nevertheless, the ultimate goal of English was to

spread Western thought and Christianity as was the case in most of the colonized countries (Pennycook, 1998). This phase was followed by the "institutionalization" phase as explained in the next section.

1904: The Indian Universities Act

In the fourth phase of 1904, the Indian Universities Act was passed, which gave the British government a firm control over Indian colleges and universities. This phase witnessed two World Wars, English going international, intense political activity, and the Patriotic Movement which changed the role of English in India. After 1900, the English language got gradually detached from the British rule, and more and more Indians started using it as the medium of communication in the realms in which it got stabilized in the third phase. It is at that point that from a foreign language, English gradually became a second language in the subcontinent. If in the third phase English got stabilized in many areas, in the fourth phase, it got detached from the British rule and empire and became "indigenized" as it got accommodated within the indigenous orthodox socio-cultural framework. In a way "detachment" refers to alienating the English language from its original culture, which was British. At this point, Indians made it absolutely clear that they were giving a definite meaning and role to English in India, and that they would use English for certain purposes but their identity would remain rooted in their cultural heritage. Thus, even today, English in India is detached in a way from its cultural heritage, and it is used according to people's needs. In this way, the English language, along with other languages such as Persian, Urdu and Arabic has been restricted in some ways so that the identity and the cultural heritage of Indians are kept intact. Towards the

end of this phase, British educated Indians entered the network of legislature, judiciary, and other various governing bodies, and took control of most of the systems including railways and communications. Furthermore, the "indigenous" education was replaced by the English education system across the country except for a few minority Madrassas. With more and more Indians educated in English by the British, the number of English newspapers increased, and the circulation and sale of English newspapers multiplied. In the social domain, educated Indians used English for communication, and gradually using English became a prestige symbol. At the same time, Indian writing in English in the form of prose, fiction, poetry, and non-literary intellectual and academic writing got established, and the publishing centers were started in major cities.

1947: The year of Independence

The fifth phase, which is also called the "identity" phase, is when India got its independence in the year 1947, and she became politically independent. In this phase, an institutionalized English education within the framework of the Macaulean system of education was established (Krishnaswamy and Burde, 1998). The Macaulean system was based on "Macaulay's Minute on Indian Education" which was passed in 1835 and is now a public document. According to Macaulay's Minute, India needed the English language to educate every individual across the nation as opposed to the divided way of teaching and learning in three languages namely, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. The then Governor General of India, William Bentinck approved the Minute on March 7, 1835 and it became the cornerstone of British India educational policy (Thirumalai, 2003). The approval of the Minute led to promoting and establishing a permanent position for the use

of English language in Indian educational institutions. Thus, the English language was established by the British Empire around 1860 and gradually most Indians got educated in English.

In the post-independent India, the Indian elite who ousted the foreign rule established their power over the vast majority. Due to the penetration of such policies into the society for centuries, the function of English as a socioeconomic gatekeeper and imparter of Western thought, knowledge, and culture is still largely intact, in spite of the improved language policy and planning in post-colonial India. This is evident not only in official government documentation, but also in the thoughts and feelings of people, including students striving to obtain academic success and economic prosperity which ultimately result in social success. Historically, the metamorphosis that the British India went through during colonization has left a residue of the British legacy which is cultural as well as linguistic, coupled with the Hindu philosophical/ideological construals. The permeation of ideological and linguistic influence is evident in some of the major spheres of Indian life such as education, legal system or judiciary, political administration and political ideology, and economic system. The social system is also influenced to a certain extent in terms of social stratification- social class system. However, whereas Britain modernized most of its systems at a rapid speed keeping up with the present era, India is still catching up.

English in India in Post-Independent Era

After nearly two centuries of British rule, the ramifications of stringent colonial policies impacted India in the post-colonial period. As discussed in the preceding sections, during the British rule, the English language was the official, administrative

language throughout the country. After independence in 1947, the country was in turmoil as regards the language issue, mainly because of the diversity of the population and multiple regional languages, making it difficult to enforce an effective single-language policy for internal cohesion. Until 1947, English had been playing the role of the common language between the British and their Indian subjects. However, pride, patriotism, and nationalism dictated that English could no longer be allowed to maintain its role as a common language of the new nation. Nevertheless, due to problems in coming to a consensus as to which Indian language should be the national language, English was made the official language and Hindi, the national language (D'Souza, 1987). In the subsequent years, however, and especially during the last three decades, English has now established itself as the language of the educated populace and dominates most fields such as trade, commerce, banking, education, politics, judiciary, and the media. In essence, the English language in India has become an *intra*-national common language among the speakers of diverse languages.

India opted for English as an official language instead of boycotting it primarily because the linguistic diversity in India is enormous, with more than a billion people speaking hundreds of different languages. These different languages are distributed among four distinct language families: Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, and Tibeto- Burman (Bonvillain, 2000). However, out of these languages, only 15 have "official language" status. The "official" language status refers to the status given to the regional language or the language spoken by the majority in a particular state or geographical region. Each state in the country has its own regional language and the state government has the right to use the language of the local majority for official and

administrative purposes, typically along with English as an additional or associate official language, though the use of English language is at the discretion of the state government. Languages with official status can be used in all domains such as education, legislation, judiciary, trade and commerce (Annamalai, 2003).

Furthermore, after India gained independence, the country was regaining its identity as a sovereign state, and many political and business leaders as well as the educated elite realized that English was the key to the *modernization* of local languages, and the main source for this was the English language (D'Souza, 1987). Consequently, at the federal level, English was accorded the status of official language (instead of national language status) and Hindi was made the national language.

In spite of the national policy, English has been and continues to be a dominant language in the country and also continues to be a source for the modernizing process. Most of the Indian languages have been modernized using English as the resource, in both written as well as the spoken realms. "Modernization" of languages refers to the process of adapting or expanding their vocabularies to include new items or activities (D'Souza, 1987; Bonvillain, 2000). This linguistic process is accelerated by socioeconomic trends toward increased urbanization, industrialization, and access to education. It is furthered as well by the use of borrowed and coined words in the mass media (Daswani, 1989; Bonvillain, 2000). Conversely, the local languages also have contributed to the *indigenization* of the English language in terms of syntax, vocabulary, and phonology. In other words, the English language has somewhat lost its original flavor, especially with respect to the phonological aspects, and has come to be known as *Indian English*, an *indigenized* variety of English. The metamorphosed "Indian English"

gained considerable local flavors with respect to phonology, syntax, and to a large extent vocabulary with a great deal of cultural overtones. Thus, the essence of Indian English is a combination of the British legacy as well as the core of Indian culture and philosophy.

In the process of modernization, borrowed words are often integrated into compounds with native words to label modern entities, a phenomenon called *code-mixing* (Bonvillain, 2000; Sridhar, 1978; Kachru, 1985; Annamalai, 1989). This phenomenon is illustrated in the following examples from Kannada, a Dravidian language of Karnataka, a southern state of India: Aspirin *Matre: "*aspirin *tablet";* cancer *roga: "*cancer *disease."*

Code-mixing is a common feature of the codes multilingual speakers use in their daily lives, especially in India. Related to the phenomenon of code-mixing is "code-switching" which is explained in the following section.

Code-switching in Multilingual India

Related to code-mixing is another process called code switching, in which the multilinguals in India switch codes in spoken as well as in written discourse. Code switching is one of the discourse strategies (Gumperz, 1982; Bonvillain, 2000; Kachru, 1979) multilinguals (and bilinguals) employ for maximizing potential expressiveness of their linguistic repertory from the available linguistic sources they have at their disposal as speakers of many languages. Code switching is exemplified when multilinguals frequently integrate linguistic material from other languages within the same discourse segment. The code switched elements can be a phrase (code-mixing), a sentence, or a couple of sentences, depending on the context, and the intended purpose.

In the Indian context, switches from Hindi to English and back to Hindi exemplify

the tendency of transferring words from one language to another because of social values associated with the knowledge of the prestige code, which, in the Indian context is English. The following example from Bonvillain (2000) illustrates this aspect. In the excerpts, the code-switched words/phrases/sentences are placed in italics, and the English version is placed beneath it.

Example 1: Code-switched from Hindi to English
itnaa money *aaya kahaan se?*
"Where did so much money come from?" (p. 350)

In the above example, the switch from Hindi to English is made in the middle of a conversation which was in Hindi. This phrase-level switch was done in a social context mainly because of the status and prestige that is attached to the English language and displaying such knowledge is considered highly prestigious in the Indian society. In the second example of a word switch, the switch is from Kannada, another Indian language, for a different discourse function.

Example 2:
"*nanagondu* favor *ma:dti:ra*?"
"Will you do me a favor?"

Example 2 is from Sridhar (1978, p. 116) which involves a switch to English "favor" from Kannada "upaka:ra." As discussed above, code switching is resorted to by multilinguals for various purposes, with emotional associations being the strongest and the most important ones. Although most multilingual speakers are emotionally attuned to their first language and express feelings through it, in some cases, they switch from their native language in order to avoid sensitive issues and to distance themselves emotionally from the situation or the interlocutor (Sridhar, 1978; Gumperz, 1982; Bonvillain, 2000).

Given the close relationship between language and culture, the words and expressions presuppose underlying cultural values, and speakers sometimes switch from their native language in order to avoid expectations associated with native norms (Bonvillain, 2000; Gumperz, 1982; Sridhar, 1978), and example 2 above is one such instance. In the example, the speaker uses the English word "favor" in order to distance himself from the obligation of returning favors that are basic to Kannada cultural norms.

Similarly, in example 3 (Bonvillain, 2000), which is a sentence-level switch from Hindi to English, the Indian woman expresses her opposition to traditional arranged marriages.

> Example 3: Sentence level switch from Hindi to English
> "*mere saath to kabhi aisaa nahiin ho saktaa*" (it can never happen in my case). "I feel very odd how you can share the bed and share the feelings with a man whom you don't know" (Bonvillain, 2000, p.353).

Example 3 is part of the Hindi conversation between two Indian women. While the first sentence is in Hindi, the next sentence is entirely switched to English. Like Example 2, this sentence-level switch to English occurs in order to create some distance from the emotional and cultural aspects of the words, sentences, or the ideas conveyed through them. The topic of the above discourse is "arranged marriage," a traditional situation in which the parents of the bride and the bridegroom arrange the matrimonial alliance based on certain aspects such as social class, economic status, family lineage, and genetic endowment among others. In such a scenario of "arranged marriages" the consent of the bride and bridegroom (in many cases) is seldom taken into consideration. This is a typical traditional/ conservative way of doing things, which is not really appreciated by the progressive minded "modern" Indians, a message implied in example 3. However, the woman who is against such traditional ways chooses to express herself in

a language which is not her native tongue for reasons mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. In this particular example, the woman's switch indicates a desire to distance herself from the traditional practices delicately so as not to hurt her interlocutor's feelings.

The above examples are an illustration of the phenomenon of code-switching among the multilingual speakers of India. This phenomenon occurs frequently, on a daily basis, in the middle of the conversation, in both formal and informal contexts. The interesting thing is that the phenomenon of code-switching is not limited to spoken discourse only; instead, it happens in written discourse also.

In India, because of its wider range of application, and also because of the lack of one common language across the multilingual nation, the English language has gained the status of a second language and as an official, associate language of the country. Also, as noted earlier, because it is considered a prestigious code, its functions and domains of use have also multiplied, and therefore, it is used in formal and informal occasions and settings where Hindi and other languages are used as well. The general trend among Indians is to switch from either English to mostly Hindi (or any other Indian language) or from other languages to English, as the situation demands, both in spoken and written discourse. Such is the scenario in the culturally cohesive and linguistically diverse India.

The noteworthy point here is that the colonial (Western) ideology still exists at all levels, from socio-economic and political planning to everyday activities in all spheres against the backdrop of the deeply entrenched Hindu ideology/philosophy as delineated in the philosophical, divine scriptures. True to the nature of any philosophical discourse, Indian philosophical discourse is also largely figurative in explaining the abstract

concepts of life, truth, universe and the Ultimate Reality. As most Indian languages have their origin in Sanskrit, they reflect the philosophical and ideological underpinnings of the Hindu ideology based on the philosophical schools. These philosophical ideologies are in fact, deeply entrenched in the minds of people through cultural traditions and conventions including rituals and this is mirrored in the languages spoken by Indian people.

The Current Influence/Situation of Globalization and Americanization

In addition, the contemporary "global village" characterized by the present era of globalization, international trade and especially, outsourcing of jobs from the US to India, and the mass mobility of people across the globe have contributed yet another facet to the indigenized variety of English in India. If up until now British English was the norm for the post colonial India, the new India, emerging as one of the rapidly developing countries, is looking up to the United States, the world's biggest power, as an ally. The most influencing factor is the dependence of Indian youth on American education and entrepreneurial training to acquire the required "edge" over others in life, which of course is a status symbol now.

The exodus of Indians to the land of "dreams" has had a major impact on the Indian society because while most Indians go back to the home country, a substantial number remain in the US and get acculturated by integrating into the American society, especially, the second generation. At the same time, they retain their ties with the home country making frequent visits, thereby transporting some aspects of the American

culture to India. Needless to say this mobility also involves transporting some aspects of Indian culture into the United States.

Language being the main medium of communication absorbs and manifests the nuances of any given culture. Other major influencing factors such as music, food, entertainment, e-language which is the medium of the electronic communication tools such as iPods, blackberries etc., act as the carriers of culture.

Some of the metaphorical expressions found in the initial survey of the data had some examples such as *malls and multiplexes are temples of consumerism* in the news stories about domestic matters in The Times of India (TOI). For example, framing the new era of a good economy which features spending more money to satisfy the consumers' needs, one of the articles claims that the multiplexes are built exactly with this purpose of making consumers spend to satisfy their needs and demands that reflect the contemporary world. The striking point in the expression is the coding of the concept of "consumerism" which is originally American, and is now seeping into the Indian society, and along with it, related concepts are making their way into the other spheres of life of Indians. The implied meaning of this expression is that the Indian people are going to the malls and multiplexes with multiple movie theaters to shop, watch movies, and eat fast food, all of which are quintessentially American.

The specific mention of eating popcorn and drinking cola in the newspaper articles which has somewhat become synonymous with going to the movies in contemporary Indian society shows that there is a shift in the cultural and overall influence from the British to the American idiom and that the country is headed towards "Americanization." This paradigm shift of Americanization is seen in "McDonaldization"

(Phillipson, 1999) and "Coca-colanization" (Bamgbose, 1998, 2001) of the Indian society. The American influence, more specifically that of pop culture, has seeped into Indian life and culture from sources such as foods and drinks, entertainment--especially music--branded clothing and footwear, offshore jobs, American-educated Indians, and the Indian diaspora which still maintains primordial relations with the home country. This has resulted in an unbelievable hike in the air traffic between the two countries. All these developments have factored into the paradigm shift which has had a major impact on language. The recent trend is to speak American English because it is considered "hip," especially, among the young. After all, even a slight American accent (or one gained after some intensive pronunciation training) can lead one to a well-paying job at a Call Center!

Most interestingly, the recent shift in the trend among the current generation of Indians is to come to the United States to study and get entrepreneurial training and to return to India immediately after completing their education. While in the US, these Indian students learn American English mostly for instrumental purposes and use it on a daily basis. However, when they go back to India, they still retain a part of American English and use it in India. This phenomenon, coupled with other factors such as outsourcing of jobs from the US, especially, in terms of Call Centers, and businesses established and run by Indian Americans who continue to live in the US, have impacted and resulted in "Americanization" especially, as regards the English language and to a certain extent, culture. Furthermore, other influences such as pop culture, and entertainment in terms of music and movies, have also added a new dimension to Indian English, and culture. The strong contact with American English while in the US, and the retention and use of American English in India because of globalization, gives continuity

to the use and assimilation of the American language into Indian English. Such influences are seen in the use of metaphorical expressions that reflect political, economic and social ideologies which are American. As thought and language or thinking and talking are directly related, it is speculated that metaphorical expressions used in Indian English might reflect some concepts from American system, in addition to the British, against the backdrop of Indian philosophy.

The point of the preceding discussion is that metaphor constitutes a major part of Indian life, language, and thought. The Indian philosophy is a major influence on the mind, thought and language of Indian people. This is layered by the British influence as a result of the colonial rule until 1947. However, the recent American influence has added another dimension to the English language and culture of the people of India. The present study is intended to provide empirical evidence to suggest that in the language of Indian newspaper English—the type of English that is most widely written and read--journalists display a wide range of metaphorical expressions in their reporting of contemporary events even as they express themselves in a "foreign" tongue. The Indian journalistic tradition has been strongly influenced by the British journalistic practices, and therefore, metaphorical expressions used in both Indian and British newspapers could be similar to a large extent. However, Indian newspapers might also use some metaphorical expressions that are distinct to Indian culture and philosophy. Furthermore, as discussed above, the surging wave of "Americanism" might manifest itself in Indian English and play a definitive role in licensing metaphorical expressions.

As the preceding discussion illustrates, the language scenario in India is complex and complicated as it is a blend of the reliquary of the pre-independent British rule, post-

independent sentimental and sensitive India, and a rapidly developing contemporary country with immense American influence, but very much nested in Indian philosophy and culture. Given the fact that India is now the third largest English-using country after the US and the UK (Sheorey, 1999) Indian English used in India has been widely considered a distinct non-native variety of the language. A combination of all these influencing factors leaves the indigenized variety with a complex nature, and the present study aims to investigate such factors focusing mainly on metaphorical expressions, which are instantiations of metaphors or the cognitive structures/mechanisms.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Embodying a view that metaphors are pervasive in language use and are conceptually important, and they form an integral part of language and culture, the major aim of this exploratory study is to do a comparative analysis of metaphorical expressions (MEs henceforth) found in the written genre of newspaper articles in the two varieties of the same language, namely, Indian English and British English. The comparative analysis mainly consists of descriptive statistical tools of ratios and frequency distribution and a descriptive/qualitative analysis of domains of the MEs found in the selected international and domestic news stories to find the overlaps and/or variations in the usage in the two newspapers.

My research questions for this study are as follows:

I. Assuming that MEs are used in Indian English, what lexical forms do they take in the data, and what is their frequency and distribution?

II. How do the occurrence and distribution of MEs in the indigenized variety of English compare with that of British English, the parent language? Specifically, what are the similarities and differences with reference to the lexical forms of MEs identified in the two data sets?

III. How does the source and target domain usage compare across the two sets of articles reporting the same (international) and different (domestic) news stories?

To answer the above research questions, the procedures followed in collecting and analyzing the data are described in this chapter.

The consideration of metaphor as a phenomenon of human thought coupled with its ubiquitousness in ordinary language brings metaphor within the scope of applied linguistics. This very nature of metaphor in real-world language becomes the focus of research and therefore it makes sense to use "naturally occurring language" or "language in use" as the data for the metaphor study. A close examination of ordinary language will most certainly give us insights into an understanding of how metaphor is used, which will further lead us to know how people think, and make sense of the world and each other, which is another important facet of metaphor. Additionally, language in use reflects an individual's construals which are a combination of many aspects such as bodily experiences, perception, culture, language, religion, social and political ideologies which are extremely essential for the study of metaphors.

Adopting a discourse perspective as outlined by Cameron (2003) and Deignan (2005), the corpora used for this study are the written discourse of news genre from two leading newspapers. Discourse is taken here as "language in use," or the language which occurs in a specific context (Gumperz, 1982; Cameron, 2003). By adopting a discourse perspective and using newspaper articles as data representative of "language in use," an attempt is made to contextualize metaphor use. The following sections give a brief description of the data selected and used for the study.

Description of Data

The corpus used for this study is taken from written discourse in Indian English--a variety of English spoken in the former British colony--India (See discussion on Indian English in Chapter III). To a large extent, cognitive studies on metaphor have focused mainly on the study of native English, and so far no study has focused on an indigenized variety in particular. Because the English language has gone through an acculturation process in its host culture in India, where it is now used as an official and second language, it is worth examining its use of MEs, which form an integral part of our conceptual system. To get more insights into this linguistic phenomenon, I used newspaper articles, which is "language in use," from both varieties of English so that I could explore this area and compare and contrast what I find.

As discussed earlier, the discourse approach of the study was also motivated by the belief that naturally occurring discourse qualifies to be the best candidate for researching linguistic issues, as opposed to the researcher generated examples that are indisputably figurative and at the same time are decontextualized. Furthermore, I chose to use the breaking news genre because "in the news are carried the stories and images of our day" (Bell, 1991, p.2), because it typically expresses these stories in a more ordinary language, one which might be called "live language" – i.e., language produced by real people addressing a real audience. In other words, newspaper articles were chosen because they are seen as a primary language genre in the media, and also, the newspaper articles are written for the common audience who do not require any specialized knowledge to understand the content.

From the selected newspapers, I specifically chose news stories of political content. The reason for choosing news stories with political content over others is that the world has become a global village in terms of communication in the present era of globalization and international trade. The media is proactive in modern times in penetrating into the remotest areas of the world. What is happening in one end of the globe is transmitted to the other end almost within seconds. It is not only the news correspondents, but also the youth through electronic devices such as computers, iPods, and iPhones send and receive messages instantly. What all this means is news, especially of political nature (of course, music or entertainment comes first among the youth!), is shared by people from all spheres of life. Thus it becomes interesting to see how the international news which is the same on one hand, and the domestic news which concerns a particular country on the other, is reported in two different varieties of the same language. This is one of the reasons for choosing political news articles, although on some occasions, these articles overlap with economic and social issues as they are intertwined and cannot be separated.

Texts

Data Selection and Data Deletion

The source of the data for Indian English (IE) is the national daily, the Times of India, a major English newspaper read by the educated population across the nation as well as the Indian diaspora living in other countries. Because English is not only an *inter*national but also *intra* national language in India, the English newspaper, especially, the Times of India is believed to have a wide readership among the educated. According

to the World Association of Newspaper (WAN), the Times of India has the largest circulation among English newspapers in India. Correspondingly, for British English, I chose articles from the national daily of the UK, Times on Line, which is the online version of London Times, a major newspaper in the UK very much similar to the TOI.

Corpora collected for both Indian English and British English consisted of political news articles from all issues starting from the 1st until the 30th of June 2007. As both were online sources, I saved the articles of each newspaper separately as Microsoft Word documents for further analysis. As discussed above, my selection of articles was political in content, and thus, articles concerning sports, entertainment and other non-political issues were discarded. In essence, I selected only the articles that were reporting news related to the category of politics. However, as issues concerning politics and economics overlap and sometimes find roots in social elements, the corpus also consists of such articles. In this context, it would not be wrong to admit that most of the times political, economic, social and business aspects are not mutually exclusive. Instead, they are interrelated, and thus cannot be isolated totally.

Exclusion of Some Texts

With broad conditions and other details regarding the selection criteria taken care of, my next step was to exercise caution over some minor but important aspects from the journalistic point of view in order to ensure the authenticity of my data. Accordingly, extreme caution was exercised while choosing the articles for the study, especially for Indian English. Using bylines to control for nationality of the writers, and eliminating articles quoted from Associate Press and Reuters, I selected articles written only by

Indian journalists. Associated Press or Reuters were discarded mainly because these were written by native speakers or monolinguals from either the US or the UK. After the news articles were selected based on the origin of the news reporters, and the stories, I collected a couple more articles so that each corpus had the initial number of 490,700 words. Once this was accomplished, I turned to the next step which is described in the following paragraph.

Once the political news stories from TOI were separated, selected, and saved as the Microsoft Word documents, the total number of words in the corpus was 490,700. At that point, I decided to keep this word count as the cut off number for both data sets. Accordingly, following the same procedure as I did for the TOI, I carefully scrutinized all issues of LT and selected news stories containing political news, although at times they overlapped with social and economic aspects. Furthermore, by-lines of the articles were carefully scrutinized so as to control for the authorship in LT, and the stories reported by the native speakers of British English were selected. Once the LT corpus reached the cut off number of 490,700 words, I stopped collecting articles. Thus, I made sure that the word count was the same for both sets of data.

Although the total number of words is the same for both newspapers, the number of articles varies as Table 4.1 below indicates. This is mainly because of the style each corpus used with respect to the length of each article. The TOI articles tended to be shorter with approximately 259 words for each article, whereas the LT articles were much longer with 478 words approximately. Table 4.1 summarizes the initial information obtained up to the point of collecting and determining the word count and acquiring the total number of articles in each newspaper.

Table 4.1: Numeric information on the newspaper articles used for the study

Sl. No.	Newspaper	Total # of words	Total # of articles	Average # of words per article
1.	TOI	490,700	1891	259
2.	LT	490,700	1026	478

Separating Domestic and International News Stories

Next, I focused on the type of news the selected articles were reporting. In a sense, my initial step in the journey of this exploratory study indicated that these articles were a combination of both domestic as well as international news. This sparked a new interest in me to look at these articles from a different angle: to see if there were any peculiarities or features of uniqueness in terms of reporting domestic and international news. Furthermore, an initial analysis of the data indicated that TOI and LT seemed to have more similarities in terms of usage of MEs which included the lexical forms, frequency and the linguistic expressions themselves. As these aspects were more superficial, I decided to dig into the deeper aspects of the data. Accordingly, in each corpus, I separated domestic news articles from international. The main purpose of this was to see if the articles reporting domestic news had any culture specific metaphorical expressions that were distinctive to the Indian culture. I searched for MEs in domestic as well international news articles. Next, I analyzed the domains of these MEs to see the overlaps and differences in the use of source domains. To do this analysis, I divided the articles into two sets. The first set consisted of only international articles that appeared in

both newspapers, and the second set comprised the articles that were reporting domestic news. Once the process of saving these in different files was accomplished, I counted the number of articles I had for each set- domestic as well as international. I followed the same procedure for both newspapers. The numeric information about the domestic and international articles from both newspapers is illustrated in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Numeric description of domestic and international articles

Articles	TOI	LT
Total # of Articles	1891	1026
Total # of words in each newspaper	490,700	490,700
Average # of words per article	259	478
Total # of Domestic Articles	1258	590
Total # of Words in Domestic articles	310,200	300,900
Average # of words per domestic article	246	510
Total # of International Articles	633	436
Total # of Words in international Articles	180,500	189,802
Average # of Words per International Articles	285	435

As shown in Table 4.2, there were 1258 articles reporting on domestic news and 633 articles reporting on international news for TOI. The London Times corpus consisted of 1026 domestic articles and 590 international articles. The total number of words was calculated separately for domestic and international articles. The total number of words in domestic articles for TOI was 310,200 and 300,900 for LT. These numbers are comparable across the two newspapers but not identical. The average number of words in a domestic article in TOI was 246 and in LT 510. On average, the international articles had 285 words per articles in TOI and 435 in LT. As the numeric information shows, overall, the TOI used shorter articles as compared to LT. A comparison between the

domestic and international articles shows that the TOI international articles tended to be slightly longer than the domestic articles. In LT, on the other hand, the domestic articles were longer than the international articles. A comparison across the two newspapers shows that the domestic articles are much shorter in TOI than LT. International articles are shorter in TOI, but not as great a difference from LT. In general, in the present set of newspaper articles, the TOI used shorter articles than LT in reporting both domestic and international news. The next important step was identifying MEs in the corpora and then quantifying them.

Metaphor Identification

The Process of Identifying Metaphorical Expressions

To answer the first research question, concerning what lexical forms, (for example, noun, verb etc.) MEs would take in the data, and with what frequency and distribution, the first task was to identify and then quantify the metaphorical expressions found in the discourse.

In order to identify and find the total number of MEs or the density of the MEs found in the two newspapers, each containing 490,700 words, a careful operationalization or the working definition of the unit “metaphoric expression” was developed, based on the incongruity between the source and the target domain (semantically and pragmatically), as outlined by Cameron (1999, 2003), and relative to what might be the norms of the speech communities of speakers of Indian English (IE) and British English (BE). The process of identification is explained in the following paragraphs.

In order to identify and determine the lexical items as metaphorical, first of all, the definition of a "metaphorical expression" had to be established. However, the most difficult step in conducting metaphor research is determining an operational definition of metaphor, as the term metaphor is often used interchangeably to mean linguistic items or lexical items and conceptual metaphors. I use the term *metaphorical expressions* (MEs) and *linguistic metaphors* for the lexical items that are identified as metaphorical in the text. However, "metaphor" on the other hand, is a broad term that operates at the conceptual plane and includes many aspects such as individual metaphorical expressions (or linguistic metaphors), the groups of semantically related metaphorical expressions, and any conceptual connections perceived between MEs that can be usefully explained using conceptual metaphors.

Thus a metaphorical expression is a given linguistic or lexical item that is from a particular source domain that appears in spoken or written discourse. The *source* domain is one of the elements in conceptual metaphor theory, and the other is *target* domain as explained in Chapter II. The main purpose of identifying the domain is to distinguish the lexical items that are metaphorical from the surrounding text of the discourse. The surrounding text can be anything- a sentence or a paragraph not related to the source domain which is metaphorical, within the discourse context which constitutes the news article, setting of the stories, the characters in the political stories, audience or the readers and all other implied aspects that are associated with the topic.

As discussed in Chapter II, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999) and Lakoff (1993) explain the conceptual theory of metaphor as the mapping of conceptual content between the source and target domains, reducing most examples to A IS B types, that are

primarily found in the literary works in which source and target domains are explicit. This has somewhat underemphasized the *form* at word, phrase, clause and discourse level, because in the naturally occurring language metaphorical meaning is carried mostly by verbs and nouns. In such instances, most of the time, the target domain is implicit and therefore, the reader or the hearer has to infer from the surrounding text which is signaled by the conceptual incongruity between the surrounding text and the ME.

Thus it becomes necessary to first of all, identify the target domain in the discourse, to establish the incongruity between the metaphorical item or the source domain and the target domain. In my data, the target domains generally varied. However, for the case study analysis of matching stories or texts, the target domains were often the same because the selected articles were reporting the same stories. Once the target domains were identified, to determine the items as incongruous, the source domain of the given item had to be determined.

Using this method, the metaphorical expressions were identified by manually sifting through the newspaper articles from both varieties. This process is illustrated with the help of some examples in the following excerpts. At this point**,** it should be noted that the lexical items that are identified as metaphorical expressions will be placed in italics throughout the dissertation chapters, and the excerpts quoted from the newspapers will be set off from the rest of the text to limit confusion. The MEs that are in focus for discussion will be bolded and placed in italics in excerpts which contain MEs other than the one being discussed, and the other MEs will be placed in italics, as can be seen in Excerpt 4.1, wherein the ME ***hunt*** which is being discussed is placed in italics and bolded, but the other ME *breakthrough* is placed only in italics and not bolded.

Furthermore, the source domains will be placed in double quotation marks as in "physical property."

Excerpt 4.1: TOI

> Kolkata: City scientists are on the verge of a *breakthrough* in the ***hunt*** for a cholera vaccine. The oral vaccine has already been tried on 110,000 people in cholera-prone wards 29, 30, and 33 in Kolkata. The results are extremely encouraging, say the researchers.

Excerpt 4.2: TOI

> New Delhi: The BJP on Saturday asked Congress-Left nominee in the Presidential election, Pratibha Patil, to respond to charges that she had *shielded* her brother in a murder case.

In Excerpts 4.1 and 4.2, the expressions or the lexical items that are in italics, *hunt* and *shielded* are clearly incongruous semantically with the rest of the discourse context. These lexical items are incongruous because their semantic interpretation contrasts with the discourse appropriate interpretation of the surrounding texts within the discourse context they are situated.

In the first excerpt, the lexical item *hunt* most appropriately references the source domain of "hunting," in the sense of tracking and killing animals, but here it more generally maps features of "search" and extends to different contexts and participants. This semantic (and pragmatic) incongruity between the content of the discourse and the content of the lexical item which is "metaphorical," signals the possible presence of metaphor (Cameron, 1999; 2003). A further clue to establish the item as metaphorical is when these clues direct us to make sense of this double semantic content. In this context, the incongruity is between the quest for the cholera vaccine which is being hunted in the manner or the way the prey is chased and hunted by the predator. Thus, in the above

excerpt, the ME, *hunt* can be understood as the "pursuit," "quest" or "search" to find/ discover the much needed vaccine, wherein the incongruity is resolved and the ME is understood.

Similarly, in Excerpt 4.2, the verbal metaphorical expression, *shielded* reflects the physical "protection" or "cover" from the semantic frame of the iron shield used in the military for protection against attacks by gunshots. In this context, this physical source domain of iron shield is reflected in the abstract mapping. Essentially, our basis for describing and identifying metaphor relies on our ability to distinguish in this way. It should also be noted that individuals differ in choosing source domains or some specific aspects of source domains for MEs, based on individual construals which are a reflection of culture, language, political ideology, religious philosophy, and life experiences. However, the notion that each individual constructs the domain depending on the experience with that domain does not necessarily mean the domain construction is individual specific. Instead, the source domains could be universal or culture specific or a combination of both.

After establishing the operational definition of metaphor, both data sets were sieved for MEs and the total number was noted. I followed Cameron's methodology of implementing an "inter-rater" procedure (Cameron, 1999; 2003). The inter-rater procedure involved subsequent readings of the texts by one native speaker of British English, who was my former colleague in Malaysia, and one native speaker of Indian English. They helped me in identifying the MEs and deciding the doubtful or borderline cases. I also included one more person in this procedure who is a European, with an

excellent command of British English. This yielded good results of inter-rater procedure (Cameron, 1999; 2003).

The doubtful cases and the exclusion of some of them, was conducted in a follow up discussion over the phone and email. There were very few exclusions of the initially identified metaphors. To give an example, the phrase, *blow up* in "Federal authorities said a plot by a suspected Muslim terrorist cell to *blow up* John F Kennedy International Airport, its fuels tanks and a jet fuel artery could have caused unthinkable devastation" (Times of India) which was initially identified as a verbal metaphorical expressions was later discarded because it did not have any potential for incongruity either semantically or pragmatically (Cameron, 2003). With reference to its discourse context, in terms of its surrounding text, the phrase did not lend itself to any metaphorical meaning. This is because the expression "blow up" was used in literal sense of actually blowing the airport up with explosive devices. It was initially selected as a ME by me because its semantic interpretation kept alternating within the discourse context. However, a careful scrutiny and discussion with other readers/raters helped me strengthen my decision about not considering the item as a metaphorical expression in this use.

Similarly, another example that was dropped was *blackout* in the following excerpt: "security forces in Chattisgarh have been put on high alert to prevent any Naxal attack following a *blackout* in Bastar region after naxalites blasted three high tension transmission towers" (Times of India). Once again, this was considered nonmetaphorical in this context because of the contextual interpretation. The actual reference of the expression was to the power outage. At first, the expression "blackout" seemed a potential ME. However, a close scrutiny of the context, including particular lexical items

such as “high tension transmission towers” and “the city, Bastar plunged into dark” yielded a different result and thereby the expression was decided to be literal and not metaphorical. All the contextual clues made it clear that the “black out” referred to the actual power outage. Thus there were not too many cases of metaphorical expressions which were controversial or that generated difference of opinion among the four of us. Most of the ones selected were clear cut cases and therefore not too many examples that were discarded can be cited here.

Identification and Classification of Different Lexical Forms of Metaphors

The next step was to sort the MEs into groups according to the lexical forms in which they appeared. As metaphor in language use is an extremely complicated and multi-faceted phenomenon, identifying and classifying MEs into more specific forms is not always an easy task. As the majority of MEs found in the corpora of newspapers were either in the noun or the verb forms, I have considered only two groups, namely, nominal metaphorical expressions (NME henceforth) and verbal metaphorical expressions (VMEs henceforth), excluding items such as prepositions that were potentially metaphorical standing on their own and not paired with other metaphorical items such as verbs to form phrasal verbs that were metaphorical. Some examples of NMEs found in the data are *cloud, advertising watchdog, security hawks* and examples of VMEs are *face (/faces/facing/faced), break up, break away, and torn apart.* There were a couple instances of other forms such as adverbs, and prepositions that carried metaphorical meaning. However, because their number was insignificant, I didn’t include them in the present study. The following paragraphs explain the details of these two forms of MEs.

Nominal Metaphorical Expressions (NMEs)

Metaphors in naturally occurring discourse can be a word, a phrase, and can contain nouns, verbs, or words from any other word class. For the present study, the category of nominal metaphor expressions was formed by grouping together MEs drawn from the corpora with single word nouns (e.g. *boost),* and compound nouns in which a noun combined with an adjective (Adj+N) or a noun combined with another noun (N+N) (Moder, 2004). The compound nouns in which an adjective carried the metaphorical meaning such as *frosty relations,* and compound nouns in which one of the nouns (although mostly the head noun) carried the metaphorical meaning as in the example, *security hawks* were grouped into the NMEs category. The nominative metaphorical expressions in the classic form of A IS B as in *moral values are my compass*, were also included in the NMEs group. The corpora also had a few instances of similes and they are presented in this study as well. A few instances of NMEs are illustrated below in the following excerpts.

Excerpt 4.3: LT- Single NME ***shields***

> Children who died in strike on madrassas were ***shields:***
> Seven children were killed in an airstrike on a religious school in eastern Afghanistan. The building was believed to house al-Qaeda fighters and the terrorists were accused of using *children as human shields.*

In Excerpt 4.3, the single NME, *shields* references the source domain of "object/or article of defensive armor, used for protection" which is clearly incongruous with the surrounding text, although the link to "children", the anomaly or incongruity is somewhat resolved.

Excerpt 4.4 from TOI displays the example of a NME which is a combination of an adjective and a noun, in which the metaphoric meaning is carried by the adjective, mapping to the target domain.

Excerpt 4.4: TOI - Adjective + Noun ***Burgeoning Mandarin classes***

> For a Britain that is dealing with China's place in a rapidly globalizing world being remade in the image of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa, the five emerging economies destined to dominate 2040 according to Goldman Sachs) with ***burgeoning Mandarin-language classes***, Guo offers valuable insight into the Chinese way of thinking.

In Excerpt 4.4, the NME, *burgeoning Mandarin classes, burgeoning* is from the source domain of "plant life" and new leaves coming out of a plant, which signifies the "beginning of a new life," although in contemporary English it may not be commonly used in its plant sense. A possible reason could be because it is highly lexicalized and therefore it is an entrenched ME.

Excerpt 4.5: LT - Noun + Noun combination of ME: ***security hawks***

> The proposal has removed some of the sting from America's refusal to sign the 1997 Kyoto protocol on climate change, although in America it is being greeted as more of a *U-turn* than it is in Europe. Bush is *facing* increasing domestic pressure to adjust his policy from "*green*" evangelical Christians, ***security hawks*** who want to reduce American dependence on Middle Eastern oil and businesspeople, including Hank Paulson, his treasury secretary.

In Excerpt 4.5, the ME, *security hawks* is a compound noun and the head noun, *hawks* carries the metaphorical meaning. Although the ME references the domain "bird," *hawk* is conventionalized to mean aggressive, combative, favoring military action.

Verbal Metaphorical Expressions (VMEs)

Verbs carrying metaphorical meaning in the instance of a single verb (e.g. *steeled*) or a verb phrase (VP- e.g. *bogged down*; *slipping away*) are sorted into this group of VMEs. Thus, the term VMEs, henceforth will refer to both instances where the carrier of the metaphorical meaning is a single verb and where it is a VP. Excerpt 4.6 below features the single VME, *steeled* in a stretch of discourse from LT.

> Excerpt 4.6: LT – Example of a single verb ME- ***steeled***
> Early on Tuesday morning Kathleen Porter ***steeled*** herself and took her beloved daughter to die. They caught a taxi to Manchester airport and flew to Zurich where they enjoyed a last dinner together at a hotel.

The above example, the VME *steeled,* from root verb *to steel* is lexicalized from the noun, *steel*, in a metaphorical sense. Similarly, excerpt 4.6 displays the phrasal VME *bogged down.*

> Excerpt 4.7: TOI – Example of the phrasal VME- ***bogged down***
> British Airport ***bogged down*** by foiled terror plot
> As news of the plot to blow up a plane at London's Heathrow airport *blitzed* across globe on Thursday, *heavy Internet traffic* caused the British Airports Authority website, www.baa.co.uk to temporarily close down.

In Excerpt 4.7, the phrasal verb *bogged down,* is certainly incongruous or anomalous with the rest of the text, making semantic interpretation ambiguous. This phrasal verb, which is a VME, references the source domain of "lack of ability to move," or "stuck in a bog/quagmire." More precisely, it refers to the conceptual metaphor, SUSPENSION OF ACTION IS THE STOPPING OF MOVEMENT. The VME can be interpreted as indicating the British airport coming to a standstill without any usual activity of the airport because of the chaos created by the foiled airport attack.

> Excerpt 4.8: TOI- Example of a phrasal VME- ***Slipping away***
> G-8 must grasp trade deal now or risk it ***slipping away***: Top industrialized nations must focus now on reaching a global trade deal or risk seeing the chance ***slip away***, the *head* of the World Trade Organization warned on Wednesday.

The phrasal verb *slipping away* literally means losing some object physically. However, placed in this excerpt, the VP is clearly incongruous with the rest of the text and therefore makes the interpretation ambiguous. This incongruity is resolved when we know that the source of this VME *slipping away* refers to "loss of physical action/movement," which is mapped on to the target domain of trade deal. The conceptual metaphor mapped is ABSTRACT ACTIONS ARE PHYSICAL ACTIONS, and PHYSICAL DISTANCE IS LOSS. The particle *away* traces the path or the direction of the action/movement which denotes something going away physically from the person. In this particular example, some of the features of the source domain of physical action map on to the target, the trade deal.

Thus, following the above procedure, MEs found in the two newspapers were sorted into groups of nominal and verbal metaphorical expressions. A summary table describing the total number of NMEs and VMEs identified in the corpus is presented in chapter V which is followed by a detailed analysis of the findings. Once the MEs were counted and grouped into their lexical forms of NMEs and VMEs, their frequency was calculated as explained in the following section.

Frequency and Distribution of MEs: Ratio of Types and Tokens

To answer the second research question, concerning how the occurrence and distribution of metaphorical expressions in the indigenized English compared with that of British English, the parent language, and what the similarities and differences with reference to the *lexical forms* of metaphorical expressions identified in the two data sets would be, the MEs that were counted were further examined for their frequency of appearance. Frequency refers to how often a given item or expression appears in the present data of news stories. Based on the frequency of the MEs, their token/type ratios were calculated. Each instance of a ME (including NMEs and VMEs) was counted as a "token" (Cameron, 2003; Bybee, 2007) and their frequency of occurrence was calculated. In order to standardize the frequency counts across contexts, numbers of metaphor tokens per 1000 words was calculated by the simple formula [(1000/total number of words) x (the total number of metaphor tokens)], using the appropriate figures for a given set of data. Being ratios, these numbers of metaphor tokens/1000 words control for the word frequency differences.

Next, to find out the ratio of tokens to types, a "token/type ratio" (hereafter TTR) was calculated. A "type" is defined as a distinct unit of lexical pairs of target and source items (MEs) (Cameron, 2003; Bybee, 2007). More precisely, a unique/different metaphorical expression was identified as the "type" and each time this type appeared was counted as a "token." For example, in the data, the ME *backed* is counted as one type and one token, and its subsequent appearances were counted as additional tokens. For instance, if the ME type *backed* appeared 5 times, it was counted as one type with 5 tokens. Different forms of the same word were counted as one type, for e.g., *back, backs,*

and *backed*, but different tokens. After counting the types and tokens of MEs from both newspapers, their token/type ratios were calculated. The TTR was calculated by dividing the tokens of MEs by the metaphor types, using the appropriate figures for a given newspaper.

The TTR is the ratio of unique (different) expressions (types) to the total number (tokens) of metaphorical expressions used in the newspaper articles. To arrive at the token/type ratio for my study, I divided the total number of "tokens" of MEs found in the data by the total number of "types" of MEs. For instance, the total number of ME tokens in the TOI corpus was 1009, and the total number of ME types was 669, and the TTR was arrived at by dividing 1009/669 =1.50. Similarly, the TTR for LT articles was calculated as 1.24 by dividing the total number of tokens (504) by the total number of types (404) or 504/404= 1.24. The instances of MEs that appeared only one time were counted as one type and one token. A TTR of one indicates that a ME occurred only once and was not repeated in the corpus. The higher the token/type ratio, the more frequently the MEs were repeated. The findings and discussion of this are given in Chapter Five.

A similar procedure was followed for calculating the TTR for VMEs and NMEs separately for each newspaper. For calculating the TTR for VMEs, each single VME, such as *boost* was counted as one type and one token, and its subsequent appearances were calculated as additional tokens. The different forms of the same word such as *boost, boosts,* and *boosted* were counted as one type, but different tokens. Similarly, for phrasal verb MEs, a phrase containing a verb and a particle was counted as one type and one token. For example, the ME *claw back* was counted as one type and one token and the number of times it repeated itself were its additional tokens. In instances where an

expression such as *break* appeared as a single VME, it was counted as a type and a token of a single VME, and when the same expression appeared with a particle *out* to form the phrasal verb *break out*, it was counted as a type and a token of phrasal verb ME. This is because the semantic meaning of a phrasal verb is generally coded by its particle, and this meaning could be different when the verb part is used on its own as a single verb or VME. Following this procedure, I came up with a list of types and tokens for single MEs, and for phrasal verb MEs separately, and then collapsed them to form the total number of types and tokens of VMEs and the TTRs were calculated as described in the preceding paragraphs.

The TTRs for NMEs were calculated in the same manner for each form of nominal ME I included in this group, namely, single, Adj+N combination, N+N combination, nominative, and similes. For example, for single NME, *crutch* was counted as one type and one token and its subsequent appearances were counted as its additional tokens. The single/plural nouns that appeared subsequently were counted as additional tokens of the single NME. Instances of the noun phrase Adj+N combination such as *fragile democracies* were calculated as one type and one token, and its subsequent appearances were calculated as its additional tokens. The combination of an adjective and a noun was identified together as a ME because in most cases, the adjective carried the metaphorical meaning mapping the source domain, modifying the target domain which was the head noun. Similarly, in the N+N combinations, invariably either the head noun or the modifying noun mapped the source domain carrying the metaphoric meaning and the other noun mapped the target domain. Thus an instance such as *security watchdog* was counted as a type and a token of N+N ME, and its subsequent appearances were

counted as its additional tokens. I followed the same procedure for nominative MEs. As for similes, the types and tokens remained the same as none of the similes in either newspaper were repeated and therefore, they gave no additional tokens. The types and tokens of all forms of NMEs were combined to arrive at the total number of types and tokens by adding all separate lists of different forms, and the TTR was calculated dividing the given number of tokens by the given number of types. The TTRs were calculated for each newspaper, and the ratios were analyzed and compared. A detailed description of the findings of TTRs, the differences, and the analysis is given in Chapter V.

Next, to answer the third research question, case studies of selected international and domestic news stories were done. What follows is a description of the case studies of the selected sets of news stories. First, the case study of matching texts is described and this is followed by the case study of the texts with different stories.

Case Study of Matching Texts

To answer the third research question**,** concerning how the source and target domain usage compared across two sets of articles reporting the same stories, an analysis of source domains of a few MEs that were common to both sets of news articles reporting the same stories was done. The same stories were chosen to control for the target domain. To analyze the domains, it was necessary to tease out the source domains and then compare and contrast their usage tendencies between the two newspapers. Because the matching texts served to constrain the target domains for both sets of selected articles for the case study, teasing out the source domains of the MEs found in these articles was essential for a comparative analysis.

Furthermore, as the main aim was to get more insight into the specific aspects of any cultural influences, the articles were separated into domestic and international news articles. Essentially, the domestic news articles were thought to potentially reveal the presence or absence of culturally unique aspects. Therefore, the news articles were separated into domestic and international articles, and articles reporting on particular stories/news topics were selected from each group. The articles selected for the international news section were 1) The recent Conflict/War between Lebanon and Israel and 2) The G8 Summit.

The international news articles from both newspapers were generally reporting on the same stories. This gave me an opportunity to compare the two newspapers with regard to MEs and the source domains as the target domains would be potentially the same for both. The process of selection was based on the articles that were reporting the same story in both sets of data. In order to get equal number of words for both sets of articles, first of all, I selected the articles and went for a certain target number, and accordingly adjusted the number of articles. The ratios per 1000 words are used to compare across newspapers in order to account for the difference in number of words. Although it was not easy to always get the exact number for both newspapers, I could get the approximate numbers as displayed in Table 4.3. As the numbers show, I was not always successful in getting the exact number of words for both newspapers because I had to make allowances for the completion of a paragraph or a sentence to ensure that the gist of the article was kept intact. As shown in Table 4.3, a total of 10 articles from the TOI and 7 from LT were selected that were reporting the story of the Conflict/war between Lebanon and Israel. The TOI articles consisted of 3008 words and LT 3015. As

for the second international story of the G8 Summit, a total of 16 articles from TOI and 10 from LT were selected and they consisted of a total number of 5000 and 5020 words respectively.

Table 4.3: Numeric description of the selected international news stories

Sl. No	Story/Theme reported by the articles	Total # of words		Total # of articles	
		TOI	LT	TOI	LT
1.	Conflict/War between Lebanon and Israel	3008	3015	10	7
2.	The G8 Summit	5000	5020	16	10

The selected articles were then searched for MEs. A detailed description and analysis of the MEs and their domains is provided in Chapter V. With regard to the international news, I was able to select matching texts that were reporting the same story to get more insight into the similarities and variations in their use of domains. However, as mentioned in the earlier sections, I was more curious to see the phenomenon in the indigenized variety of English. To explore and identify if there were any culturally specific MEs, a careful examination of the domestic articles was necessary. To see if there were any specific MEs that were distinct to Indian English, I had to look at their domains. My main intention was to see how the domains were used in the articles that were reporting domestic news, which I suspected could be different because the news was more local and therefore, more culturally specific. So I selected some articles reporting domestic news from TOI and then compared with those from LT.

Case study of Different Texts from Domestic News Stories

For domestic news, I selected articles reporting on the story of the "Gujjars," from the TOI and the "Proposed Reforms in Education and Economic Policies" from LT. The criteria for selection of these particular articles were the popularity of the story and the frequency of the appearance of the articles reporting them. The reasons for their popularity and frequency of appearance are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The TOI domestic news articles featured the story of the Gujjars in almost all issues of the newspaper from the 1st until the 30th of June. Various reasons contributed to the popularity of the theme, bringing the entire state of Rajasthan to a standstill being the main reason along with others, which is explained here. As some of the states in India still retain the feature of social stratification based on class (or caste), communal/caste/class clashes erupt periodically, especially, heightening at the time of elections. The Gujjar's case is one such communal war that broke out in Rajasthan when the Gujjars, belonging to the "Other Backward Classes" (OBCs) demanded to be demoted to a lower class called "Scheduled Tribe" (ST) so that they could claim more economic and social benefits from the government than what they were already enjoying as OBCs. According to them, the Meenas, who belonged to the ST group, enjoyed more economic and social benefits than the OBCs by the virtue of belonging to a much lower class. However, the Meenas, who were eating the "pie" of the "reservation or the quota system," detested the idea of including the Gujjars in their class because they did not want to share the "benefits" of the quota system that was part of belonging to the ST group. Thus, both parties clashed, in what was called the "caste war," and the repercussions had cascading effects on the neighboring states, leaving the major portion

of the country in chaos. This was a very dangerous situation because caste clashes always spread like wild fires affecting the sentiments of people and plunging the entire country in a communal war and caste/class wedge. Because of its intensity and the sensitivity of the issue which could lead to the crippling of the country, the story of the Gujjars became the meat of the press and the story featured in the media and the TOI articles daily. These aspects made the Gujjar's story very important and, therefore, the story was selected for the domain analysis of the domestic news and analyzed for the potential underlying cultural aspects in the reported language.

Correspondingly, the domestic news story/issue selected from the LT is the Proposed Reforms in Education Policies. The change in the existing education system was proposed by David Cameron as part of his election manifesto during the days of election campaign in June 2007. David Cameron is a Tory leader; the Tory party is the Conservative Party in England. Although the Tories are regarded as traditional Conservative Party people, Cameron is considered "compassionate" and a "modernizer." The Conservative party, under the leadership of Cameron, promoted radical decentralization to reach every corner of the country. The decentralization of power meant empowering local people, especially, in the political processes, as opposed to the existing over-centralized system. Related to this was the issue of the reforms in education policy, especially, with regard to the Grammar schools. The shadow home secretary, David Davis, made a pledge on establishing Grammar schools all over the country, by starting "a grammar school in every town." Cameron, on the other hand, campaigned for embracing new methods of education which included increasing the standards of the existing system which would benefit not "a few fortunate" children, but

all. This row over the grammar schools within the Conservative party created a lot of furor across the country. The culmination of this row was evidenced when the shadow foreign secretary, William Hague, who chaired the crucial shadow cabinet meeting, dismissed Davis's calls for establishing new grammar schools, and announced that the Tory government would consider new grammars on a case-by-case basis if population changes justified the move. This announcement was seen as a "U-turn" in the policy of Cameron's party, and this sparked a fresh array of criticism among the shadow cabinet ministers and all other people across the country. Because of the gravity of the situation, this topic was featured in every issue of the LT at the time of data collection, and as it generated a lot of debate because it concerned children/students, parents and all others connected with education, I selected this story. Table 4.4 summarizes the numeric information of the selected articles reporting domestic news from both newspapers.

Table 4.4: Numeric description of the selected domestic news articles

Newspaper	Story/Topic	Total # of words	Total # of articles
TOI	The Gujjar Case	15,000	58
LT	Proposed Reforms in Education policies	15,000	30

As shown in Table 4.4, a total target number of 15,000 words were selected from each newspaper. The identical number was obtained by truncating the last article, but all the other articles were collected in their entirety. The total number of articles for the Gujjar case from TOI was 58 and 30 for the Proposed Education Policies from LT. The selected articles were then searched for MEs and the MEs were sorted into groups of NMEs and VMEs. In order to probe into the similarities and differences in the use of domains, I selected a few MEs that were common across the two newspapers, and their

source domains were teased out. As discussed in Chapter II, domains are the main bodies of knowledge that supply the conceptual links between two entities- the source and the target domains. The source domains for the metaphorical expressions mostly reference concrete/physical entities, although not always. Some MEs may reference source domains that are abstract.

As it was not always possible to evaluate all MEs under the framework of Lakoff and Johnson's notion of conventional conceptual metaphors, I tried to come up with the source domains based on the salient feature that the MEs were mapping. Thus, for analyzing a ME such as *burns* which is a VME, I used the conceptual mapping "ANGER IS FIRE." However, when analyzing MEs such as *claw back* which is an Adj+Noun combination, I have referred to its original source of "the action of the body part of an animal," and the particle *back* is analyzed for the manner of action it is mapping. It was undoubtedly a complex and a complicated facet. However, this process got more difficult and most challenging when MEs from the domestic articles of TOI were processed for their source domains. This is because they were culturally loaded expressions, and also included code-switched expressions that were metaphorical.

Metaphorical expressions that were code-switched from Indian English to Hindi in the TOI news articles were also analyzed for their source domains. These expressions had properties similar to the English MEs such as sytematicity, and non-arbitrariness (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). For example, the code-switched ME *bandh,* which is a Hindi word, references the domain of "closing" and in this context, the ME refers to "shutting/closing down or paralyzing a place including all activities forcibly" until the demands of the striking party are met. In this way, all MEs including the code-switched

expressions were analyzed for their source domains and then compared between the two newspapers. Furthermore, the MEs were also scrutinized and analyzed in the light of the discourse contexts in which they appeared. The motivation for this was because one of the main features of the discourse approach is that the interpretation of language in use definitely depends on the contexts and the contextual clues. The contextual clues in the present analysis among others refer to "metaphor clusters" (as explained in Chapter II with reference to Cameron, 2003 and Koller, 2003) and features such as the use of ME in the headline and in the body or in both.

As discussed in Chapter II, Koller (2003), in her study on business magazine texts on marketing, discusses the discourse functions of metaphor clusters especially as regards the slots of their appearance- at the beginning of the text, in the middle of the text and at the end of the text. Explaining the clustering of metaphors as "chains," Koller (2003) illustrates the different functions of such clusters which are elaborating, exemplifying, extending, generalizing, questioning/negating, attenuating, intensifying and echoing (p. 123). Whereas Cameron (2003) distinguishes these metaphor clusters into "deliberate" and "conventionalized" outlining their functions concisely, especially pertaining to her data of spoken discourse, Koller (2003) goes into details of the functions of such clusters basing her study on Halliday's (1994) theory of communication and applying to CMs.

As my data is in the written genre of media discourse, and the principal focus of the study is MEs, I limit my study to a basic level analysis of the discourse contexts which includes metaphor clusters and their basic functions with reference to the surrounding texts of the MEs in focus. Other features such as the introduction (or the

absence) of the ME in the headline and its in-article use are discussed. These features are compared between the two newspapers.

For the ease of comprehension and to distinguish the source domains from other discourse entities, they are placed in double quotation marks, as in “physical property.” The MEs themselves are placed in italics throughout the dissertation chapters as in *engulfed.* As the presentation and illustration of MEs in their discourse contexts require the particular excerpts to be presented, these excerpts are set off from the rest of the text with their headlines placed in a bigger font. Chapters V and VI illustrate these features.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented with specific examples, a brief description of the procedures that I undertook in answering the research questions for the study. Providing answers to research questions I and II involved first of all, calculating the total number of MEs found in the corpora of 490,700 words in each newspaper. These MEs were then grouped according to the lexical forms in which they occurred, which included two major categories of verbal and nominal MEs, and their frequencies were calculated. The frequencies included calculating TTRs of the MEs in order to do a comparative analysis between the two newspapers. The frequency ratio per 1000 words was used in cases where the number of words was not equal.

The description of this procedure was followed by the source domain analysis of the MEs for which case studies of the selected texts were done with a principal objective to plumb into the cultural aspects of both varieties of English. To gain insights into cultural aspects, it is imperative to analyze the source domains which nest cultural and

individual construals encompassing political historical, economical, social, religious, and philosophical matrix of a given culture. For the source domain analysis, the news articles were separated into domestic and international articles and particular stories were selected for the analysis. The findings of the frequency and source domain analyses are presented and more deeply explored in Chapters V and VI respectively.

CHAPTER V

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF FREQUENCY AND RATIO COUNT

Introduction

In this chapter, the results of the findings obtained from frequency and ratio analyses are presented and discussed. These results provide answers for my research questions 1 and 2 namely,

1. Assuming that there are MEs in Indian English, what lexical forms do they take in the written genre of newspaper articles, and what is their frequency and distribution?

2. How do the occurrence and distribution of MEs in the indigenized variety of English compare with that of British English, the parent language? In particular, what are the similarities and differences with reference to the lexical forms of MEs identified in both sets of data?

First, I present and discuss the results of the formal product analyses of MEs: the quantity and the frequency of MEs and the common *lexical forms* in which they appear in both sets of newspapers, namely**,** the Times of India (TOI) and London Times (LT). As explained in Chapter IV, the MEs were identified which formed the major part of the data analysis. In this chapter, these MEs are analyzed for frequency of their occurrence and for their lexical forms. This is followed by the token/type ratio analysis, and the descriptive analysis is illustrated with a few examples from the data. Finally, conclusions are drawn based on the analyses.

Descriptive Analysis of the Frequency Count of MEs: Metaphor Density

The initially identified MEs were identified, counted, and further examined for frequency and for the lexical forms in which they appeared. Thus, each set of newspaper articles from TOI and LT containing 490,700 words was analyzed to know the density of MEs, and their frequency/1000 words was calculated. Table 5.1 summarizes the total number of MEs found in the two newspapers.

Table 5.1: Numeric description of the words, MEs and their token frequencies

ITEMS QUANTIFIED	TOI	LT
Total # of words	490,700	490,700
Total # of MEs	1009	504
Frequency of MEs per 1000 words	2.05	1.02

Table 5.1 shows that the two newspapers, each with 490,700 words, used 1009 and 504 instances of MEs respectively. The TOI used twice as many MEs with a total number of 1009 MEs as compared to LT with 504 MEs. Next, to determine a more standardized frequency of their appearance, the number of MEs per 1000 words was calculated. Accordingly, the information in the table shows that on average, in the present data, TOI uses 2 (2.05) MEs per 1000 words and LT uses 1 (1.02) ME per 1000 words, confirming that the TOI uses twice the number of MEs.

The total number of MEs was separated into VMEs and NMEs according to the lexical forms in which they appeared. As discussed in chapter IV, the VMEs included single VMEs such as *quash* and phrasal verbs such as *shot up* constituting a main verb and a particle. The NMEs contained single NMEs (*collapse)*, or noun phrases combining an adjective and a noun (Adj+Noun) as in *burgeoning classes*, or lexicalized and nonlexicalized compounds combining two nouns (Noun+Noun) such as *quota hawks*, and nominative metaphors of the form A IS B, as in *Values are my moral compass.* Instances of similes such as *It was like being in church without fun*, found in the data are also included as NMEs. Table 5.2 shows the total number of MEs, including VMEs, NMEs and the frequency of their appearance for every 1000 words.

Table 5.2: Total # of VMEs and NMEs and their Ratios

ITEMS QUANTIFIED	TOI	LT
Total # of MEs	1009	504
Total # of VMEs	669	332
Frequency of VMEs per 1000 words	1.36	0.67
Total # of NMEs	340	172
Frequency of NMEs per 1000 words	0.69	0.35

As Table 5.2 illustrates, in TOI, out of 1009 MEs, 669 were VMEs. In LT, out of 504 MEs, 332 were VMEs. With reference to the NMEs, whereas LT used 172 NMEs, the TOI used 340. The ratios for TOI show that on average whereas the VMEs appear about one and a half times for every 1000 words (1.36), the NMEs appear about half of the time, which is 0.69. In LT, on average, 0.67 VMEs and 0.35 NMEs appear for every

1000 words. The ratios indicate that both TOI and LT use about twice as many VMEs as NMEs. Comparatively, the ratios of verbal and nominal MEs are much higher in TOI than in LT as the TOI uses both verbal and nominal MEs twice as frequently as the LT.

Ratio Count: Types and Tokens of MEs

The high frequencies of MEs in all lexical forms in TOI as compared to LT directed me to do a further examination of types and tokens. Types and tokens of MEs were examined, and their frequencies were calculated to compare and contrast the frequency of use of MEs between the two newspapers. The purpose of identifying types and tokens was first of all, to see whether a particular newspaper was primarily using more types or whether the same MEs were repeated several times. Based on the findings, the second purpose was mainly to compare and contrast the number of types and tokens between the two sets of newspapers. Table 5.3 shows the token and type frequency and the token/type ratio (TTR) of the MEs for both sets of data.

Table 5.3: TTR of MEs for both newspapers

Newspaper	Tokens	Types	TTR
TOI	1009	669	1.50
LT	504	404	1.24

The TTR column in Table 5.3 shows that in LT, on average each ME type recurs one and a quarter times in the corpus. Such a ratio indicates that the corpus uses a wide variety of MEs with only a limited amount of repetition. In TOI, each ME type reappears slightly more often, one and a half times. From this we can infer that ME types are slightly more likely to reappear in TOI than in LT. The LT repeats each ME type slightly

less frequently on average, and TOI uses more types and repeats each type more frequently.

These findings further led me to look at the TTR for both VMEs and NMEs in the two newspapers. Thus, the numeric data were further broken down and examined according to the lexical forms of VMEs and NMEs and their token/type ratio was calculated. What follows is a description of the details of the distribution of VMEs in both newspapers in terms of types and tokens.

Types and Tokens of VMEs in TOI and LT

The numeric data of types and tokens for VMEs were further analyzed for their frequency of distribution in the articles. A ratio of types as well as tokens for every 1000 words for both sets of data was calculated, and this information is illustrated in Tables 5.4 and 5.5.

Type Frequency

Table 5.4: Frequency of VME Types

	NEWSPAPER	Total # of types	Frequency per 1000 words
1.	TOI	374	0.76
2.	LT	240	0.48

Token Frequency

Table 5.5: Frequency of VME Tokens

	NEWSPAPER	Total # of tokens	Frequency per 1000 words
1.	TOI	669	1.36
2.	LT	332	0.67

The figures in Tables 5.4 and 5.5 indicate that the TOI uses more types and tokens of VMEs as compared to LT. With reference to the type frequency, in TOI 0.76 types of VMEs occurred for every 1000 words, whereas in London Times the frequency of appearance of types of VMEs for every 1000 words was lower (0.48).

Similarly, TOI leads with reference to the ratio of tokens also. Whereas the ratio of token for London Times for every 1000 words is 0.67, it is 1.36 for TOI, and the difference is quite large in terms of the recurrence of the types of VMEs in each newspaper. Thus, in this genre of newspaper articles, the TOI has a higher frequency of types as well tokens of VMEs usage as compared to LT. A further analysis of the VMEs was done to check the different forms in which the VMEs presented themselves in terms of single verbs as "*brewing,*" or phrasal verbs (VPs) – "*brushed aside.*" These were then sifted for types and tokens. Specific details of types and tokens of the different forms of VMEs in both newspapers are displayed in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Types and Tokens of VMEs – Single and VPs in TOI and LT

Data	Types		Tokens	
Newspaper	Single VMEs	VPs VMEs	T # of times single VMEs appeared	T # of times Phrasal VMEs appeared
TOI	289	85	544	125
LT	205	35	295	37

Table 5.6 illustrates the type/token count of single and phrasal verb MEs in both newspapers. According to the numerical analysis, the TOI leads in the use of both types and tokens of single and phrasal VMEs. In terms of types of VMEs -single verbs and VPs, whereas the TOI uses 289 and 85 respectively, LT uses 205 and 35. Similarly, the

token count for VMEs- single as well as VPs is higher in TOI, at 544 and 125 respectively, than it is 295 and 37 in LT. Single verbs reappear more frequently than phrasal verbs in both newspapers, and this is discussed in the following section.

Frequency Analysis of Single VMEs

In this section, the single VMEs from both newspapers are analyzed for their frequencies, and their frequencies are presented in Table **5.7** along with phrasal VMEs. The highest number of times a particular single VME appeared in TOI was 25 times for the verb *face*. This was the single VME with the highest frequency of appearance. Interestingly, the most frequently appearing single VME in LT was also *face*, and it came up 18 times in the corpus. The top ten most frequent single VMEs in each newspaper are given in Table 5.7 in descending order. In the following paragraphs these VMEs are presented with the number of times each expression appeared given in parentheses. The number of times these expressions appeared is given in parentheses. For TOI, I have listed single VMEs that had more than 6 tokens because single VMEs were generally more frequent in TOI. I made the decision to list only those that had more than 6 tokens for TOI because these represented the 10 most frequent single VMEs. For TOI, the single VME that had the highest number of tokens was *face* (25 tokens). The other single VMEs with high frequency tokens in descending order were *spark* (16); *back* (14); *break* (12); *boost* (11); *tighten* (10); *engulf* (9); *quash* (8); *busted* (7); *drop* (7).

As for LT, there were 295 tokens of single VMEs. Out of this total, the single VME with the highest frequency was *face*, and it appeared 18 times. Other single VMEs with higher token frequency in descending order were *collapse* (10 tokens); *spark* (8);

back (6); *storm* (5); *unveil* (5); *shock* (5); *embrace* (4); *boost* (4); and *breaks* (4). I have stopped the list at the token frequency of 4 for LT single VMEs because these included the ten most frequent single VMEs. Instances of single VMEs which had token frequency fewer than 4 are not listed here.

Table 5.7: Frequency distribution of single and phrasal VMEs

Newspaper	VMEs (Single Verbs)	Tokens	VMEs (VPs)	Tokens
TOI	*Face*	25	*step up*	14
	Sparked	16	*crack down*	8
	Back	14	*break out*	6
	Break	12	*beef up*	4
	Boost	11	*break up*	4
	Tighten	10	*break through*	4
	Engulf	9	*break away*	4
	Quash	8	*shot up*	4
	Busted	7		
	Drop	7		
LT	*Face*	18	*claw back*	2
	Collapse	10	*kick off*	2
	Spark	8		
	Back	6		
	Storm	5		
	Unveil	5		
	Shocked	5		
	Embrace	4		
	Boost	4		
	Break	4		

Frequency Analysis of Phrasal Verb MEs

As for the phrasal verb MEs, TOI had 85 types of phrasal verb MEs and they appeared 125 times. Table 5.7 displays the phrasal verb ME *step up* which appeared 14 times in TOI. This was the expression with the highest frequency for TOI. The second most frequently appearing instance of phrasal verb ME in TOI was *crack down* which appeared 8 times. Other phrasal verb MEs that appeared more than 3 times were, b*eef up*

(4 tokens), *break up* (4 tokens), and *shot up* (4 tokens). Instances of phrasal verb MEs with tokens fewer than 4 are not listed in the table because these eight were the most frequent phrasal verb MEs. As Table 5.7 indicates, LT used 35 phrasal verb MEs in the articles. However, there were overall 37 tokens. Only and only two expressions appeared more than one time. They were *claw back* and *kick off*, each with two tokens.

Illustration and analysis of instances of VMEs in their discourse environments

Single VMEs:

Next, I present excerpts that illustrate the stretches of discourse in which the most frequent VMEs, *face* (in both newspapers), and the second most frequent instance of a single VME *spark* from TOI, and *collapse* from London Times appear. Instances of the most frequently used VMEs are presented in the contexts in which they appeared mainly to demonstrate how conventionalized expressions appear across the two newspapers. Furthermore, through these excerpts, we can see how these MEs are used in similar or different ways across the two newspapers in terms of contextual clues and other features of presentation of MEs. These excerpts might exhibit some characteristics that could be similar in both newspapers and features that might be distinct in each newspaper. Excerpts 5.1 and 5.2 present instances of the single VME *face* from TOI. The excerpts are set off from the rest of the text and the headline is placed in a bigger font to distinguish it from the body of the article. Also, the MEs are placed in italics. However, because some excerpts have more than one metaphorical expression, the ME being discussed is placed in bold to avoid confusion.

Excerpt 5.1: *face*- TOI

After Natwar, Jagat too may ***face*** action:

Suspended Congress leader K Natwar Singh's son and Congress legislator Jagat Singh too may ***face*** disciplinary action over his role in the Iraqi oil-for-food scandal, party sources said on Thursday.

Excerpt 5.1 from TOI shows the single VME *face*. As discussed previously, the VME *face* appeared 25 times in TOI. In the excerpt, the VME *face* is used in the headline first, and then in the stretches of discourse which unfold the story of the Congress leader Natwar. Similarly, in the LT, the instance *face,* which is also the most frequently appearing single VME in LT, appears in the context in excerpt 5.2. Similar to TOI, the expression is used in the headline first and then in the body of the article.

Excerpt 5.2 *face* - LT

Suspect in forgotten Ku Klux Klan killings ***faces*** justice after 43 years:

Sitting in court yesterday before a Yale-educated black judge, James Ford Seale, 71, was a long way from the banks of the Mississippi where, 43 years ago, he is alleged to have tortured and drowned two black teenagers.

As the prosecution laid out in appalling detail Mr. Seale's alleged crimes, he ***faced*** photographs of the teenagers on a computer screen and a white lawyer very different from the local sheriff- and fellow Ku Klux Klansman-who dropped the charges against him in 1964.

The second most frequently used single VME in the TOI corpus is *spark* and in LT is *collapse. Spark* appears 16 times in TOI, whereas the VME *collapse* appears 10 times in LT. Excerpts 5.3 and 5.4 display the VME *spark* from TOI and *collapse* from LT respectively.

Excerpt 5.3: *spark* - TOI

What ***sparked*** the turmoil?

The Gujjars in Rajasthan have been demanding for a long time that they be put under the ST bracket because the vast majority of them in the state continue to live in socio-economic backwardness. The issue of reservations triggered a lengthy debate and certainly ***sparked*** emotional tensions.

Excerpt 5.4: *collapse* - LT

Poland 'is ready to *wreck* everything if our voting demands are not met'

Poland is ready to let next week's EU summit ***collapse*** rather than accept a new constitutional treaty that *eats away* at its voting power, President Kaczynski told the Times. The Polish leader said that he was not going to *buckle* under the *diplomatic pressure* that is *piling up* on Warsaw.

Excerpts 5.3 and 5.4 show the second most frequently used single VME *spark* and *collapse* from TOI and LT, which appeared 16 and 10 times respectively. The main difference between these two excerpts is whereas the excerpt from TOI used the single VME *spark* in the headline as well as in the body of the article, the LT excerpt used the expression *collapse* only in the body of the article. The other noteworthy feature is that the excerpt from LT has at least 4 metaphorical expressions grouped together to form a "metaphor cluster" (Cameron, 2003) as discussed in Chapter III. Although such clusters appeared in TOI, Excerpt 5.3 does not showcase it. In most discourse, metaphor clusters are expressions which are mostly conventionalized, although at times they could be deliberate expressions which are discourse relative to mediate the conceptual content. In the above excerpt from LT, the MEs *wreck*, *eats away*, *diplomatic pressure*, and *piling up* are some of the expressions that are both conventionalized and discourse relative. They

are discourse relative because these expressions are thematically related to the discourse of the article.

Phrasal Verb MEs

In this section, instances of phrasal verbs that are metaphorical are discussed. The phrasal verb ME *step up* appears 14 times in TOI. This is the most frequently occurring phrasal verb ME in TOI. In LT, the most frequently occurring phrasal verb MEs were *claw back* (2 tokens) and *kick off* (2 tokens). As the earlier list and table 5.8 indicate, in LT, the highest number of times a phrasal VME appeared was 2 times only, whereas in TOI, the expression *step up* had the highest frequency of appearance with 14 tokens. Excerpt 5.5 from TOI article shows the phrasal verb ME *step up* in one of the context**s** in which it appears.

Excerpt 5.5: *step up* –TOI

> Mittal's Kazakh mines under scanner:
> Lakshmi Mittal, the world's richest Indian, has returned to newspaper front pages in Britain- and the center of controversy- with a leading paper claiming his mines in Kazakhstan are *death traps* with alleged "slave labour" conditions.
> The Sunday Times said, in front page led story and a comprehensive two-page special investigation, that coalminers working in Mittal's Kazakh mines have damned the Indian tycoon's giant Arcelor Mittal company for using "dangerous, outdated equipment and by *cutting corners.*"
> Observers said The Sunday Times claims are unfortunate for Mittal, who ***stepped up*** the campaign some years ago to portray his global steel firm as a compassionate corporate force for good with the financing of Hurricane Katrina reconstruction and other initiatives.

Excerpt 5.5 from TOI corpus displays the phrasal verb ME *stepped up* in the discourse context in which it appears. The phrasal verb ME appears only in the body of the article and it is not used in the headline. Also appearing in the same article are the MEs, *death traps* and *cutting corners.* Excerpts 5.6 and 5.7 show phrasal verbs ME *claw back* and *kick off* from LT.

Excerpt 5.6: *claw back* –LT

Revenue to seek offshore tax billions:

The Revenue expects to ***claw back*** hundreds of millions of pounds from Britain's wealthy, after banks *handed over* personal details of 400,000 customers with offshore accounts.

Revenue & Customs has *uncovered* City bonuses, inheritance windfalls and foreign holiday home hidden in tax havens.

David Hartnett, the Revenue's director-general, indicated he was "concerned" about the way in which offshore schemes had been sold by high street banks.

Excerpt 5.7: *kick off* – LT

Dutch ***kick off*** £7 billion bid battle for ICI:

Pension trustees at ICI are poised to play kingmaker in a looming £7 billion-plus bid battle for the chemical group. Akzo Nobel, ICI's Dutch rival, is expected to confirm tomorrow that it has appointed investment bank Morgan Stanley to examine a bid.

The phrasal verb MEs *claw back* and *kick off* are the only two expressions which appeared two times each, out of 37 tokens and 35 types in LT. This suggests that most types of phrasal verb MEs were not repeated in LT. In Excerpt 5.6, the expression *claw back* appears only in the body of the article and not in the headline. In this **e**xcerpt, the expression *claw back* is from the source domain of the action of a body part of the animal, and is used in its verbal form to encode the manner of retrieving or recovering

the tax money. Also appearing in the same article are the expressions, *handed over* and *uncovered*, related to the same discourse topic of recovering the tax money from the wealthy.

The expression *kick off* in Excerpt 5.7 on the other hand, uses the expression in the headline but does not use it in the body of the article. This was the only time the expression was used in the entire article. This pattern of only headline use appeared in many articles in LT.

To sum up, the descriptive analysis of frequency and ratio count showed that whereas TOI had 669 VMEs out of 1009 MEs, LT had 332 out of 504. The TTR showed that the recurrence of each type of VME is higher in TOI than in LT. This shows that TOI uses more VMEs, and they are used more frequently. This usage included VMEs in terms of both single and phrasal verbal MEs. The analysis also showed that both newspapers used more single VMEs than phrasal MEs.

The single VME *face* appeared most frequently in both newspapers; it appeared 25 times in TOI, and 18 times in LT. As for the phrasal VME, *step up* had the highest token frequency of 14 in TOI, whereas LT had only two expressions that appeared two times each and they were *claw back* and *kick off*.

Excerpts displaying some of the VMEs with higher frequency of appearance demonstrated that not many contextual clues or elaborations are given before introducing these VMEs. One of the possible inferences that can be drawn from this is that these VMEs are conventionalized, and therefore, do not rely on the preceding context or contextual clues to provide the interpretive framework as is usual for novel metaphors

(Moder, 2008). This trend was seen in both newspapers and it is quite typical of VMEs in general.

Types and Tokens of NMEs in TOI and LT

In this section, the TTRs of NMEs are analyzed. The numeric findings are presented in Tables 5.8 and 5.9.

Token Frequency of NMEs

Table 5.8: Frequency of NME TYPES per 1000 Words

	Newspaper	Total # of Types	Frequency per 1000 words
1.	TOI	293	0.59
2.	LT	164	0.33

Token Frequency of NMEs

Table 5.9: Frequency of NME TOKENS per 1000 Words

	Newspaper	Total # of Tokens	Frequency per 1000 words
1.	TOI	340	0.69
2.	LT	172	0.35

The TTRs of NMEs in Tables 5.8 and 5.9 show that on average, each type of NME is likely to appear more times in TOI than in LT. The frequency analysis shows that the TOI used 293 types of NMEs in the present corpus and their token frequency was

340. The LT articles had 164 types of NMEs and their token count was 172. Comparatively, whereas the TOI news articles had 293 types of NMEs, LT had 164 types of NMEs and the difference is 129. This indicates that the TOI used more types of NMEs in the articles than LT. However, in LT, the difference between the types and tokens of NMEs is only 8, which means LT used many types but each type did not recur as frequently, which is quite different from the TOI. This will be analyzed in the following paragraphs.

As seen in Tables 5.8 and 5.9, TOI includes more types as well as tokens of NMEs for every 1000 words. Whereas LT used 0.33 types of NMEs for every 1000 words, the TOI used 0.59 types of NMEs for every 1000 words in the corpus. Similarly, with reference to the tokens, the TOI used 0.69 tokens for every 1000 words and the LT used 0.35 NME tokens for every 1000 words. Thus, we can say that the frequency of appearance of types and tokens of NMEs for every 1000 is consistently higher in TOI than in LT. This is similar to the frequency of types and tokens of VMEs for every 1000 words found in the corpora of both newspapers. However, the difference between the types and tokens in each newspaper for NMEs is not as large as the difference between the types and tokens for VMEs. Although the analysis indicates that both newspapers seem to use many NME types and repeat them fewer times, the repetition in LT is much lower relatively than in its counterpart. Thus both TOI and LT have a similar pattern and style in their tendency to use and repeat VMEs more than NMEs.

A further analysis of the NMEs yielded the following findings with regard to the specific constituents of NMEs that were carrying metaphorical meaning. NMEs were

further analyzed and separated out according to the nature of forms they appeared in, such as – a single noun e.g. "*boom,"* or a noun phrase or compound noun such as "*lacerating critics,"* and *"security layers."* The noun phrases and compound nouns were further analyzed to see the combination of their specific constituents such as Adjective+Noun and Noun+Noun combinations and to see which part carried the metaphorical meaning (Moder 2004). Other two items included in the NMEs group were nominative MEs in the form of A IS B, and similes such as *humans used like bridges*. These NMEs were then analyzed for types and tokens. The following table displays the numeric analysis of types and tokens of NMEs in terms of single noun, Adj+Noun, and Noun+Noun combinations.

Specific analysis of the types and tokens of different forms of NMEs found in both corpora yielded the following distribution. Table 5.10 illustrates the numeric information about the types and tokens of NMEs in TOI and LT.

Table 5.10: Types and Tokens of NMES in TOI and LT

Data	Types					Tokens				
News paper	Single NMEs	Adj+N MEs	N+N MEs	Nominative MEs	similes	Single NMEs	Adj+N MEs	N+N NMEs	Nominative MEs	similes
TOI	98	179	13	3	10	135	189	13	3	10
LT	38	111	11	4	8	43	115	11	4	8

Table 5.10 displays the distribution of NMEs in their specific forms such as single NMEs (e.g. *boost*), and noun phrases which include an adjective and a noun combination wherein the adjective carries the metaphorical meaning modifying the noun e.g. *chilling messages*, and a combination of two nouns wherein one of the nouns is metaphorical, for

example, *information watchdog*, nominative MEs in the form of A IS B, and similes. A comparative analysis of the NMEs found in the two newspapers indicates that the highest number of NMEs used by both newspapers is the noun phrase with the combination of adjective and noun with 189 tokens for TOI and 114 for LT. The TOI once again used more tokens than its counterpart. Comparing the types of Adj+Noun metaphorical expressions with their tokens, it is interesting to see that these usually more context dependent expressions are not repeated many times in either of the newspapers; whereas TOI uses 189 tokens and 179 types, LT uses 114 tokens and 111 types. In a way, the trend of not repeating Adj+Noun metaphorical expressions frequently is similar in both newspapers, although TOI still maintains the feature of using higher number of Adj+Noun metaphorical expressions than LT in the present data.

Frequency Analysis of NMEs

1. Single NMEs:

Interestingly, the numeric findings in the table indicate that both newspapers use fewer single NMEs than the Adj+N metaphorical expressions, and as with all other findings, TOI uses a higher number of tokens of single NMEs at 135 compared to LT at 43, and the difference is quite substantial. In terms of types of single NMEs, again, the TOI uses 98 single NME types as compared to LT with 38. This shows that TOI leads in the use of single MEs in terms of both types as well as tokens. Comparatively, the TOI typically uses more tokens (135) and types (98) with respect to single NMEs, which means that the TOI uses more variety of NMEs and they are also repeated frequently. It is interesting that the same pattern is emerging throughout the findings for each newspaper.

2. Adj+Noun MEs:

Next, Table 5.10 also shows frequencies of Adj+Noun metaphorical expressions found in both newspapers. As the numeric values in Table 5.10 illustrated, the Adj+Noun MEs had fewer repetitions but higher types: whereas TOI had 179 types and 189 tokens of Adj+Noun MEs, LT had 111 types and 115 tokens. This shows that the Adj+Noun MEs were not repeated, and this is mainly because they are context specific. **An** illustration of the instances of Adj+Noun MEs in the discourse contexts in which they appear follows the frequency analysis section.

3. N+N MEs:

The next item in Table 5.10 is the compound NME with N+N combinations. Whereas TOI uses 13 tokens, LT uses 11, showing a very small difference. An interesting trend to notice between the two newspapers as regards the N+N MEs is that neither of them **seems t**o be using N+N MEs more than one time. This can be seen from the numbers displayed in Table 5.10; for TOI, both types and tokens are 13 and for LT it is 11. This shows that each NME of N+N combination is typically used only one time in both newspapers and they are not repeated.

4. Nominative MEs:

The next item in Table 5.10 is the nominative ME that takes the form of A IS B. A nominative ME links source noun or noun phrase to the target through the copula or the verb *to be* (Cameron, 2003). As Table 5.10 indicates, 3 nominative MEs were identified in TOI, and 4 in LT, and there was only a single occasion of use for each ME in both newspapers. Here the established frequency trend shifts because nominative MEs

are used with similar frequency in each newspaper without much difference. Three instances of nominative MEs from TOI are *values are my moral compass, acquittal of guilty is miscarriage of justice, and malls and multiplexes are temples of consumerism.* As Table 5.10 indicates, each of these instances appeared only one time in the corpus.

Instances of nominative MEs from LT were, *he is an invigorating jolt of electro-convulsive therapy, show business is a staple diet for the tabloids, it is pillar collapse, and it is a miscarriage of justice.* Similar to the TOI corpus, the four instances of nominative metaphors in LT appeared only one time in the corpus. Also, with the exception of *miscarriage of justice,* these nominative metaphors were most typically novel expressions, which relied heavily on discourse contexts to provide the interpretative framework (Moder, 2004).

5. Similes:

The last item in Table 5.10 grouped under NMEs is "simile." There were 10 instances of similes in the TOI corpus and 8 in the LT corpus. Once again, this indicates a shift in the established trend, because similes like the nominative metaphors are used with similar frequency in each newspaper. It should also be noted that all instances of similes had single occasions of use in both newspapers, thus making them novel expressions. Typical to the novel expressions, instances of similes in both newspapers depended heavily on surrounding texts and discourse contexts in general. What follows this discussion of frequencies of different forms of nominal MEs is the illustration and analysis of instances of NMEs and the discourse contexts in which they appear.

Illustration and Analysis of Instances of NMEs in their Discourse Environments

1. Single NMEs:

Next, in order to examine the discourse environments in which the NMEs appear in the newspaper articles, a few excerpts are selected and illustrated in this section. Excerpts chosen were based on the frequency of appearance of both single and Adj+Noun MEs from the two newspapers. Table 5.11 shows frequencies of both single and Adj+Noun MEs in both newspapers in order of frequency.

Table 5.11: Frequencies of Single Noun and Adj+Noun MEs

Newspaper	Single Noun MEs	Tokens	Adj+Noun MEs	Tokens
TOI	*breakthrough*	6	*creamy layer*	3
	deadline	5	*heightened vigil*	3
	deadlock	5	*heated arguments*	3
	gaps	4	*grave threat*	2
	growth	3	*key figure*	2
	hike	3	*mounting losses*	2
	light	3		
	loopholes	3		
	wake	3		
	collapse	2		
	cloud	2		
	cover	2		
	freeze	2		
	grip	2		
	journey	2		
	leap	2		
	limelight	2		
	rocks	2		
	roots	2		
	shock	2		
	ties	2		
	wedge	2		
	lips	2		
LT	*collapse*	3	*booming economy*	2
	crackdown	3	*financial cushion*	2
	breakthrough	2	*landslide victory*	2
			total breakdown	2

As Table 5.11 illustrates, the single NME that appeared the greatest number of times in TOI was *breakthrough* with 6 tokens. In LT, the expressions *collapse* and *crackdown* appeared 3 times each in the corpus, and this was the highest frequency for single NMEs in LT. The next most frequently appearing expressions in TOI were *deadline* and *deadlock* with 5 tokens each, whereas it is *breakthrough* for LT with 2 tokens. No other single NMEs were repeated in LT.

Other expressions from TOI which had more than one token were, *gaps* (4 tokens); *growth*, *hike*, *light*, *loopholes*, and *wake* (3 tokens each); *collapse*, *cloud*, *cover*, *freeze*, *grip*, *journey*, *leap*, *limelight*, *rocks*, *roots*, *shock*, *ties*, *lips*, and *wedge* (2 tokens each). The remaining expressions appeared only one time in the corpus of TOI.

The following Excerpts 5.8 and 5.9 present instances of single NMEs in the discourse context in which they appear. The Excerpts display expressions with higher frequency of appearance in the newspapers as discussed in the earlier paragraph. However, only one Excerpt from each newspaper is illustrated to get glimpses of the contexts in which they appear.

Excerpt 5.8: *breakthrough*- TOI

Former diplomat to *head* dialogue with Singapore

India has named former diplomat S K Lambah as chairperson for a strategic dialogue with Singapore. The track-II dialogue will see the Singapore side represented by Tommy Koh, former ambassador to the US.

Lambha, who has thus far been involved in back-channel diplomacy with Pakistan, will be tasked with giving "*greater depth*" to the bilateral relationship.

Mukharjee's visit to Singapore, following what MEA sources said was a significant ***breakthrough*** with Indonesia, is marked by a ramped up engagement in the political economic fields. With 2,600 Indian companies having a presence in Singapore, India's economic exposure in the island nation is huge.

Excerpt 5.9: *collapse* LT

Government on brink of ***collapse*** as Gaza *moves* closer to civil war

The Palestinians' rival leaders were both targeted yesterday as increasingly brutal factional fighting *pushed* the three-month old unity Government to the brink of ***collapse***.

Mahmoud Abbas, the President and leader of the secular Fatah Party, accused his Islamist rival Hamas of staging a coup, and threatened to *pull out* of coalition. After an emergency meeting of its executive last night, Fatah announced it was *suspending* participation in the Government until the fighting stops.

Excerpts 5.8 and 5.9 from TOI and LT display the discourse contexts in which the single NMEs *breakthrough* and *collapse* appear. Whereas the TOI article uses the expression *breakthrough* only in the body of the article and not in the headline, LT uses c*ollapse* in the headline as well as in the article. The TOI article does not give much elaboration before or after using the metaphorical expression. Similarly, even though LT uses the expression in the headline and in the article, it does not give as much interpretative framework as these expressions are conventionalized and lexicalized to a large extent. Furthermore, both excerpts feature metaphor clusters as they contain more than one metaphorical expression. The metaphor cluster used in Excerpt 5.8 from TOI contains expressions *head* and *greater depth* which are conventionalized and therefore, help in developing the discourse topic, thereby facilitating the interpretation of the ME in focus, which in this excerpt is *collapse.* Similarly, in Excerpt 5.9 from LT, the metaphor cluster contains *pushed*, *pull out* and *suspending.* These expressions from the cluster are conventional expressions related to actions which are part of the shared knowledge of people. They facilitate the interpretation of the ME in focus which is

collapse and the development of the discourse topic. These two excerpts from TOI and LT illustrating single NMEs exhibited similar characteristics in terms of discourse contexts and contextual clues in which the expressions were presented.

2. Adj+Noun MEs:

Next, as illustrated in Table 5.10, the frequencies of Adj+Noun MEs had fewer repetitions but higher types compared to single NMEs: whereas TOI had 179 types and 189 tokens of Adj+Noun MEs, LT had 111 types and 115 tokens. This shows that the Adj+Noun MEs were not repeated many times, and this is mainly because they are context specific. As Table 5.11 indicates, the Adj+Noun MEs that appeared the most number of times in TOI were *creamy layer*, *heightened vigil* and *heated arguments* with 3 tokens each. The LT had 4 expressions each appearing 2 times, and they were *booming economy*, *financial cushion*, *landslide victory* and *total breakdown*.

Other expressions that appeared more than one time in TOI were *grave threat*, *key figure*, and *mounting losses* each with 2 tokens. The remaining expressions appeared one time only in the corpus. The following excerpts from both newspapers exhibit the expressions of higher frequencies to examine the discourse contexts in which they appear in the articles. However, as the instances of Adj+Noun MEs from both TOI and LT had more than one expression with same frequencies, one expression is chosen for the examination, and this selection is done randomly without using any criteria.

Excerpt 5.10: *creamy layer* TOI

Quota Bill *tabled* in Parliament, no mention of ***creamy layer***

Matters began to come to a *boil* on Friday around noon, with the controversial Quota Bill being *tabled* in Parliament and on cue, junior doctors and other students gathering for their protest.

The Bill provides for 27 per cent reservation for OBCs in Central educational institutions. It is to be made operational from the academic year 2007 and makes no mention of the ***creamy layer***. The Bill was cleared by the Union Cabinet this week.

Excerpt 5. 11: *Booming economy*- LT

Booming economy makes Spain worst EU offender in fight to cut levels of CO:

Green house gas emissions are *rising* in more than half the countries of the EU, according to official figures yesterday that threaten to undermine its call for the rest of the world to join a new climate-change treaty.
European leaders including Tony Blair and Angel Merkel, the German Chancellore, have led the call for global targets to succeed the Kyoto protocol, but 14 of the 27 EU countries are *pumping out* higher annual levels of CO2, says the European Environment Agency.

The expression *creamy layer* from TOI draws from the general source domain of "cuisine," and more specifically references the cream part of milk and in Indian English, especially, in this genre of political news articles it is a culturally loaded expression. Although in a general sense, in both American and British English, the metaphorical expression *cream* as in *cream* of the society, refers to the elite or the top most people of the society, in the Indian context, the *creamy layer* refers to a portion of **a** group of people or a community that belongs to the lower strata of the society, which is called

"Backward class." The expression comes up frequently in the domestic articles of TOI and needs cultural schema to interpret it. Interestingly, in most articles using this expression, the contextual clues, such as the texts preceding and following the expression cue the reader to understand the concept that the expression is referring to. This expression is used in a culture specific way, and exhibits some distinct features of the Indian society. More discussion of such culture specific instances is given in Chapter VI.

Excerpt 5.11 from LT uses the expression in the headline, but not in the body of the article. The context specific Adj+Noun MEs, in both cases do not get much elaboration, although the text surrounding the expression does facilitate readers to understand the cultural nuances (in the case of TOI excerpt) and references to the discourse specific expression. Additionally, as with most excerpts where MEs are clustered because other MEs which are deliberate or more conventionalized metaphorical expressions are used to mediate the discourse topic in interpreting the Adj+Noun MEs.

3. N+N MEs:

The compound NME with N+N combinations is the next item in Table 5.10. Whereas TOI uses 13 tokens, LT uses 11, showing a very small difference. An interesting trend to notice between the two newspapers as regards the N+N MEs is that neither of them seems to be using N+N MEs more than one time. This can be seen from the numbers displayed in Table 5.10; for TOI, both types and tokens are 13 and for LT, it is 11.

Metaphorical expressions with a combination of two nouns (N+N) are usually context-dependent (Moder, 2004). All instances of metaphorical N+N combinations appeared only one time in both newspapers. Additionally, both TOI and LT show a

similar trend in using fewer N+N MEs as compared to the single NMEs and Adj+Noun MEs. Excerpts 5.12 and 5.13 from TOI and LT illustrate instances of N+N MEs in the discourse contexts in which they appear. As mentioned earlier, there were 13 instances of N+N MEs in TOI and 11 in LT. For the illustration of the environments in which these appear, only one instance from each newspaper is given here. No criterion was used to select the particular example.

Excerpt 5.12: ***security layers*** TOI

Alert in city likely to be extended**:** Nagpur

The city police are likely to continue on "alert" mode for some more days to ensure no untoward incident takes place during the first week of June, following the recent unrest in Punjab and Rajasthan. Central Intelligence agencies have also reportedly intimated Nagpur police about a possible *flare-up engineered* by anti-national and naxal forces.

Though city police had already *stepped up* vigilance after the arrest of four Maoists on May 8, security was *heightened* as June 1 last neared. Apart from the approaching date of the encounter, the city police also paid heed to the clues of security threat that they had gathered from the seized documents of arrested Maoists. The documents had hints of plan to *flare up* communal violence in the city.

The police *tightened* ***security layers*** around RSS headquarters and other religious places including temples and Gurudwaras. A blast in the mosque in Hyderabad had already triggered *heightened vigilance* around mosques like Jama and Bora masjids.

Excerpt 5.13: LT

Goldsmith ‘wanted payments hidden’:

> Lord Goldsmith, the Attorney-General, ordered the concealment from ***antibribery watchdogs*** of payments totaling more than £ 1 billion to a Saudi prince, it was reported last night. He is said to have warned colleagues last year that “government complicity” in the payment of sums to Prince Bandar, the former Saudi Ambassador to the US, would be revealed if a Serious Fraud Office inquiry into the arms company was allowed to continue.
>
> When the Serious Fraud Office investigation into BAE Systems was halted in December on government orders, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) undertook its own inquiry. Last night The Guardian claimed that, when OECD representatives met British officials in January and March, they were not given full disclosure. Sources close to both the OECD and the US Justice Department, whose members help to police the anticorruption treaty to which Britain is a signatory, told the newspaper that officials had not disclosed the alleged payments to the Prince in connection with the al-Yamamah arms deal.

In Excerpts 5.12 and 5.13, the expressions *security layers* and *antibribery watchdog*, the head nouns *layers* and *watchdog* carry the metaphorical meaning. In Excerpt 5.12 from TOI, the head noun *layers* maps the source domain, “strata” or “thickness” and the modifying noun *security* maps the target domain. The modifying noun *security* codes the domain of the main discourse topic, and the *layers* introduces the metaphoric meaning and they are blended to give the intending meaning. Similarly, in the expression *antibribery watchdog,* from Excerpt 5.13, the head noun *watchdog* mapped the source domain and the modifying noun *antibribery* mapped the target domain. The modifying noun *antibribery* codes the domain of the main topic of the discourse, and blends with the head noun *watchdog* carrying the metaphorical meaning which is from the source domain of “vigilant/protective animal.” Both expressions *security layers* and

antibribery watchdog have the target – source combinations in which the head noun carrying a metaphorical meaning mapped the source domain and the modifying noun mapped the target domain of the metaphor.

Additionally, Excerpt 5.12, displays a metaphor cluster, and all MEs are semantically related to the discourse topic and they are not the case of multiple use of repetition of the same ME. The metaphorical expressions other than the N+N ME in the excerpt are *flare up, engineered, stepped up, heightened*, *tightened,* and *heightened vigilance*. These metaphorical expressions are used as deliberate expressions mediating the conceptual content (Cameron, 2003) which is to alert people and the forces and to step up security. Using these semantically and conceptually related metaphorical expressions which are mostly conventionalized, the discourse context on general security that precedes the N+N ME provides the interpretative framework for the reader.

However, the excerpt from LT uses a different style in introducing the N+N metaphorical expression. The expression is used in the second sentence of the article which is followed by the rest of content of the topic which gives an elaboration of the ME. Also, neither of the excerpts used the N+N ME in the headline. The metaphorical N+N combinations discussed above had similar frequency in the corpora. Both expressions had their head nouns mapping the source domain and the modifying noun mapping the target domain. Whereas the TOI excerpt used some instances of deliberate MEs that are more conventionalized to explain the discourse topic encoded in the N+N ME, LT used a different technique of using the N+N ME. The LT excerpt provided an elaborate explanation in the discourse content that was coded in the N+N ME which was

introduced at the beginning of the article. Neither of the excerpts used the N+N ME in the headline.

4. Nominative MEs:

The next item in Table 5.10 is the nominative ME that takes the form of A IS B. A nominative ME links source noun or noun phrase to the target through the copula or the verb *to be* (Cameron, 2003). As Table 5.10 indicates, 3 nominative MEs were identified in TOI, and 4 in LT, and there was only **a** single occasion of use in both newspapers. Here the established frequency trend shifts because nominative MEs are used with similar frequency in each newspaper. Three instances of nominative MEs from TOI are *values are my moral compass, acquittal of guilty is miscarriage of justice, and malls and multiplexes are temples of consumerism.* As Table 5.10 indicates, each of these instances appeared only one time in the corpus.

Instances of nominative MEs from LT were, *he is an invigorating jolt of electro-convulsive therapy, show business is a staple diet for the tabloids, it is pillar collapse, and it is a miscarriage of justice.* Similar to the TOI corpus, four instances of nominative metaphors in LT appeared only one time in the corpus. Also, these nominative metaphors were most typically novel expressions, which relied heavily on discourse contexts to provide the interpretative framework (Moder, 2004). In Excerpt 5. 14 from TOI, the headline of the article cues the reader explicitly that it is introducing the metaphor by using the expression, “multiplex metaphor.” Headlines are usually the gist of the important news summed up at the beginning of the article. The headlines are purposely made catchy to attract the attention of the readers. Using a ME or part of it in the headline

serves both purposes. In the present excerpt, the headline contains the lexical item-multiplex which is used in the ME later in the article. But what is more interesting is that the headline "multiplex metaphor" explicitly cues the reader what to expect by mentioning the word "metaphor." This is a very neat and creative strategy of introducing a novel nominative ME in this particular discourse context.

Excerpt 5.14: *Malls and multiplexes are temples of consumerism*

> *Multiplex metaphor*: The new symbol of have-money, will-spend India:
>
> Somebody once told filmmaker Sudhir Mishra that a hit movie was one that sold the most popcorn. Welcome to an era when going to the movies is an experience, albeit an expensive one. A metaphor for the changing times where there's a lot to do and not enough time to pack it all in, exhibitors are aiming to hook the audience from the word go.
>
> Explains Santosh Desai, CEO of Future Brands, ***"Malls and multiplexes are temples of consumerism."*** "It isn't by accident that cinema hall seats are designed with attachments to hold that cola glass or popcorn bag. Today everything is viewed with an accent on consumption-including cinema. While the movie you are watching is meant to stimulate your senses, the accompanying eats and drinks cater to your cravings of a different kind."

In Excerpt 5.14, the lexical items - metaphor and multiplex from the headline are repeated subsequently in the article before introducing the nominative ME. The malls and multiplexes with multiple cinema halls are framed as the *temples of consumerism*-consumerism, which is a doctrine advocating a continual increase in the consumption of goods as a basis for a sound economy. Framing the new era of a good economy which features spending more money to satisfy the consumers' needs, the article claims that the multiplexes are built exactly with this purpose of making consumers spend to satisfy their

needs and demands that reflect the contemporary world. The inferences are made into the target domain of malls and multiplexes from the source domain of *temples of consumerism*.

The striking point in the excerpt is how the concept of "consumerism" which is originally from America, is seeping into the Indian society, and along with it, related concepts are making their way into the other spheres of life of Indians. Excerpt 5.14 shows that the focus of the article is about people going to the malls and multiplexes with multiple cinema halls to shop, watch movies, eat and have a good time by satisfying their needs and demands. The resultant factor is the spending of money which is good for the economy because of the circulation of money.

The specific mention of eating popcorn and drinking cola which has somewhat become synonymous with going to the movies in the contemporary Indian society, indicates a shift from Britishism to Americanism. As discussed in Chapter III, this paradigm shift of "Americanization" which is evidenced in "McDonaldization" (Phillipson, 1999) and "Coca-colanization" of the Indian society has invaded the realms of language and thought which is manifested in MEs such as *temples of consumerism*.

Similar to the excerpt from TOI, the nominative ME, *it is pillar collapse*, is introduced and explicitly explained in the article in Excerpt 5.15 from LT. Whereas the headline does not contain any explicit subject noun phrase (NP), the pronoun "it" definitely creates a ground for the introduction and interpretation of the expression by highlighting the specific previous topic content of the discourse- the treaty.

Excerpt 5.15: *It is pillar collapse*- LT

We must have a referendum on this treaty:

> These are all significant constitutional matters by any standard. They are also constitutional changes with one purpose in mind: further integration. In the jargon of Brussels ***it is "pillar collapse"*** which means that the separation between the intergovernmental and supranational elements, or pillars, of the European treaties is collapsed in ways that can point only towards ever greater integration in the decades ahead.

Interestingly, the use of this novel expression does not place any extra burden on the reader in order to understand it, because the interpretation is done explicitly in the text that follows the introduction of the expression. The explanation is that the *pillars* are nothing but the intergovernmental and supranational elements, and collapsing of the separation between the pillars of the European treaties would result in further integration. The discourse that precedes and follows the expression explains the ME explicitly making the interpretation easier to the reader.

Several things are noteworthy in these two examples. First, the interpretation of the metaphorical expression is not left to the imagination of the reader. The headline and the discourse context that precede and/or follow the metaphorical expression cue the reader to interpret the intended particular meaning. Furthermore, the interpretative framework already provided by the surrounding texts makes explicit the inferences concerning the target domain before the introduction of the source domain. After introducing the source domain, the comments highlight the relation between the source domain and the target domain. Excerpts from both TOI and LT illustrated these features. Nominative metaphorical expressions are usually less conventionalized with respect to

their particular meaning, so they need more contextual support. The instances of nominative MEs found in both newspapers are the exemplars of this group and both newspapers were similar in exhibiting these characteristics of nominative MEs. Furthermore, they are also similar in terms of the frequency of appearance of nominative metaphorical expressions. The limited scope of the study with reference to the nominative MEs compels me to limit the analysis of such expressions to only two instances.

5. Similes:

As discussed above, both newspapers had a few instances of "similes" which I included in the group of NMEs. As discussed in Chapter II, in cognitive theories, metaphor is viewed as a matter of conceptual mapping from a source domain to a target domain, and metaphorical expressions are the primary exemplars of such conceptual mappings (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999). It is also noted in the literature that metaphors may take a wide variety of formal expressions, such as similes. Similes may make use of the word *like* (and *as*) which might cue the reader or the listener about the mapping (Cameron, 2003). Discussing and evaluating several approaches distinguishing similes from metaphors, Moder (2004) emphasized the importance of context in the understanding of metaphorical expressions, including simile. The present study of discourse based approach using authentic language in use provides one of the best environments for similes to be analyzed in their original discourse context.

Most studies explain that similes may make use of *like* to form the simile as in the example, *Monk was <u>like</u> a beacon.* In the present corpus, similes occurred with slight variations in their formation because some of them used the word *as* for their formation.

As Table 5.10 illustrates, there were 10 instances of similes in the TOI corpus and 8 in the LT corpus. It should also be noted that all instances of similes had single occasions of use in both newspapers, thus making them novel expressions. Typical to the novel expressions, instances of similes in both newspapers depended heavily on surrounding texts and discourse contexts in general. Excerpts from both newspapers in the following paragraphs illustrate the discourse contexts in which similes appear in the articles. However, because of the limited scope of the study, only one example from each newspaper is showcased here. No criterion was used in selecting any particular simile over the others in this discussion. Instead, it was done randomly.

Excerpt 5.16: simile: *acting as the human bridge* -TOI

> Britain pledges support to India on permanent UNSC seat:
>
> Britain has pledged its full support to India in its bid to become a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council.
>
> "India will play a lead role in the 21st century and the UK supports India in its bid to become a permanent member of NU Security Council," Kim Howells, MP Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office said on Monday night.
>
> Howells, who was the Principal Guest at the celebration of the 60th anniversary of Indian Independence at the Durban Court of Foreign and Commonwealth Office, observed that the India-UK relations during the last 60 years was characterised [sic] by "equality and respect."

> Both countries are now working together, among others, to end terrorism, ways and means of tackling the climate change issue and energy security. The Indian population in Britain which was just about 7,000 in 1945, has grown substantially to one million now, and was "***acting as the human bridge"*** connecting the two countries forever.
>
> Lauding the contribution of NRIs here, Howells said: "You have contributed to UK politics, business and your presence here makes our culture richer." He also cited contributions made by writers like Salman Rushdie and Kiran Desai whose works have come for recognition here.

Several things are noteworthy in the above excerpt. First of all, in Excerpt 5.16 from TOI, the simile *acting as the human bridge*, is verb related because it is modifying the verb- *acting* in the above context. It is noted from the literature that many of these verb modifying similes are more conventionalized and conventionalized expressions are highly frequent generally. However, this expression is considered novel in the present set of articles because of its single occasion of use. Secondly, the interpretation of the simile is not left to the imagination of the reader. Instead, the preceding discourse before the simile is introduced prepares the reader to interpret the simile in the intended way. In the excerpt, the "human bridge" refers to the Indian population in the UK and the specific relational and structural attributes are integrated into the target domain of connecting the two countries forever, and the contributions and advantages of such connections to the UK in particular and to the larger world globally which could make India eligible to the permanent UNSC seat.

It should also be noted that in the excerpt the discourse context that follows the expression further elaborates on the introduced simile, pointing out the specific attributes that were in focus for inference into the target domain. This is evident in the sentences of

Howells, who highlights the aspects of contribution made by the Indian diaspora in terms of politics, business, literature, and the presence which make the British culture richer. This discourse context makes the point clear that such similes are less conventionalized in their particular meaning and therefore, definitely depend on contexts for their interpretation. These contexts serve as the interpretative framework for the reader. Other contextual clues such as introducing the expressions in the headlines first are also used by both newspapers.

Next, the instance of simile, the *press is like a feral beast* from LT is illustrated in Excerpt 5.17.

Excerpt 5.17: simile- *the press is like a feral beast* LT

> The fear of missing out means ***the press is like a feral beast***: Tony Blair yesterday revealed his despair of the British media, which he believes has corroded the relationship between politicians and voters and which regularly demolishes the reputations of public figures for commercial advantage.
>
> In his last major speech as Prime Minister, 14 days before he leaves office, he said that the 24-hour news agenda could "literally overwhelm" the occupant of NO 10, while the modern media prioritized sensationalism at the expense of accuracy.
>
> He suggested that the rules governing the media may have to change because the Internet was blurring the distinction between newspapers, which are self-regulating, and broadcasters, which are subject to stricter impartiality rules.
>
> Breaking what he claimed was a major taboo in public life, he said that many people in the NHS or law and order professions had also become demoralized and unbalanced through media criticism, and the journalistic "excess" needed to be reined in.
>
> "The fear of missing out means today's media, more than ever before, hunts in a pack. In these modes ***it is like a feral beast,*** just

tearing people and reputations to bits. But no-one dares miss out,"
he said in a speech at the headquarters of Reuters news agency.

Excerpt 5.17 illustrates that the simile, *the press is like a feral beast* from LT is introduced in the headline first, which is followed by the context which provides the interpretative framework for the reader. In the simile, the pronoun "*it"* refers to the discourse topic, which is "today's media" and it is likened to a *feral beast*. The expression is a novel one, and therefore, is highly context dependent for the interpretation of its particular meaning. One more interesting feature in this excerpt is that the simile is introduced in the headline first and then later it is picked up again in the body of the article. This technique/ style of introducing explicitly the NP of the simile first in the headline already cues the reader what to anticipate and then the discourse gives enough context for the reader to understand the intended meaning of a particular expression.

In Excerpt 5.17, Tony Blair talks about the British media which is the target domain into which inferences are made. It should be noted that Blair describes how the media can either mar or make the personality of the public figures for their commercial advantage. It can be seen in the excerpt that after much elaboration of the topic, the expression introduced in the headline is used in the discourse. What is most interesting here is that, immediately after using the simile, the specific attributes from the source domain "tearing to bits" is blended with people/reputations. Thus, these contextual clues, including elaborate explanation of the features that are to be mapped to make inferences into the target domain, facilitate the reader to derive the intended meaning of such similes or metaphorical expressions.

The Excerpts 5.16 and 5. 17 from TOI and LT respectively, illustrate instances of similes that are novel expressions, and therefore, are context dependent for the interpretation of their intended meaning. The two excerpts discussed displayed different aspects and contexts in which these similes occur. Whereas the TOI excerpt exhibited the characteristics of giving an elaborate interpretative context before the simile is introduced, the LT excerpt showcased an example where the expression is first introduced in the headline, and later picked up again in the discourse. However, this does not mean that all similes were presented in this manner either by TOI or LT. The feature of introducing the simile first in the headline and later using it again in the discourse was exhibited in the TOI articles also.

Furthermore, as illustrated in the excerpts, both TOI and LT followed the same style of introducing the similes after an elaborate interpretation giving sufficient clues to the reader to interpret the intended meaning of the particular expression. Thus, the trends such as using similes with similar frequency, introducing and presenting the expressions with much elaboration cueing the reader sufficiently to derive the intended meaning using various techniques are similar across the two newspapers in this particular genre of newspaper articles.

Review of the Findings

In this chapter, a descriptive analysis of frequency and ratio count of the metaphorical expressions identified in the two newspapers was done to answer Research Questions I and II.

In order to answer the first research question, namely, assuming that there are MEs in Indian English, what lexical forms do they take in the data, and what is their frequency and distribution in the particular genre of newspaper articles? A descriptive statistical analysis was done which included frequency and ratio count to find out the metaphor density. The findings of the analysis of metaphor density and frequency showed that the genre of newspaper articles from both TOI and LT were replete with metaphorical expressions. However, in this genre of newspaper articles, TOI used more MEs, and their frequencies in terms of both types and tokens were much higher in TOI than LT.

With regard to the lexical forms, both TOI and LT newspaper articles primarily used more VMEs than NMEs. Metaphorical expressions including both single and phrasal verbs were sorted into the group of VMEs. The second group of NMES consisted of expressions that were single nouns, noun phrases with combinations of adjective and noun (Adj+Noun) in which the metaphorical adjective modified the noun and a compound noun with N+N combinations. Instances of nominative MEs and similes were also grouped under NMEs.

To answer the second research question, namely, how do the occurrence and distribution of MEs in the indigenized English compare with that of British English, the parent language? In particular, what are the similarities and differences with reference to the lexical forms of MEs identified in both sets of data? A comparative analysis of the MEs in terms of their lexical forms and the discourse contexts in which they appeared was done. The findings from the descriptive analyses of frequency and ratio count and the discourse contexts indicated that the main differences between the two newspapers

were only in terms of conventionalized metaphorical expressions. More precisely, it can be inferred that in terms of form and conventionality, TOI uses more types and more tokens of the conventionalized MEs that are lexicalized. However, the numbers of more context- dependent expressions such as compound nouns with N+N combinations, nominative and similes are similar across the two newspapers. In the next chapter, I present and discuss a few case studies of matching texts and texts that differed in their content, from the two newspapers analyzing the source domains of the MEs.

CHAPTER VI

CASE STUDIES OF THE SELECTED INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC NEWS STORIES

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings yielded by the descriptive analyses employed to answer research question 3, concerning how the source and target domain usage compared across the two newspapers. For the case study analysis, two sets of news articles were selected from each newspaper. The first set of articles consisted of matching texts reporting the same story/topic from the international news articles. The second set of articles comprised domestic news articles that were reporting different stories and were not related in terms of content. These two subsets were from the general pool of international and domestic articles from both TOI and LT. These subsets of articles were then analyzed for their use of MEs in terms of source domains, discourse contexts and contextual clues. Through this investigation, an attempt is made to gain insight into the cross-cultural and culture-specific metaphors in the genre of newspaper articles. Finally, conclusions are drawn based on the findings.

The analyses and findings are presented in two sections in this chapter. The first section is an analysis of the international news articles reporting on the same story in both newspapers. The second section comprises selected articles reporting domestic news from each newspaper. The main purpose of looking into international and domestic

articles separately was the assumption that for the international news, people share the same frames or background knowledge, and they are often written for a wide audience of readers. On the contrary, domestic news articles make a close reference to specific cultural knowledge, probably encoding local culture as they are written mainly for a local audience. With reference to Indian English, it was assumed that the domestic articles might use MEs distinctively. Thus articles were selected from international and domestic stories and a detailed description of these articles is given in Chapter IV. Table 6.1 shows the numeric information of the selected subsets of international and domestic news articles including their total number of words and articles.

Table 6.1: Numeric description of domestic and international news articles

Newspaper / Information about Selected Articles	TOI	LT
Total # of Words	490,700	490,700
Total # of Articles	1891	1026
Total # of MEs	1009	504
Frequency of ME Tokens per 1000 words	2.05	1.02
Total # of Domestic News Articles	1258	590
Total # of Words in Domestic News Articles	310,200	300,900
Total # of MEs in Domestic News Articles	687	278
Frequency of ME Tokens in Domestic News Articles	2.20	0.92
Total # of International News Articles	633	436
Total # of Words in International News Articles	180,500	189,802
Total # of MEs in International News Articles	322	226
Frequency of ME Tokens in International News Articles	1.78	1.19

As shown in Table 6.1, both sets of data have an equal number of total words of 490,700. Indian English has more articles than the LT, 1891 and 1026 respectively, and the reasons are explained in Chapter IV. On average, each article in TOI had 259 words and LT had 478. Therefore, although both sets of data have an equal number of words, the TOI has more articles than LT. Of 1891 articles from TOI, 1258 articles reported domestic news and 633 articles reported international news. As for LT, out of the total 1026 articles, 590 articles reported domestic news and 436 reported international news.

As for the total number of words, for each newspaper a total 490,700 words was selected and the MEs were identified and quantified as described in Chapter IV. The overall ratio of ME tokens for every 1000 words in TOI was 2.05 and in LT 1.02. The total number of words in the international articles was 180,500 in TOI and 189,802 in LT. The frequency of ME tokens for every 1000 words in the international articles for TOI was 1.78 and for LT 1.19. The total number of words in the domestic articles was 310,200 in TOI and 300,900 in LT. The frequency of ME tokens for the domestic articles in TOI was 2.20 and in LT 0.92. These frequencies show that the TOI has a higher ratio of MEs in domestic articles, whereas LT has a higher ratio of MEs in international articles. With this information on the numeric analysis, and the numeric results obtained by the analysis, a foray into the descriptive analysis of the case study is done in the next sections.

The findings presented in the following sections are based on a case study of matching texts from the two sets of newspapers (a detailed description about the selection of matching texts is given in Chapter IV). For the analysis, I selected articles that were reporting the same story multiple times. The recurrence of the selected stories depended on the importance of the topics, and their popularity at the time of collecting the data. The articles selected from the international news category were the recent "War/conflict between Lebanon and Israel" and "the G-8 Summit."

For the category of domestic news, I selected articles that were reporting the most current and important domestic issues of politics, although most of them overlapped with economic/social aspects in both countries- India and the UK. The domestic articles

selected were “the Gujjar case” from TOI, and “the Proposed Reforms in Education Policies” from LT.

The selected articles were searched for MEs. These MEs were then sorted into NME and VME groups according to the lexical form in which they appeared. For the domain analysis, the articles reporting the story of the summit which is the broad target domain, were searched for the types of MEs and their ratios for every 1000 words were calculated using the simple formula of 1000 X Total # of MEs /Total # of words used in the article. The tokens of MEs were then compared with their types and their ratios were calculated in terms of TTRs. In addition, the TTRs were calculated separately for verbal and nominal MEs.

The source domains that the MEs referenced were identified and analyzed. In the text, source domains are in quotation marks, e.g., “fire” and the metaphorical expressions are in italics. Whenever more than one ME appears within an excerpt, the ME being analyzed is bolded and placed in italics to set it off from the rest of the MEs that are in italics. Additionally, the headlines of the articles included in the excerpts are in a bigger font than the rest of the text to avoid confusion. What follows is the case study of matching texts from the selected international news stories.

Case Study of Matching Texts: International News Stories

1. War/Conflict between Lebanon and Israel

The first story considered for the analysis of the international news articles was the controversial and often reported issue of the never ending war between Lebanon and Israel. The Lebanese and the Israelis, although living in the adjacent areas as neighbors, are constantly engaged in war with each other, and hence, the issue had become the meat of the media. During the period of my data collection, these two countries were at the peak of their most recent conflict, and therefore, a wide coverage was given to the story in TOI as well as LT. Table 6.2 displays the numerical information about the number of words considered for the analysis, the total number of MEs identified in the articles, their frequency of appearance and their token-type ratios.

Table 6.2: Numerical distribution of the MEs in the story on the Conflict/War between Lebanon and Israel TOI and LT

News Paper	Total # of Words	Total # of MEs			# of MEs per 1000 Words	VMEs			NMEs		
		Token	Type	TTR		Token	Type	TTR	Token	Type	TTR
TOI	3008	9	8	1.12	2.99	7	6	1.16	2	2	1
LT	3015	6	5	1.2	1.99	6	5	1.2	0	0	0

As part of the analysis, in this paragraph, I discuss the ratios and the total numbers between the two subsets. As Table 6.2 illustrates, the selected articles reporting on the conflict between Lebanon and Israel had a total of 3008 words in TOI and 3015 in LT. The total number of MEs or tokens was 9 in TOI and 6 in LT. The frequency of appearance of the ME tokens for every 1000 words was 2.99 in TOI and 1.99 in LT. The

tendency of ME tokens appearing in this set of international articles is within the range of the earlier established trend of the overall MEs as described and discussed in Chapter V with a slight variation. The TOI ratio of MEs per 1000 words in this subset of international news articles continues to be higher than LT. More precisely, the TOI uses more metaphor tokens and types than LT, but only slightly.

With regard to the TTRs, the subsets of international news articles from both newspapers are almost equal with 1.12 for TOI and 1.2 for LT. The TTR for this particular subset shows that the ratio is still within the range of the overall trend which was originally 1.50 for TOI and 1.24 for LT. As for the verbal and nominal MEs, of the total 9 tokens, TOI had 7 verbal and 2 nominal ME tokens, and the LT had 6 tokens of verbal and 0 tokens of nominal MEs. Once again the TOI displays the trend of using more VMEs than the NMEs. In the case of LT, however, all 6 expressions were verbal and no NMEs were used. This finding is different from the earlier trend of the LT. One of the reasons for this could be because the story on the conflict was mostly reported in a narrative style by both newspapers which required the use of verbal expressions which were manly action verbs, as will be explained in the following paragraphs. To sum up, the numeric analysis for the set of articles on the conflict between Lebanon and Israel shows that the findings from both TOI and LT are consistent with the earlier established pattern as regards the ratio of MEs per 1000 words. However, this specific subset of international news articles from LT varies as regards the use of NMEs because whereas the overall international articles used almost equal numbers of verbal and nominal MEs, this subset used only VMEs and not NMEs. The TOI subset on the other hand, continues

the trend of using more verbal MEs than LT, which shows that it is still consistent with the trend established by the overall international news articles.

What follows is a description and comparison of the source domains of the MEs found in the two newspapers. Table 6.3 displays the source domains used by the two newspapers for the same target domain –the recent conflict between Lebanon and Israel.

Table 6.3: Numeric distribution of source domains of MEs in Conflict/War between Lebanon and Israel: TOI and LT

Sl. No	TOI	# of MEs	London Times	# of MEs
1.	Weather	1	Weather	2
2.	**Cover**	**1**	**Hunting**	2
3.	Movement of liquid	2	Movement of liquid	1
4.	Violent action	3	Violent action	1
5.	**Physical movement**	1		
6.	**Bird**	1		

Table 6.3 shows that in reporting the clashes between the Lebanese and the Israeli forces, the two newspapers used altogether 7 different source domains. The TOI used 6 source domains and LT used 4 source domains, and 3 overlapped. The overlapping source domains were "weather," "violent action," and the "movement of liquid." As Table 6.3 illustrates, in TOI, the MEs came from 6 source domains in the following distribution: "violent action" (3), "movement of liquid" (2), and the remaining 4 domains "weather," "cover," "physical movement," and "bird" each came up one time. As for the distribution of source domains in LT newspaper articles, out of the 4 source domains,

"hunting" and "weather" came up two times whereas "movement of liquid," and "violent action" each came up one time.

Compared to other stories, both newspapers used mainly VMEs in reporting this particular story on how the two opposing forces clashed. As Table 6.2 illustrates, the TOI subset of articles had a total number of 9 MEs, out of which 7 were VME tokens and 2 were NME tokens. The two NMEs *nest* and *blanket* draw from the source domains "bird" and "cover" respectively. In contrast, the LT articles had 6 ME tokens and all of them were VMEs. In this subset, LT used only VMEs, for the domain analysis of this story, I will examine only the VMEs and their source domains. The main reason for using verbs predominantly was because the articles narrated the stories of the actual military action/attack to crush the Palestinian forces. Thus, from the empirical evidence of natural discourse, it becomes clear that the choice of using particular types of MEs depends on the discourse topic and context of the story.

Excerpts 6.1 and 6.2 from the TOI and LT illustrate the VME *storm* that references the overlapping source domain "weather" and how the expression is used in similar ways across the two newspapers.

Excerpt 6.1: TOI

Lebanese army ***storms*** militant camp:

Tank-led Lebanese troops overran several positions of AL Qaeda-inspired militants at a Palestinian refugee camp in north Lebanon on Friday, and 18 people were killed in the fiercest fighting in two weeks.

Security sources said at least 16 people were killed inside Nahr al-Berad camp as well as two soldiers. They said 60 civilians and 18

soldiers were wounded but could not say whether the 14 who died inside the camp were militants or civilians.

Excerpt 6.2: LT

Lebanese troops to ***storm*** hostage camp:

Lebanese Special Forces were poised last night to ***storm*** a Palestinian refugee camp in the north Lebanon and seize the Al-Qaeda –linked militant *holed up* inside.

Heavily armed naval Special Forces troops distinguishable by their red berets were seen punching the air in delight as they moved out from a checkpoint on the highway south of Tripoli and *headed* towards Nahr al-Bared.

Their deployment suggested that a full-scale assault on the densely built-up camp, where 8,000 civilians remain *trapped*, could be imminent.

In Excerpts 6.1 and 6.2, the VME *storm* references the source domain "weather" to map a sudden violent attack. Both TOI and LT used the same source domain to map the specific feature of the manner of entering the place suddenly with a lot of force and attacking the enemy using violence. The inference made into the target domain is the same, which is to forcefully enter the camp, where the militants were hiding and to overpower them. Both newspapers used the VME *storm* in the headline. However, whereas the LT article used the VME *storm* again in the article, TOI did not.

The next illustration of the source domain is "violent action" from TOI and "hunting" from LT. I chose these two source domains for illustration to compare and contrast how the TOI articles used MEs from the source domain of "violent action" to narrate the story. The LT articles, used the ME drawing from the domain of "violent action," but also used MEs from the source domain of "hunting" with slight variations in

their usage. Whereas the ME *battered* from the source domain of "violent action" maps to the innocent people that were victims, the MEs *trapped* and *holed up* drawing from the source domain of "hunting" refer to the people who were hiding or were confined and stuck.

The following Excerpts 6.3 and 6.4 from the TOI newspaper illustrate the MEs *pounded* and *hit* which referenced the source domain "violent action."

Excerpts 6.3: TOI

Lebanese army *storms* militant camp:

> Advancing under a *blanket* of artillery and tank fire, elite forces took control of the important positions of Fatah al-Islam militants and destroyed *sniper nests* on the northern and eastern edges of Nah al-Bared while artillery batteries ***pounded*** the camp.

Excerpt 6.4: TOI

Loud explosion *rocks* east Beirut neighbourhood:

> A bomb exploded in an empty passenger bus parked in a Christian neighborhood east of Beirut on Monday, injuring 10 passers-by, a senior security official reported.
>
> Lebanon has seen a string of bomb explosions in and around Beirut since the conflict between Fatah Islam militants and the Lebanese army began May 20.
>
> Lebanon has also been ***hit*** by a series of explosions in the last two years, particularly targeting Christian areas.

In Excerpts 6.3 and 6.4 the expressions, *pounded* and *hit* are the VMEs used in describing the manner in which the opposing forces were crushed. The excerpts also display metaphor clusters that comprise other conventional expressions such as *storms*,

and *sniper nests in* Excerpt 6.3 and *rocks* in Excerpt 6.4. The overlapping source domain "violent action" gave one ME in LT which was *battered*, and it is illustrated in Excerpt 6.5.

Excerpt 6.5: LT

> Collaborators see death in town where they hoped to find safety:
> Most of the people who live in this southern Israeli border town ***battered*** by rocket fire have no doubt who their enemy is: the Palestinians living in neighboring Gaza.
> But for a group of Palestinians living here this conflict is far more complicated.

The ME *battered* was the only instance used from the source domain of "violent action" in LT for describing the conflict between the Lebanese and Israeli forces. However, for the same target domain, the LT articles used two expressions *holed up* and *trapped* from the source domain of "hunting," and they are displayed in Excerpt 6.6.

Excerpt 6.6: LT

> Lebanese troops *to storm* hostage camp:
>
> Lebanese special forces were poised last night to storm a Palestinian refugee camp in north Lebanon and seize the Al-Qaeda-linked militants ***holed up*** inside.
>
> Heavily armed naval Special Forces troops distinguishable by their red berets were seen punching the air in delight as they moved out from a checkpoint on the highway south of Tripoli and headed towards Nahr al-Bared.

> Their development suggested that a full-scale assault on the densely built-up camp, where 8,000 civilians remain ***trapped,*** could be imminent.

Excerpt 6.6 uses the VME *storm* in the headline indicating the plan of action on the part of Lebanese troops that was going to be implemented the following day. In describing the plan of action, the LT articles also give us a picture about the positions of the militants and civilians using the MEs holed *up* and *trapped* that are from domain of "hunting."

In summary, for the same target domain, the two newspapers used MEs that came from 7 different source domains. Three source domains overlapped across the two newspapers, and they were "weather," "movement of liquid" and "violent action." The source domains that were different for TOI were "bird" and "cover." The LT articles differed with only one source domain and that was "hunting." The MEs in TOI articles came from 6 source domains and in LT from 4 domains, and 3 overlapped, and the overlap is 43%. Additionally, of the total 15 ME tokens across the two newspapers, the overlapping domains gave altogether 12 ME tokens which is 80%. The remaining 3 ME tokens came from source domains that were different to each newspaper. The next international subset of articles considered for case study is the G8 Summit.

<u>International news article: The G8 Summit- Protests and Demonstrations</u>

The G8 Summit is the annual meeting of the leaders of the Group of Eight (G8) industrialized nations, (although it is now expanded and is called the G20). The selected articles on this theme reported on the 3-day summit held in Rostock-Germany in June 2007. The main issues that dominated the agenda for the meeting included the global

economy, African development, Doha Round of the World Trade Organization and climate protection. However, the summit, as expected, attracted violent protestors opposed to capitalism, globalization, the war in Iraq, and the G8 itself. As a result, the selected articles seem to report more on the violent riots, protests and resulting deaths, than the summit itself. Table 6.4 summarizes the numeric information about the distribution of the MEs from matched texts on the story, the G8 Summit.

Table 6.4: Numeric distribution of MEs and their ratios in TOI and LT-the G8 Summit

News Paper	Total # of Words	Total # of MEs			# of MEs per 1000 Words	VMEs			NMEs		
		Token	Type	TTR		Token	Type	TTR	Token	Type	TTR
TOI	5000	21	19	1.10	4.2	18	16	1.12	3	3	1
LT	5020	18	18	1	3.58	10	10	1	8	8	1

Table 6.4 indicates that the selected articles reporting on the G8 Summit had 5000 words in TOI and 5020 in LT. The total numbers of MEs or tokens identified in TOI and LT articles were 21 and 18 respectively. The ratios in Table 6.4 show that whereas the TOI newspaper used 4.2 types of MEs for every 1000 words, the LT used 3.58. The frequency ratios are almost twice as high as the previous subset of articles on the story of the conflict between Lebanon and Israel. Also, these ratios of frequency are much higher than the originally established overall trend which was 2.05 for the TOI and 1.02 for LT. In fact, it is two times higher for the TOI and it is almost 3 times higher for LT. One of the possible reasons for the variation in the trends is because this is a subset of the overall articles. Shorter texts tend to have lower TTRs. Furthermore, some subsets might have

more number of MEs than the others, while other subsets might have more of certain forms of MEs. These individual variations are expected in subsets.

The total number of ME types for TOI is 19 and it is 18 for LT. The token- type ratio for TOI is 1.10 and 1 for LT, which shows that the TTRs for the present set of articles on the story of the G8 Summit are within the range of the original overall trend of 1.50 and 1.24 for TOI and LT respectively. Although the slight variation is because the LT did not repeat any of the ME types and therefore had an equal number of both tokens (18) and types (18). As for the lexical forms of the MEs, whereas the TOI had 18 VME tokens, LT had 10. As for the VME types, there were 16 types in TOI and 10 in LT, and the TTRs for the VMEs were 1.12 for the TOI and 1.0 for LT. As for the NMEs, whereas the TOI used 3 tokens, LT used 8. The NME types for the TOI were 3 and 8 for LT, and the TTRs for the NME were 1 for the TOI and 1 also for LT. These ratios are within the range of the earlier trend described in Chapter V. The distinct feature that surfaces here is that neither TOI nor LT repeat their NME types in these articles. To sum up the numeric analysis of the ME distribution for the set of articles reporting the G-8 story, the findings show that the frequency ratios of MEs per 1000 words are twice as high for this subset of articles. They are higher than Lebanon-Israel articles and also much higher than the overall trend established earlier. Furthermore, LT uses more verbal as well as nominal MEs, although VMEs are still higher than the NMEs. The TOI, on the other hand, continues with the earlier established trend of using more VMEs than the NMEs, and still leads in using more MEs than LT. In the following paragraphs, I present and analyze the source domains of the metaphorical expressions that were analyzed for this set of articles. Table 6.5 summarizes the source domains of the MEs and their distribution.

Table 6.5: Numeric distribution of source domains from the G-8 Summit-TOI and LT

Times of India			London Times	
Sl. No.	Source domains	# MEs	Source domains	# MEs
1.	Violent action	4	Fire	3
2.	Physical growth	2	Violent action	2
3.	Body	2	Temperature	2
4.	Physical act	2	Movement of liquid	1
5.	**Vision**	1	Weather	1
6.	Life	1	**Beginning of action**	1
7.	Temperature	1	Physical act	1
8.	**Animal**	1	**Movement**	1
9.	Movement of liquid	1	**Physical barrier**	1
10.	**War**	1	Life	1
11.	Weather	1	**Bird**	1
12.	Fire	1	Body	1
13.	**Confine**	1	**Hunting**	1
			Physical growth	1

Table 6.5 shows that the total 39 ME tokens (TOI-21; LT-18) used in reporting the story on the protests and demonstrations at the G8 Summit by the two newspapers came from 18 source domains. The TOI used 13 and LT used 14. Out of the 18 source domains, whereas 9 overlapped across the two newspapers, 9 were different. The overlapping source domains were: “violent action,” “physical growth,” “body,” “physical act,” “life,” “temperature,” “movement of liquid,” “weather,” and “fire.” The MEs used

in the TOI articles on the G8 Summit came from 13 source domains in the following distribution: " violent action" (4), "physical growth "(2), "body"(2), "physical act" (2), "vision," "life," "temperature," "animal," "movement of liquid," "war," "weather," "fire," and "confine" (1). The 18 ME tokens from the LT newspaper articles came from 14 source domains in the following distribution: "fire" (3), "violent action" (2), "temperature" (2), "movement of liquid," "weather," "beginning of action," "physical act," "movement," "physical barrier," "life," "bird," "body," "hunting," and "physical growth" (1).

The following are the different source domains used by the two newspapers. The source domains that were different for the TOI newspaper were "vision," "animal," "war," and "confine." The 5 source domains that the LT used apart from the 9 that overlapped with the TOI were "beginning of action," "movement," "physical barrier," "bird," and "hunting." To sum up the numeric analysis of the source domains, the total 39 ME tokens found in both TOI and LT newspapers for the G8 Summit articles came from 18 source domains. Out of the 18 source domains, 9 overlapped across the two newspapers and 9 were different.

A close examination of the source domains indicate that there isn't much difference in the usage of the source domains especially when the target domain is the same for both newspapers. As the target domain for this set of articles was the G8 Summit with a specific focus on the protests and demonstrations that were staged by the anti-G8 campaigners, most source domains used were similar. The ones that overlapped, as discussed in the preceding section, did not show much of difference in the source domain usage. The source domains that were specific to each newspaper reveal more of

the choice of the use of particular MEs and their source domains because of the cultural influences and preferences.

The source domains “fire,” “violent action” and “temperature” will be scrutinized in the following paragraphs for the target domain of the G8 summit. The reasons for choosing these three source domains for scrutiny over the others were because of the following reasons. The source domain of “fire” was chosen because it occurred in both newspapers but with different uses. Next, the reason for choosing the source domains “fire,” “violent action,” and “temperature” was whereas LT used three MEs from the source domain of “fire,” TOI used one. However, the two newspapers differed in the way they used the source domains. Next, the reason for choosing the source domain “violent action” for the analysis was because only TOI used this expression in this journalistic discourse of political content, and such an expression was not found in the present set of LT news articles. What is more interesting is that the TOI mapping is extended from the conventional English one to refer to countries rather than people. Also, the presentation of this particular ME, *gatecrash* with a lot of contextual clues in the discourse makes it a candidate for discussion in the present analysis. Finally, the source domain of “temperature” is chosen for the scrutiny because LT used two ME types from this source domain and TOI used one. Besides, the similarities in which they are used by both newspapers is worthy of illustration. The selected domains are scrutinized closely in the following paragraphs.

“Fire”

The LT used three types of MEs coming from the source domain of “fire”: *fiery speeches, flashpoint,* and *raged.* Two MEs *fiery speeches* and *raged* were used for describing the turmoil and chaos caused by the protesters and demonstrators who were against the G8 summit, and *flashpoint* was used in reference to Russian relations with the G8 member countries. Protesters, who were opposed to capitalism and the ideologies of the developed countries in general, created havoc in the host city of Rostock, causing damage and destruction to the people as well as the city. The expressions *raged* and *fiery speeches* are illustrated in Excerpt 6.7, and the expression *flashpoint* is illustrated in Excerpt 6.8.

Excerpt 6.7: LT

G8 activists turn peaceful demo into riot:

As violence ***raged*** at one end of the harbor the more peaceful body of the protest continued at the other, with the crowd cheering on ***fiery speeches*** delivered from the main stage. Bands also took to the platform, including Tom Morello, the former guitarist of Rage Against the Machine.

The next ME *flashpoint* is also from the source domain of “fire” is illustrated in excerpt 6.8.

Excerpt 6.8: LT

Cold war looms with Russians at G8 Summit:

The German resort of Heiligendamm played host to Hitler and Mussolini before it became *trapped* behind the *Iron Curtain.* As

> members of the G8 *head* for the Baltic coast this week, the summit threatens to become a ***flashpoint*** for a new *cold war* between Russia and the West.

The LT Excerpts 6.7 and 6.8 illustrate the expressions *raged, fiery speeches* and *flashpoint* which are from the source domain of "fire" and the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE. Features from "fire" are mapped onto the specific aspects of the target domain of anger- the violence created by the protesters and demonstrators of the summit which was spreading like wildfire. Similarly, in the ME *fiery speeches,* the adjective *fiery* carries metaphoric meaning from the source domain of "fire," the features of intensity and danger are mapped onto the specific target domain of *speeches*. Similarly, the ME *flashpoint* in Excerpt 6.8 comes from the source domain of "fire." The features of potential "fire" are mapped onto the target domain of the summit and more specifically, to the 'not so friendly' relations of Russia and the West, which might "trigger" or be the "starting point of fire" for a new *cold war* or conflict between Russia and the West.

Using the same source domain of "*fire,"* TOI uses the expression *burns* in reporting the turmoil created by the protesters during the summit, which is also from the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE. However, TOI seems to map the features differently. As discussed in Chapter III, Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) explain that "the cultural model of physiological effects, especially the part that emphasizes HEAT, forms the bases of the most general metaphor for anger: ANGER IS HEAT (p.197) which has two versions: ANGER IS FIRE and ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. The most typical mapping of this conceptual metaphor construes the human body as the container, so it is the human who typically burns with anger**.** As the

examples from the LT articles demonstrated, most uses tend to focus on the human body and the discussion of containment or the manifestation of emotions is associated with human bodies, but in the TOI example, it is extended to a geographical location. Thus, the TOI usage extends the general mapping of ANGER IS FIRE by construing the geographic location or place as a container.

In Excerpt 6.9 from TOI, the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE extends to a location, the target entity, Rostock. The expression "Rostock burns" does not refer literally to fires in the city, but describes general anger and turmoil in the city. This use is quite different from the examples seen in the LT articles which restrict the subject of the ME *burn* to human experience. While such expressions are used non-metaphorically in LT articles to describe a place as physically burning, apparently in Indian English the construal can be different as evidenced in the TOI articles. The ME *burns* maps the features of fire onto the results of anger manifested in the current state of affairs in the place, Rostock. The state of affairs refers to the physical damage and destruction caused to people and the city of Rostock. While the metaphoric expression is "*burns*," there was no actual, physical burning in the place. First of all, although the headline says Rostock *burns*, the article describes the turmoil and the chaos caused by the protesters, but there is absolutely no mention of the actual burning of any part of the place. Excerpt 6.9 below illustrates the use of the ME *burns.*

Excerpt 6.9: TOI

Rostock ***burns*** as G8 protests *spiral*:

> *Clashes* between police and anti-G8 demonstrators injured more than 400 police officers during a huge protest against the upcoming summit in northern Germany, authorities said on Sunday. Protest organizers said 520 demonstrators were hurt.
>
> Police said 63 remained behind bars after violence that *broke out* on Saturday on the sidelines of a demonstration by tens of thousands in the north German port of Rostock.
>
> Despite their riot gear, 433 police officers were hurt, including 30 who were hospitalized with broken bones after fighting into the evening on Saturday with some 2000 protesters who *showered* them with beer bottles.

As Excerpt 6.9 illustrates, most of the report is a description of the physical injuries and destruction caused to the civilians and the police because of the violent demonstrations and protests. The extension and different mapping of the general dominant metaphor ANGER IS FIRE is that some of the features from fire are mapped onto the specific aspects of the target domain entity, the state of affairs which is the result of angry demonstrators in Rostock. The comparison of the usage of the source domain "fire" in the above excerpts shows that whereas LT used "fire" as the source domain from the mapping ANGER IS FIRE in expressions *raged* and *fiery speeches,* mapping features of the "fire" to the specific aspects of the target domains of violent anger and speeches of the protesters and demonstrators of the summit, TOI used the same source domain of "fire," but mapped the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor differently. Whereas LT referred to the target domain of people, TOI mapped the source domain to the state of affairs of the

location, Rostock. This is the main difference in using the same source domain between TOI and LT in this set of articles.

"Violent action"

The next source domain to be considered for the analysis is "violent action." This source domain was used by both newspapers and a total of 9 tokens of MEs were referenced by this source domain by both newspapers. In TOI 6 ME tokens came from the source domain of "violent action" and they were: *clashed* (2 tokens), *break out* (2), *collide* (2), and *gatecrash* (1). The LT articles used 2 ME tokens from this source domain were *outbreak* (1) and *clashed* (1). The ME *clash* was used by both newspapers. For the analysis, only the ME *gatecrash* from TOI is used because the other MEs were used in similar ways and there were no variations in their usage. The expression *gatecrash* is most commonly used in social contexts and discourse, more specifically, in informal contexts. Evidence from the British National Corpus indicates that this expression most frequently collocates with the word "party" in the sense of a social gathering. In contrast, the example in Excerpt 6.10 is used to refer to the political context of non-member countries that are trying to become members and this is illustrated in Excerpt 6.10.

Excerpt 6.10: TOI

UN secretary-general echoes India line on climate:

Before US president George Bush agreed to "seriously consider" a European proposal to *combat* global warming by *cutting* greenhouse gas emission (GHG) by 50% from 1990 levels by 2050, India was already coordinating with China to *hone* a *strong joint stance* against efforts to take climate negotiations outside UN purview while foisting *sharp GHG emission commitments*. Foreign

> secretary Shiv Shankar Menon said Singh's meeting with Chinese president Hu Jintao saw a convergence.
>
> The issue also figured in the meeting between other "Outreach" countries – in plain language, *emerging economies* who have *grown* fast and are threatening to ***gatecrash*** the *club* of the developed-China, Brazil, South Africa and Mexico.

The use of this ME in an unconventional manner makes its source domain worth analyzing. As the excerpt illustrates, the club of the developed nations- the G8 is construed as having a "gate" to keep out non-members. Now the fast growing economies of China, Brazil, South Africa and Mexico are going to *crash* the gate and enter the club of the developed nations which is G8. This example is an extension from the conventional use in social discourse as Excerpt 6.10 illustrates. The discourse context helps the reader understand the verbal metaphorical expression *gatecrash.* The explicitly stated contextual clues make the inference much easier for the reader who is not familiar with this expression. The usage of the ME, *gatecrash* from the source domain of "violent action" was found in this corpus only in TOI articles. The expression does occur in British English, but did not appear in this newspaper corpus, although the British National Corpus (BNC) showed one isolated newspaper example referring to the British National Party trying to *gatecrash* an environmental debate. However, as evidenced by the BNC, instances of using with specific reference to countries were not found either in the BNC or the Oxford English Dictionary. It is possible that the use of this expression in this context by the TOI newspaper reflects a usage preference of Indian English. However, no claims are made at this point. The next source domain analyzed is "temperature."

"Temperature"

The source domain, "temperature" was used by both newspapers for the target domain of the G8 Summit. Whereas one expression *frosty relations* referenced this source domain in TOI, two ME types came from this source domain in the LT articles and they were *chillingly aggressive* and *cold war*. As this source domain occurs in both newspapers, it is chosen for the analysis to see how TOI and LT use this domain and to what extent they are alike or different in this use. Excerpt 6.11 displays the ME *frosty relations* from TOI and Excerpts 6.12 and 6.13 display the expressions *cold war* and *chillingly aggressive protests* from LT respectively.

Excerpt 6.11: TOI

US opposes fixing greenhouse gas *cuts* at G-8:

The United States said on Wednesday that it opposed setting firm targets for greenhouse gas cuts at a G-8 summit but offered reassurance that its plan for fighting climate would not undermine UN efforts.

Police and protesters *clashed* near the summit venue on the Baltic coast as G-8 leaders gathered for a meeting likely to be dominated by issues including climate change, missile defences[sic]and Russia's ***frosty relations*** with its partners.

In Excerpt 6.11 from TOI, the ME *frosty relations* draws from the source domain of "temperature" and more specifically from the conceptual metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH. This conceptual metaphor can be traced back to the conflation period as explained by Johnson (1987, 1997) as discussed in Chapter II. The instantiations of AFFECTION IS WARMTH are metaphorical expressions such as "*she's a warm*

person," and *"they greeted us warmly."* The CM also entails the opposite inference that cold temperatures map to a lack of affection or emotions in an individual. In the expression *frosty relations*, the metaphoric meaning carried by the adjective *frosty* is mapped onto the specific aspects of the target domain entity *relations* or Russia's "not so friendly" relations with the G8 member countries. This is an extension of the metaphoric mapping from people to the *relations* between Russia and the West.

Drawing from the same source domain of "temperature," the LT articles use the ME *cold war* which is illustrated in Excerpt 6.12. The expression *cold war* maps the metaphoric meaning carried by the adjective *cold* onto the *war*. It is speculated that the absence of friendly relations between Russia and the other members which could be apparent at the summit might be the triggering point of a conflict between Russia and the West. The conflict or the "new" *cold war* is a "cold" one which lacks the "heat" of actual, physical combat. The present *cold war* is said to be "new" because it is not the prior conventionalized cold war being discussed. Instead, it is a potential new *cold war* triggered at the recent G8 Summit. Similar to the TOI example of *frosty relations*, in this example, some features of "cold" from the source domain of "temperature" are mapped onto the specific aspects of the target domain entity – *relations* between Russia and the West.

Excerpt 6.12: LT

> ***Cold war*** *looms* with Russians at G8 summit:
> The German resort of Heiligendamm played host to Hitler and Mussolini before it became *trapped* behind the *Iron Curtain*. As members of the G8 *head* for the Baltic coast this week, the summit threatens to become a *flashpoint* for a new ***cold war*** between Russia and the West.

In Excerpt 6.12, the ME *chillingly aggressive protest*, the adverb *chillingly* which is modifying the noun *protest,* is from the source domain of "temperature" and refers to the same mapping of the source domain of "temperature" of the summit protests or the riots. This is yet another example of an extension of the mapping from people to the specific aspects of the target domain, which are the summit protests. The ME *chillingly aggressive protests* refers to a negative emotion, lack of warmth which is frightening, evoking fear because it means danger is lurking.

Excerpt 6.13: LT

G8 activists turn peaceful demo into riot:

> The police ran towards the rioters and then *pulled back*. As they withdrew, members of the crowd shouted insults.
>
> Meanwhile, the program of songs and speeches from a protest stage continued. There seemed to be two separate protests running alongside one another- one innocent, the other ***chillingly aggressive.***

Thus, in Excerpts 6.11 from TOI, and 6.12 and 6.13 from LT, the expressions, *frosty relations, cold war* and *chillingly aggressive protests* have their modifying adjectives (*frosty* and *cold*) and adverb (*chillingly*) carrying the metaphoric meaning referencing the source domain of "temperature" and drawing from the conventional metaphor which is a binary of AFFECTION IS WARMTH. Thus, the ME, *frosty relations* from TOI is an extension from the traditional mapping with a reference to people to the *relations* between Russia and the West. Similarly, the ME *cold war* from LT which describes the *bad* or *unfriendly relations* between Russia and the West, and the ME *chillingly aggressive protests* from LT which describes the *G8 summit protests* are

extensions, mapping to the relations between Russia and the West and the G8 protests. These examples show similarities between TOI and LT in terms of using the source domain of "temperature" in similar ways to a large extent.

The above discussed source domains "fire," "violent action," and "temperature" showed that while the source domain "fire" is used by both newspapers, TOI uses it in an extended way to map the features of fire, particularly "burning" to the specific target domain entity of the state of affairs of a place which is the result or the external manifestation of anger of the people, and this feature is not seen in the instantiations found in the LT newspaper articles.

Similarly, the expression *gatecrash* from the source domain "violent action" was used in TOI articles to refer to a group of countries which showed a possible preference of usage by Indian English, although one, isolated similar instance was evidenced in BNC. The other MEs with source domains that overlap and that are different are mostly used in similar ways by both newspapers. In summary, the international subset of articles on the G8 Summit used 21 ME tokens in TOI and 18 in LT. The total of 39 ME tokens from both newspapers referenced altogether 18 different source domains. Of the total 18 source domains, 9 overlapped, which accounts for 50% overlap. Additionally, out of a total 39 ME tokens from TOI and LT, 27 came from the overlapping source domains. This means 69% of the total ME tokens came from the overlapping source domains.

Comparatively, in the two subsets of international articles, the story on the War between Lebanon and Israel had a 43% overlap in the usage of source domains between the two newspapers. As for the story on G8 Summit, the overlap in the usage of source domains between the two newspaper subsets was 50%. The difference is not very

substantial. Additionally, in the story on the War between Lebanon and Israel, out of the total 15 ME tokens, 12 came from the overlapping source domains. More specifically, 80% of the ME tokens came from the overlapping source domains in the story on the War between Lebanon and Israel. Compared to this, in the story on G8 Summit, out of the total 39 ME tokens, 27 came from the overlapping source domains which accounts for 69%. These percentages indicate that although the overlap in the usage of source domains was slightly higher in the G8 Summit, the percentage of ME tokens coming from the overlapping source domains was higher in the story on the War between Lebanon and Israel. From this we can infer that although some of the source domains overlapped in the two subsets for the story on the G8 Summit, the choice of using the same MEs from these overlapping source domains differed for the story on the War between Lebanon and Israel. It can be inferred that although there was a higher overlapping of the source domains in the G8 Summit story, the number of MEs that came from the overlapping source domains was greater in the War/Conflict story than in the G8 Summit story.

Case Study of Different Texts: Domestic News Stories

To gain more insight into one of my queries of the present study to find out how the local news, which is nested in the local culture, was being reported in a language originally "non-native" or "alien" to the land, I turned to the TOI articles that were reporting domestic or local news. I was curious to see how comparable the MEs found in the more culturally specific domestic articles of TOI were with those found in LT. In addition, the other purpose was to see whether and to what extent reporting international articles and domestic articles was similar or different in terms of style, register including

contexts, and the contextual clues surrounding metaphorical expressions. Also, the intention was to see whether there was any influence of local languages on Indian English especially, while reporting domestic news. So I decided to first of all select a few articles reporting domestic news and sieve for MEs. I followed the same procedure with LT.

As indicated in Chapter IV, for the case study, I selected articles on the theme of the Gujjar case from TOI, and Proposed Reforms in Education Policies from LT. The subset of the TOI Gujjar case was from the overall domestic articles of 310,200 words, and the LT subset of articles on Education Policies was from 300,900 words. A total of 15,000 words each were chosen for the Gujjar case and the Proposed Reforms in Education policies. A total of 58 articles was selected and used from the story of the Gujjars and 30 from the Education Policies. The selected articles were then searched for MEs, and the identified MEs were sorted into verb and noun groups similar to the procedure followed in the earlier sections. The tokens and types were counted and the token type ratios (TTR) were calculated for the total MEs, and for VMEs and NMEs. The numeric information for both TOI and LT is presented in Table 6.6. For a detailed description of the stories on the Gujjars and the Education policies see Chapter IV.

Table 6.6: Numeric information on the selected domestic articles from TOI and LT

News Paper	Total # of Words	Total # of MEs			Frequency of MEs per 1000 Words
		Token	Type	TTR	
TOI	15,000	94	75	1.25	6.26
LT	15,000	68	56	1.21	4.53

As Table 6.6 illustrates, the selected articles from TOI of the Gujjar case consisting of 15,000 words used a total of 94 MEs. The frequency of MEs for every 1000 words was 6.26 for TOI and it was obtained by calculating using the formula, 1000 x 94/

15,000 = 6.26. The selected domestic news articles from LT on the Education Polices, on the other hand, had a frequency of 4.53 MEs for every 1000 words. Comparatively, the frequency of MEs in the TOI subset on the Gujjars is higher than the LT subset, and is higher than other TOI articles. This finding is in accordance with the earlier established pattern in which the TOI had higher frequency of MEs for 1000 words. However, the frequencies for both subsets are much higher than the overall frequency ratios as witnessed earlier in Table 6.1. As indicated in Table 6.1, the frequencies were 2.20 in TOI and 0.92 in LT for all domestic articles. Some variation in the subset is anticipated in any given data. The shorter texts and the subsets of the overall set of news articles tend to vary with regard to the frequency of MEs and the particular forms of MEs. The selected stories appear to have an unusually high use of MEs.

With reference to the TTRs of the MEs for this subset of articles on domestic stories, the ratios were 1.25 for the TOI and 1.21 for LT. Comparatively, the equal number of ratios indicates that both TOI and LT subsets of domestic news articles repeat more expression within the large variety of types. Table 6.7 shows the numeric information on the VMEs and NMEs of both subsets of selected domestic news articles.

Table 6.7: TTRs of VMEs and NMEs for the selected domestic news articles from TOI and LT

VMEs			NMEs		
Token	Type	TTR	Token	Type	TTR
50	42	1.19	44	33	1.33
41	36	1.13	27	20	1.35

The calculation of TTR for the overall MEs was followed by calculating TTRs separately for verbal and nominal MEs and the information is presented in Table 6.7. The total number of VME tokens for TOI domestic news articles was 50 and the types were

42, and the TTR was 1.19. The TTR of 1.19 for VMEs indicates that in TOI domestic articles, on average, each VME type repeated 1.19 times. Correspondingly, the LT subset of domestic news articles had a total number of 41 VME tokens and 36 types, and their TTR was 1.13. In comparison, whereas the Gujjar story had a VME token type ratio of 1.19, the Education policies story from the LT had 1.13. These ratios do not vary much.

A similar procedure was followed in calculating the token-type ratio for NMEs. In TOI subset of domestic news articles, the total number of NME tokens was 44, the types were 33, and the TTR was 1.33 which is close to the VME token-type ratio. The TTR indicates that this particular set of TOI domestic articles tend to repeat NME types more than 1 and a quarter times from the large variety of types. Furthermore, a slightly higher (1.33) token-type ratio of the NME as compared to the TTR of VME (1.19) shows that in this set of articles, the NMEs tend to get repeated more frequently than the VMEs showing a different trend from the earlier established general tendency for the VMEs to have higher TTRs in a general pool of both international and domestic articles. This suggests an increased use of repeated conventionalized NMEs in the domestic articles. Next, the TOI frequency distribution including TTRs of verbal and nominal MEs is compared with the numeric information of the LT domestic articles on Proposed Reforms on Education Policies. In the LT subset of domestic news articles, a total of 27 NME tokens and 20 NME types were identified. The TTR for the NMEs was 1.35 which is almost equal to the TOI ratio of NMEs which is 1.33. Furthermore, the NME token-type ratios are in accordance with the earlier established pattern of LT with regard to the overall articles although for this particular subset of domestic articles, they are almost equal to the VME token type ratios. These ratios indicate that the LT subset of domestic

story tends to repeat both verbal and nominal MEs from the variety of their types, and there is very little repetition in international articles as indicated in Tables 6.2 and 6.4.

To summarize the comparative analysis, whereas the TOI had on average 6.26 ME tokens for every 1000 words, the LT domestic story had 4.53, and this is consistent with the earlier established overall tendency of TOI using more MEs. However, these frequencies for the subsets are much higher than the overall frequencies for domestic news stories for both newspapers. The TTRs for the total number of MEs for both TOI (1.25) and LT (1.21) are almost similar, and these ratios show a very slight variation from the earlier pattern because whereas the TOI articles tended to repeat more expressions from a large variety of types, the LT articles' repetition was slightly lower. One of the reasons for this could be that the LT articles tended to use more clusters of MEs in their domestic articles generally consisting of conventional metaphorical expressions. Besides, as noted earlier, variations with regard to the ratios and frequencies are expected in subsets of the overall news articles. Overall, in the domestic articles, the TOI continues to exhibit the earlier established pattern of using more MEs, in terms of both tokens and types, although the LT shows a slight shift in its earlier established pattern and uses more ME tokens and types especially in this set of domestic articles on education policies. However, the high use and repetition of NMEs is quite different from international articles. The source domains of these MEs are presented and analyzed in the following section. Table 6.8 shows the source domains and the distribution of MEs from these source domains.

Table 6.8: Numeric distribution of the ME Types in their respective source domains from domestic articles of TOI and LT

	TOI		LT	
Sl. No.	Source domains	# MEs	Source domains	# MEs
1.	Physical act	14	Physical act	7
2.	**Fire**	7	Violent action	6
3.	Body	6	Body	6
4.	Movement	6	Confine	5
5.	Physical property	5	Movement	4
6.	Vertical orientation	4	Vertical orientation	4
7.	Movement of liquid	3	**Physical property**	3
8.	**Flora**	3	**Physical destruction**	3
9.	Confine	3	Physical growth	3
10.	Violent action	2	Natural phenomenon	3
11.	**Water**	2	**Container**	2
12.	**Beginning of action**	2	Movement of liquid	2
13.	**Animal**	2	**Physical support**	2
14.	**Spatial**	2	**Furniture**	1
15.	**Cuisine**	1	**Driving**	1
16.	**Fabric**	1	**Importance**	1
17.	Natural phenomenon	1	MORE IS BIG	1
18.	**War**	1	**Celestial body**	1
19.	**Physical size**	1	Weather	1
20.	MORE IS BIG	1		
21.	**Orientational**	1		
22.	Weather	1		
23.	**Temperature**	1		
24.	**Cover**	1		
25.	**Shutdown/code-switched**	1		
26.	**Encirclement/code-switched**	1		

As shown in Table 6.8, altogether there were 34 different source domains across the two newspapers the selected articles on the Gujjar case and the Education Policies. Of the 34 source domains, 11 overlapped, which accounts for 32.35% of overlap across the two newspapers in terms of domestic news. This finding indicates that the overlap across

the two newspapers for domestic news articles is not as much as it is for the international articles. The overlaps were 43% for the subset of War between Israel and Lebanon and 50% for the G8 Summit. This indicates that there is greater variation in the usage of domains across the two newspapers in domestic news reporting. More specifically, the overlaps are higher when there is a content overlap as in the case of matching texts of the international stories. However, when the content is different as in the case study of the domestic stories, the overlaps are much lower in the usage of source domains in both news papers. The domains that overlapped and those that varied across the two subsets of domestic articles are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The overlapping source domains were: "violent action," "body," "physical property," "the conceptual metaphor MORE IS BIG," "physical growth," "physical act," "movement," "movement of liquid," "natural phenomenon," "confine," and "weather." The source domains that were different across the two newspapers are discussed in the following paragraphs separately for the TOI and LT.

As illustrated in Table 6.8, for TOI domestic news article on the Gujjar case, 75 ME types came from 26 source domains in the following distribution: "physical act" (14), "fire" (7), "movement" (6), "body" (5), "physical property" (5), "vertical orientation" (4), "movement of liquid" (3), "flora" (3), "confine" (3), "spatial" (2), "water" (2), "violent act" (2), "animal" (2), "beginning of action" (2), and one each for "cover," "temperature," "war," "cuisine," "fabric," "natural phenomenon," "physical size," and the orientational CM (or MORE IS BIG). There were two code-switched ME types drawing from the domains of "shutdown" and "encirclement" and they are separately analyzed and discussed in the next section on code-switched expressions.

The LT domestic news articles, on the other hand, used 68 ME tokens and 56 types. These 56 types came from 19 source domains in the following distribution: "physical act" (7), "violent action" (6), "body" (6), "confine" (5), "movement" (4), "vertical orientation (4), "physical property" (3), "physical destruction" (3), "physical growth" (3), "natural phenomenon" (3), "container" (2), "movement of liquid" (2), "physical support" (2), "furniture," and one each from "driving," "importance," "MORE IS BIG," "celestial body," and "weather."

Comparatively, in both TOI and LT, there is a high usage of the domain "physical act" which is the source for 14 MEs in TOI and 7 in LT. The second frequently used domain in TOI is "fire" which is the source for 7 MEs, and for LT it is "violent act" with 6 MEs referencing it. However, the domain "fire" is not used by the LT domestic articles on Education policies. The selected source domains from the subsets of domestic news articles from the TOI and LT are analyzed in the following paragraphs.

"Driving" (LT)

For the domain analysis for the LT, I consider the ME *U- turn taunts* which uses the source domain of "driving." The ME *U-turn taunts* is a combination of two nouns, with the modifying noun carrying metaphoric meaning and it showed up two times in the LT subset of articles on Education Policies. However, it did not appear in the international articles. This expression was not found in the TOI newspaper either in the domestic or the international news articles. Excerpt 6.14 displays the ME U-turn taunts in the environment in which it appears in the article.

Excerpt 6.14: LT

Cameron faces ***U-turn taunts***:

> The Tories are on 36 per cent, down one point on three weeks ago. This is broadly the same as in other recent polls. Labour is unchanged on 33 per cent, as are the Liberal Democrats on 17 per cent.
>
> However, the impression of disunity and confusion has *dented* Mr Cameron's image. The number of voters seeing him as strong has *dropped* from 44 to 37 per cent since last October, while the number believing that he has what it takes to be a good prime minister has *dropped* from 42 to 33 per cent.
>
> More worrying for Mr Cameron is that his rating has *fallen* more *sharply* among Tory voters. The number regarding him as *strong* has *fallen* from 68 to 59 per cent, while there has been a *decline* from 76 to 66 per cent in those believing that he has what it takes to be a good prime minister. His rating for being charismatic has remained *high* among Tories and voters as a whole.
>
> His refusal to change his policy, apart from allowing some grammar schools to expand, has meant little change in the number thinking he would "*stick* to what he believes, not *give in* to pressure".

As illustrated in Excerpt 6.14, the ME appeared in the title, but no mention of or reference to it was made in the entire article. As we can see in the Excerpt, the contextual clues including metaphor clusters do not help the reader understand what the expression "taunts" is referring to. The journalistic style in this domestic article assumes that the readers know and understand the reference of the expression because they have the schema. In fact, for a person who reads this article, it is very difficult to understand unless the reader has been keeping up with the news and reading articles on it continuously over a period. This is because the actual reference to the *U-turn taunt* was

made in an article that had appeared three days prior to this particular article. This chain or the thread of the content could be understood only with the help of the knowledge of the previous article. In Excerpt 6.14, the headline of the article says that Cameron faces *U-turn taunts*. The *U-turn* here refers to the change Cameron is making from Davies's policy of 2005. Davies's new policy was to establish grammar schools in every town as part of the party's leadership contest. However, two years later, Cameron's policy was against establishing new grammar school in every town. Instead, his policy was to improve the standards of the existing schools so that more children could benefit from the introduction of high standards and firm discipline throughout the school system. However, as can be expected and as the excerpt illustrates, Cameron's policy is met with opposition and condemnation by opposing leaders. This is the point the article is making which the excerpt illustrates, and the *U-turn* refers to the change that Cameron is making from Davis's 2005 policy. This was the result of the announcement of the Conservative Central Office that a Tory government "would" consider new grammars on a case-by-case basis if population changes justified the move. This squabble within the Conservative party dented Cameron's image as a leader, which was seen in the results of the general opinion poll. This article makes reference to the meeting or the *"bruising encounter"* Cameron was going to have to face the questions and to voice his firm decision of not changing his policy, but to stick with it. In the excerpt, the ME *U-turn* is from the source domain "driving" which traces the path of the letter U, which means making a turn to go in the opposite direction from the one in which the driver was heading. Also in the above excerpt, Cameron is construed as the "driver" of the

Conservative Party who has turned the policy back in the opposite direction from the one in which it had been moving. This action has led to a drop in the opinion polls.

As can be seen from the excerpt, the contextual clues including the discourse context do not help the reader much to understand the intending meaning of the expression. The article assumes that the readers are familiar with the issue. This is an example of how most domestic articles target an audience with a shared schema of the national political and social issues. In contrast, the international articles did not present any such characteristics, perhaps because the intended audience for the international news was assumed to be a larger pool than just the British. The expression *U-turn taunts* had only two tokens and both tokens appeared only in this subset of domestic articles on Education Policies. The expression did not occur in the present group of TOI articles of 490,700 words. Because this expression was used in a very culturally situated way, it was considered for this analysis.

The next instances of MEs and their source domains considered for the analysis are from TOI. These instances exhibited local, cultural characteristics as the domestic story on the Gujjars was written for an audience that shared the cultural schema. The TOI domestic articles were replete with metaphorical expressions that were culturally loaded and also expressions that were code switched from English to Hindi. In this section, the MEs *creamy layer*, *social fabric*, *burnt*, and *fire* are considered for the analysis, and this is followed by the analysis of the code-switched expressions.

"Cuisine" (TOI)

The next ME considered for a close scrutiny is *creamy layer*, a culturally loaded expression, which is from the general domain of "cuisine." Excerpt 6.15 showcases this expression in the last line of the last paragraph. The expression is an Adj+N combination, in which the adjective *creamy* codes the source domain "the rich, oily, buttery part of the milk that gathers on top" as defined in the OED. Whereas the term "cream" as in the "cream of the society" (or any noun) is conventionally used in English figuratively to refer to something that is the best of its kind, and lexicalized with a specific meaning, the expression *creamy layer* has a distinctive meaning in Indian English. It becomes clear from a series of articles on the present issue of the Gujjar case, that the Indian judiciary and politics have been using the compound- "creamy layer concept." Thus, in the excerpt, the *creamy layer* refers to the children of the affluent belonging to the depressed or the backward/scheduled caste/scheduled tribe/ (BC/SC/ST) classes. This expression seemed to be conventionalized and appeared frequently, but only in domestic news articles. Although it is conventionalized, an elaborate discourse context is needed to provide or activate the cultural schema to understand it. Similar to the earlier example of *U-turn taunt* in LT, the expression *creamy layer* needs a cultural schema to understand and interpret the intended meaning. In this excerpt too, an assumption is made that the readers are familiar with the concept that the expression is carrying. Similar to the LT example, this expression had been appearing continuously in the previous articles prior to this particular one, and only by reading this chain of articles can one understand its meaning. However, such features appeared only with regard to domestic news articles, and not in international. Interestingly, the multiple metaphor clusters within the article do help the

reader in giving an elaborate explanation as these clusters consisted of both conventional and deliberate expressions which were discourse specific.

Excerpt 6:15- TOI

SC (Supreme Court) had hinted at possible *caste war*:

Gujjars' demand for a demotion in their social position- from other backward classes (OBC) to Scheduled Tribes (STs)- first set Rajasthan *on fire* and later *burnt* the *social fabric* to *erupt* as a *full-blown caste war.*

The Gujjars' craving for ST status did not *go down* well with Meena community as it feared that it might have to share the *fruits* of reservations with another group, *shrinking* its access to government jobs.

On the other hand, Gujjars feel that the OBC stable is full of many a *caste stallion* making it difficult for them to *corner* as many benefits as the Meenas have done through their ST tag.

The Gujjars' fight for ST status and the Meena's fear of having to share the *reservation pie* led to *clashes* between them. The damning consequence of promising caste-based reservations in return for votes was not anticipated by the ruling BJP in Rajasthan, nor realized by the UPA government, which recently doled out 27% reservation to the OBCs, the ***creamy layer*** included.

Also seen in Excerpt 6.15 are the instances of MEs *on fire, burnt, social fabric, erupt,* and *full-blown caste war* which appear in the first part of the excerpt. Such grouping of MEs in a discourse is called "clustering" of MEs as explained in Chapter II. In this excerpt, first of all, the headline carries the ME *caste war* which is the main topic of the discourse and this topic is elaborated and explained further in detail with the help of a number of MEs, and in this excerpt, these MEs are grouped together forming a metaphor cluster. They are grouped together because they carry the same semantic

meaning of the main topic of discourse and these expressions are very much related to the topic. For instance, describing the *caste war,* which was a *full-blown war,* the excerpt makes a reference to the society of people as the *social fabric* which was *burnt* because Rajasthan was *on fire.* As discussed in the previous sections, and also it is again reviewed in the following paragraphs, Indian English seems to use *fire* in an extended way. In this example, Rajasthan was not actually on fire, but it is described as being *on fire* metaphorically referring to the anger of the protesting and clashing people who have *burnt* the *social fabric* or the society of humans because of the war based on the caste system. Thus in this part of the excerpt, the MEs that are thematically and therefore, semantically related are grouped together deliberately by using conventional metaphorical expressions to facilitate the comprehension of the readers. The next source domain discussed is "fire."

"Fire" (TOI)

The next ME and the source domain considered for the analysis is *burnt* which is from the source domain of "fire." This expression is similar to the previous discussion of the ME from the G8 Summit article in which the source domain of "fire" was mapped to a place (Rostock) from a human body in an extended way. The topic highlighted in Excerpt 6:15 is the caste war which is introduced in the headline and is explained in the article using clusters of MEs which are topic related and discourse specific. Describing the prevailing situation in Rajasthan, as a result of anger and clashes between the Gujjars and the Meenas, the excerpt mentions that the place was *on fire*. This is another metaphorical extension of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE, similar to the

example discussed in the earlier section on the theme of G8 Summit. Interestingly, the detailed description of the protests, and prevailing situations in Rajasthan reported in most articles on the theme of Gujjars does not contain any reference to an actual fire *per se*. What is described is the external manifestation of negative emotions such as anger and hatred by conflicting parties which may lead to physical destruction of the place-Rajasthan. However, there is no actual fire in any part of the place. As described in the G8 Summit analysis, the ME *on fire* in this excerpt refers to the results of anger and hatred mapped on to the geographical location of Rajasthan. From the empirical examples so far considered, it can be inferred that this is cultural and conventional and it could be characteristic of Indian English. However, this inference, at this point is made specifically for the present genre of newspaper articles.

Furthermore, the excerpt continues with the metaphor cluster which includes *burnt* and *social fabric* which is very much related to the earlier introduced ME of *on fire*. In this example, the ME *social fabric* draws on Grady's conceptual metaphor of SOCIETIES ARE FABRICS which according to Grady is a part of a system of related mappings, and an instance of a more general metaphor (Grady, 1997, p.273). In Excerpt 6:15, the ME *social fabric* which is a combination of Adj+N in which the adjective *social* refers to the society or people and the noun *fabric* maps the source domain of cloth. Together they blend to refer to the social system or the social cohesion which is destroyed. This destruction is expressed in the ME *burnt*. Thus the metaphor cluster which uses both conventionalized and deliberate or discourse related MEs illustrates the destruction of the existing harmonious social system or the social cohesion of Rajasthan in terms of the *fabric* which is *burnt* and this whole chaotic situation is expressed in terms

of Rajasthan being *on fire*. This is the most distinctive feature of Indian English found so far, the culturally specific mapping of ANGER IS FIRE to the geographic location discussed earlier for the Rostock example. What is noteworthy here is this feature was exhibited in both international and domestic news articles.

The above point is illustrated by contrasting the use of expressions to describe an actual fire. The following Excerpt 6:16 is from a domestic news article which was reporting on the story of the recent Mumbai Attack in November 2008.

Excerpt 6:16: TOI

Hotel Taj witnesses India's bloodiest siege:

> The heritage hotel which bore the *brunt* of the 1993 serial blasts and again in 2003 at the Gateway of India, now played the *mute witness* to one of the bloodiest siege situation ever to be undertaken in the country.
>
> The famous dome of the hotel which is a landmark of the Mumbai skyline was *engulfed* in thick smoke as the encounter went on and area reverberated with blast sounds and staccato of automatic weapons.
>
> The **fire** was seen coming out of the main dome and **flames** soon spread to other domes as well. The entire top floor was in the *grip* of heavy fire and was severely damaged during the siege claiming lives of several of its customers.
>
> The **flames** were seen coming from windows of the top-floor as fire-fighters tried hard to evacuate the *trapped* and douse the **flames**.

The Excerpt 6:16 is from the article on Mumabi attacks when Hotel Taj, which was housing huge numbers of foreign nationals and dignitaries of India, came under the

siege of terrorists. The encounter between the Indian military and the terrorists resulted in a huge fire breaking out in the hotel, and the hotel was engulfed in flames. This is an actual case of fire and the structures are actually burning. The expressions that are in bold in the above excerpt are literal and not metaphorical (and therefore, are not placed in italics). In contrast to the metaphorical expressions used in Excerpt 6:15 to explain the chaotic situation in Rajasthan in terms of *burning*, the TOI used literal expressions such as **fire**, and **flames.** However, the expression "heavy fire" refers to the exchange of "firing" (bullets) between the Indian army and the terrorists. The expressions that are placed in italics in the excerpt are MEs which are mostly present characteristically in the TOI articles. Thus, we can see the difference between the description of actual fire witnessed when the buildings are burning in a geographic location and the metaphoric extension of the mapping of external manifestation of the results of anger and hatred to a geographical place.

In addition to the above interesting MEs, the domestic articles of TOI also used other interesting expressions that were switched from the English language to Hindi and they were metaphorical and literal/non-metaphorical. The TOI news articles while reporting domestic news switched codes and used words, phrases or sentences in Hindi as the context and the story demanded. The reasons, causes and the actual phenomenon of "code-switching" with particular reference to Indian multilingual society are explained in Chapter III. In the selected subset of domestic news articles on the Gujjars, code-switched instances consisted of both metaphorical and non-metaphorical expressions. In the following section, these code-switched expressions are presented, analyzed, and

discussed. The non-metaphorical expressions that are code-switched are presented first and this is followed by the code-switched metaphorical expressions.

Metaphorical Expressions Code-Switched from English to Hindi in TOI

In this section of the Chapter, I present a brief discussion of the most interesting and distinguishable feature discovered in the TOI corpus using the indigenized variety of English which is colored by various local languages of the country. The most distinctive feature that emerged in the corpus was that the IE articles while reporting domestic news used a few words/phrases and sometimes a clause/sentence in Hindi, the national language of India. As mentioned in the preceding sections in this chapter, the phenomenon of switching codes from English to Hindi in this particular genre of national newspaper articles, specifically, while reporting domestic news is the unique characteristic of this comparative study between IE and British English. What is most important in this specific focus on the use of MEs is that some of the code switched elements were instances of metaphorical expressions.

As discussed in Chapter III, the concept of code switching is a common feature in most of the multilingual communities, and especially, in India. As most Indians speak at least 3 languages, they have more linguistic resources at their disposal, and because semantic meaning of some words in each language expresses somewhat differently because of various reasons, speakers often employ different communicative strategies from their linguistic repertoire (Bonvillain, 2000; Gumperz, 1982).

Integrating linguistic material from other languages of their expertise is a common feature multilingual speakers exhibit in both spoken as well as written discourse, and this is true of Indians also. Typically, the amount and the frequency of code switching is unpredictable as it depends on a number of variables such as interlocutors (readers and writers), formality, age, status, and the element of establishing solidarity with people of the same community. These variables come into play widely, especially, in the spoken discourse. However, in the written discourse, looking at the present data, it seems that the journalistic style and conventions are maintained to a large extent because code switching does not occur randomly.

For the present analysis, in the following section, I will examine a few examples of code switched expressions which are metaphorical. However, a brief glimpse of a code switched expression which is not metaphorical is illustrated in the following Excerpt 6:17.

Excerpt 6:17

Gujjar stir may *raise* vegetable prices:

With all routes from Rajasthan to the Capital temporarily out of bounds due to the Gujjar violence, prices of many vegetables are expected to *go up* by 20% from next week. Officials from the Azadpur **Subzi Mandi** say that although currently the prices of all major vegetables are stable, rates of some vegetables that come from Rajasthan could see a *hike* if the trucks supplying these vegetables fail to reach Delhi. “The situation is normal right now, but the prices could *rise* if the violence in Rajasthan persists” said a senior official from Azadpur **Subzi Mandi.**

In the Excerpt 6.17, the expressions placed in italics are metaphorical, a coding convention I have followed throughout this dissertation. However, the expressions that are placed in bold are the code-switched phrases. As they are not metaphorical expressions they are not placed in italics. In Excerpt 6:17, the discourse topic is the rise in the price of vegetables which is caused by the riots and protests stemming from the fight for the inclusion into the quota system (from OBC to ST category) by the Gujjars. In reporting this story, the article used the local lingo- "sabzi" (vegetable) "mandi" (market) which is a Hindi expression (and in most Indian languages). As this is not an ME, I will only provide its English equivalent which is "vegetable market." The code-switched metaphorical expressions are presented, explained and analyzed in the following section on metaphorical expressions code-switched from English to Hindi.

This inference is made on the low number of code switched elements only 5 types appeared and they did not reappear many times. Furthermore, only selective articles had code-switched expressions in them. This will be discussed in the subsequent paragraphs after a brief analysis of the code switched examples. Table 6.9 displays the specific information on the code-switched expressions.

Table 6.9: Code-Switched MEs in TOI

MEs	Code-Switched expressions (Types)	Tokens
VMEs	Lathi charge/d (baton charge) Gherao/ed (encirclement or surround)	5 5
NMEs	*Bandh* (close/shut down on protest) *Delhi Bandh* (Delhi Shutdown/ strike) *Bandobast* (security arrangements/discipline) *Lathicharge* (baton charge) *Nautanki* (street play/drama- derogatory) *gherao* (rounding off or encirclement)	6 3 4 5 4 2

The information displayed in Table 6.9, indicates that there were 8 ME types used in the present data of TOI, out of which 2 were VMEs (single VMEs) and 6 NMEs *(bandh; Delhi bandh; bandobast; lathicharge; nautanki*, and *gherao*). Two instances of code switched VMEs *lathi charge/d* and *ghraoed* are used in the form of NMEs as well (*lathicharge; gherao*). The single NME *bandh* is used as a compound noun in the expression *Delhi Bandh* using N+N combination. These were the only instances found in the present data under the broad category of NMEs and VMEs (there is a sentence switch of code in the discourse which I will explain in the final discussion of this part). There were no instances of either similes or nominative MEs in the data that were code switched. The instances of code switched MEs are illustrated below in the contexts in which they appear.

Examples of code switched words and phrases from the domestic articles of TOI

Bandh (NME)

Bandh is a Hindi word meaning "closed." It is conventionalized to describe a form of protest used by political activists in India. During a *Bandh*, a large chunk of a community declares a general strike, usually lasting one day. Often *bandh* means that the community or political party declaring a *bandh* expect the general public to stay in their homes and strike work. Also, all stores are expected to remain closed, and the transport operators like buses and cabs are supposed to stay off the road and not carry any passengers. All this is expected to be voluntary, but in many instances people are terrorized into participating in a *bandh*. There have been instances of large metro cities coming to a standstill. *Bandhs* are powerful means for civil disobedience or non-

cooperation by the civilians because of the huge impact that a *bandh* has on the local community, and it is much feared as a tool of protest. Although a Hindi word, it seems to be lexicalized and has made its way into IE, and used in the articles with other code – switched expressions. The following excerpt showcases the expression in the context it appeared in the TOI articles.

Excerpt 6:18

VHP nationwide ***bandh*** *cripples* life:

After holding Jammu *hostage* for the past few days, the saffron brigade is taking out protest marches in several parts of the country. Several areas of Chandigarh have been brought to a complete halt with protestors taking out processions. A mob was *lathicharged* as well.

There's tension in Indore after two people are dead and five are injured. Curfew has been imposed in some areas of the city after protesters *clashed* with the police. Tear gas shells were used to disperse the crowd after they pelted stones at the police. Section 144 is in effect in Khajrana area. As per the latest reports, saffron activists *stormed* a press conference called by the Hurriyat in Jammu. They broke furniture and tore up papers. In Delhi, BJP-VHP activists are out on the streets on protest marches.

They are forcing several shops to *shut down*.

In Agra too, the BJP-VHP activists have stopped the Delhi-Bhopal Shatabdi at Agra Cant station. They are demonstrating on the tracks. Protests are on in different parts of the country. The Jammu and Kashmir emporium in Mumbai has been the target of the protesters supporting the ***bandh.*** Near Ludhiana, the Amritsar-Howrah Express has been stopped affecting train traffic between Ambala and Amritsar.

Karnataka, the new bastion of saffron brigade, responded to the call of ***bandh*** more effectively in Hubli and Dharwad and schools and colleges are closed in Mysore.

> Protesters continue with their demonstration in parts of Punjab and Haryana like Bhatinda, Rajpura, Jallandhar and Karnal. Also, Delhi-Amritsar highway is still blocked near Rajpura.

Delhi bandh (NME)

This is another code switched ME used quite frequently in some very specific political articles reporting on the issues such as protest, strike, or stir by some groups, organizations or political parties. This NME is a combination of two nouns, Delhi and Bandh (as explained above) and together they form *Delhi bandh* which literally means the city Delhi is "closed." This act is done to paralyze life in any given place. In this NME, the noun *bandh* refers to the "physical act of pulling down the shutters" of offices, stores, malls, schools, colleges, universities and all other public institutions. Thus the NME means the city Delhi has come to a standstill because everything is shut down. Excerpt 6:19 shows the context in which the code switched NME *Delhi bandh* appears.

> Excerpt: 6:19
>
> Three-day ***Delhi bandh*** begins today : Traders to *gherao* Assembly over sealing drive, keep their *shops shut.*
>
> NEW DELHI: On the first day of its three-day ***Delhi bandh*** against sealing of commercial establishments operating illegally from residential premises in the Capital, traders on Monday will *gherao* the State Assembly besides keeping their shops and businesses across the city shut. The Bharatiya Janata Party, which is supporting the traders' agitation, will also hold a demonstration outside the Delhi Assembly on the opening day of its session.
>
> Stating that traders were committed to staging their three-day agitation peacefully without disturbing normal life in the city, Confederation of All-India Traders' general secretary Praveen Khandelwal said the traders would show their strength outside the Assembly and highlight their plight. "Traders from all market associations will assemble outside the Delhi Assembly to press

> upon the Government to find a permanent solution to the problem so that shops of lakhs of traders could be saved from sealing." CAIT has called a 72-hour *bandh* and around 500 various market associations and traders' bodies are supporting the agitation.
>
> During the *bandh*, traders would hold public meetings in different markets. To make the agitation successful, CAIT has divided the city into 10 zones. It will deploy its teams in these zones which would monitor the agitation and ensure that traders do not resort to any kind of violence and do not disrupt normal life of common man.

The above excerpt also displays other code switched MEs such as *bandh*, *gherao* thereby exhibiting the characteristic of a metaphor cluster. These MEs are semantically and thematically related and therefore used in clusters. The English version *shut down* which is also a ME is used in the excerpt as well (The NME *gherao* is explained in subsequent paragraphs).

Bandobast (NME):

The Hindi NME *bandobast* is originally from Persian “band-o-bast” which references the source domain “the physical act of tying and binding” of objects so that they are secured tightly. This borrowed word from Persian, thus references the source domain of physical act of ‘tying/binding’ objects securely and is used in an abstract sense in Excerpt 6.20 to mean *tight* security arrangements.

Excerpt: 6:20

> Police commissioner Satypal Singh personally toured the city to supervise the security layers enveloping the sensitive zones and vital installations. Singh himself fine-tuned the *bandobast* comprising around 300 police personnel along with this senior officers like additional CP (Crime) B K Upadhyay and additional CP (region) Prabat Kumar. Around 1,562 vehicles have been checked so afar and action has been initiated against around 222 drivers for driving with required documents.

Nautanki (NME)

Nautanki is a Hindi word which refers to a kind of street play popular in northern India, especially in the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, and is from the source domain of "physical activity." Before the advent of cinema in India, it was the most popular form of entertainment prevalent in these areas. Usually a *nautanki* consisted of folklore and mythological dramas with interludes of folk songs and dances. But now it has taken other forms, and has come to mean something very cheap and used derogatorily mostly to refer to cheap tricks played and exhibited in public by people for their personal benefits.

In the following excerpt, the NME *nautanki* refers to the dirty tricks and measures resorted to by a minister to taint the image of the government. The context of the excerpt below makes the meaning clear to the reader. The possible reason for using this Hindi ME in the TOI articles is because the semantic meaning encoded in this expression is loaded with cultural nuances and perspectives peculiar to the local culture, and therefore employing this word in the given context is more meaningful than its English equivalent.

Excerpt: 6:21

> Congress Legislature Party leaer Pramod Tiwari also expressed shock over the "vilification campaign *unleashed* by a minister against his own government." This "makes mockery of the constitutional provision that expects the cabinet colleagues to *swim* or *sink* together. Yadav has only one option to *sack* Haji Yakoob Qureshi," said.
>
> Congress MLA from Farrukhabad Louise Khurshid also challenged Yadav's prowess to tame Haji. Yadva, she said, seems to have become weak. The Haji saga has perturbed his colleagues in the ruling party as well. At least two senior ministers on Tuesday frankly admitted that the ***"nautanki***" has gone too far for comfort.

The next code-switched ME is ***lathicharge***

Lathicharge (NME)

Excerpt: 6:22

> Government has ordered a judicial inquiry into police ***lathicharge*** at Rettanai Village in Villupuram District of the state after farmers staged a road block demanding full payment of wages under the Nationl Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS), on Saurday, June 20th.
>
> Chief Minister M Karunanidhi, who ordered an enquiry by the Divisional Magistrate and Tindivanam Revenue Divisional Officer (RDO), sanctioned a solatium of Rs 50,000 from the Chief Minister's General Relief Fund, to a boy who was injured in the incident, Villupuram District Collector R Palanisamy said in release.

In the code-switched NME ***lathicharge,*** the word *Lathi* is originally from Hindi. The word *lathi*, is from the source domain "bamboo stick." A *lathi* is basically a 6 to 8 foot long bamboo stick tipped with a metal blunt. It is used by swinging it back and forth like a sword. The metal blunt is an optional part for a *lathi.* The English version of this

could be the baton. It is the Indian Police's most used crowd control device. When referring to the weapon itself, a *lathi* is believed to be one of the oldest weapons in the world.

In the above excerpt, the ***lathicharge*** is a compound of two nouns. In this context, as with most N+N MEs, the metaphorical meaning is carried by the noun *charge* drawing from the general source domain of "physical act" and specifically references the domain of "loading onto." The compound NME in Excerpt 6:22 means that the police used their *lathis* or batons on the protesting/striking farmers in which a boy was injured. Thus, the NME with two nouns of target-source combination, has the head noun (*charge*) coding the metaphorical meaning. So in this case, the literal meaning would be the baton /*lathi* attack of the police on the protesting farmers which had a lot of repercussions. The same NME *lathicharge* is used in the following excerpt as a VME, and refers to the same meaning as above.

Lathicharged: (VME)

Excerpt: 6:23

> Police *lathicharge* anti-quota agitators in Kolkotta:
>
> Several junior doctors were injured on Thursday when police *lathicharged* anti-quota agitators who blocked the *arterial* Chittaranjan Avenue and Bowbazar Street near lalbazar, the Kolkatta police headquarters.
>
> Police resorted to *lathicharge* (NME) after they failed to persuade the protesters to disperse, an eye-witness said.

Gherao (NME) – *gheraoed/gheraoing* (VME)

The next code-switched metaphorical expression *gherao* is the root word from Hindi and is used as a noun as well as a verb by adding *-ed* or *-ing* as in *gheraoed* or *gheraoing* which literally means to surround a person either to attack him or to intimidate him and to make him surrender for some reason. Thus, the ME *gherao* is from the source domain "physical act" of using external force to get the desired thing done. *Gherao,* meaning "'encirclement," is a way of protesting in India. This is a scenario in which usually, a group of people surround a politician or a government building until their demands are met, or answers given. The term became popular in the 1960s when political activists in West Bengal, India, started the practice of surrounding a politician or a government building in large groups, for hours on stretch. The term has been adapted in this form by all Indian English newspapers. In such usage, the past tense of the verb, *gheraoed*, is more common. The concept has since been adapted by the labor movement in India.

The following Excerpts 6:24 and 6:25 demonstrate the contexts in which the ME *gherao* as a NME and *gheraored* as a VME is used in TOI. In the first excerpt, however, the code switched NME *gherao* is used with another code-switched ME *bandh*. This is an interesting excerpt in which these expressions are repeated several times using the two code- switched MEs.

Gherao (NME)

Excerpt: 6:24

> Stop *bandh* and ***gherao:***
>
> Critically commenting on the unnecessary practice of enforcing *bandh* (strike) and ***gherao*** *(blockade*), the West Bengal Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee appears to have *sounded bugle* against its own party's ethics and principles-*bandh* and ***gherao*** is the arms of Red Party. This has invited sharp criticism from his party.
>
> The Marxist leader, during his ASSOCHAM meet on Tuesday vehemently criticising the unduly practices of *bandh* and ***gherao***, said unfortunately he belonged to a political party that call strikes. "Personally, I don't support *bandhs*, he said."
>
> "***Gherao*** is illegal and immoral. It is our contribution to the English language, but will not be allowed in the state," he added.
>
> The revolutionary move could be seen as economically motivated to woo foreign investments and Ratan Tata, the chairman of the Tata Group, who threatened last week to leave ultra low-cost Nano project in the state, if the violence and protests continue. But the statement could put him in a tight spot with party hardliners looking not comfortable with Buddha's pro-industry lurch.

In Excerpt 6.25, the same code-switched ME *gherao* is used as a VME.

Gheaoing/gheraoed (VME)

Excerpt: 6:25

> South City stalemate continues: Kolkotta: The stalemate at South City college continued on Friday, with the 35 teachers who had put in their papers en masse to protest again SFI 'excess' the day before, refusing to withdraw their resignations.
>
> The governing body of the college is yet to accept the resignations and appealed to the teachers to withdraw those. But they refuse to

budge on the grounds that Thursday's confrontation between teachers and SFI activists was the latest in a long line of such face-offs. Teachers felt SFI supporters have been interfering with the day to day affairs of the college for a long time and the insult could not be borne any longer.

The SFI leadership, apparently caught on the back foot, issued an unconditional apology to the teachers, saying that "such misbehaviour" [sic] on the part of the students shall not be repeated, but the teachers refused to pay heed to this till Friday evening.

Over the past one year, incidences of *gheraoing* and harassing teachers have been common on campus. On September 9, 2006, teachers went on a day's ceasework [sic] and threatened to resign after they were *gheraoed*. On September 24, 2006, union members forced the general body members to appoint a vice-principal of their choice overlooking the seniority of other teachers. "GB members were forced to take such a decision after being *gheraoed* till midnight," said a senior teacher. Teacher and other staff were harassed again on February 20 and March.

The next excerpt displays a sentence-level code switching.

Excerpt: 6:26

"No Pak talks till it curbs terror":

Hardening New Delhi's posture on Pakistan, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on Monday ruled out reopening ruptured dialogue unless Islamabad took hard measures to curb terrorism.

"The ball is now in Pakistan's court. Both India and Pakistan have a common obligation to ensure that terrorist elements are dealt with firmly," Singh said during his visit to Orissa.

The Prime Minister indicated that a breakthrough was unlikely when he and Pervez Musharaf travel to Havana next week for the Non-Aligned Movement Summit.

> "We can choose our friends, not neighbors," he said. "*Jab tak Pakistan koi thos kadam nehi leti hai, koi batchit ban nehi sakti* (Until Pakistan takes some strong steps, there cannot be any talks)," the Prime Minister added.

In Excerpt 6:27, the entire sentence is switched from English to Hindi. As noted earlier, multilingual speakers resort to switching codes using their linguistic resources for various reasons depending on the situation/context. The Prime Minister's switching from English to Hindi in the above excerpt implies a lot of discourse functions. First of all, the issue he is discussing and the decision he is making are very sensitive for various reasons. Secondly, by switching and reiterating in Hindi, he is emphasizing the exact point he is trying to make to the people of his country as well as the country/government the message is directed to, which is Pakistan. Most importantly, he is packaging the emotionally charged message to the enemy at the same time assuring his people of his support establishing his solidarity with them. In this context, and also in general, the main purpose/function of code switching is transparent to people who share the same culture and the language than to the outsider. Thus, this complex linguistic and discourse strategy is a very important feature in the Indian society, and it is reflected in the present data/study.

In the code switched sentence, the ME, *thos kadam* or *strong steps- (Thos-strong; kadam steps)* is the NME of Adj+ noun combination with the adjective *thos* carrying the metaphorical meaning. Drawing from the source domain of "physical property of strength," *thos* refers to the steps or measures that should be taken. What can be inferred from this example is that the Hindi language also seems to have similar patterns of conceptual mapping, especially, in this adjective and noun combination of NME.

Although the analysis of the code switched MEs seem to share some features of conceptual mapping in English, no generalizations are drawn at this point based on the limited expressions I have in this particular data. The most important and distinguishing feature that was discovered in this investigation of MEs in Indian English is that the newspaper articles while reporting domestic news, switch from English to Hindi. These code switched elements could be words, phrases or sentences depending on the theme, context, and the intensity of emotions involved in it.

Furthermore, in the data, some code-switched expressions were metaphorical and some were non-metaphorical or literal expressions. The analysis of these code switched MEs included nominal as well as verbal metaphorical expressions. Most of the code-switched MEs were semantically and thematically related based on the issues that were being reported. As the data contained exclusively political (overlapping with economic and occasionally social aspects) news articles, the code switched MEs were somewhat semantically related. This can be inferred from the summary table on code switched MEs.

Summary of the findings

To answer the third research question as to how the usage of domain**s** compared across the two newspapers, an inquiry was made into the interaction of MEs with different aspects including overlaps and differences in *source* and *target* domain usage between the two sets of articles reporting the same news story. The contribution of the analyses of source domains, discourse contexts and contextual clues was analyzed. Through this investigation, I attempted to gain insights into the possible occurrence of the cross-cultural and culture-specific metaphors in the genre of newspaper articles. The

metaphor density and the ratios in Chapter V showed that the TOI used more MEs in both types and tokens than LT in this genre of newspaper articles. However, as the general trend in the usage of MEs at the surface level showed many similarities, I decided to do a close scrutiny of the source domains and other features such as contextual clues and styles. To plumb into the depths of the discourse, an investigation was done of the articles by separating international news articles from domestic. The answer to the first part of the research question was based on the case study of matching texts of the international news articles.

The second part of the research question was answered by analyzing the domestic news articles separately. The case study consisted of the analyses of the metaphorical expressions and their source domains along with the discourse contexts and contextual clues in which MEs were found. For the case study, the newspaper articles from TOI and LT were separated into international and domestic news articles, and a few themes or stories were selected. The international selection included articles on the recent War/Conflict between Lebanon and Israel and the G8 Summit. The domestic articles chosen from the TOI newspaper were on the story of the Gujjars and from LT they were on the story of the Proposed Reforms in Education Policies.

The numeric findings showed that for the subsets of international news articles on the story of War between Lebanon and Israel, the frequency of MEs in TOI was twice as high as in LT. For the second subset of international articles on the story of the G8 Summit, the frequency of MEs in TOI was once again two times higher than LT. Comparatively, the frequencies of MEs per 1000 words for the TOI was higher for the subset of G8 Summit articles than for Lebanon and Israel articles. The difference was

quite large because it was 4.2 and 1.99 respectively for two stories. In contrast, the frequencies of MEs per 1000 words in LT were twice as high in the G8 Summit as the story on Lebanon and Israel. The reasons could be that the total number of articles and total number of words were more in G8 Summit articles and also the content itself must have impacted the use of more MEs in the G8 Summit than the story on the Conflict between Lebanon and Israel. Additionally, the frequency ratios of the two subsets of international news articles on the story of Lebanon and Israel and the G8 Summit are very much higher than the overall ME tokens for the international articles which are 1.8 in TOI and 1.19 in LT. As for the domain analysis, the findings from the international articles showed that for the articles on War between Lebanon and Israel the overlap of the source domains across the two newspapers was 43%, and it was 50% for the G8 Summit. For the war articles, of the total 15 ME tokens, 12 MEs came from the source domains that overlapped across the two newspapers (80%). As for the G8 Summit articles, of the total 39 ME tokens, 27 came from the overlapping source domains (69%).

As for the numeric findings for the domestic news articles, of 15,000 words for the Gujjar case, the TOI articles, the frequency of MEs was 6.26 which is four times higher than the established trend of the overall ME token ratio which was 2.20 for the domestic news articles. This shows that the frequency ratio of ME tokens per 1000 words in this particular set of articles on the Gujjar case is very high with 6 ME tokens appearing for every 1000 words. As regards the LT domestic articles on the Proposed Reforms in the Education Policies, the frequency of MEs was 4.53, which indicates a higher usage of ME tokens in this subset of domestic news articles as compared to the overall trend of 0.92 ME tokens in the domestic articles. Comparatively, the frequencies

of MEs were higher in both TOI and LT subset of domestic news articles. However, the frequency of MEs for TOI was almost four times higher than the LT frequency. Comparatively, the frequencies of MEs were much higher in the subsets of domestic news articles than the subsets of international news articles across the two newspapers.

In terms of the findings from the domain analysis for the domestic news articles, a total of 33 different domains were used by the two newspapers, out of which 11 overlapped. The overlaps account for 32.35% which is slightly lower than the overlaps in the international articles which were 43% and 50% for the War and G8 Summit subsets respectively. The domain analysis indicates that the percentages of source domain overlaps in the subsets of international news articles are much higher compared to the overlaps in the subsets of domestic news articles in both newspapers. The main reason for this could be that the articles were selected to have the same content which was the broad target domain in the subsets of international news articles. However, this was not the case as regards the subsets of domestic news articles across the two newspapers. The content of each domestic subset was entirely different from the other. The other reason could be the use of culturally coded MEs, especially in the case of TOI, which must have contributed to the variation in the source domains and the frequencies of MEs.

The case study analysis for international articles showed that although the mappings and therefore, the source domains, in general, looked somewhat similar at the surface level, some mappings differed in terms of their specific correspondences, especially, in the case of the source domain “fire,” and the ME *burn*. This was a breakthrough which sparked a great interest to plough through the domestic articles.

The findings from the analysis of the domestic articles showed that although TOI maintained a formal, international standard of journalistic style which is replicated in the British newspaper, the style shifted while reporting domestic news. Many metaphorical expressions used were culturally loaded expressions which needed cultural schema to interpret and understand. Even though domestic news is written for the local audience, the journalistic style maintained was still conventional and used formal conventions. This was mainly done by using metaphor clusters extensively, which comprised more conventional/deliberate expressions that explained the theme and facilitated the comprehension of cultural metaphors by elaborating on the content.

The most interesting feature that emerged in this investigation into domestic articles is that TOI switched some words, phrases and sentences from Indian English to Hindi, the national language of India. This phenomenon of code-switching gave a different dimension and perspective to my research as it demonstrated the uniqueness of Indian English as compared to British English. First of all, different audience for domestic articles permits code-switching in the written genre of newspaper articles. One can arguably say that switching codes gave TOI domestic articles a somewhat colloquial or less formal tone/style to the written discourse, specifically, the genre of newspaper articles. However, what emerged from the close scrutiny of such features is that the code-switching was done very systematically preserving journalistic conventions to a large extent. The code-switching was resorted to at the exact places when the context or the culturally determined topics demanded such a switch. Furthermore, the switched elements were invariably explained elaborately in the surrounding texts that either preceded or followed such code-switched expressions. Also, the code-switched

expressions were both metaphorical and non-metaphorical. The code-switched expressions that were metaphorical were as systematic as the ones found in the international articles that had the standard British English conventions. For most code switched metaphorical expressions, their source domains were identified and analyzed. The analyses show that Indian English used in TOI has been impacted by multiple languages used in India which are native and non-native to the subcontinent. Such influences have made the phenomenon of Indian English a unique one.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

This exploratory study on the use of metaphors in an *indigenized* variety of English--Indian English--sought to discover the degree to which the language varied from or stayed close to the norm-giving parent language, British English, in terms of the use of metaphorical expressions (MEs). One of the main tenets of Conceptual Theory of Metaphor (CMT)--that metaphor is a cognitive mechanism and not a literary device--served as the main theoretical framework of the study. Adopting the discourse approach, and drawing on discourse studies such as those of Cameron (1999, 2003), Deignan (2005) and Moder (2004, 2008), the MEs were identified and analyzed in terms of their density, frequency, and distribution, in the naturally occurring discourse. The connection between talking and thinking was explored in the study against the backdrop of two entirely different cultures, namely, the east and west. For the inquiry, both descriptive statistical tools and case study analyses were employed, and the findings were explored and analyzed. In this concluding chapter, I discuss the findings in the light of the research questions.

The first two research questions were as follows: Assuming that MEs are used in Indian English, what lexical forms do they take in the data, and what is their frequency and distribution? How do the occurrence and distribution of MEs in the indigenized variety of English compare with that of British English, the parent language?

Specifically, what are the similarities and differences with reference to the lexical forms of MEs identified in the two data sets? To answer the first two questions, two sets of newspaper corpora from the Times of India (TOI) and Times on Line (LT) each containing 490,700 words were manually searched for metaphorical expressions (MEs). The MEs were quantified, and their type and token frequencies were calculated. The overall numeric findings showed that the TOI news articles used more MEs than LT. A total number of 1009 ME tokens were found in TOI as opposed to 504 in LT. This analysis was followed by calculating the frequency ratios of the ME tokens for every 1000 words. The ratios were 2.05 for TOI and 1.02 for LT which showed that comparatively, in TOI newspaper, the MEs appeared twice as frequently. The MEs were then sifted to find the ratios of types and tokens and their token-type ratios were calculated. The token-type ratios indicated that the TOI newspaper articles used not only more types but also used the types more frequently: The metaphorical expression types reappeared on average one and a half times in TOI, whereas in LT they appeared one and a quarter times. The findings revealed that the ME types reappeared more frequently in TOI than in LT.

The initially identified MEs were examined for the lexical forms in which they appeared, and were sorted into verbal and nominal ME groups. The results of this analysis showed that in the present data, the TOI used more MEs than its counterpart with regard to both nominal and verbal MEs, although both newspapers used about twice as many VMEs than NMEs. The findings also showed Indian English used more phrasal verb MEs than British English in the present genre of news stories. In addition, the TOI tended to use MEs in large clusters, sometimes repeating the same MEs, and at times

using different MEs which were either thematically or semantically related. Most MEs, especially the VMEs seemed to be conventionalized in TOI. This is evident from the type/token ratios illustrated in the previous chapters. As for the NMEs, both TOI and LT used them in the same variety of forms such as single NMEs, compound MEs with adjective-noun, and noun-noun combinations. Furthermore, other forms such as nominative metaphorical expressions and similes were also used in both sets of data. The findings showed that the context- dependent expressions such as compound nouns with N+N combinations, nominative and similes were similar across the two newspapers. The overall findings showed that Indian English used more MEs than British English in the news stories.

To answer the third research question concerning, how the source and target domain usage compared across the two sets of articles reporting the same (international) and different (domestic) news stories, I analyzed the source domains of the MEs found in the data. In line with the conceptual theory of metaphor, MEs were assigned to source domains in both varieties of the language, using case studies that were employed for the examination of the source domains. The case study analyses involved numerical comparisons of the frequencies with which the domains were used as well as an investigation of the individual expressions within the most important or unique domains.

The case study findings on the story of the conflict between Lebanon and Israel showed that out of 7 source domains, 3 overlapped, a 43% overlap in domains across the two newspapers. Additionally, 80% of the MEs came from these overlapping source domains. As for the second story on the G8 Summit, 39 ME tokens came from 18 source domains, out of which 9 overlapped, a 50% overlap in the usage of source domains.

Furthermore, of the total 39 ME tokens, 27 came from the overlapping source domains, which means 69% of the total ME tokens came from the overlapping source domains. Overall, about half (43% and 50%, respectively) of the domains overlapped between the two languages for the international news stories with a bigger overlap in domains for the story on the G8 Summit (50%). This overlap in the source domains can be hypothetically explained, that people share the same frames or background knowledge in international news, and, therefore, the MEs used might draw from the domains that are common to the two varieties of English. However, the source domain analysis indicated that the TOI news stories exhibited unique characteristics in the use of the overlapping source domains such as "fire," the mapping of which was used in a distinctive extension. The TOI extended the use of the mapping of the conceptual metaphor (CM), ANGER IS FIRE from the target domain of human body to a geographical location in the TOI news stories. This indicates that Indian English uses the source domain of "fire" in a culturally different way. It is speculated that this culturally determined way of using the source domain of "fire" may reflect the "collectivist" ideology of the culture/society which is different from the "individualistic" ideology wherein an individual is in focus. This is just a speculation and no generalization is drawn at this point based on the present data of newspaper stories.

The findings of the second case study on domestic news stories indicated that out of the total 34 source domains used across the two subsets, 11 overlapped, a 32.35% (32%) overlap in the source domain usage. An overlap of 32% in the source domain usage for the domestic news articles indicates that the overlap is not as extensive in the domestic news articles as it is in the international. The lower percentage of the source

domain overlap reflects the distinctive use of some of the expressions that were cultural, making a close reference to specific cultural knowledge encompassing aspects of history, philosophy, religion, and socio-economic and political ideologies. The distinct uses of the source domains, "fire" and "cuisine" are good examples which indicate cultural influences on metaphors. The extension of the CM, ANGER IS FIRE to the geographical location, and the culturally unique way of using the ME *creamy layer* to refer to the children (and adults) belonging to a particular community of "backward class" (economically and socially backward) indicate the influence of the native culture on metaphors in Indian English. Furthermore, code-switched MEs add another dimension of uniqueness to Indian English. The phenomenon of code switching from English to Hindi occurred systematically in specific contexts in the domestic news articles depending on the theme or the topic being reported. Certain socio-political issues that were loaded with cultural and traditional aspects seemed to be expressed in Hindi (or Sanskrit) words. These findings indicate that even though English in India is a foreign tongue, it is very much "nativized" and used in a very culturally directed way, especially while reporting domestic news as the audiences are local/native people who share the same cultural schema.

In essence, the findings of the study indicate that local culture (which includes history, geography, philosophy, religion, social and political ideologies), combines with the influence of British rule, modernization, globalization and Americanization as sources for metaphors used in Indian English. Additionally, the findings demonstrating the higher usage of MEs in the TOI news stories can be hypothetically explained by considering the underlying philosophical disposition of Indian English. Also, because

Indian English and British English are basically two varieties of the same language, more similarities were found across the data in terms of metaphors. Most MEs used across both varieties were conventionalized metaphors. However, the observations made from the findings showed that British English does not use as many types and tokens as Indian English does in this particular genre of news stories, particularly in reporting breaking news related to politics. At the same time, Indian English uses a substantial number of MEs even while reporting breaking news. This tendency might stem from a cultural bias that Indians have in using MEs in the everyday language due to an underlying disposition, as discussed in Chapter III. Additionally, although the fundamental inventory is similar for both varieties of English, Indian English may have a larger pool of MEs at its disposal to draw from, because of the different influences it has had, including Americanization. Other factors nested in metaphor motivations are the present era of globalization, increased international trade and commerce, the use of modern technology—all of which are responsible for connecting people from around the world which can be the source of interchange of linguistic and cultural features. In other words, metaphors are not only "cognitively" motivated, but also "culturally" motivated.

As the innumerable studies indicate, metaphors are cognitive mechanisms and are grounded in bodily experiences. However, as the vast body of empirical studies on cross-cultural variation suggests, metaphors are not only "cognitive," but also "cultural." A number of cross-cultural studies (Gibbs, 1999, 2004; Cienki, 1999; Deignan, 2003; Emanatian, 1995; Gaeeraerts & Grondelaers, 1995; Ibarretxe-Antunano, 1999; Shore, 1993; Yu, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003), investigating the debate that conceptual metaphor constitutes understanding (Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987), versus conceptual

metaphor reflects cultural models (Quinn, 1987, 1991), have demonstrated over the decades that languages may have the same conceptual metaphor, but the linguistic expressions of the conceptual metaphor may be influenced or shaped by differences in cultural-ideological traits and assumptions characterizing different cultures. Unlike the general physical experience that underlies primary metaphors, complex experiential domains are more likely to be culture-dependent and thus to vary from place to place or from culture to culture.

The findings of my study showed that even with cultures and languages that overlap to a certain extent due to shared cultural experiences, differences do exist in the usage of domains, specifically, with reference to the extensions of cross-domain mappings. Instances of extending a specific mapping to a different target domain, and using the same source domain such as "cuisine," but mapping it onto a different target domain in Indian English, demonstrate that in spite of the external influences, the core of the local culture plays a predominant role. The code-switched metaphorical expressions in the domestic news stories of Indian English are other examples which illustrate that our bodily and cognitive experiences are filtered through cultural models and cultural preferences.

In summary, conceptual metaphors are just as much cultural entities as they are cognitive ones. They are as much social and cultural as the mental constructs "inside" the heads of individuals (Gibbs, 1999). Cognition arises, and is continually experienced and re-experienced, when the body interacts with the external world. In other words, body creates the external world and culture defines embodied experiences. Culture is said to define embodied experiences, because how we conceptualize the external world

is defined and determined to a large extent by our interactions with social/cultural artifacts around us. Thus, metaphor is cognitive, embodied and cultural, and this is triangular relationship is very well demonstrated in Yu's (2003) circular triangle of metaphor, body, and culture. In other words, conceptual metaphors are to a large extent derived from bodily experiences, and are filtered by cultural models for specific target domains of conceptual metaphors. My findings also suggest that our world views, which are expressed in terms of metaphors in any language, are colored by the culture that we belong to. In other words, the path of our journey of life is carved by the cultural models we belong to, and all other aspects associated with the life's journey are determined and constrained by the cultural models and preferences which are indicated through the metaphor/language of any given culture. Finally, culture is laced with innumerable salient aspects such as religion, philosophy, history, political ideology that foreground metaphors and this is reflected in any given culture as was seen in my study.

My findings also seem to suggest that study on metaphor, needs to be carried out on naturally-occurring discourse, which is more reliable than the researcher generated or intuitive examples. The everyday language used by common people mirrors the most simple, yet, important aspects of language and cognition, from which a researcher can gain insights into metaphor in any given culture, as my findings suggest.

Limitations of the Study

The main limitation of this study is that my data consisted only of news stories with political content, making occasional connections and overlaps with social and economic aspects of the cultures. Selecting news stories with content including political,

social, economic, sports, entertainment, and business might yield findings different from those of mine reported here. Besides, using different genres that are representative of the use of the English language might shed more light on the intriguing phenomenon of metaphor especially, in the area of L2 use of the language. Furthermore, using different genres to compare the two varieties would indicate the underlying cognitive mechanisms of language that influence different genres from a linguistic perspective as genres have specific characteristics--both linguistic and non-linguistic in nature. Such studies would provide better insights into the linguistic phenomena which would definitely reveal the cognitive phenomena of the speakers of a particular variety of language to pin down the underlying cultural influences on a given language.

Implications of the Study

Metaphor is a powerful cognitive tool. It definitely structures and controls our thinking and, therefore, speaking. However, because of its complex nature due to differences in individuals and cultures, metaphorical expressions might pose a problem to the learners of English. Thinking along the lines of Aristotle, metaphor is a powerful tool to make people think and become knowledgeable, but at the same time, it can create misunderstanding and problems in learning and using the English language, in terms of idiomatic and metaphorical expressions. From the abundant scholarship in the field of metaphor, and the findings from the study, we now know that cognitively entrenched metaphors have a social genesis and are cultural indicators. Besides, metaphor is a complex phenomenon of cognitive, social, affective, rhetorical and interaction-management.

The contemporary era of globalization has resulted in the influence of the Western systems in terms of socio-political and economic ideology through the English language. Developments in science and technology, communications, global trade and, more recently, the Internet have only reinforced the importance of the English language. Consequently, English has now become the world's most taught, learned, and used second language, with millions of students who learn it in their own countries, from their own nonnative speaking teachers, and use it primarily to communicate with other nonnative speakers, giving rise to multiple varieties of "World Englishes." This study is an endeavor to spark further interest in the users of "indigenized" varieties of English from across the world to contribute to the field of metaphor research to enrich the existing pedagogical knowledge of second language acquisition and applied linguistics.

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Scope and Method of Study: This exploratory study on the use of metaphors in an *indigenized* variety of English--Indian English--sought to discover the degree to which the language varied or stayed close to the norm-giving parent language, British English, in terms of the use of metaphorical expressions (MEs). One of the main tenets of Conceptual Theory of Metaphor (CMT)--that metaphor is a cognitive mechanism and not a literary device--served as the main theoretical framework of the study. Adopting the discourse approach, and drawing on discourse studies (Cameron, 1999, 2003; Deignan, 2005; Moder, 2004, 2008), MEs were identified and analyzed in terms of their density, frequency, and distribution, in naturally occurring discourse. Case studies were conducted to analyze the domains of the MEs identified in the corpora. The corpora used for the study were news stories from leading newspapers, the Times of India (TOI) and Times on Line/London Times (LT).

Findings and Conclusions: The findings indicated that the Indian news stories used twice as many MEs as compared to LT. The frequency ratios showed that the TOI news stories used not only more types, but these types also appeared twice as frequently (more tokens). In addition, the frequency ratios of the lexical forms of MEs indicated that both varieties used twice as many verbal MEs as nominal MEs. Comparatively, the frequency ratios of verbal and nominal MEs were much higher in TOI than in LT, as the TOI used both verbal and nominal MEs twice as frequently as the LT. The domain analysis indicated that although the source domains overlapped in the two varieties, Indian English exhibited unique characteristics, especially, in the distinctive extension of the mapping of the source domain "fire," and in its culturally specific way of using expressions such as *creamy layer*. Additionally, Indian domestic news stories code-switched a number of expressions which were metaphorical from English to Hindi, highlighting culturally distinct aspects in the indigenized variety of English.

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