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Course paper

ON THE THEME: METAPHORS IN NEWSPAPER STYLE

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INTRODUCTION

It is worth to acknowledge that EFL has become one of the crucial issues of the day. As learners of the English language we should explore different skills with the help of different materials to use them easily and effectively. According to the decree of the President of Uzbekistan I.Karimov¹⁸⁷⁵ an enormous attention is being paid to learning foreign languages as well as English language for communicative purposes with the help of authentic materials. And newspapers are included in them.

Although newspapers have the longest history, they are still the most popular and convenient means of communication. Newspapers have been improved and developed in both quality and quantity to satisfy the requirements of the readers now.

Journalists often take the skills of language use into account. Metaphor is one of the most popular devices causing difficulties. Using Metaphor in newspapers satisfies with readers 'curiosity and excitement but sometimes causes many difficulties for us to understand. Study of metaphor has been traditionally associated with the study of literature; the use of metaphor is not restricted to this kind of language. Metaphor exists as a common fact in most of languages in the world. For this reason, we hope the study "Metaphors in newspaper style" will be a contribution to linguistic knowledge about metaphor, which helps writers, readers, teachers, students, translators use and understand language more effectively¹.

However, in the research we tried to prove that if journalists draw attention to a metaphor or use a novel one, readers are likely to make those connections. Since metaphorical language can be particularly persuasive, such metaphor signaling can make for a strong, effective writing style.

¹Krennmayr, T. (2011). *Metaphor in newspapers*. LOT Dissertation Series, 276. Utrecht: LOT. ISBN: 978-94-6093-062-1

The study aims to examine metaphorical expressions in newspapers in terms of syntactic and semantic features in order to find out using Metaphor in newspapers.

This paper is designed to fulfill the following objectives:

- To explore the syntactic and semantic features of metaphorical expressions in newspapers.

- To compare and contrast the syntactic and semantic features of metaphorical expressions in newspapers.

- To suggest some implications for the English teaching - learning and translating.

The tasks of the study are to observe and describe some commonly used means for expressing metaphors in newspapers. The metaphorical expressions are analyzed in terms of syntactic and semantic aspects. In addition, the study discusses the findings of the frequencies of occurrence of metaphors in newspaper. The investigation explored the metaphorical expressions used in a wide range of topics of everyday life and in various genres such as short stories, editorials, and news reports in newspapers.

Understanding metaphor used in the newspapers correctly plays a very important role in comprehending the text and discourse.

Practical significance of the study. The findings of study will help the language learners have precious experience of how to write and translate an article. In a word, the result of the study is hoped to contribute to enhance the readers' comprehending and evaluative skills in interpreting metaphor in newspapers.

Chapter 1. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE METAPHOR

1.3. Implication of metaphors in literature

Traditionally, metaphor has been considered stylistic devices in literature. According to Reddy in “Metaphor and Thought” (1979), our languagespoken everyday is mainly metaphor. According to Galperin (1981) in Stylistics [7], states “the term ‘metaphor’, as the etymology of the word reveals, means transference of some quality from one object to another. From the times of ancient Greek and Roman rhetoric, the term has been known to denote the transference of meaning from one word to another. It is still widely used to designate the process in which a word acquires a derivative meaning.”

In a cognitive perspective, Lakoff and Johnson in “Metaphors We Live By” (1980) have also suggested that they are problemsnot only in language but also in the human conceptual system. Metaphors are much more powerful instruments in the eyes of LakoffandJohnson. Metaphors have entailments that organize our experience, uniquely express that experience, and create necessary realities. Lakoff and Johnson attacked the two commonly accepted theories of metaphor.

According toGalperin (1981), metaphor is a relation between the dictionary and contextual logical meanings based on the affinity or similarity of certain properties of two corresponding concepts. In Metaphors We Live By (1980), Lakoff and Johnson say that metaphors play an important role in defining our everyday realities.

In cognitive linguistics, metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain; According to Lakoff (1980), “The metaphor is not just a matter of language, but thought and reason”. The languageis secondary. The mapping is primary, in that it

sanctions the use of source domain language and inference patterns for target domain concepts. In this study we base our investigation of metaphor on the two definitions by Galperinand Lakoff, the former of which serves our exploration to seek the words and expressions denoting metaphor based on the association of similarities whereas the latter is useful in seeking the conceptual schemata's for metaphor in a variety of aspects of life in different genres.

Classification of Metaphors

Galperin (1981) divides metaphors into two main types: Genuine metaphors and Trite metaphors.

Accordingto the degree of unexpectedness metaphors can be classified into:

- Dead metaphors, Live or active metaphors, extended metaphors and mixed metaphors.

The Vietnamese linguistĐinhTrọngLạc (1998) divides metaphors into three types: Nominal metaphors, Cognitive metaphors and Imagery metaphors.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) identify three basic types of conceptual metaphors. They are structural metaphors,orientational metaphors and ontological metaphors².

With the purpose of examining the syntactic and semantic features of metaphor in newspapers, thisstudy employs a combination of the descriptive and contrastive method.

1.2. Syntactic and semantic features of metaphorical expressions in English newspapers

1. Syntactic features of metaphors in English newspapers

1.1. Noun phrases

a) N

b) ART + N

²Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- c) ADJ + N
- d) NP + PP (PREP + N/NP)
- e) NP's + N
- f) N + PP
- g) COMPOUND N

1.2. Adjective Phrases

- a) ADJ
- b) COMPOUND ADJ
- c) PAST PARTICIPLE / PRESENT PARTICIPAL

1.3. Verb Phrases

- a) V
- b) V + NP
- c) V + N/NP + PP
- d) V + PP
- e) V + AP
- f) PASSIVE VERB

Syntactic Functions of Metaphorical Expressions in English Newspapers are:

- Metaphorical expressions as subjects
- Metaphorical expressions as subject complements
- Metaphorical expressions as objects

1.3. Semantic features of metaphorical expressions in newspapers

According to traditional linguists, metaphor, based on the association of similarity, is one of the two basic types of semantic transference that have been an interest for many linguistic researchers.

Based on the association of similarity about colors, forms, functions, characters..., the metaphor can be divided into the following types:

- Metaphorical Expressions denoting color
- Metaphorical Expressions denoting weather
- Metaphorical Expressions denoting war
- Metaphorical Expressions denoting health

- Metaphorical Expressions denoting animal
- Metaphoric Expressions denoting food
- Metaphorical Expressions denoting journeys
- Metaphoric Expressions denoting characters

We have mentioned some commonly used types of metaphor in English newspapers. We can see that English have the categorization of metaphorical expressions in common.

In this chapter, we have collected and analyzed metaphorical expressions in English in newspapers in terms of syntax and semantics. As we have discussed and analyzed above, semantic and syntactic features of metaphor in English newspapers are difficult for us to understand perfectly, especially when we read the foreign press. That is the reason why we have paid much attention to the study with the hope it will be a helpful and useful part for language, particularly for English. Metaphor can be categorized into 8 groups denoting 8 topics. They are color, weather, war, health, animal, food, journeys, characters, idioms. Based on the analysis, we can know that English share almost all the ways in which the speakers of two languages perceive and conceptualize in newspapers.

In summary, metaphor is a significant and common phenomenon of language in over the world. Metaphor is also a basic ingredient of successful interpersonal conveying of ideas. In English metaphor is a dominant and difficult stylistic device. Generally, concepts of metaphor in both languages are quite similar, even identified. They are the way of saying this thing but meaning another. We can see most of topics of metaphor are used in English.

1.4. Metaphors of English Newspapers in the Contemporary View

We know that all of us, not just poets, speak in metaphors, whether we realize it or not? Can it be perhaps true that we live by metaphors? In “Metaphors We Live By” (1980) of Lakoff, a linguist, and Johnson, a philosopher, suggest

that metaphors not only make our thoughts more vivid and interesting but also actually structure our perceptions and understanding³.

Time is money

If we call money is source domain and time is target domain, we will illustrate this metaphorical expression:

SOURCE DOMAIN: MONEY TARGET DOMAIN: TIME

waste money - waste time

save money - save time

investing money - investing time

lost money - lost time

running out of money - running out of time

Argument is war

Happy is up, sad is down

In this chapter, we have analyzed and discussed some syntactic and semantic features of metaphorical expressions in English newspapers. The findings illustrate that there are diversified structures and meanings in English. Besides the metaphors in the semantic features manifested in topics and aspects, they still have differences in the structures, frequency of occurrence in newspapers. Moreover, the influences about cultural and social aspects of two nations create the differences in both languages as shown in proper names used as metaphorical expression. As regard to instances of metaphors in contemporary view where cases of metaphor are treated the mapping from the source domain to the target domain we can find the similarities in all the models mentioned. This may be because the conceptualized models of metaphor are universally constructed in the language users' mind irrespective of the language they speak. However, as we go down with specific cases of metaphor with the expressions derived from these models, differences in syntactic

³Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

features and semantic types are expected to be recognized. However, in this scope of study, we have to leave this for a further investigation.

1.5. Implications English Teaching and Learning

The result of the study may be beneficial to teachers and learners of both languages because the newspaper language is a challenge to the readers. Furthermore, it can help students enrich their knowledge of metaphor and provide precious experience to write and translate an article more effectively and successfully. So teachers can guide and provide students with basic knowledge about metaphor. Furthermore, newspapers are important in our lives, so teachers can encourage learners to read and to write articles and story in newspapers, especially in foreign newspapers.

Moreover, it is clearly a powerful strategy in communicative interactions so the learners of English should master this linguistic device to help them to become more skilful in interaction. As long as they acquire the linguistic competence concerning metaphorical mechanism, they will no longer feel confused when countering with this. When they are confident with metaphorical knowledge in both languages, they will probably have ability to translate correctly not only the representational meaning but also interpersonal meaning in appreciate contexts. From the problems presented above, we recommend the teachers should apply knowledge about metaphor in teaching English for the students' acquisition of the syntactic features, the semantic ingredients of metaphor. Then teachers may allow their classes to take part in the activities such as writing letters, small articles using metaphors. With a competence of metaphor as far as their semantics and the corresponding structures are concerned of the two languages, the learners will probably express successfully their information.

Owing to metaphor usage in languages which is really wide and diversified, the research has mainly paid attention to basic fields of the traditional and contemporary view. Additionally, we cannot collect and analyze all the equivalent samples of metaphorical expressions in English. Besides that, metaphor in newspaper languages contains abstract concepts which need the agents and the

receivers who must have rich cultural and traditional background knowledge for the analysis and interpretation. The most important drawback is that the thesis has covered a wide range of topics and genres, and accordingly failed to bring into salience the distinctive features of the metaphorical cases found in newspapers.

With those shortcomings, we assume that further studies are still needed to explore the following issues of metaphors in newspapers.

- The conceptual metaphors in the language of sports in sports magazines in English.

- The metaphorical expressions in the language of editorials in English⁴

We explore the application of metaphors in news headlines with a view to interrogating their potential for coercion. Coercion in news discourse is understood as a strategic deployment of pragma-linguistic devices, including metaphors, to foreground the representations of socio-political reality that are compatible with the interests of the news outlet rather than those that inform public debate. It is argued that coercion can be exposed through systematic discourse analysis. Methodologically, the study aims to integrate the cognitive and pragmatic approaches to metaphor in regarding it as both a conceptual building block of news representations and a strategic framing device in news discourse. A quantitative and qualitative analysis of a sample of metaphors excerpted from a corpus of 400 most-read headlines from one of the most visited English-language newspaper site The Daily Mail is conducted to illustrate such coercive applications of metaphor as simplification, imaging, animalization, confrontation, (de)legitimization, emotionalization, and dramatization, clipped forms and conventional puns, headlines have also been researched in terms of, for example, their potential to construct newsworthiness (Bednarek and Caple 2012), and for their sensationalizing capacity⁵.

⁴Katarzyna Molek-Kozakowska. Coercive metaphors in news headlines: a cognitive-pragmatic approach. *Brno Studies in English*. Volume 40, No. 1, 2014. ISSN 0524-6881

⁵Katarzyna Molek-Kozakowska. Coercive metaphors in news headlines: a cognitive-pragmatic approach. *Brno Studies in English*. Volume 40, No. 1, 2014. ISSN 0524-6881

Metaphor is not only a cognitive but also pragmatic phenomenon, since its perlocutionary effects and felicitous uses are as important to study as its embodied bases or cognitive structuring. Moreover, the stability of conventionalized metaphors is often central to pragmatically efficient interaction. The discursive reproduction of figurative representations facilitates the building and management of collectively shared mental models, which van Dijk terms “social cognition” (1998). Last but not least, with respect to news discourse particularly, there is a need not only for a description of how metaphors tend to be applied, but also for the critical interrogation of some of their ideology-laden applications. This is because, potentially, they can be used as strategic devices to reproduce social inequality in public communication.

Theoretical considerations on metaphoricity so far have concerned the pervasiveness of metaphorical thinking as a construal operation (cf. Gibbs 2008). For example, conceptual metaphor theory has been instrumental in explaining some of the cognitive (as well as affective) preferences users have for specific conventional metaphors established in the lexicon and phraseology of the English language. Some are traced back to the principles of embodied cognition, according to which our sensory perceptions, our ways of orientation in space, or our experiences of movement and balance, for example, are responsible for the structuring of our “primary” metaphors, such as MORE IS UP, SIMILAR IS CLOSE or KNOWING IS SEEING (Grady 1999). These, in turn, build our most abstract concepts, such as CAUSATION for example (Johnson 2008). Additionally, a more recent theory of metaphorical representation, blending theory (Coulson 2001; Fauconnier and Turner 2002), sees metaphor use as a more complex mechanism of merging, rather than mapping, of characteristics of at least two discursive “input spaces,” which share enough similarities (belong to the common “generic space”), to be conducive to constructing a coherent and relevant “blended space.” The theory reduces the implication of previous approaches that metaphors are largely source-driven. Blends arise as selective projections from input spaces as a result of

composition, completion or elaboration, for example. In the course of blending, new meanings can be construed “online” out of apparently random elements and still make sense through inference, implicature or contextualization. Consequently, blending theory seems to offer the perspective to move the theory of metaphor from the domain of semantics to the domain of pragmatics of discourse comprehension/production (cf. Coulson 2001; Hart 2010).

In this study we take metaphorical mapping to be a specific, relatively simple, case of metaphorical blending. Assuming that coercion through metaphor is likely to be instigated by fairly straightforward, even simplistic, representation, I expect to find more two-domain mappings than over-complex blends, particularly while investigating such a type of text as the news headline⁶.

As all other pragma-linguistic devices, metaphors are instantiated in specific discursive contexts to realize a specific pragmatic purpose. Hence, when analyzing them here, we need to bear in mind the linguistic, generic, institutional and socio-cultural allowances and constraints on metaphor use in headlines. According to Stern (2008: 262), the boundaries of the pragmatics of metaphor are set by semantics (i.e., the recourse to the literal meaning) on the one hand, and context (i.e., the constraints on ambiguity) on the other. Although activating the literal meanings of the lexical items realizing a metaphor is indispensable, the reader infers that the expression is likely to mean something beyond itself (much like in the case of demonstratives or indexicals), according to Stern (2008: 270). The context and background knowledge must be then relied upon in the process of interpretation. The pragmatic aspects of discourse, for example, speech acts, conversational maxims, recognition of mutual intentions or relevance mechanisms underlying “loose” language (approximation, substitution, category extension or narrowing), are drawn on by recipients to arrive at the emergent meaning appropriate to the given context. Since human communication is inferential, rather than based on decoding (Sperber and Wilson 2008: 87), the

⁶Katarzyna Molek-Kozakowska. Coercive metaphors in news headlines: a cognitive-pragmatic approach. *Brno Studies in English*. Volume 40, No. 1, 2014. ISSN 0524-6881

pragmatic relevance principle is likely to be in operation in metaphor comprehension, as is the case with interpretation of other types of expressions. This means that the cognitive effect of interpreting a metaphor is going to be dependent on the judgments of its relevance vis-à-vis various contextual factors (e.g., textual meta-function, communicative purpose, institutional embedding) and the processing effort involved in the interpretation. Finally, as linguistic expressions involving metaphors may be comprehended or missed, judged as correct or wrong, as well as evaluated for appropriateness, humor or beauty, metaphor seems to be very much a feature of language use that is relative to the preferences (interests) of the users. Thus when studying the coercive potential of metaphor, the analyst is positioned to assess the aptness of metaphor (e.g., against the background of other textually entrenched and contextually pre-eminent representations) in order to explain the implications of specific instantiations of conceptualizations.

In a study devoted to coercive metaphorical patterns applied in headlines, attention should be paid to the role of conventionalized metaphors, which constitute a prime example of meaning-compression devices. They are likely to function as triggers to elaborate background knowledge representations (e.g., scripts, schemata, models) and are often chosen by editors because of their “resonance” with the public. Cognitive linguists as well as relevance theorists concede that conventional metaphors, unlike original or poetic ones, tend to be processed relatively quickly and effortlessly (Coulson 2001; Lakoff 2008; Sperber and Wilson 2008), which may explain their coercive potential, already marked in some studies (cf. Goatly 2007: 40; Jeffries 2010: 21; Hart 2010: 145–167). That is why the present study explores metaphors together with their embedded presuppositions, since in a sense both are important ingredients of final representations of news items, many of which are built on the basis of verbal input that activates mostly “given,” not “new,” knowledge. It is hypothesized here that relying on conventionalized conceptualizations (as well as on easily retrievable “common” knowledge) is typical of communicators that intend to reproduce

representations by facilitating a relatively unreflective processing of verbal input. This, in turn, is one of the main mechanisms of coercion.

To problematize this kind of unreflective acceptance of mass-mediated metaphorical representations, some discourse analysts argue for a more critical scrutiny of metaphors in public communication (e.g., Charteris-Black 2005; Goatly 2007; Hart 2010; Jeffries 2010).

They advocate a type of study which, besides identifying, classifying or comparing metaphors, would also demonstrate how they help to reproduce, naturalize and legitimize specific ideologically biased representations. Some metaphors, both conventional and novel, have already been proved to work coercively when applied strategically in political discourse.

These cognitive and social effects appear to be the starker the more such metaphors are mediatized and institutionalized. To use terms drawn from relevance theory, such metaphors yield cognitive effects with minimized processing efforts. That is why henceforth we look at studies devoted to interrogating coercion via metaphor in news discourse. Literature reviewed below demonstrates the use of metaphor as a strategic framing device used to reproduce specific ideologies. First, metaphors have been exposed as a means of perpetuating racist beliefs. For example, Santa Ana (1999) reveals evidence of negative other-presentation in a metaphor **IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS** underlying the reporting of immigration issues in the U.S. and intensifying in the context of populist electioneering. Likewise, Sandikcioglu (2000) finds metaphors and metonyms that show contrasts between positive self-presentations of **WESTERNERS** epitomizing civilization, power, maturity, stability and **RATIONALITY**, and negative other-presentation of the **ORIENTALS** associated with barbarism, weakness, immaturity, instability and thus **IRRATIONALITY**.

Secondly, with respect to European politics at the turn of the twenty-first century, a range of issues related to the legitimizing function of metaphors in the press has been addressed by Musolff (2004). He notes a relative pervasiveness of “body politic” metaphors, according to which the **STATE IS A**

BODY with SOCIAL GROUPS AS BODY PARTS and various SOCIAL PROBLEMS AS DISEASES to be cured through specific POLICIES AS REMEDIES. Such “medicalized” representations of official policies may effectively displace oppositional proposals. Subsequently, many CDA studies have focused on the rhetoric of immigration discourse (e.g., Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Richardson 2007; Hart 2010). Specifically, Charteris-Black (2006) evidences the surge in instances of conceptualizations of BRITAIN AS A CONTAINER in right-wing discourse, and the use of such metaphor for the legitimizing of anti-immigration policies. This is compatible with earlier findings by Lakoff (2002) that right-wing political solutions seem to be represented and justified morally by virtue of fitting in with a popular STRICT PARENTS schema, while liberal ones tend to be accepted by those who favour the NURTURANT PARENT imagery.

An important area of consideration with regard to coercive discursive strategies is the role of myths, symbols and metaphors in sustaining cultural hegemony. Some media-oriented work has been done on cross-cultural dimensions of metaphorical mappings. For example, Fabiszak (2007) in her diachronic corpus-based analysis of print war coverage in Poland and Britain shows how the similar metaphorical representations of war tend to be pervasively used by the press to debase and vilify the enemy (ENEMY IS AN ANIMAL), euphemize war brutality (WAR IS THEATRE/GAME), and legitimize warfare (WAR IS CLEANING), despite cultural and ideological differences. In fact, Kovecses (2005) discusses both variability and universality of some metaphorical representations arguing that what needs to be further scrutinized in metaphor research is not only the universally shared embodied experience that is the major source of metaphorical mappings, but also the language- and culture-specific contexts and discontinuities that induce unique conceptualizations. It is important, thus, to nuance analyses rather than to emphasize findings that confirm the cross-cultural similarities of metaphorical cognition: metaphors may have similar cognitive bases, but fairly varied discursive

realizations. Acknowledging that is quite important in the era of media globalization and conglomeration, with likely dominance of Anglo-American cultural representations. For example, it has been demonstrated that the “aggressive” capitalist business model is ideologically and morally legitimized in business media through a cluster of “evolutionary struggle” (e.g., FIGHTING, FEEDING, MATING) representations with respect to business mergers and acquisitions (Koller 2005). Likewise, Herrera Soler’s (2008) analysis of metaphors in English/Spanish corpus of business magazine headlines shows a common metaphorical basis for DOING BUSINESS in terms of A CYCLE OF LIFE, with input from plant and animal world, natural phenomena and human activity to represent the mechanisms of trading, competition, economic growth, recession or profit making. This kind of conceptualization may result in the ultimate legitimization of some business practices, which are projected as natural and inevitable rather than as ideologically invested.

Although the above review by no means does justice to the extensive and growing body of research on metaphor in both theoretical and empirical strands of discourse studies, we hope to have shown some of the dimensions of the interplay between the cognitive aspects of metaphorical representation and the pragmatic, even coercive, applications thereof in media discourse. To reiterate, this overview was designed to revisit the conceptual framework of metaphor research, together with the shifting disciplinary preoccupations therein, and the mutual correspondences between cognitive and pragmatic analytic apparatuses. All this was to show how and why metaphor ought to be approached critically as a potentially coercive category in news discourse⁷.

1.6. Illustrating the use of coercive metaphors in headlines

1. Sample and procedure

Headline style has long been a subject of scrutiny within both media studies and discourse studies for its peculiarities in linguistic structure, its potential for

⁷Katarzyna Molek-Kozakowska. Coercive metaphors in news headlines: a cognitive-pragmatic approach. *Brno Studies in English*. Volume 40, No. 1, 2014. ISSN 0524-6881

framing, keying or priming of interpretations, its role in collecting attention and its implications for coercion (Bell 1991; Richardson 2007; Herrera Soler 2008; Bednarek and Caple 2012; Molek-Kozakowska 2013).

The headlines are coded for non-literal expressions by three coders (a researcher in linguistics, a graduate student and myself), by means of such criteria as register incongruity, word class incongruity, or collocation incongruity, and subsequently extrapolated to their conceptual mappings.

However, instead of taking the maximalist approach to identification of metaphorical usages on the basis of the meaning of individual lexical units (cf. Pragglejaz Group 2007), we focus on contextual and co-textual meanings of multiword units. We took metaphors mostly to be represented by relations between collocates whose literal meanings did not apply in the given context. Further on, we excluded overt similes/comparisons, classical idioms (unless their phraseology was significantly modified and thus a new meaning was created), phrasal verbs and lexical units whose basic meaning has been rivaled by a conventionalized metaphor (e.g., “to see something” meaning “to know something”).

Note that we did not attempt to count all instantiations of metaphorical meanings, since, as can be seen in the examples below, a metaphor could transpire throughout the headline via various phraseological combinations. Within the sample we subsequently marked (i) creative/novel metaphorical units and (ii) conventional metaphors – fixed collocations that border on idiomaticity (e.g., “to struggle with poverty”) and which are found in dictionaries (e.g., Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners) and through corpus searches.

As regards identifying the pragmatic applications of metaphors for a subsequent critical analysis, the discourse function of identified figures (coercive or not) was determined in the course of a focus group discussion between 12 graduate linguistics students and myself. Most conventional metaphors were judged to have been used for purely representational or explicatory purposes. However, some of the headlines included metaphors which were assessed to

have a potential to conjure up ideologically charged representations. The following section is a qualitative analysis of fifteen selected headlines featuring the metaphors the focus group recognized as potentially coercive (by agreeing that they unduly distorted the issue covered). It offers a critical interpretation of exemplars of coercive strategies realized by metaphorical expressions. The fifteen highly-ranked exemplars represent various coercive strategies, which could be labelled here as simplification (reducing a complex entity to a simple one), imaging (using primary image schemata for abstract entities), animalization(mapping animal attributes onto humans), confrontation (presenting interpersonal relations/stakeholders' interests as inherently oppositional and conflict-laden), (de)legitimization (adding to or reducing the value of something by means of representing it as a more/less positive entity), emotionalization (drawing from affect-laden source domains), and dramatization (mapping routine processes/entities onto extreme/superlative ones).

Simplification of metaphorical patterns of headline style

It should not come as a surprise that some of the most common metaphorical patterns of headline style derive from the preferences for mapping the embodied physical experience onto the abstract political and social reality. This is a useful device to project an unknown and complex situation in terms of, for example, a fairly straightforward spatial schema arrangement. The following headline draws on the shared experience of unobstructed movement, as opposed to blockage, and of the use of various degrees of force to open containers/passage (all italics added).

(1) We would use force to keep Gulf open: Hammond warns Iran not to block key oil route: Defence Secretary warned Tehran regime that UK will not tolerate the 'very significant consequences' of a threat to block the Strait of Hormuz.

Not surprisingly, openness is often metaphorized as accessibility and evaluated positively (viz. open-access resources), while blockage, in many contexts, is associated with obstruction of movement that normally should be

continued. The presupposition introduced with the active verb *warn* activates a script in which Iran had already blocked or is now blocking the navigation in the Gulf. Moreover, in the headline, quite conventionally, metonymy (Teheran for Iranian government officials) and personification (the UK as a political decision-maker/military agent) are resorted to, to present the diplomatic tensions as an interpersonal conflict – a verbal ARGUMENT verging on physical confrontation complete with warnings and threats. It can be observed that this kind of metaphoricity is typical of newspaper headlines that simplify and dramatize issues; however, another potential coercive effect of such metaphor choice consists in reproducing and sustaining the ideology of inherent political conflict and cultural polarization between “us” and “them,” as represented by WESTERNERS and EASTERNERS. This, incidentally, is primed with the ambiguous initial personal pronoun *we*. More on confrontational framing through metaphors is below.

Another insidious way of simplifying the issue is to project a complex political controversy in terms of a choice of whether with us or against us. In the following headline, a breach in the conservative party discipline is conceptualized as REVOLT or REBELLION:

(2) *The great gay marriage revolt: 118 Tory MPs set to defy Cameron and trigger biggest Tory party rebellion in modern times.*

With this kind of projection, one can wonder whether democratic deliberation, diversity of stances and subsequent consensus-seeking are still to be practised, or if the ruling political force is predicated on uniform obedience to an authoritarian leader. Calling any form of opposition to the party leader as “rebellion/revolt” implies a highly regrettable situation in which all attempts at rational argumentation have failed and no concessions can be envisioned any longer. In addition the words have strong unpleasant associations with violent military conflict and physical destruction, which construct newsworthiness through Negativity (Bednarek and Caple 2012). Unquestionably, such headlines sell papers, but they tend to cancel the idea of

multi-party deliberation and consensus-seeking as the essence of democracy in the public mind and reduce politics to a for-or-against power game.

Imaging metaphors

The use of universally shared image schemata and embodied metaphors is not restricted to the coverage of abstract political processes and decisions. In fact, it comes very handy in scientific accounts of new discoveries and inventions as well. For example, the dramatic import of the recent findings about the receding mental competence that comes with aging is intensified with metaphorical expressions pertaining to MOVEMENT DOWNWARD, as in:

(3) How the brain starts going downhill at 45: Scientists find mental decline sets in much earlier than they had thought: British men and women suffer the same 3.6 per cent loss between the ages of 45–49. Whilst older men aged 65–70 fare worse with a 9.6 per cent drop in comparison with the 7.4 for their female counterparts.

The negatively evaluated image schema of MOVEMENT DOWNWARD is instantiated in (3) through such verb and noun phrases as “going downhill,” “a decline sets in,” “fare” or “a drop.” Its recurrent application, coupled with the strategy of using numbers and percentage figures for credibility, intensifies the dramatic effect of visualization of gradual brain LOSS.

In addition, the two presupposition triggers – the initially placed pronoun “how,” and the comparative expression “much earlier” – make it a scientific “fact” that, after they turn 45, the majority of people are not nearly as mentally fit as they used to be. This may be true in some cases, but here the process of mental incapacitation is projected not only as universal but also as SNOWBALLING, particularly with the visualization of ever quicker “downhill” roll.

Arguably, an insidious social consequence of such a coercive presentation of the results of a relatively mundane piece of scientific research is that it can give substance to the ideology behind the discriminatory practices of ageism.

Imaging an abstract entity or a process is rarely innocent or detached from the ideological stance of the imager. The powerful effect of imaging the invisible via a marked way of metaphorization can be noticed in the following headline (all italics added):

(4) Britain will be ‘swamped’ by TB unless high-risk immigrants are routinely given blood tests, experts warn.

Despite the use of inverted commas (scare quotes) that are supposed to show the publishers’ distance to the used phrase, the psychological effect of imaging an influx of infected immigrants in terms of a destructive and uncontrollable NATURAL DISASTER has been achieved. This is congruent with extant schemata of immigration projected through CONTAINER and LIQUID metaphor formulas (Charteris-Black 2006; Hart 2010). The negative conceptualization of immigration is reinforced: lexically by the fairly unspecific modifier “high-risk,” syntactically by the conditional structure that leaves Britain with no alternatives, and rhetorically by the recourse to (unspecified) expert sources. Such images are likely to perpetuate stereotypes of immigrants as backward (infected with a disease that has allegedly been eliminated in the First World), irresponsible (not likely to be even aware of their condition unless forced by law to take a blood test), and dangerous (inflicting an epidemic on the British). It can be hypothesized that the coercive effect of imaging immigrants in a stereotyped manner, which is congruent with media outlets’ profit-seeking through sensationalist coverage, has been achieved here relatively effortlessly.

Animalization metaphors

The presentation of human qualities and behaviours by comparing them to animals is a figurative device found in various domains of discourse, from poetry to medicine (for politics, cf. Chovanec 2010). Animalization metaphors have also been found in the Daily Mail’s corpus of headlines, for example when an institution/organization is represented as a “watchdog,” and is thus

likely to incorruptibly scrutinize public policies, or when a politician is qualified as a “hawk” and thus likely to enact tougher policies than other officials.

However, a case that is far more coercive is a tendency to represent (alleged) CRIMINALS AS ANIMALS (i.e., not ‘fully’human):

(5) Federalagents hunt for ‘Jane Doe’ child sexabuser: Nationwide appeal to tracewoman seen in horrific internet film – and to rescue her young victim.

(6) Notorious sex offender on the run: Police issue alert as woman raped in own home by attacker who kicked the door in.

Headlines that represent (suspected) criminals as HUNTED ANIMALS are rooted in the collective memory of rural communities protecting farmyards and farm animals from predatory wolves, foxes or other pests. Alleged criminals represented in this way acquire qualities of instinctive aggressiveness, inclination towards uncontrollable violence, as well as lack of any scruples or moral principles. To complete the “HUNT” imagery, the “victims” of such “predators” are identified and public warnings issued. By implication, the police/law enforcement agencies are projected as entitled to do anything to apprehend such individuals, because scaring or chasing them away will not do. The metaphor has a coercive potential of instilling the belief that some people do not deserve to be treated humanely and no regrets would be felt if such criminals were killed “in the hunt” (which transpires in some readers’ responses and comments underneath the article).

Animalization metaphors (of evil people) may be contrasted with personifications of (innocent) animals, routinely applied in environmental and animal-rights discourse, which resonates with many Mail Online’s readers. This is exemplified by a multilayered personification (of a female orangutan) and animalization (of hunters) in the following headline:

(7) Don’t hurt my baby! Pregnant orangutan protectively hugs her daughter as ruthless Borneo bounty hunters move in for the kill.

In a way, this type of figuration caters to the feelings of cultural superiority of WESTERNERS with their awareness of animal issues and

sensitivity to imperatives of environmental protection. By the same token, some countries of the developing world, whose “primitive” economies (based on hunting) and ineffective governments let exploit the natural world and deplete biodiversity, are negatively evaluated as exceedingly “savage” and greedy.

Animalization metaphors have the coercive potential of dehumanizing the Other, and providing justification for some racist/supremacist attitudes.

Confrontation

Some discourse analysts claim that the Western culture is predicated on confrontation both in its material and symbolic dimension (Tannen 1999). Indeed, looking at many of the Daily Mail’s headlines, one could have an impression that Britain is in the constant state of waging war. This is because the WAR metaphor formula is used (abused) in the coverage of a range of issues, for example in presenting and legitimizing policies that “fight” unemployment, hospital bureaucracy, teenage crime, or currency fluctuations. Not surprisingly, studies reveal that WAR is a commonly used source domain for conceptualizing anything from internal political dissent to international diplomatic tensions, from economic competition to ethnic or cultural inconsistencies, from terrorism to drug-peddling (cf. Charteris-Black 2006; Fabiszak 2007; Goatly 2007; Hart 2010). From the following headline, we learn that there is also a “war” between Britain and the EU:

(8) Europe’s war on British justice: UK loses three out of four human rights cases, damning report reveals. Ten Tory MPs call on Prime Minister to take action. Say there is a need to ‘end rule by judges’. In 350 cases, Britain has lost 271 and been successful in only 86. Timing of report coincides with three controversial upcoming rulings. David Cameron promises to take personal charge of the issue.

Since the covered issue relates to the legal system, we can observe how two intertwined metaphorical representations of conflict are used to enhance the presentation. These are LOSING A COURT CASE IS LOSING A BATTLE and SUBJECTING BRITISH JUDICIARY TO EUROPEAN

COURT'S REVIEW IS LOSING SOVERIGNTY, which together constitute a reinforcing cluster of a sort (cf. Koller 2005). These metaphors, in turn, feed into the conceptualization of the PM as someone solely responsible for "taking charge" to prevent the British "defeat" in "the war waged" by European institutions against the British justice system.

Such kinds of WAR representations may coerce the readers into believing in inherent and long-standing antagonistic relation between Britain and the rest of Europe. This can be counted as a prime example of coercive media-sponsored misrepresentation, as historically speaking, there has not been so far a more successful political project to ensure peace and foster cooperation among disparate peoples than the European Union (despite many criticisms it receives). Apparently, this rationalization falls into oblivion if we consider the premium put on confrontation in the Western tradition. Additionally, confrontational representations perpetuate the current trend of "personalization" of politics, in which individual leaders are assigned praise or blame for larger processes and unpredictable developments that are usually beyond their control (cf. Fowler 1991). Needless to say, such a simplistically personalized portrayal of politics is championed by popular media, purportedly to make citizens more involved in political issues. However, personalization of politics, unless confronted critically, may be ultimately detrimental to a democratic public sphere.

Emotionalization

Popular news media outlets achieve the impression of relevance and importance of their coverage by resorting to emotionalization.

Admittedly, much of the news coverage on any given day does and should engage readers emotionally, but in some circumstances certain emotional reactions are artificially generated by newscasters, either to align the readers with their own interests, or to displace rational arguments in the public debate. This is understood here as coercive emotionalization and, as shown below, it is sometimes realized via metaphorical patterning. In our sample, the strategy seems to be implemented most often with the aid of representations drawn from such

affect-laden domains of experience as finance and health. Linguistically, emotionalization may also be realized through emotivity in lexical choice (Bednarek and Caple 2012), the use of attributions, stylistic and register shifts, syntactic parallelism and textual highlighting. Most of them are evident in the following example:

(12) *IMF 'to boost bailout fund to \$1TRILLION' as World Bank slashes growth forecast and warns of return to 2008/09 downturn: British taxpayers could face footing part of bill: (...) World Bank slashes global growth forecast from 3.6% to 2.5%. Warns 'Europe is probably already in recession'. 'If euro debt crisis escalates, global growth will be 4% points lower'. Cash-strapped Greece to rent out ancient ruins to pay for their upkeep.*

The announcement of the planned increase in IMF's reserve funds covered here is followed by a sequence of disparate estimates, warnings and speculations. Hyperboles are not uncommon, with what is metaphorically dubbed as a "slash" in "growth forecasts" actually amounting to a reduction by 4% at most, but probably by just 1.1%. The macro-economic predictions, some expressed in consonance-marked jargon (e.g., warn of return to downturn), are juxtaposed with home-budget vocabulary (e.g., "footing the bill," "cash-strapped," pay for upkeep). One of the "unfair" presuppositions, reinforced by further logical inferences, is that ultimately the British taxpayer will be forced to pay for the excessive European debts in the encroaching recession. This misrepresentation may be coerced through the confusing terminology: reduced growth is still growth, not recession. Yet, the readers of such convoluted headlines are likely to assimilate the information presented in the emotionalized home-budget vocabulary, not the economists' jargon and confusing numbers. What is interesting from the perspective of this study is that this headline uses a conventionalized metaphor in its central presupposition, namely it takes it for granted that economic GROWTH (a metaphorical transfer from the domain of nature) is an indispensable feature of the thriving capitalist system. Paradoxically, the conventionalized metaphor is so deeply entrenched and so generally accepted

that we no longer ask what would happen if a living organism continued to grow indefinitely. This might also explain why an alternative discourse – that of sustainable development, rather than unstoppable growth – is backgrounded by the press.

Emotionalization is achieved not only through commonly used explicit references to emotion (“fear,” “horror,” “surprise”), but also by an aggregation of affect-instigating metaphorical patterns:

(13) Manufacturing slowdown and lower exports heighten fear of a triple-dip recession.

Relying on extant studies (e.g., Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Krzeszowski 1997; Grady 1999), it is assumed here that orientational schemata and MOVEMENT metaphors are tied to certain positive or negative evaluations. Here, the readers’ anxiety about the state of the British economy may have been raised by a consistent reliance of imagery that is oriented DOWN and DOWNWARDS (e.g., “slowdown,” “lower,” “dip”). This is compounded by pejorative associations of such concepts as unwelcome “slowness,” sudden and unexpected downward movement entailed in a “dip,” or the imaging of diminishing amount or backward movement inherent in “receding.” On the whole, it can be observed that business and economic news featured on the Daily Mail’s website tend to be marked by artificially contrived affectivity and exaggeration.

Dramatization

It is not uncommon for popular press to dramatize coverage to increase circulation. Our sample demonstrates that the Daily Mail is likely to use metaphorical lexical patterns (mainly exaggerations resulting from incongruous collocations) for that purpose as well, for example to sensationalize Christmas party season as “carnage,” a work dismissal as “claiming the scalp,” a court case as a “battle,” or road repairs as “chaos.” Another example is (all italics added):

(14) Cosmetic face filler timebomb: Doctors call for crackdown over rising toll of women scarred by botched skin treatments.

The dramatic announcement in the headline above represents a certain kind of aesthetic procedure – injecting a face filler – as nothing short of life-threatening. The words “toll” and “bomb” enable the readers to construct a mental image of an explosive device that, when placed under skin tissue by an incompetent practitioner, is likely to “go off” and kill or maim the patient at some point in time. (This might also be considered as an example of the strategy of coercive imaging discussed above.) None of this is true, but the effect of constructing an attention-grabbing coverage has been achieved. Interestingly, the Daily Mail itself had conducted the survey of “plastic surgeons’ opinions”, even though its results are generalized as representative of the current state of knowledge. Paradoxically, instead of losing credibility by dramatizing the issue out of proportions, the outlet can actually be credited with voicing a warning about the dangers of the filler treatment, despite naming only one patient who complained about the procedure. Due to the use of metaphors as primary vehicles for drama, the outlet avoids accusations of publicizing incorrect information. As a result, such headlines may coerce the readers into treating the outlet as a trustworthy institution whose interests are aligned with the interests of the general public and stay loyal to it, believing that its alarmist speculations are legitimate warnings.

Since the domains of PHYSICAL WELL-BEING and FINANCIAL STABILITY are so productive, let us close the analysis by examining a headline whose (fairly conventional) metaphoricity may have interesting political and cultural implications. In example (15), and in accordance with the confrontational pattern identified above, a distinction is made between the “healthy” financial situation in the UK, as opposed to the “critical condition” of some of the Eurozone members. The medical parallels in the economic coverage are relatively conventionalized, and presumably do not call for too high processing efforts, as every reader is likely to be familiar with perceptions of well-being on the one hand, and indisposition, pain and various symptoms of common diseases on the other. The following headline, reporting on the annual economic

summit in Davos, features a similar metaphor of currency value ratings and investment risk estimates being conceptualized in terms of HEALTH HAZARDS (all italics added):

(15) ‘At least we’ve our own currency’: Prince Andrew pokes fun at EU nations suffering from collapse of euro: Duke of York said foreign firms should invest in Britain as ‘unlike other Euro nations it is open for business’.

It can be deduced from the salient metaphorical conceptualization here that some nations have irresponsibly consented to “having their currency replaced” with euro in a botched OPERATION, which led to their new currency’s “collapse” and caused the nations’ subsequent “suffering.” The coercive implication of this metaphorical pattern is that it may be potentially extended to imply ideologically invested claims. One of them is that these nations are now “convalescing” and thus “closed” to business and investment. Actually, economic stimulation through investment is what those nations need very badly now and, in the end, Britain (as represented by its elites) is exposed as wanting to exploit their misfortune to maximize its own gains.

CONCLUSION

This study was designed to show some of the coercive functions that metaphor can be put to in newspaper headlines. To generalize, let us repeat that most metaphors in headlines are relatively conventionalized mappings, blends, or even clusters used for representational and explicatory purposes. These figures need to be fairly stable and easily retrievable for popular press consumers who appreciate positive cognitive effects at relatively low processing efforts, to use relevance theoretic terms. However, on closer inspection, some figurative devices may have far-reaching consequences for framing the readers’ interpretations

of covered issues, and, in the long run, transforming their mental models of elements of socio-political reality.

This is what we assume to be the coercive potential of metaphor in this study.

The majority of coercive metaphors discussed here was sourced from embodied experience (e.g., the CONTAINER or MOVEMENT image schemata) and recruited universally shared “primary” metaphors, which ascribe stable evaluations to common mappings (e.g., DOWNWARD MOVEMENT IS BAD). The recurrence and salience of metaphors pertaining to relatively well-known domains of experience, such as ARGUMENT, WAR, HUNT, PROTECTION, GROWTH, HEALTH, FINANCE is notable. The choice of metaphors in headlines was demonstrated to be functionally related to the purpose of simplifying issues, (including stereotyping of ethnic groups), imaging complex and unique abstract processes in terms of general schemata, dehumanizing individuals by attributing animal properties to them, polarizing social/national groups, legitimizing or delegitimizing political solutions, emotionalizing economic issues, or dramatizing relatively trivial coverage.

The coercive function of metaphors, as shown here, can consist in producing ideology-laden cognitive effects, some of which amount to stereotyping, perpetuating discriminatory or nationalistic attitudes, distorting political and economic issues, or engendering the negative feelings of anxiety, resentment, fear or blame. However, it needs to be stressed that metaphor is coercive inasmuch as recipients accept the instantiated conceptualization as apt or felicitous for example when they activate a matching frame, say of REFORM as something that hurts rather than helps, of police investigation as a HUNT, or of GROWTH that is desirable at all times rather than only to a certain extent. Arguably, highly conventionalized metaphors hinder reflective critical questioning of such representation, so they need to be spotlighted first of all to raise awareness of coercion. In addition, coercive metaphors are those that entail presuppositions and involve evaluations that are hard to challenge, for example that some criminals are not fully human, that the members of a political party should

agree with the leader, that the British welfare state has disintegrated, or that confrontation is the typical relation between nations/cultures. Importantly, it was also shown that metaphors and other devices (labels, collocations, presuppositions, nominalizations, modifiers and qualifiers, syntactic structures) in given headlines may reinforce each other to produce coherence that is central to the effect of naturalization of coercive representations. In newspapers, this work has tried to present the syntactic and semantic features of metaphor in newspapers. From the result of data analysis, we can have the conclusion as follows:

Semantically, it's easy for us to recognize the examples of metaphor in traditional view, because they are often used based on the association of similarity. In contrast, although they are also used in every daily activities of life, metaphors in the examples in contemporary view are difficult to realize due to the fact that we just recognize the instances of metaphor that derived from the original conceptualized model of metaphor. This is because it is easier to focus on the individual cases of similarity which triggers the hearer's association of the similarity for the hidden comparison whereas the language users can employ and understand the derived cases of conceptual metaphor but fail to trace back to the original one where they have to carry out a mapping from source domain to target one, i.e. from the metaphorical word or image (target) by which the implied idea or the hidden subject of the comparison is conveyed.

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