

Metaphor Clusters, Metaphor Chains: Analyzing the Multifunctionality of Metaphor in Text

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Abstract

This paper applies Halliday's (1994) theory of the interpersonal, ideational and textual meta-functions of language to conceptual metaphor. Starting from the observation that metaphoric expressions tend to be organized in chains across texts, the question is raised what functions those expressions serve in different parts of a text as well as in relation to each other. The empirical part of the article consists of the sample analysis of a business magazine text on marketing. This analysis is two-fold, integrating computer-assisted quantitative investigation with qualitative research into the organization and multifunctionality of metaphoric chains as well as the cognitive scenarios evolving from those chains. The paper closes by summarizing the main insights along the lines of the three Hallidayan meta-functions of conceptual metaphor and suggesting functional analysis of metaphor at levels beyond that of text.

Im vorliegenden Artikel wird Hallidays (1994) Theorie der interpersonellen, ideellen und textuellen Metafunktion von Sprache auf das Gebiet der konzeptuellen Metapher angewandt. Ausgehend von der Beobachtung, dass metaphorische Ausdrücke oft in textumspannenden Ketten angeordnet sind, wird der Frage nachgegangen, welche Funktionen diese Ausdrücke in verschiedenen Teilen eines Textes und in Bezug aufeinander erfüllen. Der empirische Teil der Arbeit besteht aus der exemplarischen Analyse eines Artikels aus einem Wirtschaftsmagazin zum Thema Marketing. Diese Analyse gliedert sich in zwei Teile und verbindet computergestützte quantitative Forschung mit einer qualitativen Untersuchung der Anordnung und Multifunktionalität von Metaphernketten sowie der kognitiven Szenarien, die aus diesen Ketten entstehen. Der Aufsatz schließt mit einer Zusammenfassung der wesentlichen Ergebnisse im Licht der Hallidayschen Metafunktionen konzeptueller Metaphern und gibt einen Ausblick auf eine funktionale Metaphernanalyse, die über die rein textuelle Ebene hinausgeht.

1. Introduction

Goatly (1997:4) notes that "linguists [...] of the functional Hallidayan tradition have found metaphor difficult to integrate with their theories". This claim is corroborated by the scant attention critical linguists and critical discourse analysts have paid to metaphor. Although Fairclough, e.g., notes that metaphor can help to convey ideology (1989:119; 1995a:74; 1995b:94), he elsewhere announces to focus on "relatively superficial linguistic features of vocabulary and metaphor" (1995b:70). This suggests that metaphor is here reduced to its linguistic realization at the expense of its cognitive force. Likewise, Fowler (1987 [1996]:11) views metaphor solely in the light of literary criticism. Given this general disregard for metaphor in critical accounts of language and the disregard for its role in structuring cognitive models in particular, Kress' acknowledgement of metaphor as ubiquitous and of vital importance in both linguistic and cognitive activity (1989:72) represents the exception rather than the rule.

Yet, Goatly's statement captures only half of the truth: Vice versa, Lakovian metaphor researchers often seem hesitant to critically address functions of metaphor beyond the

cognitive. Ironically, it was Lakoff himself, who, in his and Johnson's seminal work, observed that "metaphors [...] highlight and make coherent certain aspects of our experience [...] metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities" (1980:156), thereby hinting at metaphor's role in constituting social identities and relations. As perhaps an indication of a broader paradigm shift from social to natural sciences (but see Mateas/Sengers 2003), discussion of the socio-cultural aspects of metaphor seem to have waned in cognitive semantics ever since, giving way to more neuro-physiologically inspired accounts (Lakoff/Johnson 1999:569-583). Blending theory, too, has but little to say on the functions of metaphor beyond the cognitive. Grady/Oakley/Coulson, e.g., state that "what started out [...] as some individual's [...] conceptual achievement has become a shared, entrenched conceptualization, presumably because the blend proved successful *for some purpose*" (1999:para.33; emphasis added). Exceptions to this rule of overlooking the social and textual impact of metaphor include Eubanks (2000) and Goatly himself (1997).

The present paper follows up on the latter's attempts at venturing beyond metaphor's cognitive impact. I will, in the following, focus on the various functions metaphor has at the level of text. Apart from applying the three meta-functions of language as identified by Halliday (1994) to metaphor, I will also briefly discuss how these functions impact on text, discourse and the wider socio-cultural sphere, as well as on cognition. In line with my main focus, however, I will concentrate on investigating metaphor at the textual level. After outlining these theoretical considerations, I will then present the quantitative and qualitative methodology I employed for my sample text: While the initial quantitative research was conducted with the help of a concordancing program, subsequent qualitative forays into the text centre on the functions of metaphoric expressions as they play out in chains across the text, the cognitive scenarios that evolve from those chains and the way those are supported by grammatical parameters such as aspect and trajectory. In the subsequent sample analysis of a business magazine text on marketing I will then apply the previously outlined methods to demonstrate how they can help implement the initial theoretical account. The paper closes by summarizing the main insights gained from the sample analysis in the light of the three Hallidayan meta-functions of metaphor.

2. Theoretical framework

In the following, I will discuss how Halliday's (1994) account of the meta-functions of language can be applied to metaphor. (In order to avoid confusion it should be noted that the

term "metaphor" does not refer to Hallidayan grammatical metaphor here, but to *conceptual* metaphor.) Halliday (1978:113; 1994:179) distinguishes between the following three meta-functions of language: In its interpersonal function, language serves to constitute and negotiate social identities and relations. At the level of the clause, this function results in the clause being "organized as an interactive event [in which] the speaker adopts for himself a particular speech role, and in doing so assigns to the listener a complementary role which he wishes him to adopt in his turn" (Halliday 1994:68). Applied to conceptual metaphor, this view entails that metaphor-as-exchange functions to construct the position of text producer and text recipient, the relations between them as well as an ideal reading. To proceed, language seen as an ideational device conveys representational meaning, thus helping to construct reality from a particular viewpoint. (Please note that for the sake of simplicity, the ideational function has, contrary to Halliday [1994:179], not been sub-divided into an experiential and a logical function.) It is probably this interpretation of language and, in our particular case, metaphor as representation that first comes to the mind of the metaphor researcher in the cognitive tradition. Finally, the textual function of language is defined as "creating relevance to context" (Halliday 1994:36), or providing cohesion to a text. Applied to metaphor, this final function pertains to its linguistic reflection as metaphoric expression. Metaphor as message thus exhibits "some form of organization giving it the status of a communicative event" (Halliday 1994:37). In the following, I will demonstrate that metaphoric expressions in text are most prominently organized in chains.

To illustrate the above tenets, let us consider the following example taken from a business magazine text on mergers and acquisitions:

"But with so many different corporate cultures spread across so much space, should investors fear indigestion?" 'We don't digest them; we integrate them,' says CFO Muller" (Chen 2000).

In its interpersonal function, the metaphoric expression *we integrate them* here helps the speaker to distance himself from his interlocutor by using a different metaphor. Interviewer and interviewee are thus negotiating about how to metaphorically construct the topic at hand, thus actualizing the ideational function of metaphor. (Implicitly, the CFO is of course also trying to deliver a particular message to investors.) Hybrid and conflicting texts are by no means equivalent to incoherent ones, and the above metaphoric expression, which explicitly negates the preceding expression, therefore fulfils its textual function by providing cohesion to this short metaphoric chain.

Given the present focus on the textual function of metaphor, it may be worthwhile having a closer look at the systemic-functional view of text. According to that view, text is "actualized meaning potential" (Halliday 1978:109), a syntagmatic chain of slots to be filled with paradigmatic choices. What fillers are chosen depends as much on the text producer's perceived identity as discourse participant (e.g., as a senior writer for a leading magazine) as it does on the goals s/he wishes to achieve with that particular choice (e.g., questioning a particular metaphoric construction of marketing as harmful, making their text entertaining) and on her/his anticipation of reader response (e.g., critical reflection, favourable attitude towards the magazine). These mechanisms determining the choice of fillers again reflect the interpersonal, ideational and textual functions (see also Chouliaraki/Fairclough 1999:116). Slots can be lexical, grammatical or stylistic, with all three simultaneously calling for semantic choices as well. The decision about filling particular text slots with particular metaphoric expressions is reminiscent of what Lakoff/Johnson (1980:10-13) refer to as the highlighting and hiding effect of metaphor: By virtue of metaphor mapping only some characteristics of the source domain, these are highlighted at the expense of others when metaphorically conceptualizing a topic. Metaphor usage thus helps to anticipate and to some extent determine readers' understanding of that topic. More recently, Fauconnier/Turner (2002:114) have referred to that phenomenon as syncopation, meaning that blending as a compression tool is likely to involve only particular features from the input spaces. It should be noted that metaphoric blends are syncopated by definition, choosing only a few characteristics too fill syntagmatic slots in texts.

According to critical discourse analysts, texts are produced, distributed, and received and interpreted according to discourse practice. That in turn has to be seen in a mutually constitutive relationship with the prevailing wider socio-cultural or socio-economic practice (Fairclough 1995a:98). Following van Dijk (1993:257-258; 2001), discourse practice will impact on both personal and social cognition (e.g., by fostering particular metaphoric constructions of groups) while cognitive models are re-instantiated in discourse practice. For the sake of our argument, it should be noted that the textual function of metaphor is, obviously, realized at the level of text, while its ideational function can best be traced in the cognitive dimension. Metaphor as an interpersonal device is slightly more complex, being inscribed in both discourse practice and the wider socio-cultural domain surrounding it. Although the analysis below will concentrate on the text level, it should be kept in mind that the insights from it could, *mutatis mutandis*, also be applied to the other levels.

First, however, let us see what methods can be used to apply the above theoretical framework to concrete textual examples.

3. Method

The text reproduced in the appendix (Einhorn 2000) was taken from the 160,000+ corpus of magazine texts on marketing that I used in my Ph.D. thesis (Koller 2003). Its high density and variety of metaphoric tokens made it particularly suitable for demonstrating how a systemic-functional paradigm can be employed in metaphor analysis. That analysis can be sub-divided into a quantitative and a qualitative part, each of which is outlined below.

As the text was available in machine-readable format, the quantitative investigation was carried out with the help of the concordancing function of WordSmith Tools 3.0. As I was only interested in particular metaphors that I assumed would be over-represented in texts on marketing (WAR, SPORTS and GAMES); I first drew up word lists with lexemes from these three domains (e.g., *combative, match, to gamble*). In a first step, I then ran these words through the concordancer to attest their frequency and manually check whether they occurred metaphorically. After having thus attested the pre-defined metaphoric tokens, I recontextualized my findings in order to avoid looking only at the "static abstraction [and] decontextualized language" (Widdowson 2000:7) of isolated concordance lines. The concordancer allows for such recontextualization at two levels, by either showing the immediate co-text of 25 words left and right of the search word or "node", or the maximized co-text of about 400 words surrounding that node. Often, it was only with the help of the wider semantic environment that I could decide whether an occurrence of the search word was indeed a metaphoric token. In line with my research question of how metaphoric expressions are organized across a text, I concluded the quantitative analysis by looking at metaphor clusters. To that end, I manually tagged the attested metaphoric tokens and ran a second search for those tags only. WordSmith Tools allows for cluster representation through its so-called dispersion plot function. A screenshot of the sample text's dispersion plot is provided in the appendix, with each vertical line representing one metaphoric expression in a single given text. Apart from showing where in the text the relevant metaphoric expressions occur, the dispersion plot also provides information on (left to right) title of the document, number of words in that text, number of occurrences of the tag searched for and the proportionate number of such hits per 1,000 words. According to what element of the text has been tagged, the dispersion plot can be sub-divided to show only specific metaphoric

expressions, as in the sample reproduced in the appendix. This first graphic representation of metaphor organization across the text then served as the starting point for qualitative analysis.

On the basis of the dispersion plot, I would then look at where in the text metaphoric expressions tend to cluster and what functions they have in the different slots. At a macro-level, clusters at the beginning of a text actualize the ideational function of metaphor by introducing the topic as defined by a particular metaphor. Such an initial cognitive representation helps to "set the agenda" the author has in mind when writing the text. Metaphor bundles in mid-text, on the other hand, rather realize an interpersonal function by arguing the author's case, thus reflecting the intrinsically argumentative nature of journalistic texts most directly. Finally, metaphor clusters towards the end of the text work interpersonally as well: By helping authors to re-instantiate and reinforce their particular metaphoric constructions and thus "drive the point home" to their readers, metaphors with end weight very much serve a persuasive function. In this context, the textual function of metaphor is not confined to any particular section of the text but can best be seen as cutting across the three macroslots just discussed.

Next, the question arises as to whether metaphoric tokens function differently when employed by different speakers. It is one of the particularities of media discourse that its analysis will always have to take two distinct but interdependent levels into account, namely the secondary discourse of journalism and the primary discourse on which journalists report and comment. In doing so, chunks of text from primary discourse will be integrated into journalistic text, making the latter a hybrid collage of various original and recontextualized components. Indeed, the question of "[w]hat genres, voices and discourses are drawn upon, and how [they are] articulated together" (Fairclough 1995b:202) is one of the central issues in any functional analysis of media text. In the above example (Chen 2000), e.g., the two interlocutors clearly differ with regard to metaphor usage, indicating a certain level of tension between primary and secondary discourse.

Third, the function of metaphoric tokens across chains is another focal point of interest. According to Kyratzis (1997), metaphoric expressions can relate to each other in various ways at this micro-level: Not only can metaphoric expressions elaborate on and extend each other, but they can, on the other hand, also question or, as I would add, even negate each other. Further, Kyratzis mentions that the constituents of metaphoric chains can also meet an exemplifying or generalizing function with regard to each other. In addition, Eubanks (2000) draws attention to the fact that metaphoric tokens can be mutually attenuating or intensifying.

To complete this taxonomy, it should be kept in mind that metaphoric expressions also often simply echo each other across chains. By means of such accumulation, echoing can have an intensifying function just as metaphoric expressions extending or elaborating on each other can. Opposed to that, a certain level of generalization often serves to attenuate a particular metaphor as the latter is being carried forward through a text. Regardless of the particular functions they show, micro-level metaphoric chains are instrumental in instantiating the textual function of metaphor by providing cohesion to the macroslots of beginning, middle and end.

It is by dint of such metaphoric chains that the text gives rise to particular cognitive scenarios. In a final step, I will briefly look at whether these metaphoric representations of the topic and the events addressed by the article are supported by grammatical parameters such as tense (past, present, future), aspect (predecessive, progressive, successive) and trajectory or manner of action (e.g., completive, tentative, intensive or durative) (Beaugrande 1997:198). It could for instance be argued that an overall dynamic cognitive scenario would likely be reinforced by an overall emphasis on progressive aspect and pronounced use of durative trajectory.

I shall now turn to the analysis of a sample text to illustrate how the methods outlined above can be combined to gain insights relating to my theoretical framework.

4. Sample analysis

As can be seen from its reproduction in the appendix, the sample text (Einhorn 2000) consists of two parts, namely the body of the text (lines 1-81) and an executive summary for the busy reader (lines 82-93). In the following, I will focus on the main part of the article, with line numbers from the summary being given in square brackets. As mentioned above, the text is taken from a larger corpus of business magazine texts on marketing, and it was its high density and wide variety of metaphoric expression, as ascertained by the concordance search, which made me choose this particular article as an example.

The first result to be yielded by quantitative analysis is that the text shows an overall number of 25 metaphoric expressions of war, sports or games. Among these, the WAR metaphor is most often realized (eleven occurrences) followed by the SPORTS metaphor and its eight tokens. The GAMES metaphor lags far behind, showing just six occurrences, two of which moreover had to be cross-classified as instantiations of the SPORTS metaphor (*global e-commerce players* in line 25 and, as a perhaps more controversial instance, *Some are playing*

up their local roots in line 34). With its 1,183 words, the article therefore shows a density of 21.1/1,000 words in terms of searched metaphoric tokens (the whole corpus showing a density of 5.3). It should be noted that the SPORTS metaphor is more varied than the WAR metaphor, being realized by means of six as compared to five different expressions. Again, the GAMES metaphor trails behind: Its six occurrences are spread over all but three different expressions, which moreover represent rather formulaic technical terms in marketing (*player/playing, stake(s), chip*). The overall and broken down dispersion plots provide a first look at the textual organization of the metaphors and thus link quantitative to qualitative analysis.

Although they are pervasive throughout the text, metaphoric expressions of war can especially be found to cluster at the beginning and towards the end of the article, thus serving a defining and persuasive function. Indeed, the word play contained in the very title (*Portal Combat*, line 1) helps to present a particular representation of the topic at hand. The by-line helps to further set the agenda (*a bruising battle for cyberturf*, line 2). The WAR metaphor is allocated end weight in lines 74-76, representing an interesting because multi-functional example of literalization, which I will return to below. For the time being, it should be noted that metaphoric expressions of war serve as a bracket for the whole text. The SPORTS metaphor also fulfils a defining function; in line 2 quoted above, it is juxtaposed with a realization of the WAR metaphor. Thus, the topic is given a two-fold metaphoric structure right from the beginning of the text. Contrary to the WAR metaphor, however, metaphoric expressions of sports can be found to cluster in mid-text (especially lines 27-33), casting the underlying metaphor in an additional argumentative role. While the few instances of the GAMES metaphor also occur in the middle of the article, the expressions are too infrequent to make for a textual pattern.

As far as metaphor usage by participants in primary as compared to secondary discourse is concerned, it can be observed that marketers and journalists echo and thus reinforce each other. An example is lines 10-11, in which a CEO is quoted as saying "*We have a big challenge catching up*", a metaphorization to be taken up by the article's author in line 44 (*if rivals want to catch Yahoo*). Very much the same phenomenon can be found in the quote in line 25 ("*global e-commerce players invade Asia*"), which is echoed in nominal form in both lines 72 and 75. While such interdiscursive echoing certainly indicates shared cognitive representations, it should not be forgotten that journalists can obviously exert considerable control over these representations by quoting selectively and in accordance with their own

agenda. In any case, it should be noted that the present text does not exhibit conflicts over metaphor usage between marketers and journalists as the one conveyed in the example given in the theory section (Chen 2000).

Returning to the dispersion plot, it can be seen that there are stretches of text which are relatively devoid of the searched-for metaphors. One such batch can be found in lines 20-24, where instead of metaphorically defining a topic, arguing for it or persuading the reader to share that definition, the author prefers to provide factual information. Apart from such relatively short gaps, however, the text is very much characterized by metaphoric chains. Let us first look at the chains each of the three metaphors is organized into and then at how these three metaphoric chains are interwoven across the text. If we again refer to the above-mentioned ways metaphoric expressions can behave in relation to each other within a chain (exemplifying, extending, generalizing, etc.), the following picture emerges for the three metaphors in question:

	WAR metaphor	SPORTS metaphor	GAMES metaphor
elaborating	+	+	—
exemplifying	+	—	—
extending	—	+	—
generalizing	+	—	+
questioning/negating	—	—	—
attenuating	+	—	—
intensifying	+	+	—
echoing	+	+	+

Table 1: functions of metaphors across chains

Starting with the GAMES metaphor, it is, strictly speaking, not so much generalized as restricted to the formulaic technical terms *chip* (lines 54 and [87]), *players/to play* (lines 25 and 34) and *stake(s)* (lines 29 and 59). As each of these terms occurs twice in the text, it is probably safe to say that the chain's elements echo each other, albeit on a very limited scale. The SPORTS metaphor shows a more elaborate behaviour: Particular expressions are also

echoed (e.g., *the pace is sure to increase* [line 18] as repeated in *AOL is trying hard to keep pace* [line 55] or the already mentioned echo of *catching up* [line 11] in line 44); beyond that, however, the metaphor is also elaborated upon. While the SPORTS metaphor is already introduced in line 2 (*a bruising battle for cyberturf*), this metaphorical race is specified in lines 27-28 and 33: "Already, three *front-runners* have emerged. At *the head of the pack* is Yahoo [...] But their *front-row places* may be in jeopardy". This elaboration simultaneously serves to intensify the metaphor, illustrating the qualitative effects the many different metaphoric expressions of sports have at the textual level.

While the SPORTS metaphor mainly enters the text through metaphoric expressions of racing, it is nevertheless also extended to team sports, both by virtue of the expression *player/to play* (lines 25 and 34) as well as in the phrase *They have teamed up with Pacific* (line 61). On the other hand, there are no generalized expressions to be found with the SPORTS metaphor, underscoring that the author has made full use of its creative potential. The fact that the WAR metaphor does show quite a few generalized technical terms may be due to the more frequent overall usage in the text. There are three occurrences of *target* (lines 12, 40 and [82]) and five of *launch* (lines 8, 31, 56, 64 and 69), so that the two terms are being echoed throughout the text. Still, the WAR metaphor is not restricted to such formulaic expressions. On the contrary, it is elaborated on in line 25, which add the *invasion* aspect to the overall *battle* scenario (to be echoed, as mentioned above, in lines 72 and 75). The relations in this metaphoric chain are more complex than that, however. In lines 74-76, we find the following:

"South Korea's Daum Communications Corp., which is second to Yahoo! Korea, has appealed to anti-Japanese sentiment by boasting in newspaper ads that it will repel Softbank's *invasion* just as Koreans defeated Japanese intruders more than 500 years ago."

The above excerpt is remarkable for several reasons. First, it serves to exemplify the WAR metaphor by reference to a literal war. Moreover, blurring the boundaries between the metaphorical and the literal helps to intensify the metaphor. Paradoxically, however, the WAR metaphor is attenuated at the same time. As Eubanks notes in his discussion of a similar example involving the American Civil War (2000:141-142), temporal distance makes literalized war seem less threatening. Reference to a remote historic event thus makes it possible for the author to simultaneously intensify and attenuate a potentially problematic metaphor. In the text at hand, this balancing act is accomplished by alluding to the 14th-century Japanese-Korean war (1592 AD–1598 AD) rather than to the guerrilla war which

Koreans fought against the Japanese occupation between 1910 and 1945 and which still has repercussions on the relations between the two countries today.

Summing up, the WAR metaphor, although not the most varied one in terms of different metaphoric expressions, still exhibits the most varied behaviour when it comes to the relations within the metaphoric chain it forms. What cannot be found at all across the chains are elements calling each other into question or even negating each other. Further still, there is no questioning across the three chains either. Rather than setting up the three metaphors in competition to each other, the author has chosen to have the three conceptualizations extend and elaborate on each other. One example would be the initial juxtaposition of metaphoric expressions of war and sports in line 2, another one the cross-classification of the term *play/player*. Obviously, such classification problems facing the analyst suggest that metaphors build up to form a cohesive cognitive scenario. It is to these scenarios that I shall now turn.

It is a striking feature of the article that its most dominant cognitive structures all pertain to movement of some sort. With regard to weaker market participants, we find rather uncoordinated movement (*[she] has been scrambling to hire staff* in lines 6-7 and *Why the flurry now?* in line 20), whereas stronger ones can be found either racing or fighting over territory, corroborating Boers' observation that "abstract competition [...] is often structured in terms of RACING [...] or in terms of a FIGHT" (1999:47). Interestingly, the territory to be fought over is the customers, referred to in abstract terms such as *targeting Asia* (lines 12 and [82]) or *target the region* (line 40). (The significance of customers becoming the objects of marketers' aggression is discussed in Koller forthcoming.) Thus, we are left with three different movement schemas, i.e., weakly coordinated, goal-oriented and antagonistic, which could be graphically represented as follows:

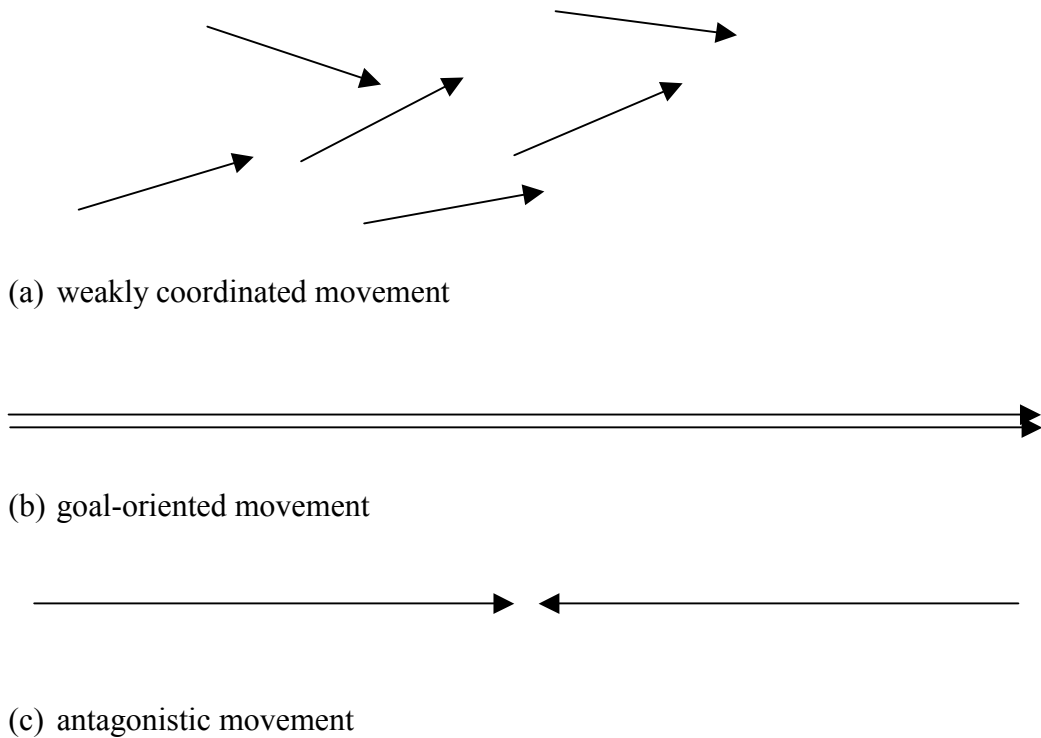


Figure 1: schematic representation of forms of metaphoric movement

So dominant are the movement scenarios that they even produce "spill-over effects" or, as Cameron (2002) puts it, "parapraxis phenomena", i.e., unrelated instances of the same metaphor elsewhere in the text. Examples from the text at hand are *Asians will be **hopping** on the Net* (lines 23-24), *Homegrown portals are not simply **rolling over*** (lines 33-34) and *Hong Kong will become a **springboard** into China* (lines 56-57). Moreover, those scenarios are further supported by grammatical choices. Throughout the article, particular combinations of aspect and trajectory can be observed. Thus, we find frequent instances of predecessive aspect coupled with completive trajectory, e.g., "U.S. companies have become unbelievably more aggressive" (lines 15-16), "three front-runners have emerged" (line 27) or "They have teamed up with Pacific Century CyberWorks" (lines 61-62). Another, even more dominant combination is progressive aspect plus durative or intensive trajectory: "some of the biggest names in cyberspace are stepping up their Asian operations" (lines 13-14), "Yahoo is overhauling its Chinese site" (line 53) or "AOL is trying hard to keep pace" (line 55). While the former combination serves to draw the reader's attention to the present, the latter describes that present in intensified form, thus adding to the overall impression of dynamic movement conveyed by the metaphorically structured cognitive scenarios.

In closing, it should not be overlooked that there are some realizations of alternative PARTNERSHIP and ORGANISM metaphors. Yet, the former are restricted to the very word

partnership (lines 53, 63 [86] and [92]) while metaphoric expressions relating to the latter are even more infrequent than realizations of the GAMES metaphor (*the world's fastest-growing Internet markets* in line 15 and *Homegrown portals [...] are playing up their local roots* in lines 33-34). On the whole, instances are too few and too isolated to form alternative scenarios. The picture we are left with, then, looks something like the following:

While realizations of the GAMES metaphor are infrequent and formulaic, the WAR metaphor undoubtedly plays a central role in the text. Not only is it most frequent, it also meets a defining and a persuasive function, thus acting as a bracket to the article. The expressions originating from it furthermore show the most varied behaviour in relation to each other. However, the WAR metaphor is closely linked to the SPORTS metaphor, which is almost as frequent and realized by an even higher number of different metaphoric tokens. While it also defines the topic by being juxtaposed with the WAR metaphor, metaphoric expressions of sports show a second cluster in mid-text, thus indicating their argumentative function. In this context, I would like to argue that sports can be discussed as a sublimation of war (Winsor 1996:39) and that the SPORTS metaphor thus serves to attenuate the WAR metaphor. The strong initial position of the WAR metaphor, its attenuation and relative scarcity in the middle and its reinforcement towards the end of the text thus lend a particular macro-structure to the article. Indeed, as far as this article is concerned, it can be observed that it has the "diminuendo-crescendo movement" Halliday (1994:336) identifies for the clause: There is a "downward movement from initial thematic prominence being caught up in the upward movement towards final [...] prominence" (ibid.).

As for metaphoric chains, it has already been mentioned that tokens instantiating the WAR metaphor show the most intricate behaviour in those chains, elaborating, exemplifying, generalizing, attenuating, intensifying and echoing each other. In fact, echo effects are as common to all three metaphors as is the absence of questioning or negating. Further, there is no inter-metaphoric questioning either, nor do journalists and marketers challenge each other in their use of metaphor. This overall reinforcement of the dominant metaphors gives rise to cognitive scenarios very much characterized by various forms of dynamic movement (weakly coordinated, goal-oriented or antagonistic). Also, the main scenarios are supported by particular grammatical constructions such as the combination of progressive aspect with intensive trajectory. Since alternative metaphoric expressions of partnership or organism are too few and too isolated to challenge the dominant paradigm, it is thus established firmly in text, and, as can be inferred, in discourse and cognition as well.

5. Conclusion

If we again look at the three meta-functions of conceptual metaphor as discussed in the theory section, the following results emerge from the above sample analysis: Metaphoric expressions function as a means of exchange between discourse participants. In the case of media discourse, journalists use particular metaphors not only to communicate with their readers but also to communicate with, in the present case, marketers, as reflected in the use of quotes throughout the article. Moreover, metaphoric expressions are also used in marketers' indirect communication with the magazine's readers, an exchange facilitated by journalists. The situation is made still more complex by the fact that the groups of readers and marketers partly overlap: In the case of *Business Week* e.g. — the magazine the sample text was taken from — 63% of all readers hold a senior management position (Business Week 2002). Whatever the communication networks, however, metaphor serves to meet interpersonal functions by establishing particular identities (e.g., MARKETER AS WARRIOR) and relations (e.g., journalists as supporting marketers' self-image through echo effects) at both the discursive and the wider socio-cultural level.

Metaphors further help to convey particular cognitive scenarios. In, for instance, representing certain conceptualizations of market entry (a metaphoric term itself), metaphoric expressions function ideationally at the level of cognition. Finally, metaphor can be seen as the message from which the text departs. The subsequent organization of metaphoric expressions into multi-functional chains lends structure and cohesion to the article, thus actualizing metaphor's textual function.

Although this paper has focused on that latter aspect, it should be noted that metaphoric expressions do not exhaust themselves at the textual level. Neither do conceptual metaphors only meet ideational functions at the cognitive level. Rather, metaphor should be seen as a phenomenon with multiple functions at multiple levels. With this article, I intended to show how these functions can be analyzed at the textual level. If this paper is taken as a starting point for forays into the multi-functionality of metaphors at other levels, its intentions will have been met.

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Appendix

metaphoric expressions of war

metaphoric expressions of sports

metaphoric expressions of games

An asterisk indicates that the expression was originally not searched for and is thus not represented in the dispersion plot.

1 Portal **Combat**

2 In Asia, a **bruising battle** for *cyberturf*

3 Mary Ong, the CEO of newly formed Lycos Asia Pte Ltd. (LCOS), is the first to admit that
4 her operation isn't up to *speed* yet. Since U.S. Internet powerhouse CMGI, which owns the
5 Lycos Web portal, announced in September a joint venture with Singapore
6 Telecommunications to set up customized versions of Lycos in 10 Asian cities, Ong has been
7 scrambling to hire staff, find office space, and get the business started – pronto. Lycos
8 **launched** its Singapore site in December, when it also announced plans to go online in
9 Malaysia and the Philippines. With rivals such as Yahoo! Inc. already well established, Ong
10 knows that Lycos can't afford to lose any more time. "We are late," she says. "We have a big
11 challenge *catching up*."

12 It doesn't make Ong's task any easier that other U.S. Internet companies are **targeting** Asia,
13 too. America Online (AOL), AT&T (T), Microsoft (MSFT) – some of the biggest names in
14 cyberspace are stepping up their Asian operations, forming new subsidiaries, joint ventures,
15 and ***alliances** to take advantage of the world's fastest-growing Internet markets. "U.S.
16 companies have become unbelievably more aggressive," says analyst Rajeev Gupta of
17 Goldman, Sachs & Co. in Hong Kong. And with the November deal between Washington and
18 Beijing on China's entry into the World Trade Organization, the ***pace** is sure to increase as
19 the Chinese phase out restrictions on foreign ownership of local Internet companies.

20 Why the flurry now? Sheer numbers. International Data Corp. estimates that online spending
21 in non-Japan Asia will double from \$2.2 billion in 1999, to \$5.5 billion by yearend. That's still
22 small by American standards – the U.S. is expected to spend \$133 billion on Internet
23 commerce this year – but the trend is clear. By 2002, estimates IDC, 60 million Asians will be
24 hopping on the Net, spending some \$30 billion on purchases. "The year 2000 will be the year
25 that the global e-commerce **players (players) *invade** Asia," says David C. Michael, a vice-
26 president at Boston Consulting Group in Hong Kong.

27 DEEP POCKETS. Already, three **front-runners** have emerged. At the head of the **pack** is
28 Yahoo (YHOO), backed by Japan's Softbank Corp., which is recreating in its Asian backyard
29 the successful investment strategy it used in the U.S., buying **stakes** in a wide range of Net
30 startups. CMGI (CMGI), which owns Lycos, is behind a rival group. The third main

31 contender is AOL, which has **launched** its service in several markets and is a key shareholder
32 in Hong Kong-based Chinadotcom Corp.

33 But their **front-row places* may be in jeopardy. Homegrown portals are not simply rolling
34 over for the Americans. Some are *playing (playing)* up their local roots to appeal to
35 nationalist customers, while others are introducing new services before the foreigners do. To
36 attract users to its portal, for example, South Korea's Serome Technology Inc. on Jan. 5
37 started offering free local phone calls using the Internet, and promises free calls to the U.S.
38 later this month.

39 The newcomers have one big advantage: deep pockets. As more portals, both foreign and
40 domestic, **target** the region, the competition for good content is becoming heated — and
41 expensive. Unlike the U.S., Asia does not yet have an abundance of interesting Web sites.
42 That's driving up costs. "Because there are not that many content providers, everything will be
43 more expensive," says Savio Chow, head of Yahoo's Asian operations in Hong Kong.

44 Especially if rivals want to *catch* Yahoo. Following the early popularity of Yahoo! Japan,
45 started in 1996, Yahoo set up a Korean portal in 1997. Yahoo Korea is now the market leader,
46 with 30% market share and 23 million page views daily. Yahoo has Chinese-language sites
47 for Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore, and the company ranks No. 1 in a survey of popular
48 portals in several Asian countries, according to Sydney-based researcher www.consult.

49 Another edge for Yahoo is its Chinese-American founder, Jerry Yang, who can promote the
50 company and gain media attention in China in a way that many others cannot. For instance,
51 during a September visit to Beijing, Yang spent half a day schmoozing with graduate students
52 at Beijing University, talking in Mandarin about what it takes to be an Internet entrepreneur.
53 Now, Yahoo is overhauling its Chinese site and forming a new partnership with Chinese
54 software maker Founder, a powerful "red **chip**," or state company traded in Hong Kong.

55 CONNECTIONS. As Yahoo expands, AOL is trying hard to keep **pace*. It started a Japanese
56 version in 1997 and **launched** AOL Hong Kong in September. AOL hopes that Hong Kong
57 will become a springboard into China. While AOL may not have a Mandarin-speaking
58 founder, it does have something that may be more valuable in China: good guanxi, or
59 connections, through its **stake** in Chinadotcom, a Hong Kong-based portal service and the
60 first Chinese Internet company to go public on Nasdaq, raising \$90 million.

61 CMGI and Intel (INTC) are counting on guanxi of a different sort. They have **teamed up*
62 with Pacific Century CyberWorks founder Richard Li. In September, CMGI formed a \$350
63 million partnership with Li to develop Web content for the Chinese market. Meanwhile, Intel
64 has invested \$50 million in PCC, which is preparing to **launch** a regional high-speed TV and
65 Internet service this year. CMGI is also going for the glitz. At the introduction of Lycos'
66 Singapore site, the company hired a local artist known as Tanya to entertain guests.

67 As the three main contenders push forward, others must move quickly to avoid becoming
68 *also-rans*. Microsoft Corp. wants to expand its MSN network. AT&T, through its
69 Excite@Home (ATHM) subsidiary, plans to **launch** broadband service in Japan in early
70 2000. On Nov. 10, Internet search engine LookSmart Ltd. (LOOK) announced a \$200 million
71 deal with British Telecommunications PLC (BTY) to develop sites in Asia and Europe.

72 BUILDING **ALLIANCES*. In response to the foreign **invasion*, some local rivals are
73 trying to ignite nationalist passions. South Korea's Daum Communications Corp., which is
74 second to Yahoo! Korea, has appealed to anti-Japanese sentiment by boasting in newspaper
75 ads that it will repel Softbank's **invasion* just as Koreans defeated Japanese intruders more
76 than 500 years ago. The newcomers also risk being associated with an American pop culture
77 seen by some in Asia as too violent and permissive.

78 Still, local content providers need to become part of the regional ***alliances** the Americans are
79 forming. "We want to lock onto one of those grids so we can expand our size quickly," says
80 Chong Huai Seng, vice-chairman of Panpac Media.com Ltd., a Singapore magazine publisher.
81 Whether Asians like it or not, the Americans are coming.

82 **Targeting** Asia

83 Three U.S. companies are taking the lead in developing the Asian Web. Here's how they stack
84 up:

85 YAHOO!

86 With leading sites in Japan and Korea, it is focusing on China through a partnership with a
87 Chinese red **chip**, and is looking at India, too.

88 AMERICA ONLINE

89 Developing Hong Kong as a testing ground for China, it is expanding regionally through its
90 investment in China.com.

91 CMGI

92 After forming partnerships with Singapore Telecom and Pacific Century CyberWorks, it is
93 hoping to make its Lycos portal a regional force.

Figure 2: dispersion plot of the article

