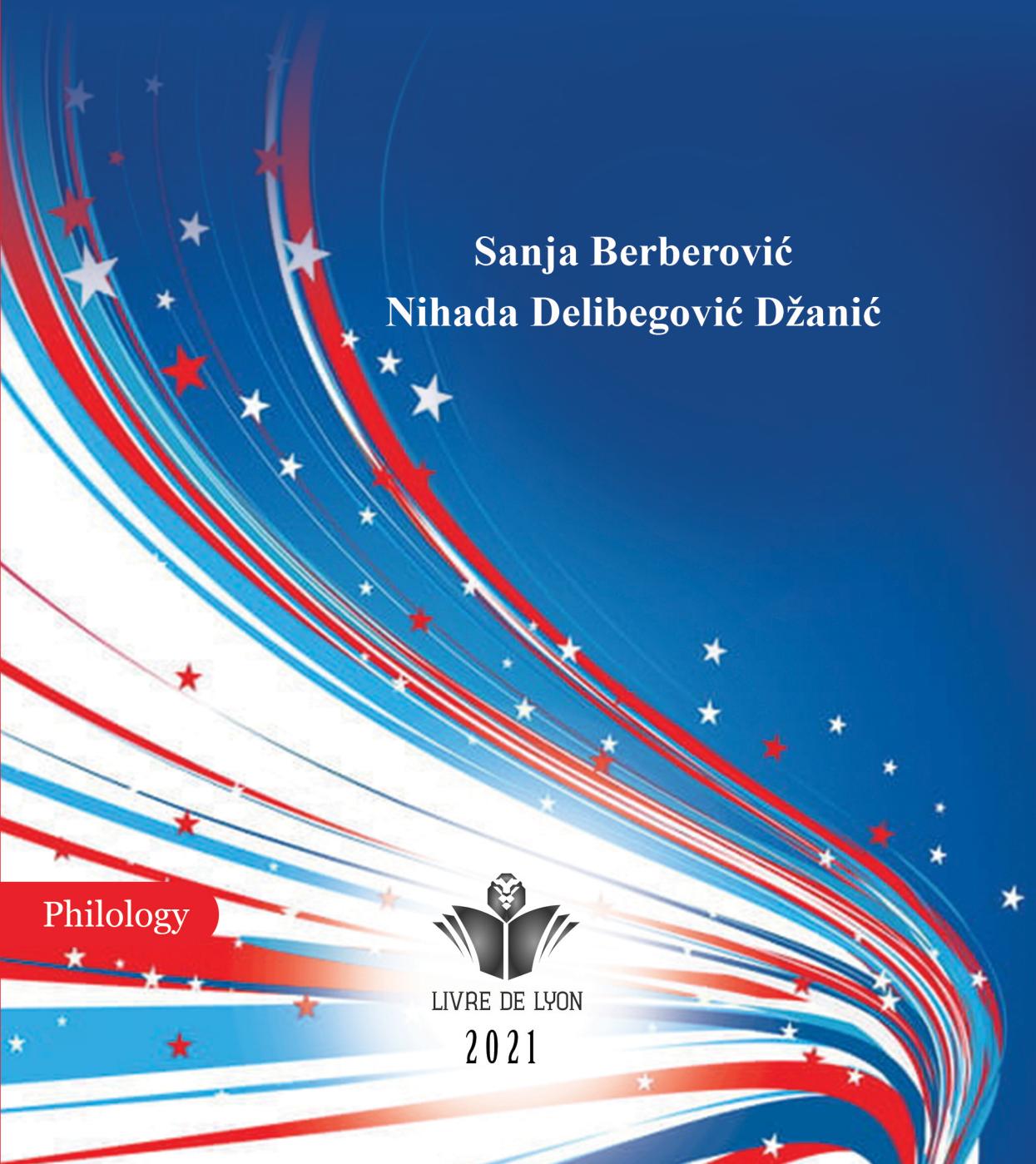


# A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE USE OF CREATIVE FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE IN AMERICAN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Sanja Berberović

Nihada Delibegović Džanić

A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE USE OF CREATIVE FIGURATIVE  
LANGUAGE IN AMERICAN POLITICAL DISCOURSE



LIVRE DE LYON

2021

ISBN 978-2-38236-223-5



9 782382 362235 >

- [livredelyon.com](http://livredelyon.com)
- [livredelyon](#)
- [livredelyon](#)
- [livredelyon](#)

**A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC STUDY OF  
THE USE OF CREATIVE FIGURATIVE  
LANGUAGE IN AMERICAN  
POLITICAL DISCOURSE**

**Sanja Berberović  
Nihada Delibegović Džanić**



Lyon 2021

**Authors** • Sanja Berberović • Orcid: 0000-0002-8954-8245  
Nihada Delibegović Džanić • Orcid: 0000-0002-8241-6338  
**Reviewers** • Mario Brdar • Orcid: 0000-0002-9582-4285  
Tanja Pavlović • Orcid: 0000-0002-3920-4145  
**Cover Design** • Clarica Consulting  
**Book Layout** • Mirajul Kayal  
**First Published** • December 2021, Lyon

**ISBN:** 978-2-38236-223-5

**copyright © 2021 by Livre de Lyon**

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without prior written permission from the Publisher.

**Publisher** • Livre de Lyon  
**Address** • 37 rue mariettton, 69009, Lyon France  
**website** • <http://www.livredelyon.com>  
**e-mail** • [livredelyon@gmail.com](mailto:livredelyon@gmail.com)



*To Doris, Amra & Ajdin*



# CONTENTS

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Blending Theory</b>	<b>5</b>
2.1	Introduction	5
2.2	Conceptual metaphor theory	6
2.2.1	<i>Metaphor</i>	7
2.2.1.1	<i>The basics of conceptual metaphor theory</i>	7
2.2.1.2	<i>Kinds of metaphors</i>	13
2.2.1.3	<i>Basis of metaphor</i>	15
2.2.2	<i>Blending theory</i>	17
2.2.2.1	<i>The elements of blending</i>	18
2.2.2.2	<i>Properties of conceptual blending</i>	24
2.2.3	<i>The differences between CMT and BT and their interaction</i>	27
2.3	Figurative creativity	34
<b>3</b>	<b>Discourse approaches to figurative creativity</b>	<b>39</b>
3.1	Introduction	39
3.2	Figurative language in discourse – an overview	41
3.2.1	<i>Metaphor in (political) discourse</i>	41
3.2.2	<i>Blending in discourse</i>	45
3.3	Figurative creativity in (political) discourse	48
<b>4</b>	<b>Case studies</b>	<b>58</b>
4.1	Introduction	58
4.2	Playing the woman card across texts in political discourse	61
4.2.1	<i>Introduction</i>	61
4.2.2	<i>Playing card games in politics and elsewhere</i>	63
4.2.3	<i>Playing the metaphorical woman card in politics</i>	65
4.2.4	<i>Playing the woman card in the political discourse of the 2016 presidential campaign</i>	71
4.2.5	<i>Final remarks on playing the woman/gender card in American political discourse</i>	103
4.3	Rebuilding economic houses destroyed in storms and fires across and within texts in political discourse	109
4.3.1	<i>Introduction</i>	109
4.3.2	<i>Construction sites in politics, economy, and elsewhere</i>	111

4.3.3	<i>Building a new foundation for economic growth within a text</i>	118
4.3.4	<i>Building a new foundation for economic growth across and within texts</i>	136
4.3.5	<i>Burning down the economic house across and within texts</i>	157
4.3.6	<i>Final remarks on building a new foundation for economic growth</i>	171
<b>5</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>177</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>Appendix</b>	<b>181</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>References</b>	<b>193</b>

# 1 INTRODUCTION

Political discourse has been an attractive field of research for centuries. That field is equally interesting to contemporary linguists and other scholars in the present as it was to philosophers such as Cicero and Aristotle in ancient times. Although the terms *political* and *political discourse* have caused definitional problems and have been subjects of heated discussions among scholars, the consensus exists that the main goal of any analysis of political discourse is to investigate the ways in which language is manipulated for achieving different political goals and shaping political reality. Therefore, the role of language in politics has been a perennial topic in different studies. Considering the importance of language in politics, many prominent political discourse analysts agree that most political action is, to a great extent, linguistic action.

Given that language has a prominent role as a rhetorical means in politics, it is not surprising that many linguistic studies have been devoted to studying political discourse and its linguistic aspects. The last several decades have seen an explosion of studies examining figurative language in different types of discourse, including political discourse, within the frameworks of conceptual metaphor theory and conceptual integration theory, or blending theory.

Conceptual metaphor theory and blending theory are cognitive linguistic theories that have occupied an important place in the cognitive linguistic investigations with the aim to uncover the meaning construction and thus account for the complexities of the human mind. Conceptual metaphor theory, first discussed at length in Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) *Metaphors We Live By* and further developed in numerous works of cognitive linguists such as Lakoff (1987, 1993), Lakoff & Turner (1989), Lakoff & Johnson (1999), Kövecses (2002/2010a, 2005, 2020), has been successfully used in the study of language, producing evidence that metaphor is a cognitive mechanism of the utmost importance in the human conceptualization of the world. Introduced by Fauconnier and Turner in 1993 and further elaborated in the works of Fauconnier and Turner ([1998] 2006, 2000, 2002, Turner and Fauconnier (1995, 1999, 2003), Turner (2007), Coulson and Oakley (2000), Grady et al. (1999), conceptual integration theory has found its application in accounting for a wide range of phenomena of human thought and action, from counterfactuals to metaphor, proving that blending is present in the simplest kinds of human

thinking. Although conceptual metaphor theory and blending theory are often presented as conflicting theories, in many cognitive linguistic studies, they have been regarded as complementary theories, which share some common features as basic cognitive operations and which can benefit from each other.

It is believed that these two theories can successfully uncover how metaphor and conceptual integration as basic cognitive mechanisms are used in order to promote certain viewpoints and express rhetorical goals in discourse, especially political discourse. Especially noteworthy is the number of studies written within the framework of conceptual metaphor theory investigating metaphor in different types of discourse, such as media discourse, educational discourse, business discourse, scientific discourse, medical discourse, and, of course, political discourse. The aims and scopes of such studies differ, from comparing and contrasting metaphors in different languages to investigating the rhetorical power of metaphors in different types of discourse. Conceptual integration theory, which was primarily devised to be a semantic theory of discourse meaning and which has over the years developed to account for a wide scope of linguistic and nonlinguistic phenomena, has been applied in a number of papers investigating discourse. These studies deal with different aspects, from investigating conceptual integration as a crucial process in producing creativity in literary discourse to creating rhetorical messages and ideology in different types of persuasive discourse. Some of the studies written within the framework of conceptual metaphor theory that investigate political discourse are Ahrens (2019), Ahrens and Lee (2009), Charteris-Black (2004, 2009, 2011, 2014, 2017, 2019), Chilton and Ilyin (1993), Deignan (2010), Ferrari (2007), Kennedy (2000), Koller (2004a, 2004b), Koller and Semino (2009), Musolff (2000, 2004, 2006, 2010a, 2010b, 2016), Rohrer (1995), Sandikcioglu (2000), Santa Ana (1999), Semino (2008), Semino and Koller (2009), Semino and Masci (1996), Zinken (2003). Similarly, the studies written within the framework of conceptual integration theory dealing with political and persuasive discourse include Chilton (2005), Coulson and Pascual (2006), Coulson and Oakley (2006), Coulson (2006), Oakley and Coulson (2008), Semino (2010).

However, it is surprising that, in an enormous body of cognitive linguistic literature discussing these cognitive mechanisms, a few studies address the issue of figurative creativity in discourse, its rhetorical potential, and its contribution to discourse coherence. The phenomenon of figurative creativity is defined by Kövecses (2005) as creativity arising through the cognitive mechanisms of metonymy, metaphor, and blending. Figurative creativity in political discourse

has not been systematically studied. In a wide variety of studies dealing with metaphor in discourse, only a few papers acknowledge the presence of creative figurative language use, that is, metaphorical creativity (cf. Koller 2004a, 2004b, Kövecses, 2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2010b, 2012, 2015, Mueller, 2010, Musolff, 2000, 2004, 2016, Semino, 2002, 2008). Some of these studies, having their own different aims, only briefly mention this issue and pay as much attention to it as the scope and the purpose of these studies allow. It can be claimed that recently only Kövecses (2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2010b, 2012, 2015) and Semino (2008) have systematically studied the factors influencing the use of creative metaphors and metaphorical expressions in discourse.

Combining conceptual metaphor theory and conceptual integration theory, the present study investigates creative figurative language in political discourse. Specifically, it examines figurative creativity, i.e., creative figurative language, as a product of conceptual metaphor and conceptual integration. It is argued that these two theories, if combined, can paint a fuller picture of the cognitive processes underlying the meaning construction of figurative creativity in political discourse. Furthermore, it is argued that figurative creativity contributes to achieving discourse coherence at the intertextual and intratextual levels.

The book examines examples of figurative creativity, especially creativity through blending, from American political discourse and studies how figurative creativity contributes to achieving discourse coherence and creating rhetorically powerful statements. It contains two case studies dealing with prominent figurative expressions in the contemporary American political discourse, namely *playing the woman card* and *building a new foundation for economic growth/prosperity*. The first study deals with *playing the woman card* in political discourse during the 2016 presidential election. The phrase itself is viewed as a metaphorical linguistic expression of the CARD GAME metaphor, which further motivates the creation of elaborate metaphorical blends producing creative figurative language. The second case study concentrates on *building a new foundation for economic growth* as a product of a novel conceptual blend motivated by the conventional BUILDING metaphor and on creative stretching, modification, and reinterpretation of this blend in conceptual blending. This expression was used during the Obama presidency in relation to the recession that started in 2007. The first case study is devoted to examining the role of figurative creativity in providing intertextual coherence of discourse, while the second case study, apart from showing intertextual coherence, also discusses the role of figurative creativity in achieving intratextual coherence. These studies also examine the rhetorical potential of figurative creativity in political discourse, primarily

focusing on uncovering how creative figurative language can be used to achieve different discourse goals and promote particular ideologies.

Therefore, the aim is to show that figurative creativity as a product of basic cognitive mechanisms, primarily conceptual metaphor and conceptual integration, has important functions in political discourse related to shaping the text and its message. This study also aims to uncover the interrelations between conceptual metaphor and conceptual integration, especially the nature of mappings within these two cognitive mechanisms.

The book is organized as follows. The second and third chapters provide an overview of the previous cognitive linguistic studies related to the topic of this book. The second chapter presents the basic postulates of conceptual metaphor theory and blending theory, as well their similarities, differences, and interaction. The final part of this chapter also addresses the phenomenon of figurative creativity. The third chapter deals with figurative creativity in discourse, especially focusing on the studies dealing with the use of creative figurative language in political discourse. It discusses figurative creativity as a product of conceptual metaphor or conceptual blending. Chapter four is divided into two parts which contain two different case studies, namely, the use of the expressions *the woman card* and *building a new foundation for economic growth* in American political discourse. Each case study ends with final remarks, presenting the main conclusions related to the case study. The fifth and final chapter presents general conclusions that can be drawn based on the findings of the case studies.

## 2 CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY AND BLENDING THEORY

### 2.1 *Introduction*

Conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) and conceptual integration theory (CIT) or blending theory (BT) are cognitive linguistic theories that have recently occupied an important place in cognitive linguistic investigations aiming to uncover the meaning construction and thus account for the complexities of the human mind. CMT, first discussed at length in Lakoff & Johnson's (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*, has been successfully used in the study of language for the last several decades, producing evidence that metaphor is a cognitive mechanism of the utmost importance in the human conceptualization of the world. Introduced by Fauconnier & Turner in 1993, BT has found its application in accounting for a wide range of phenomena of human thought and action, from counterfactuals to metaphors, proving blending to be present in the simplest kinds of human thinking. Although CMT and BT are often presented as conflicting theories, they have been regarded as complementary theories in many cognitive linguistic studies, which share some common features as basic cognitive operations and which can benefit from each other. Over the last several decades, cognitive linguists have produced a remarkable number of linguistic studies within the frameworks of CMT and BT, developing the field in different directions and revising certain aspects of the theories.

Considering the scope and purpose of this study, it is reasonable that, in this book, the achievements of these theories and their development in different directions can only be acknowledged but not discussed in detail. Therefore, this chapter will provide definitions, basic terminology, and properties of these theories and briefly discuss current trends and the issues that have been identified as problematic and which have initiated discussions among cognitive linguists. In addition, the two theories will be compared and contrasted in search of the theoretical explanations of their compatibility and differences to examine what the relevant literature in the field has to offer regarding figurative creativity.

## 2.2 *Conceptual metaphor theory*

It is not surprising that the first serious discussions about metaphor are more than two millennia old and can be found in the works of Aristotle, and later in St. Thomas Aquinas, and more recently in Vico. This classical theory of metaphor has since occupied an important place in the study of philosophy and literature. The theory holds that metaphor is a matter of language. Furthermore, on this view, metaphor is regarded as a trope used in literature, rhetoric, and scientific discourse, implying that everyday language is devoid of metaphor.

However, the traditional theory of metaphor has recently been challenged by the cognitive theory of metaphor. Since the late 1970s, when Cognitive linguistics was established as a field, metaphor has been in the focus of cognitive linguistic investigations. This theory, first presented in detail in Lakoff & Johnson's (1980) seminal work *Metaphors We Live By*, hypothesizes that metaphor is a matter of thought, not only of language. On this view, metaphors are at the very core of the human conceptual system, influencing the way humans think, act, talk, and ultimately live. This theory offers evidence that metaphor is ubiquitous in everyday language.

Although Lakoff & Johnson's work (1980) can be regarded as the cornerstone of CMT, further developed in numerous works of cognitive linguists such as Kövecses (2002/2010a, 2005, 2020), Lakoff (1987, 1993), Lakoff & Johnson (1999), Lakoff & Turner (1989), the basic ideas behind this theory had been put forward even before the publication of *Metaphors We Live By*. In the cognitive linguistic literature, it is frequently claimed that the foundations of CMT were laid in 1979 in Michael Reddy's paper *The Conduit Metaphor*, which explains metaphorical conceptualization of the communication process.<sup>1</sup> As Lakoff (1993, p. 204) explains,

Reddy showed, for a single very significant case, that the locus of metaphor is thought, not language, that metaphor is a major and indispensable part of our ordinary, conventional way of conceptualizing the world, and that our everyday behavior reflects our metaphorical understanding of experience.

---

<sup>1</sup> Reddy (2003) presents metaphors, jointly known as the conduit metaphor, that underlie the way humans talk about communication. Taylor (2002, p. 490) summarizes these metaphors. i. Ideas are objects. ii. Words and sentences are containers for these objects. iii. Communication consists in finding the right word-container for an idea-object sending this filled container along a conduit or through space to the hearer, who must then take the idea-object out of the word-container.

CMT does not simply reject the traditional approach to metaphor. It goes even further and challenges the basic philosophical concepts of language and truth that have been held for over two millennia. The tenets of Western philosophy, mostly influenced by the objectivist tradition, are challenged by three findings of cognitive science.<sup>2</sup> Lakoff & Johnson (1999, p. 3) summarize these three postulates as follows. “The mind is inherently embodied. Thought is mostly unconscious. Abstract concepts are largely metaphorical.” Therefore, CMT has wider implications. The essence of these implications is best explained in the words of Lakoff & Johnson (1999). “If you hold the traditional views about metaphor, then you inherit views about what reality is, what truth is, how language is connected to the world, whether we can have objective knowledge, and even what morality is” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 118).

## **2.2.1 Metaphor**

### **2.2.1.1 *The basics of conceptual metaphor theory***

In defining metaphor, cognitive linguists take into account the basic hypothesis behind CMT. As Lakoff & Johnson (1980, p. 3) word it, “[o]ur ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature.” This hypothesis confirms that cognitive linguists consider metaphor primarily a matter of thought and not of language. “Perhaps the most important thing to understand about conceptual metaphors is that they are used to reason with” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 65).

Although many cognitive linguists have undertaken the task of defining metaphor as a basic cognitive mechanism, adding their personal touches to the definitions, such definitions are very similar as most of them use common terms such as mappings, domains, and understanding, and all of them capture the cognitive concept of metaphor, as first put forward by Lakoff & Johnson. One such definition is provided by Kövecses (2017b) and is phrased as follows, “A conceptual metaphor is a systematic set of correspondences between two domains of experience.” (Kövecses, 2017b, p. 14). No matter how the definitions of metaphor are worded, most of them emphasize the same truth about the conceptual metaphor. “The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 5).

---

2 For a detailed account of the differences between objectivist philosophy and embodied realism cf. Lakoff (1987), Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 1999) and Lakoff & Turner (1989).

The two domains involved in the process of mapping are called the source or donor domain and target or recipient domain. “A conceptual domain is any coherent organization of experience” (Kövecses, 2002, p. 4). The source domain is the one that is mapped, while the target domain is the domain that is understood through the source domain. The source domains are typically concrete, based on human experience with the physical world, while the target domains are usually more abstract. As Gibbs (2017, pp. 20f) notes, common source domains include the human body, health/illness, animals, plants, buildings, machines/tools, games/sports, business, cooking/food, heat/cold, light/darkness, movement/direction. Common target domains, according to Gibbs (2017, pp. 19f), include emotion, desire, morality, thought, society/nation, politics, economy, human relationships, communication, time, life/death. Logically, the domain of which the humans have direct experience is used to comprehend the more abstract domain, which is more distant in terms of experience. This fact also shapes another postulate of CMT, namely, the principle of unidirectionality. Mappings in conceptual metaphors are always unidirectional; they typically go from the more concrete experiential domain to the more abstract experiential domain.

However, recently, the distinction between concrete and abstract domains, which is based on the distinction between literal and figurative for many cognitive linguists, has been raised by Kövecses (2020). This problem, in turn, questions the unidirectionality of mappings as one of the basic postulates in CMT. Basing his claims on the observation that even much of the basic concrete experience is figuratively construed, although humans are rarely aware of their original figurative status, Kövecses (2020, p. 33) concludes that the principle of unidirectionality still holds in CMT because both abstract and concrete domains are composed off “embodied content ontology and figurative construal (i.e., figuratively constructed understanding) – but in different proportions.” Considering such conceptual makeup of domains, Kövecses (2020, p. 33) further concludes that conceptual metaphors involve “predominantly content-ontology-based concepts as source domains and predominantly figuratively-construed concepts as target domains.”<sup>3</sup>

Mapping is the process of putting the conceptual domains and their constituent elements into systematic correspondence with each other so that a number of properties from one experiential domain, the source, are transferred to the other experiential domain, the target. It must be noted that correspondences between constituent elements of one domain and the constituent elements of another domain are not based on preexisting similarities of the constituent

3 For a detailed discussion, see Kövecses (2017a, 2020).

elements of the two domains. Rather, these correspondences exist because the source domain structures the target domain.

Furthermore, Lakoff (1993, p. 210) points out,

Mappings should not be thought of as processes, or as algorithms that mechanically take source domain inputs and produce target domain outputs. Each mapping should be seen instead as a fixed pattern of ontological correspondences across domains that may, or may not, be applied to a source domain knowledge structure or a source domain lexical item.

Apart from ontological correspondences, there are also knowledge (or epistemic) correspondences, in which knowledge about the source domain is mapped onto knowledge about the target domain. Barcelona (2003, pp. 212f) concludes that once the schema of the source domain is mapped onto the schema of the target domain, complete knowledge that humans possess about the source domain can potentially be included in the knowledge of the target domain. As observed by Barcelona (2003), epistemic correspondences bring about further ontological correspondences.

As it has already been mentioned, metaphor is primarily a matter of thought used to reason with. Metaphors are revealed or accessed mainly through language, although metaphorical thought can be expressed by means other than language.<sup>4</sup> CMT makes a distinction between conceptual metaphors and their metaphorical linguistic expressions. The term metaphor is used for cross-domain mappings. In contrast, the term metaphorical linguistic expression is used to denote the actual linguistic expression that comes into existence due to the conceptual mapping. “Metaphor, as a phenomenon, involves both conceptual mappings and individual linguistic expressions” (Lakoff, 1993, p. 209).

The following examples, taken from Lakoff & Johnson’s *Metaphors We Live By* (1980, pp. 44f), illustrate the difference between the conceptual metaphor and metaphorical linguistic expressions. As an abstract concept, love is conceptualized metaphorically. One of the conceptual metaphors used for the conceptualization of love is LOVE IS A JOURNEY. The constituent elements of the source domain, JOURNEY, are placed into correspondence with the component parts of the target domain, LOVE in the process of mapping. The knowledge

---

<sup>4</sup> Kövecses (2002, pp. 57ff) presents examples of nonlinguistic realization of conceptual metaphors in deferent realms, ranging from art to dream interpretation. Similarly, Gibbs (2017, pp. 222ff) provides numerous examples of multimodal metaphor realized in static and moving images, gesture, music, dance, and material culture, to name but a few.

about journeys is mapped onto the concept of love. The examples presented below are the metaphorical linguistic expressions of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, which are commonly encountered in everyday language.

#### LOVE IS A JOURNEY

- a. Look *how far we've come*.
- b. We are *at a crossroads*.
- c. We'll just have to go *our separate ways*.
- d. We can't *turn back now*.
- e. I don't think our relationship is *going anywhere*.
- f. We're *stuck*.
- g. It's been a *long bumpy road*.
- h. This relationship is a *dead-end street*.
- i. We're just *spinning our wheels*.
- j. Our marriage is *on the rocks*.
- k. We've gotten *off the track*.
- l. This relationship is *foundering*.

If the metaphorical linguistic expression *Look how far we've come* appears in an appropriate context, the hearer will undoubtedly realize that the expression is used to talk about love, not a journey. In this metaphorical linguistic expression, via the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, lovers are referred to as travelers, relationship as a road, and the point of traveling as a destination. The metaphorical linguistic expressions in below are not viewed as individual metaphors, but they all belong to a single conceptual metaphor which humans use to reason about love, confirming that conceptual metaphors are not simply a matter of language but are part of the human conceptual system. Kövecses (2002, p. 7) presents mappings or systematic correspondences of the constituents of the source and the target domain for this conceptual metaphor as follows.

source: JOURNEY	→	target: LOVE
The travelers	→	the lovers
The vehicle	→	the love relationship itself
The journey	→	events in the relationship
The distance covered	→	the progress made
The obstacles encountered	→	the difficulties experienced
Choices about which way to go	→	choices about what to do
The destination of the journey	→	the goal(s) of the relationship

This conceptual metaphor, together with the source and target domains and mappings, can also be diagrammed as below.

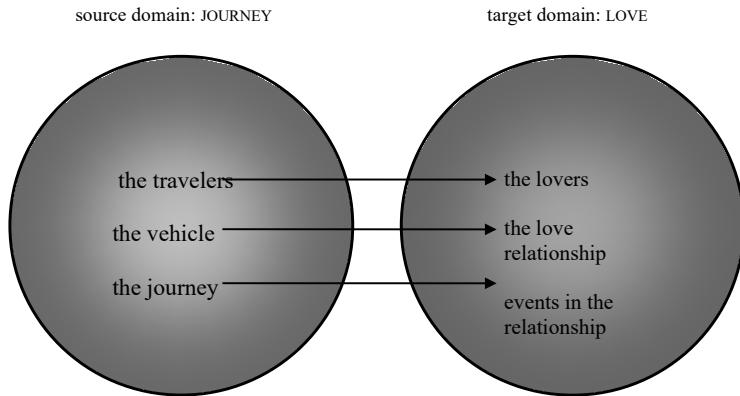


Figure 1 Metaphorical mappings between the source domain JOURNEY and the target domain LOVE

Cognitive linguists (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 52ff, Kövecses, 2002, pp. 79ff) note that metaphorical mappings are partial. As domains are characterized by a number of aspects, the partial nature of metaphorical mappings suggests that only certain aspects of the source domain get mapped onto certain aspects of the target domain. If this were not the case, the target and the source concepts would be identical. In that light, Kövecses (2002, pp. 79ff) mentions two different processes, metaphorical highlighting, which pertains to the target domain, and metaphorical utilization, which applies to the source domain. “When a metaphor focuses on one or some aspects of a target concept, we can say that it *highlights* that or those aspect(s)” (Kövecses, 2002, p. 80). Cognitive linguists (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 10ff, Kövecses, 2002, pp. 79ff) point out that the process of metaphorical highlighting is accompanied by the process of metaphorical hiding. Kövecses (2002, p. 80) points out that when a metaphor focuses on one or more aspects of a concept which has several aspects, it is to be expected that other aspects will stay hidden. As for metaphorical utilization, Kövecses (2002, p. 81) claims that only some aspects of a source domain are utilized in the understanding of a target domain. Metaphorical highlighting of the target domain and metaphorical utilization of the source domain are partial.

Different aspects of the target and source domains also account for the existence of more than one conceptual metaphor employed in the

understanding of a single concept. As each conceptual metaphor is used for the conceptualization of certain aspects of the domain, there are several metaphors for the conceptualization of argument, such as AN ARGUMENT IS A CONTAINER, AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY, AN ARGUMENT IS A WAR, and AN ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING. A single source domain can be used for the conceptualization of more than one target domain. Kövecses (2006, p. 121) calls this phenomenon the scope of the source. The source domain BUILDING can apply to target domains such as THEORIES, RELATIONSHIPS, CAREERS, COMPANY, ECONOMIC SYSTEMS, SOCIAL GROUPS, and LIFE. In all of these metaphors, the major idea transferred from the source to the target domain is that of structure, lastingness, and creation. Kövecses (2002/2010a, 2005) believes that each source domain has, what he calls, one or more main meaning foci.

...each source domain contributes predetermined conceptual materials to the range of target domains to which it applies. This conceptual material is agreed upon by a community of speakers and represents extremely basic and central knowledge about the source. In other words, I believe that most source domains that apply to a variety of targets have something like a “major theme or themes.” (Kövecses, 2005, p. 11)

Another term introduced by Kövecses is the range of the target, which refers to the range of source domains available for the conceptualization of a particular target domain (Kövecses, 2006, p. 121). As Kövecses argues (2002, pp. 93ff), although only certain aspects of a source domain are utilized in the understanding of the target domains, humans possess rich knowledge that structures a particular source domain, which is not included in the mappings between the basic constituents. As Lakoff & Johnson (1980, pp. 139ff) and Kövecses (2002, p. 93) point out, additional knowledge about the source can be mapped onto the target producing metaphorical entailments. The exploitation of metaphorical entailment potential of the source domain varies, and it can produce only a few entailments or be complete. The complete knowledge humans possess about a particular source domain cannot be transferred onto a target domain.

The existing metaphorical mappings are constrained by the Invariance Hypothesis, first mentioned by Lakoff & Turner (1989) and further developed and modified by Lakoff (1990, 1993). The Invariance Hypothesis states that “metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain” (Lakoff, 1990, p. 54). The effects of the Invariance Hypothesis are twofold. The mappings must be compatible with the

inherent structure of the source domain, meaning that sources are mapped onto sources, goals onto goals, paths onto paths, etc. Consequently, the Invariance Hypothesis also prevents the mappings that are not coherent with the image-schematic structure of the target domain.<sup>5</sup> However, it is a widely held view among cognitive linguists (Barcelona, 2003, Brugman, 1990, Kövecses, 2002) that the Invariance Hypothesis requires a more precise formulation. Taking into consideration the Invariance Hypothesis as defined by Lakoff (1990), Brugman (1990) notes that the hypothesis fails to define topological and image-schematic properties and state which domain is subject to the Invariance Hypothesis.

Considering the flaws of the Invariance Hypothesis as seen by the abovementioned linguists, it is not surprising that cognitive linguists search for alternative approaches to provide solutions for certain problems. Evidence compiled by cognitive linguists shows that the hypothesis cannot explain certain cases of illegitimate transfer from the source to the target domain. For instance, Kövecses (2002, pp. 83f, 104) finds Grady's theory of primary metaphors a more elegant alternative to the Invariance Hypothesis.<sup>6</sup>

### ***2.2.1.2 Kinds of metaphors***

The examples above are the metaphorical linguistic expressions of a highly conventionalized structural metaphor. Apart from structural metaphors, Kövecses (2002, pp. 29ff) mentions other kinds of metaphors, which are classified based on different criteria such as conventionality, function, nature, level of generality, and complexity.

According to Kövecses (2002, pp. 29f), the conventionality of both conceptual metaphors and metaphorical linguistic expressions is based on the usage of certain metaphors by the speakers of a linguistic community. If metaphorical linguistic expressions and conceptual metaphors underlying them

---

5 "Image schemas are prelinguistic cognitive structures, many of which are acquired on the basis of our earliest experiences: "container," "part-whole," "front-back," "up-down," "source-path-goal," "link," "center-periphery." These experiential blocks are often extremely simple, and are used in the formation of most (if not all) basic concepts" (Barcelona, 2003, p. 214).

6 As Kövecses (2002, pp. 83f) claims, Grady's theory of primary metaphors can explain why certain mappings are involved in metaphor, and others are not. According to Kövecses, Grady regards complex metaphors such as ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING as composed of two primary metaphors LOGICAL STRUCTURE IS A PHYSICAL STRUCTURE and PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT. As it is hard to detect the experiential basis of this complex metaphor, the experiential basis of these two primary metaphors explains why some mappings in the complex metaphor ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING are possible and why others are not.

are used effortlessly to communicate the issues concerning everyday life and are not even recognized by the majority of speakers as metaphors, then such

metaphors are considered well established or conventionalized. Metaphorical linguistic expressions of certain conventional conceptual metaphors can be unconventional or novel and usually belong to poetic or scientific language, although they can be found in other realms as well.<sup>7</sup> Unconventional conceptual metaphors are harder to find, although instances of such metaphors can be found in art, poetry, science, as well as everyday language.

Based on the cognitive functions of metaphor, cognitive linguists (Kövecses, 2002, pp. 33ff, Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) distinguish three basic kinds of metaphors, namely, structural, ontological, and orientation metaphors. The main function of structural metaphors, such as LOVE IS A JOURNEY, is metaphorical structuring of the target domain in terms of the source domain. The speakers understand the structure of the target through the structure of the source, of which they have fairly rich knowledge. The main function of ontological metaphors is the conceptualization of experience in terms of objects, substances, and containers but without any mention of the exact kind of object, substance, or container. "In general, ontological metaphors enable us to see more sharply delineated structure where there is very little or none" (Kövecses, 2002, p. 34). Target domains such as nonphysical or abstract entities, events, and actions are conceptualized as physical objects. The use of ontological metaphors is limited to referring, identifying, quantifying, categorizing, and grouping and they serve as the basis for structural metaphors. As Lakoff & Johnson (1980, p. 25) argue, ontological metaphors are based on the human experience with physical objects and substances. Orientational metaphors are used for the conceptualization of spatial orientations such as up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, central-peripheral, etc. This means that these metaphors organize a whole system of concepts considering certain concepts with respect to their opposites, e.g., HAPPY IS UP while SAD IS DOWN, MORE IS UP while LESS IS DOWN. As Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 14) claim, the physical and cultural experience of human beings serves as a basis for orientational metaphors.

As far as the classification according to nature is concerned, according to Lakoff & Turner (1989, pp. 97ff) and Kövecses (2002, pp. 36ff), metaphors can be based on knowledge, as structural metaphors, or can be based on image, as image-schema metaphors. Mapping from the source domain to the target domain

---

<sup>7</sup> Lakoff & Turner (1989) present a comprehensive study of the relationship between metaphors used in everyday language and their creative use in poetry.

in image-schema metaphors is minimal compared to structural metaphors, in which rich knowledge structure is mapped onto the target. “As the name image-schema implies, metaphors of this kind have source domains that have skeletal image-schemas ...” (Kövecses, 2002, p. 37). These metaphors derive from human experience with the physical world and are bases for other concepts. Apart from image-schema metaphors, there are also metaphors, called image metaphors, which map one image onto another image.

As for the level of generality, two types of metaphors are distinguished in this classification, namely generic-level and specific-level metaphors (cf. Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 80ff, Kövecses, 2002, pp. 38f). Generic-level metaphors are EVENTS ARE ACTIONS, GENERIC IS SPECIFIC, and THE GREAT CHAIN metaphor, all of them having skeletal structures. Such skeletal structures are filled with detail depending on a specific case and, as such, are instances of specific-level metaphors. This means that the schematic structures of generic-level metaphors underlie the specific-level metaphors.

In addition to the classifications presented, Kövecses (2002, pp. 116ff) also mentions another possible classification of metaphors, the one based on their complexity. In this classification, the distinction is made between simple or primary and complex metaphors. Simple metaphors, such as INTENSITY IS HEAT, constitute complex metaphors, such as ANGER IS FIRE, LOVE IS FIRE, ENTHUSIASM IS FIRE, CONFLICT IS FIRE by functioning as mappings of these complex metaphors. Many target concepts can be characterized by means of the source concept of the heat of the fire since, in intense situations, human beings produce body heat. Thus, states, actions, and events can be understood in terms of fire. The simple submetaphor INTENSITY (OF A SITUATION) IS HEAT (OF FIRE) constitutes mappings in the complex metaphors mentioned above.

### ***2.2.1.3 Basis of metaphor***

Accepting that the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured, the question that naturally arises is whether there exist concepts that are not metaphorical. Cognitive linguists hold the stance that many nonmetaphorical concepts do indeed exist. “But as soon as one gets away from the concrete physical experience and starts talking about abstractions or emotions, metaphorical understanding is the norm” (Lakoff, 1993, p. 205).

Lakoff & Johnson (1980, pp. 56ff) conclude that simple spatial concepts such as UP and concepts such as OBJECT, SUBSTANCE, and CONTAINER are directly emergent concepts. The understanding of these concepts is not achieved through metaphor, but rather their existence is a product of body experience and its

interaction with the physical and cultural environment. “Concepts that emerge in this way are concepts that we live by in the most fundamental way” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 57). Other concepts, such as emotions, cannot be conceptualized solely based on body experience but must be related to other concepts producing what Lakoff & Johnson (1980, p. 58) call emergent metaphors.

It can be claimed that conceptual metaphors are grounded in different kinds of experience.

The cognitive linguistic view maintains that—in addition to objective, pre-existing similarity—conceptual metaphors are based on a variety of human experience, including correlations in experience, various kinds of nonobjective similarity, biological and cultural roots shared by the two concepts, and possibly others. (Kövecses, 2002, p. 69)

Lakoff & Johnson, considering one of the main postulates of cognitive science, namely that the mind is embodied, explain the reasons for the experiential basis of metaphor by offering the following statement.

The mind is not merely embodied, but embodied in such a way that our conceptual systems draw largely upon the commonalities of our bodies and of the environments we live in. The result is that much of a person’s conceptual system is either universal or widespread across languages and cultures. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 6)

Moreover, Lakoff & Johnson (1999, pp. 45ff) present the integrated theory of primary metaphors used in the conceptualization of subjective experience. “[...] primary metaphors are cross-domain mappings, from a *source domain* (the sensorimotor domain) to a *target domain* (the domain of subjective experience), preserving inference and sometimes preserving lexical representation” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 58). The integrated theory of primary metaphors comprises four separate theories<sup>8</sup>, which work in unity to explain the existence, acquisition, structure, and activation of primary metaphors, which are inevitably a part of the human conceptual system and are created unconsciously simply by the interaction of the human body with the environment and perception of the outer world. Such metaphors are widespread and universal.

---

<sup>8</sup> According to Lakoff & Johnson (1999, pp. 46ff), the four theories are Christopher Johnson’s *theory of conflation*, Grady’s *theory of primary metaphors*, Narayanan’s *neural theory of metaphor*, and Fauconnier & Turner’s *theory of conceptual blending*.

As Kövecses claims (2002, pp. 163ff), although primary metaphors can account for universal metaphors across languages and cultures, different metaphors can still be found in different cultures and languages across the world. Such metaphors are not based on human physiology but are influenced by the culture and the environment in which the culture exists. These differences in metaphors range from the different elaboration of the same metaphors to the different kinds of conceptualization of the same target domain and can occur across cultures or within cultures.<sup>9</sup>

### ***2.2.2 Blending theory***

There is another cognitive operation within the framework of cognitive linguistics, conceptual blending, which can account for the meaning creation. The origins of conceptual integration theory, or blending theory, can be traced back to 1993, when Fauconnier & Turner introduced this theory. The basic ideas behind BT have since been elaborated in the works of Coulson & Oakley (2000), Grady et al. (1999), Fauconnier & Turner ([1998] 2006, 2000, 2002), Turner (2007, 2014), Turner & Fauconnier (1995, 1999, 2003). Conceptual blending is a basic cognitive operation, “highly creative but crucial to even the simplest kinds of thought” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 18). Blending is just as pervasive in human thought as metaphor and metonymy. As Fauconnier & Turner (2002, p. 18) word it, “blending is an invisible, unconscious activity involved in every aspect of human life.”

Fauconnier & Turner built BT on the foundations of Fauconnier’s mental space theory. “... [M]ental space theory locates meaning in speakers’ mental representations, and construes linguistic structures as cues that prompt speakers to set up elements in referential structure” (Coulson & Oakley, 2000, p. 176). Although it was first designed to account for indirect reference and referential opacity, mental space theory soon found its application in explaining semantic and pragmatic phenomena of various kinds and its application beyond linguistics, namely in math, gesture, and music (Coulson & Oakley, 2000, p. 176). Fauconnier (2007, p. 351) defines mental spaces as “very partial assemblies constructed as we think and talk for purposes of local understanding and action.” Fauconnier (2007, p. 351) adds that frames and cognitive models structure mental spaces. Counterpart elements in different

---

<sup>9</sup> Kövecses (2005) provides a comprehensive study of cross-cultural as well as within cultural variation of metaphor.

mental spaces are connected by mappings. “These mappings can be based on a number of different sorts of relations, including identity, similarity, analogy, and pragmatic functions based on metonymy, synecdoche, and representation” (Coulson & Oakley, 2000, p. 177). In view of this theory, mental spaces are modified throughout the discourse.

Based on mental space theory, BT has emerged as a theory that can account for a wide variety of linguistic phenomena, from the studies of meaning construction to grammatical patterns.

Besides its applicability to multiple levels of analysis, blending theory, as a general theory of meaning construction, has become a useful way of securing closer connections between the way we understand language with a broader understanding of human thought and activity. (Coulson & Oakley, 2000, p. 184)

The theory has also found its application in explaining the construction of meaning in non-linguistic blends. “Blending can be detected in everyday language, idioms, creative thought in mathematics, evolution of socio-cultural models, jokes, advertising, and other aspects of linguistic and non-linguistic behavior” (Turner & Fauconnier, 1995, p. 186). Therefore, BT has become a theory that can explain the complexities of the human mind.

### ***2.2.2.1 The elements of blending***

The central idea behind blending as a basic cognitive operation is that it operates over a conceptual integration network, which comprises mental spaces and relations holding between them. “Building an integration network involves setting up mental spaces, matching across spaces, projecting selectively to a blend, locating shared structures, projecting backward to inputs, recruiting new structure to the inputs or the blend, and running various operations in the blend itself” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 44). All of these processes represent the constitutive principles on which the conceptual integration rests. As blending is an online, dynamic process, these operations can occur at any time, as well as simultaneously. The diagrams representing conceptual integration networks are simply one-shot previews of one of the stages of this complex mental operation, which should not be thought of as a static operation. The diagram below presents the basic conceptual integration network.

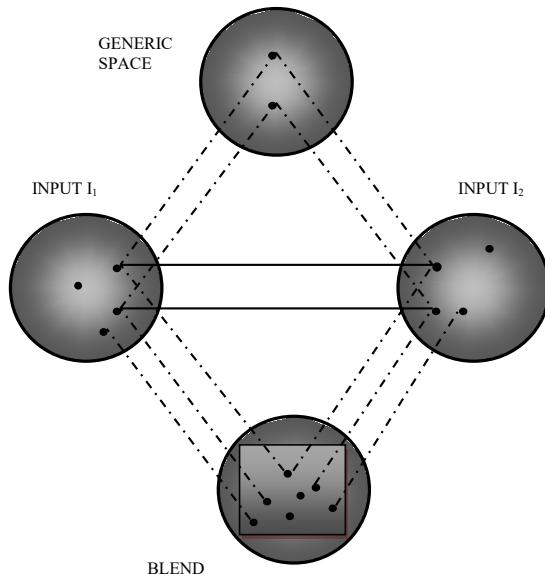


Figure 2 The basic diagram presenting the conceptual integration network (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 46)

As the diagram shows, the conceptual integration network comprises two input spaces, a generic space, and a blended space. A single network can be composed of several input spaces as well as blended spaces. These four mental spaces are represented as circles in the diagram. Mental spaces contain elements and relations that have their internal organization. “When these elements and relations are organized as a package that we already know about, we say that the mental space is *framed* and we call that organization a “frame”” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 102). The solid lines between input spaces are counterpart connections established in the process of partial matching. “Such counterpart connections are of many kinds: connections between frames and roles in frames, connections of identity or transformation or representation, analogical connections, metaphoric connections, and, more generally, “vital relations” mappings [...]” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 47).

The dotted lines between the generic and input spaces represent the connection of the elements that seem to be shared by the inputs. The generic space captures the shared elements of both inputs, and these elements from the generic space are in turn mapped onto the counterpart elements in the input spaces. It should be noted that the generic space has been disputed (Brandt & Brandt, 2005, Oakley, 2011, Oakley & Pascual, 2017) with claims that it is “a

superfluous artifact of analysis” (Oakley, 2011, p. 6) and no agreement on the need for a generic space has been reached yet.

The dotted lines between the inputs and the blend represent the structure from the inputs being projected to the blend, a new mental space. “Blends contain generic structure captured in the generic space but also contain more specific structure, and they can contain structure that is impossible for the inputs, [...]” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 47). However, not all elements from the inputs get projected to the blend, which means that projections from the input spaces to the blend are partial.

The emergent structure, represented in the diagram by the solid square in the blended space, is not copied from either input. Rather, the new structure in the blend is generated in three ways: through the processes of composition, completion, and elaboration, which operate unconsciously. “Composition, completion, and elaboration all recruit selectively from our most favored patterns of knowing and thinking” (Fauconnier & Turner, [1998] 2006, p. 339).

Composition refers to the projection of elements from the input spaces into the blended spaces and the creation of relations that do not exist in the inputs. “Completion is the filling out of a pattern in the blend, evoked when structure projected from the input spaces matches information in long-term memory” (Grady et al., 1999, p. 107). This means that, in the completion process, the background knowledge and structure are brought into the blend unconsciously. Elaboration is a mental simulation of the event in the blend, which can be performed indefinitely. Elaboration enables the blend to run in many different directions.

Mental spaces in an integration network can be modified at any point in the construction of the network. Input spaces can be modified by backward projections (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) or retrospective projections (Coulson, 2001) from the blended space. The construction of the integration network is a dynamic process, allowing modifications at any stage of the process of construction. The results of these dynamic processes, which are unfolding during discourse production, are novel conceptualizations, inferences, conceptual structure, and logic arising in the emergent structure in the blended space.

This general example of the conceptual integration network can be best explained in one of the examples discussed by Fauconnier & Turner. They ([1998] 2006, 2002) analyze the following riddle applying conceptual integration theory.

A Buddhist monk begins at dawn one day walking up a mountain, reaches the top at sunset, meditates at the top for several days until one dawn when he begins to walk back to the foot of the mountain, which he reaches at sunset. Making no assumptions about his starting or stopping or about his pace during the trips, prove that there is a place on the path which he occupies at the same hour of the day on the two separate journeys.

To solve this riddle, we have to imagine the monk walking up and down the mountain on the same day, and at one point of his journey, he will meet himself. Although this situation is highly improbable, the human mind is capable of solving and understanding the riddle. The reason for this lies in the fact that such a situation is possible in human imagination because of the conceptual integration of the two events. Conceptual integration theory is capable of explaining the construction of the meaning of this riddle.

The construction of this integration network starts by setting up two input spaces, each representing one journey.

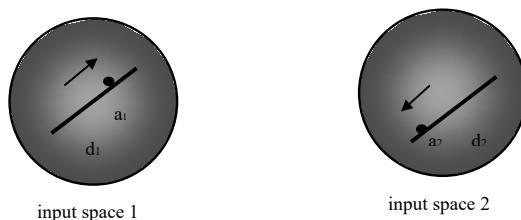


Figure 3 Input mental spaces (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 41)

Between the inputs, there are partial cross-space mappings, which connect counterparts in these spaces, mountain in input space one to the mountain in input space two, moving individual in input space one to moving individual in input space two, motion in input space one to motion in input space two, and the day of travel in input space one to the day of travel in input space two.

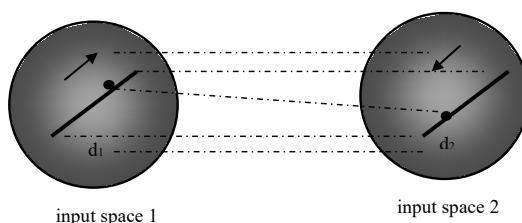


Figure 4 Cross-space mappings (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 41)

The generic space contains the elements shared by the two input spaces, namely mountain, moving individual, motion, and day of travel. These elements from the generic space are mapped onto the elements in the inputs.

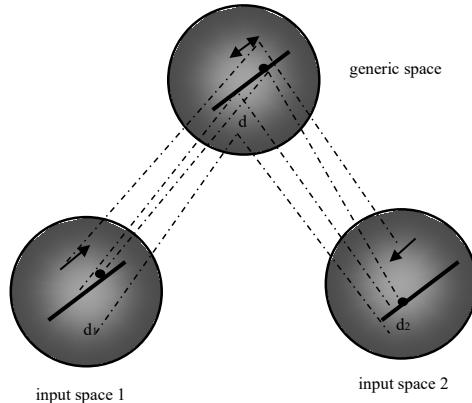


Figure 5 Generic mental space (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 42)

In the blend, the slopes of the mountain and the days of travel from each input are fused and represented as a single slope of the mountain and a single day of the travel. The moving individuals, the direction of motion, and the time of day from each input are preserved and mapped to the blend as such.

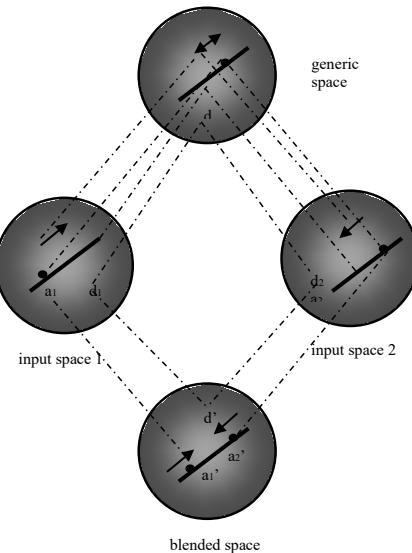


Figure 6 Blended space (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 43)

The emergent structure not present in either input is created in the blend. Completion enables the creation of a structure that is not present in the inputs. Elements not present in either input appear in the blend, such as two individuals moving in opposite directions, starting from the opposite ends and making their trip on the same day. In the completion stage of blending, additional structure is brought to the blended space. The structure of two different individuals moving along a single path in the opposite directions can be considered part of a familiar background frame. This familiar frame is recruited into the blend in the completion process of blending. The blend is integrated at this stage, which means that the blend is an instance of the familiar frame mentioned above. Based on this frame, the scenario in the blend can be run dynamically. Elaboration enables the encounter of the two individuals in the blend.

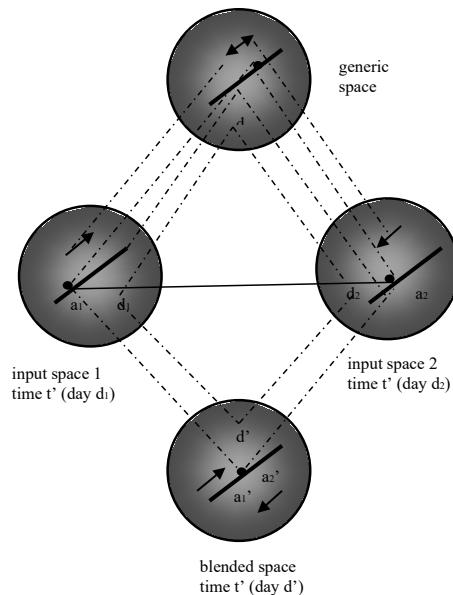


Figure 7 Mappings back to input spaces (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 45)

The structure in the blend is new as it contains the structure not present in either input, namely the encounter of the individuals. Backward projections from the blended space map these two individuals to the same individual in the inputs, the place of their encounter to the same location in each of the inputs, and the time of their encounter to the time when the monk is at that location. The diagram above presents these relations.

The Buddhist Monk is an example of a mirror network. In mirror networks, all mental spaces share the same organizing frame. In addition to

mirror networks, Fauconnier & Turner (2002, pp. 119ff) recognize other types of networks, namely simplex networks, single-scope networks, and double-scope networks. A simplex network is a network “in which human cultural and biological history has provided an effective frame that applies to certain kinds of elements as values, and that frame is in one input space, and some of those kinds of elements are in the other input space” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 120). In single-scope networks, which are prototypes of metaphors and contain input spaces with different organizing frames, the organizing frame in the blend is provided by one of the input spaces. In double-scope networks, in which input spaces have different organizing frames, the blend inherits the organizing frame from both inputs, but it develops its emergent structure.

### ***2.2.2.2 Properties of conceptual blending***

Blending is a process that provides “global insight, human-scale understanding and, new meaning” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 92). Compression, which occurs in the blended space, counts as the most important aspect of creativity, insight, and efficiency. Conceptual integration theorists view compression and decompression, i.e., representational contracting and stretching, as the most prominent feature of the blending process (Coulson & Oakley, 2000, p. 187). As Fauconnier & Turner (2000, p. 298) phrase it, “[b]lending is a compression tool par excellence.” There is a process of compression of selective projections from input spaces and integration in the blend, making compression the crucial feature of blending.

Conceptual integration theorists mention essential conceptual relations, called vital relations, holding between mental spaces in a conceptual integration network. Fauconnier & Turner (2002, pp. 92f) distinguish between outer-space vital relations, relations between mental spaces in the network, and inner-space vital relations, relations within mental spaces in the network. They point out that vital relations can appear both between and within mental spaces. Outer-space vital relations can be compressed under blending into inner-space vital relations of the same or different kinds in the blend, thus creating more powerful structures in the blended space (Fauconnier & Turner, 2000, p. 291).

Fauconnier & Turner (2002, pp. 93ff) isolate seventeen different vital relations holding between mental spaces.

- a. *Change*: a very general vital relation that connects one element to another or a set of elements to another.

- b. *Identity*: the most basic vital relation; identity is a stipulated connection; apart from straightforward identity, identity can link less specific elements such as roles; identity links do not have to be one-to-one correspondences between inputs.
- c. *Time*: vital relation connected to memory, simultaneity, continuity, and change.
- d. *Space*: inputs can be separated in physical space, but they are compressed in a single physical space in the blend.
- e. *Cause-Effect*: this is a basic vital relation linking causes to their effects across inputs.
- f. *Part-Whole*: a vital relation that links the parts with the whole across inputs; in the blend, the parts and the wholes are fused.
- g. *Representation*: one input can contain a representation of the other; in the conceptual integration network, one input corresponds to the object represented and the other to the element representing it.
- h. *Role*: a ubiquitous vital relation; roles can be linked to their values within and across mental spaces.
- i. *Analogy*: two different blended spaces having the same frame, acquired in the process of blending, can be linked by this vital relation.
- j. *Disanalogy*: it is based on the vital relation of Analogy.
- k. *Property*: a very obvious vital relation; as inner-space vital relation it links certain elements to their properties; in the blend, it compresses outer-space vital relations into an inner-space vital relation of Property.
- l. *Similarity*: an inner space vital relation, linking elements that share certain properties.
- m. *Category*: as inner-space vital relation, it links elements to certain categories these elements belong to; in the blend, outer-space vital relations such as Analogy can be compressed into Category.
- n. *Intentionality*: a vital relation connected to hope, desire, fire, belief, and other thoughts and feelings about the content.
- o. *Uniqueness*: highly important vital relation as many vital relations compress into the vital relation of Uniqueness in the blended space.

Compression of vital relations can be constrained by a governing or optimality principle, namely compression principle. In addition to this governing principle, other governing principles constrain conceptual integration, making the theory more principled. Such principles are also called optimality principles as they optimize emergent structures allowing blends to work most effectively.

Fauconnier & Turner (2002, p. 311) emphasize that satisfying one principle is usually accompanied by partly satisfying another principle. At the same time, these principles can be regarded as competing principles as satisfying one principle can rule out satisfying another. The function of the governing principles is to allow networks to achieve optimal performance. The list of governing principles presented below is compiled from Fauconnier & Turner (2002, pp. 309ff), Turner (2007, pp. 381f) and Turner & Fauconnier (2003, pp. 476ff).

- a. *Topology Principle*: the relations of the elements in the blend should equal the relations of their counterparts in the other spaces.
- b. *The Pattern Completion Principle*: existing integrated patterns are recruited to the blend to achieve tight integration of the elements in the blend.
- c. *The Integration Principle*: an integrated blend should be achieved so that the blend can be manipulated as a single unit.
- d. *The Maximization of Vital Relations Principle*: vital relations should be maximized, especially those in the blended space, which are subsequently reflected in outer-space vital relations.
- e. *The Intensification of Vital Relations Principle*: vital relations should be intensified.
- f. *The Web Principle*: the web of connections between the blend and the input spaces must be maintained.
- g. *The Unpacking Principle*: based on the blend, reconstruction of the input spaces and the web of connections should be done with ease.
- h. *The Relevance Principle or the Good Reason Principle*: elements in the blend should have relevance.
- i. *The Compression Principle*: compression of the blended space should be achieved; governing principles for compression, which lead to the compression of vital relations projected to the blend, are Borrowing from compression, Single-relation compression by scaling, Single-creation compression by syncopation, Compression of one vital relation into another, Scalability, Creation by compression, and Highlights compression.
- j. *Metonymy projection constraint*: relationships between elements from the same input space in the blend, the metonymic distance between them should be shortened.

Fauconnier & Turner (2002, p. 312) argue that the constitutive and governing principles are guided by one overarching goal: Achieve Human Scale. The principal aim of the constitutive and governing principles is to create a blend

at the human scale. Fauconnier & Turner explain that human-scale situations are familiar frames with which humans have direct experience. Once the blend achieves human-scale, it can be involved in the production of other such blends. “To achieve a human-scale blend often requires imaginative transformations of elements and structure in an integration network as they are projected to the blend” (Turner, 2007, p. 383). Fauconnier & Turner (2002, p. 312) mention several subgoals to be archived, such as “Compress what is diffuse; Obtain global insight; Strengthen vital relations; Come up with a story; Go from many to one.”

It can be concluded that constructing an integration network is not an algorithmic process. Blends cannot be built based on the input spaces solely, but they must involve other elements and take into account certain principles. “Rather, they are highly motivated by such structure, in harmony with independently available background and contextual structure; they comply with competing optimality constraints [...], and with locally relevant functional goals” (Fauconnier & Turner, [1998] 2006, p. 306).

### ***2.2.3 The differences between CMT and BT and their interaction***

Although both CMT and BT have been criticized in numerous linguistic studies written within different theoretical frameworks, as well as within the cognitive linguistic framework, proposing alternative approaches or simply pointing out the weaknesses of the theories, both theories have found their application in explaining the construction of the meaning of a variety of phenomena and are still hip linguistic theories used for this aim.<sup>10</sup> The proponents of BT and CMT have often directed the criticism against each other, comparing and contrasting

---

10 Such criticism is quite common in the cognitive linguistic literature. Some of the papers which offer criticism of BT are Gibbs (2000), Ruiz de Mendoza (1998), Ruiz de Mendoza & Peña Cervel (2002), Ruiz de Mendoza & Díez (2003), and, Brandt & Brandt (2005). Alternative approaches to BT are proposed by Brandt & Brandt (2005) and Ruiz de Mednoza and associates in a series of papers (Ruiz de Mendoza, 1998, Ruiz de Mendoza & Peña Cervel, 2002, Ruiz de Mendoza & Díez, 2003). As for CMT, an article by Kövecses (2008) summarizes issues that have been subject to criticism recently and provides arguments against the criticism. The class inclusion theory of metaphor proposed by Glucksberg & Keysar (1990) and Glucksberg & McGlone (1999) is only one of the alternative approaches to CMT. Kövecses (2011) also compares conceptual metaphor theory with alternative, modified, and refined approaches to metaphor. The abovementioned studies present just a brief preview of the discussions surrounding the two theories. Because of the space constraints, a detailed discussion of the different critical approaches to CMT and BT is not possible. This brief overview is simply an illustration of the ongoing discussions in the field.

these two theories in search of the flaws or advantages of one of these theories. While the proponents of BT claim that CMT is not equipped with mechanisms to account for the integration processes arising in the blended space, proponents of CMT often emphasize that there is no need to use BT, which at times seems to be too powerful, instead of CMT because in the concrete cases that they discuss CMT is capable of elegantly explaining the construction of meaning.<sup>11</sup>

Regardless of the opposing views, the similarities, as well as differences between the theories, exist. Metaphor and conceptual integration, as basic cognitive operations, can interact with each other. CMT and BT share some common features; both are basic cognitive operations, which are pervasive in human thought and action, which involve mappings, and which are guided by certain constraints. However, there are differences between the two theories, which can be regarded as their defining properties.

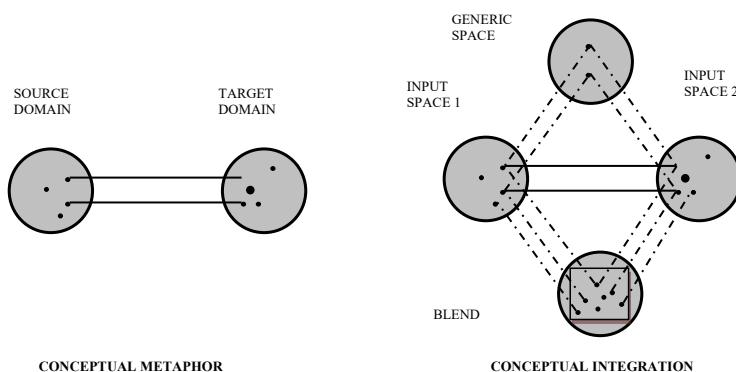


Figure 9 Comparison between conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending

The basic and most obvious difference between CMT and BT is that the former operates over two conceptual domains, while the latter deals with four mental

11 One such example is widely discussed *God, he was so mad I could see the smoke coming out of his ears*. Turner & Fauconnier (2003, pp. 473ff) claim that the two-domain model cannot explain the construction of meaning in this example as the elements which appear in the blend are not projected from either input. Instead, they propose the use of the four-space model. Kövecses (2020, p. 138) points out that “true cases of blending arise when, over and above the compatibilities, there is some incompatibility between the two frames” as it is the case in this example in which the smoke coming out of the ears represents incompatibility. However, Barcelona (2003, p. 219) argues that CMT can account for this example as it can be explained as an elaboration of the conventional ANGER metaphors. Ruiz de Mendoza & Díez (2003) propose an alternative analysis of the same example, which is comparable to Barcelona’s.

spaces. Compared to domains employed in CMT, mental spaces are smaller conceptual packets, which are usually more specific and comprise knowledge from many different frames or domains. In his discussion of image-schemas, domains, frames, and mental spaces as representing four different levels that form a schematic hierarchy, Kövecses (2017c, p. 345; 2020, pp. 50 ff) claims that mental spaces are least schematic, that is, most specific, among the abovementioned cognitive structures. A similar hierarchy is proposed by Dancygier & Sweetser (2014). Mental spaces are “coherent organizations of experience, just like frames and domains, but they function at a very specific and conceptually rich level” (Kövecses, 2017c, p. 345). Mental spaces appear in actual communicative situations when the generic structure of frames or domains becomes more specific and elaborate based on the information from the context. “Mental spaces are online representations of our understanding of experience in working memory, whereas frames and domains are conventionalized knowledge structures in long-term memory” (Kövecses, 2017c, p. 345). Following Kövecses’ hierarchy of cognitive structures, BT operates on the level of mental spaces, while CMT operates on levels higher than mental spaces, that is, frames, domains, and image-schemas. Kövecses (2017c, p. 345) concludes that “blending relies heavily on frames and domains, and CMT is incomplete as a theory without taking into account what happens at the least schematic level of mental spaces.”

The direction of mappings is another difference between CMT and BT. Mappings in CMT proceed from a concrete source domain onto an abstract target domain. In BT, mappings are established between mental spaces, generic space, and blended space. In metaphorical blends, conceptual material is projected from both input spaces into the blended space. In addition, the re-conceptualization of the target input space by retrospective or backward projections of inferences from the blended space is possible in BT.

The proponents of BT point out that the theory was designed to account for a wider range of phenomena of human thought and action than CMT, such as counterfactuals, analogy, concept combination, including metaphor and metonymy (Coulson & Oakley, 2000, Turner & Fauconnier, 2003). In numerous papers, the proponents of BT claim that, apart from metaphorical projections from source to target domains, there are complex integration processes that construct blended spaces, which have often gone unnoticed in the two-domain model (cf. Fauconnier & Turner, 2008, Turner & Fauconnier, 1995, 1999, 2003, Coulson 1996, Coulson & Van Petten, 2002). “The many-space model explains a range of phenomena invisible or untreatable under the two-domain model and reveals

previously unrecognized aspects of even the most familiar basic metaphors” (Turner & Fauconnier, 1995, p. 184). To support this claim, Turner & Fauconnier offer a wealth of examples of metaphorical blends in which the inferences in the blended space cannot be explained by the simple source to target mappings. Therefore, they propose BT as an alternative and comprehensive approach, which can account for the complex cognitive processes taking place in the construction of meaning and prompt cognitive linguists to “rethink metaphor”, as the title of one of Fauconnier & Turner’s (2008) papers states. Fauconnier & Turner (2008, p. 54) suggest that metaphors, as well as analogy, framing, metonymy, “are consequences of the same basic human ability for double-scope blending.”

One such example is the metaphor *My surgeon is a butcher*<sup>12</sup>, a statement about an incompetent surgeon, which is often discussed in the cognitive linguistic literature. Grady et al. (1999, pp. 103ff) claim that the two-domain model cannot explain the main idea behind this statement, namely that the surgeon is incompetent. These claims are based on the consideration of basic mappings from the source domain onto the target domain. In the two-domain model, the butcher maps onto the surgeon; the cleaver maps onto the scalpel; the animal maps onto the human being; abattoir maps onto the operating room; commodity maps onto the patient; cutting meat maps onto cutting flesh. Grady et al. conclude that these basic mappings cannot account for the meaning that the surgeon is incompetent because the concept of incompetence is not among the elements mapped from the source onto the target. The application of conceptual integration theory provides a detailed explanation of how the inference that the surgeon is incompetent emerges.

In the four-space model, the blend inherits the structure of the input spaces, namely, from the domain of surgery it takes the identity of the person being operated on, the identity of the person performing the surgery, and the setting of the operating room. From the domain of butchery, the blend inherits the role of butcher and the activities associated with that role. The generic space contains elements that are shared by both inputs; namely, an individual uses a sharp instrument to perform an activity on another individual. The emergent content of the blend develops by combining elements from the inputs. The two inputs have incompatible means-end relationships; namely, the goal of butchery is to

---

12 Kövecses (2011) uses this particular metaphorical sentence to compare the standard conceptual metaphor theory with different theories of metaphor (the categorization view of metaphor, blending theory, the combination of neural theory of metaphor and Lakoff & Johnson’s conceptual metaphor theory, and conceptual metaphor theory as based on the idea of the main meaning focus).

kill the animal and cut its flesh, while the goal of surgery is to heal the patient. In the blended space, the means of butchery combine with the goal of surgery, producing the inference that the surgeon is incompetent.

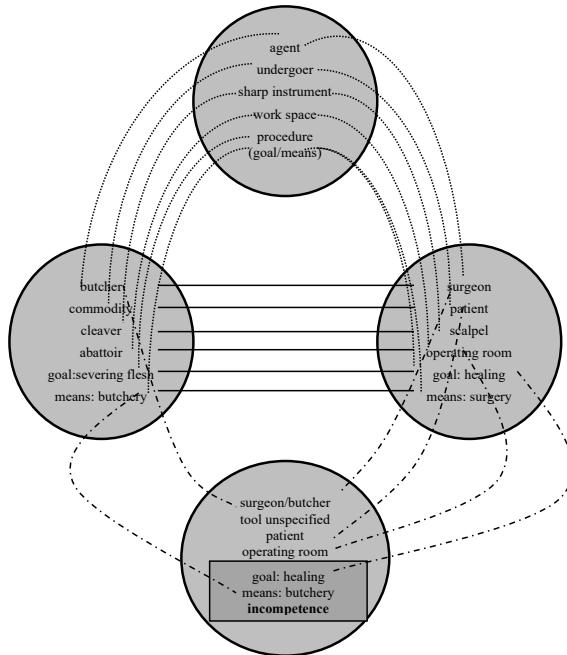


Figure 2 Conceptual integration network for the *surgeon is a butcher* (adapted from Grady et al., 1999, p. 105)

This example points out the reasons why the proponents of BT claim that this theory can more accurately explain the construction of meaning in metaphorical blends. However, the metaphor does play an important role in conceptual integration. As pointed out, metaphor as a cognitive mechanism is presupposed in BT. As Grady et al. (1999, p. 111) argue, conventional metaphors serve as triggers for launching the blends by providing counterpart mappings between input spaces (cf. Grady et al., 1999, Turner & Fauconnier, 2003, Fauconnier & Turner, [1998] 2006, [1998] 2001).

If conceptual metaphor theory is primarily concerned with well-established metaphoric associations between concepts, and blending theory focuses on the ability to combine elements from familiar conceptualizations into new and meaningful ones, then conceptual metaphors are among the stable structures available for exploitation by the blending process. (Grady et al., 1999, p. 110)

On this view, “conventional metaphors feed the blending process by establishing links between elements in distinct domains and spaces” (Grady et al. 1999, p. 110). They further point out that metaphorical associations of this sort are part of human conceptual repertoires. BT can benefit from the findings of CMT, as counterpart mappings between concepts have been the focus of CMT investigations for a long time. What is more, as Fauconnier & Lakoff (2013, p. 397) claim, “there would be no conceptual blending framework without conceptual metaphor theory.”

Similarly, Fauconnier & Turner ([1998] 2001) point out that blending is always available once a conventional metaphor is activated. As previously mentioned, conventional metaphors are available for elaboration in the blending process. It must be kept in mind that blending does not have to be based on metaphors, but it can involve other types of relations. Nevertheless, conventional metaphors do have a significant role in blending. As Fauconnier & Turner ([1998] 2006, p. 360) summarize it,

... a counterpart mapping is needed to launch on-line blending, and that counterpart structure is often supplied by activating a conventional metaphor, and the counterpart structure may have been created by the basic metaphor projection rather than merely picked out as a template for the projection.

This can lead to establishing conventional metaphors. As Fauconnier & Turner ([1998] 2001) claim, establishing conventional metaphorical mappings involves conceptual blending.

In cases where useful inferences or structure have been projected from the blend to the target so that the mapping from source to target becomes thoroughly conventional, and the blend is no longer a working space, it is possible to overlook both blend and generic space. (Fauconnier & Turner, [1998] 2001)

In his recent works, Kövecses (2020, p. 120) accepts a possibility that blends emerging in discourse may become conventionalized in various forms, being formed in dynamic discourse situations and making use of mental spaces. Taking into consideration his levels of schematicity of conceptual structures, Kövecses (2020, p. 148) proposes that metaphor in real discourse appears at the level

of mental spaces. According to Kövecses (2020, p. 148), mappings between two image schemas, domains, or frames are “are in long-term memory, are decontextualized and conventionalized.” Considering that blending is primarily seen as a mechanism that operates in on-line, dynamic discourse situations, and mental spaces are part of working memory, Kövecses (2020, p. 148) claims that “in the course of online metaphorical conceptualization in actual communicative situations, the network model takes over.” Thus, in communicative situations, in Kövecses’ view (2020, p. 148), metaphor operates at the level of mental spaces, potentially involving “the large-scale exploitation and mobilization of the huge and dormant metaphorical system.” What is more, Kövecses (2020, p. 147) claims that “metaphorical blends are only imaginable if they assume compatible source and target domains. Incompatibilities in themselves cannot constitute metaphorical blends.”

Therefore, CMT and BT can be viewed as complementary theories as they deal with two different cognitive mechanisms which interact with each other in the construction of figurative meaning. It can be argued that the theories can benefit from each other and can combine their findings to paint a more accurate picture of the construction of meaning. It is not surprising that these two theories are often presented as complementary models in the cognitive linguistic literature, having complementary aims but dealing with a different aspect of the same phenomenon. CMT has focused on finding conventional patterns of metaphorical conceptualization, while BT has been dedicated to investigating novel examples. “While the metaphor theorist strives to capture generalizations across a broad range of metaphoric expressions, the blending theorist typically focuses on the particulars of individual examples” (Grady et al. 1999, p. 121). Similarly, when it comes to choosing one or the other theory as an analytical tool, Dancygier (2017, p. 35) claims the following:

CMT is a more common tool when one broad concept is talked about in terms of a pattern borrowed from another, while CBT is a natural choice when a creative term is used to encapsulate a rich and complex combination of meanings for the purposes of current expression. Crucially, though, it would be hard to argue that only one of the approaches is appropriate.

On this view, CMT is restricted to uncovering conventional patterns of the figurative language without considering the novel elaboration of metaphors arising through the process of creativity. Similarly, BT deals with remarkable, creative products of the human mind. Kövecses (2005, pp. 259ff) presents

convincing arguments that both theories are capable of dealing with, what he calls, figurative creativity, each contributing to this issue operating within its own scope. CMT is not only limited to investigating conventional metaphors, but it can also explain novel metaphors and metaphorical linguistic expressions arising from metaphor as a creative mental process, especially in discourse. BT has also been interested in finding generalizations and not limited only to the novel, striking products of the human mind (Fauconnier, 2009, Pagán Cánovas, 2011a, 2011b, Coulson & Pagán Cánovas, 2009). As Fauconnier claims (2009, p. 150), examining mappings and integrations that produce a surface product, “what we find is a generalized integration network, which combines conventional integrations available in the language and culture with novel integrations and emergent structure made possible by the context in which the surface product is constructed.”

When it comes to figurative creativity in discourse, it is justified to claim that the two theories on their own can uncover many interesting facts about the complex cognitive processes involved in figurative creativity, and each can provide different insights into the issue. It is also justified to hold the belief that the theories if combined, can paint a fuller picture of the cognitive processes underlying figurative creativity. As Fauconnier & Lakoff (2013, p. 397) claim, “what is important is a recognition that different enterprises developed with seemingly different purposes and different theoretical constructs can mutually reinforce each other, lead to deeper convergent perspectives, and achieve wide-ranging scientific goals.”

### 2.3 *Figurative creativity*

It is a well-known fact that humans are endowed with the gift of creativity. Therefore, it is not surprising that humans use language as a medium to express their creativity. Kövecses (2005) uses the term *figurative creativity* to refer to creativity arising through three basic cognitive mechanisms, namely metaphor, metonymy, and blending.

As it is often claimed that CMT deals with conventional expressions and such expressions are often a subject of such studies, it can be presupposed that this theory cannot account for the cases of metaphorical creativity. It is true that most of the studies deal with isolating conventional metaphorical patterns, but there are studies that deal with metaphorical creativity showing that CMT can be successfully applied in such cases. Cognitive linguists (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, Kövecses, 2005, 2010b, 2012, 2015) have shown that CMT is equipped with a mechanism that can explain metaphorical creativity. Taking into consideration

previous studies of cognitive linguists but also providing his own insights, Kövecses (2005, 2010b, 2012, 2015) provides a systematic overview of sources of metaphorical creativity. Metaphorical creativity can be achieved by producing novel metaphorical entailments or by producing novel metaphors.

The first comprehensive study of metaphorical creativity within the framework of cognitive linguistics is Lakoff & Turner's (1989) *More than cool reason: A field guide to poetic metaphor*, a study in which the authors set out to investigate conceptual metaphors in poetry. The question that they pose is why human beings are able to understand metaphorical language in poetry, which is characterized as being highly creative and much harder to understand than ordinary language. Providing a great number of examples from the realm of poetry, Lakoff & Turner claim that poets simply exploit in creative ways conventional metaphors shared by all members of a community. According to Lakoff & Turner (1989, pp. 67ff), poetic creativity is achieved through the mechanisms of extending, elaborating, questioning, and composing. Extending is the process of using conventional metaphors expressed by unconventional linguistics expressions, which are based on the unused conceptual element in the source domain. Lakoff & Turner (1989, pp. 67f) define elaborating as nonconventional usage of the existing elements of the source. Unlike in extending, where new elements are added to the source, in elaboration, poets use the existing elements of the source and extend them in unusual ways. Questioning refers to the process of questioning the boundaries of human everyday metaphorical conceptualization of the world. Composing, according to Lakoff & Turner (1989, pp. 70f) is the process of combining two or more different conventional metaphors in the same passage or even a sentence. Although these creative cognitive processes are identified as mechanisms used in poetry and are seen as features that distinguish poetic from ordinary language, Kövecses (2005, p. 262) points out that these processes are found in other realms such as everyday language, except questioning, and are not used only by great literary minds but by ordinary people as well. Kövecses (2005, pp. 262f) presents another creative cognitive process called negation or canceling. "In negation, or canceling, a certain metaphorical way of conceptualizing a target is canceled and replaced by an opposite metaphorical image" (Kövecses, 2005, pp. 262f). These processes, especially extending and elaborating, are seen as what Kövecses (2012, p. 254) calls source-internal creativity, "where unused source-internal conceptual materials are utilized to comprehend the target."

Kövecses (2009c, 2010b, 2012, p. 254) identifies source-external cases of creativity "in which a particular target domain receives new, additional source

domains in its conceptualization.” Kövecses (2009c, p. 87, 2012, p. 254) claims that source-external creativity has to do with the range of the target, which is defined in his previous works as the range of source domains available for the conceptualization of a particular target domain (Kövecses, 2006, p. 121). Although Kövecses (2005), throughout his book, mostly provides examples of different range of targets in languages worldwide constituting one of the aspects of cross-cultural variation, the extended range of target domains can be found within cultures along subcultural, individual, and other dimensions of metaphor variation. In the creative conceptualization of a particular conventional target domain, novel source domains can be added to the existing set of source domains used in the conceptualization of this particular target domain. Producing novel metaphors in this way is not a skill of talented individuals, but it can be found in everyday language produced by ordinary people.

Kövecses points out that, even in the most creative instances in literature, poets usually exploit conventional target domains, while the use of novel source domains is more common. One of the reasons for this that Kövecses (2005, p. 86) mentions

is that most of our source and target domains are deeply entrenched in the conventional conceptual system and we do not easily invent either new sources in terms of which targets are conceptualized or new targets that are the focus of conceptualization by more basic source domains.

Nevertheless, target domains can be involved in creative processes. In target-induced creativity, “a particular target that is conventionally associated with a source “connects back” to the source taking further knowledge structures from it” (Kövecses, 2012, p. 254). Kövecses (2005, pp. 223ff) discusses this issue in connection with the emergence of metaphors in real discourse, the issue which will be taken up and discussed in detail in the next section. What is relevant for the present discussion is that metaphorical creativity may be target-induced, archived by means of the target domain. Basing his claims on works of other linguists (Musolff, 2000, Cameron & Low, 2004), as well as on his own, Kövecses (2005, p. 227) concludes that “the rich target domain knowledge may select metaphors that are not conventionally used for the automatic and unconscious understanding of this target.” Kövecses (2009c, p. 91) points out that this type of metaphorical creativity is limited because “[t]he initial and original constitution of the target by a particular source puts limitations on which new metaphorical expressions can be created on the basis of the source and then applied to the

target.” Kövecses (2009c, p. 92) argues that target-induced creativity is similar to Lakoff & Turner’s elaboration and extending, once again reiterating the fact that creative metaphors are not only a characteristic of poetry but can be found in everyday language as well.

Kövecses (2005, pp. 264ff) mentions another source of metaphorical creativity, namely metaphorical analogy. In Kövecses’ view, novel metaphors may be based on cultural experience and embodiment, both of which to a certain degree constrain metaphorical creativity. If cultural experience and embodiment are weakened, metaphorical creativity is least constrained and opens the door for human imagination to be fully exploited. “The phenomenon of analogy is a crucial part of our metaphorical creativity” (Kövecses, 2005, p. 265). If the speaker is able to recognize features shared by the source and target domains, he is able to develop extensive analogical relationships between the elements of the source and target domains. Kövecses forms this view in line with Lakoff & Turner’s (1989, p. 82) view that as long as two domains share the same generic-level structure, they can be brought into correspondence. In addition, metaphorical creativity does not have to be based on the shared generic-level structure of the domains, but it can be based on, as Kövecses (2005, p. 266) puts it, “actual or perceived shared features.” Lakoff & Turner (1989, pp. 89ff) discuss image metaphors, which map one image onto another image and which are based on a variety of features shared by the source and target domains.

Another type of creativity is creativity through blending, which has been presented in the previous sections. Conceptual blends usually produce highly creative language. It is not surprising that BT is a theory that primarily addresses individual creative products of human cognition and that the papers written within the framework of BT offer ample examples of such creativity in language and elsewhere. As Dancygier (2017, p. 36) argues, “blending focuses on mechanisms of creativity and emergence of new forms expressing new meanings, and it is quite naturally more graceful in explaining the packaging of complex meanings into visual or linguistic chunks, thus allowing for efficient reference and discourse manipulation.”

Considering that blends can become conventionalized and that metaphorical mappings can trigger the production of blends, it can be claimed that in producing figurative creativity, blending and metaphor interact. The relationship between metaphor and blending in connection with figurative creativity can be represented in the diagram below. Figurative creativity starts with the creation of novel blends, which in turn can become conventionalized and entrenched during the course of time, producing conventional metaphors. In

turn, conventional metaphors may become readily available sources for further elaboration resulting in creativity. This process can develop in two different directions.

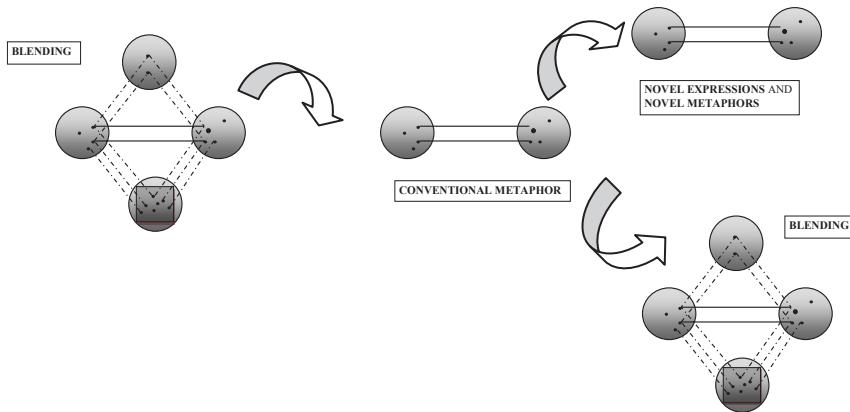


Figure 3 Cognitive processes involved in the production of figurative creativity

The first direction is metaphorical creativity achieved by means of extending and elaborating conventional metaphors producing novel metaphorical linguistic expressions, and by means of introducing novel source domains or both novel source and target domains producing novel metaphors. Another direction of creativity is to have conventional metaphors and metaphorical mappings as inputs in the conceptual integration networks producing blended spaces in which components of the source and target domains are combined in new ways.

It seems that CMT and BT combined can paint a fuller picture of figurative creativity. The theory used in particular cases of figurative creativity will depend on the cognitive process involved in producing figurative creativity, although it has to be admitted that there are no sharp dividing lines between them. In sum, the position taken in this study is in line with Grady et al.'s (1999) view on the interaction of the two theories as complementary theories. As Grady et al. (1999, p. 120) conclude, "the conventional conceptual pairings and one-way mappings studied within CMT are inputs to and constraints on the kind of dynamic conceptual networks posited within BT." It has to be added that Kövecses' (2005, 2010b, 2012, 2015) claims that CMT is not only restricted to conventional examples but can account for metaphorical creativity also has an impact on the position taken in this study.

# 3 DISCOURSE APPROACHES TO FIGURATIVE CREATIVITY

## 3.1 *Introduction*

Political discourse has been an attractive field of research for centuries. That field is equally interesting to contemporary linguists and other scholars in the present as it was to philosophers such as Cicero and Aristotle in ancient times. Observed from the point of view of discourse studies, the study of political discourse is a very diverse area, which investigates an extensive scope of subjects applying a wide range of analytical methods.<sup>13</sup> Given the broad scope of political discourse as a field, the terms *political* and *political discourse* have caused definitional problems and have been subjects of heated discussions among scholars.<sup>14</sup> Depending on different definitions, political discourse can refer to discourse that is political, or it may potentially even include discourse on political themes among friends.<sup>15</sup> Considering the definitional problems of the

13 Discourse analysis, or as scholars in the contemporary literature prefer to call it, discourse studies, is a very diverse and rapidly developing field which provides valuable insights into language use, communication, and social interaction. As van Dijk (2007, p. ix) points out, the field should be viewed as a cross-discipline because the study of discourse is an inherent part of all disciplines in the humanities and social sciences.

14 Politics itself is a domain that cannot be easily defined either (cf. Chilton, 2004, for a detailed overview of the different definitions of politics). As Chilton (2004, p. 3) points out, “politics varies according to one’s situation and purposes.” Nevertheless, considering the definition of politics found in the traditional studies of politics and discourse studies of politics, Chilton (2004, p. 3) argues that there are two strands, the one that views politics as a struggle for power and the other that views politics as cooperation.

15 To illustrate different views on political discourse, Wilson (2003) provides an overview of different definitions and the problems these definitions raise. “The term is suggestive of at least two possibilities: first, a discourse which is itself political; and second, an analysis of political discourse as simply an example discourse type, without explicit reference to political content or political context” (Wilson, 2003, p. 398). As Wilson (2003, p. 398) points out, the term *political discourse* can be potentially ambiguous as, according to some of the definitions which are broad in their scope, it turns out that all analyses of discourse can be potentially political. As Wilson (2003, p. 398) argues, this definitional problem might be solved if political discourse is characterized “as being concerned with formal/informal political contexts and political actors (Graber 1981); with, that is, *inter alia*, politicians, political institutions, governments, political media, and political supporters operating in political environments to achieve political goals.” However, Wilson admits that such a view raises further problems as it cannot account for certain types of discourse on political topics.

term *political*, its use in the term *political discourse*, and the long debate over this issue, Chilton & Schäffner (1997, p. 206) conclude that “what is ‘political’ is a matter of interpretation.” In the same vein, Wilson (2003, p. 411) concludes that it is the task of the analyst embarking on the quest of studying political discourse to state clearly what s/he considers it to be, i.e., what s/he defines as political discourse.

Putting the definitional problems aside, it can be claimed that “one of the core goals of political discourse analysis is to seek out the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect” (Wilson, 2003, p. 411). The role of language in politics has for centuries been a perennial topic in a variety of studies. It is not surprising that the role of language in politics was noticed even in ancient times. Aristotle worded this idea as follows.

But obviously man is a political animal in a sense in which a bee is not, or any other gregarious animal. Nature, as we say, does nothing without some purpose; and she has endowed man alone among the animals with the power of speech. (*The Politics*, 1253a7, translated T. A. Sinclair 1992, quoted in Chilton & Schäffner, 2002, p. 1)

Language has, for centuries, been generally considered as the main means of conveying political messages and shaping political reality. What is more, as Chilton & Schäffner (2002, p. 3) point out, “[w]hat is clear is that political activity does not exist without the use of language.” Similarly, basing her claims on the findings of some of the most prominent political discourse analysts (Chilton, van Dijk, Wodak), Semino (2008, p. 85) argues “that language plays a central (if not always recognized role) in politics, and that much political action is, either wholly or partly linguistic action.”

Given the prominent role of language as a rhetorical means in politics, it is not surprising that many linguistic studies have been devoted to studying political discourse and its linguistic aspects. It can be claimed that a distinguishing feature of a linguistic investigation into political discourse, as opposed to other investigations, is that linguists conduct “research informed by theories and methods derived from linguistics” (Chilton & Schäffner, 1997, p. 208). The linguistic studies of political discourse include a variety of topics and methods and investigate a variety of linguistic aspects, from lexis to pragmatics.<sup>16</sup>

---

16 Cf. Wilson (2003) for a detailed overview of linguistic investigations in political discourse. Furthermore, cf. Chilton & Schäffner (1997) for an overview of the traditions in studying political discourse.

Linguistic studies of political discourse examine the use of certain syntactic patterns, single words and phrases, pragmatic aspects, and even specific sounds, all with the aim to uncover the persuasive force of the use of language in politics.

The last several decades have seen an explosion of studies examining figurative language in different types of discourse, including political discourse, within the frameworks of CMT and BT. The main purpose of studying metaphor in discourse is to examine how metaphors contribute to creating text and message. In that sense, some of the studies applying these two theories to (political) discourse aim to uncover how metaphor and conceptual integration as basic cognitive mechanisms are used in order to promote certain viewpoints and express rhetorical goals in discourse. Some of them investigate the role of metaphor in shaping discourse, that is, achieving discourse coherence. Certain studies apply BT to uncover the role of blending in discourse in achieving rhetorical goals. Surprisingly, in an enormous body of valuable literature on figurative language in discourse, not much has been said about figurative creativity and the rhetorical potential it may have, as well as the ways in which figurative creativity can contribute to discourse coherence.

This chapter looks at the recent trends in the research of metaphor and blending in discourse, especially political discourse, providing an overview of notable studies in this field. Although there exists a wide array of studies dealing with figurative language in discourse, especially metaphor, discussing a variety of issues, this overview focuses on the studies dealing with the role of metaphor and blending in shaping text and message in discourse, especially figurative creativity produced by these two cognitive mechanisms.

### ***3.2 Figurative language in discourse – an overview***

#### ***3.2.1 Metaphor in (political) discourse***

Gibbs & Lonergan (2009, p. 251) claim that “[m]etaphors are [...] products of discourse, and thus are thoroughly contextualized, even so that it is now questionable whether metaphor should ever be studied apart from the contexts in which they live.” It is often claimed that one of the flaws of CMT is that many studies of metaphor were conducted on the material which was artificially constructed, thus casting doubt on the postulates of conceptual metaphor theory and the ubiquity of conceptual metaphor (cf. Cameron, 2003, Deignan, 2005, 2008, Gibbs, 2017, Goatly, 1997, Pragglejaz Group, 2007, Semino, 2008,

Semino et al., 2004, Steen, 2007).<sup>17</sup> This state of affairs has changed to a great extent as the last decades have seen extensive investigations of the role of conceptual metaphor in discourse. Even a cursory glance at the publications such as *Discourse and Society* and *Discourse studies*, as well as other publications specializing in metaphor such as *Metaphor and Symbol*, reveals that, in recent years, there has been an explosion of papers investigating conceptual metaphors and their metaphorical linguistic expressions in authentic discourse. Metaphors have been studied in different types of discourse, compared and contrasted in different languages, and identified in corpora related to a particular type of discourse. Some of the recent publications dealing with metaphor in different types of discourse include studying metaphor in media discourse, educational discourse, business discourse, scientific discourse, medical discourse, and, of course, in political discourse (see Brdar & Brdar-Szabó, 2020, Cameron, 2003, Cameron & Low, 2004, Koller, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2008, Nerlich et al., 2000, Nerlich, 2007, Potts & Semino, 2019, Semino, 2021, and many others). These studies focus on different functions of metaphors, from their rhetorical power to the patterning of metaphors in discourse.

What these studies reveal is that metaphors perform various functions in discourse. It is well-known that the primary function of metaphor is reasoning and speaking about one concept in terms of another. However, other functions of metaphor have been acknowledged; for instance, metaphors have an important role in discourse as a persuasive tool. It can be claimed that metaphor is an extremely successful linguistic and conceptual tool used for achieving rhetorical goals. As it has been mentioned, the general rhetorical aim of persuasion is central to political discourse, and the use of metaphors contributes to this general aim. In that light, conceptual metaphors in political discourse, which can be characterized as having a serious rhetorical agenda, have been studied ever since the field gained popularity and became one of the leading trends in linguistics.

Given the prominence of metaphors in political discourse, it is not surprising that the persuasive force of metaphors and their importance in political discourse was pointed out even in Lakoff & Johnson's (1980) *Metaphors We*

17 These authors suggest that metaphors should be identified in natural discourse and corpora and propose a methodology for their identification. Although Kövecses (2008) partly agrees with these suggestions, he justifies the use of artificially constructed material in metaphor investigations claiming that metaphors exist at three distinct levels, the supraindividual, the individual, and subindividual levels. Kövecses (2008, p. 169) points out that metaphor research at supraindividual level deals with decontextualized metaphorical linguistic expressions, while metaphor research at the individual level deals with systematic identification of metaphorical expression in naturally occurring discourse.

*Live By*, when the field was in its beginnings, still gaining shape and momentum. Lakoff & Johnson (1980, p. 157) claim that “people in power get to impose their metaphors.” Lakoff & Johnson (1980, p. 159) point out that metaphors have an important role in shaping political reality. The rhetorical force of metaphors lies in the fact that metaphors can highlight certain aspects of reality while they can successfully hide others.

Metaphors have entailments through which they highlight and make coherent certain aspects of our experience. [...] Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action. [...] This will, in turn, reinforce the power of the metaphor to make experience coherent. In this sense metaphors can be self-fulfilling prophecies. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 156)

Guided by these observations, Lakoff himself (1992, 2003, 2011, 2016) subsequently published and distributed via the internet a series of papers dealing with metaphorical shaping of political reality such as the representation of the Gulf War, September 11 attacks, and the Trump presidency. Lakoff’s book *Moral Politics* (1996) and papers (1995) discuss conceptual metaphors underlying liberal and conservative politics in America, guided by two opposing models, the nutrient parent model, and the strict father model, respectively. Apart from Lakoff’s studies, metaphor as an ideological, persuasive, and rhetorical instrument has been studied in a significant number of papers. The papers focus on different means of expressing political thought and include press reporting, political speeches, debates, and press conferences in English, as well as other languages. Although such papers cover a variety of topics and employ different methods in analyzing metaphors, the common thread of these papers is the use of metaphor as a persuasive tool in politics. Some of the notable and often cited studies include Ahrens (2019), Ahrens & Lee (2009), Charteris-Black (2004, 2005, 2009, 2011, 2014, 2016, 2019), Chilton & Ilyin (1993), Deignan (2010), Ferrari (2007), Kennedy (2000), Koller 2004a, Koller & Semino (2009), Musolff (2000, 2004, 2006, 2010a, 2010b, 2016), Rohrer (1995), Sandikcioglu (2000), Santa Ana (1999), Semino (2008), Semino & Koller (2009), Semino & Masci (1996), Zinken (2003).

Although all of these studies investigate different aspects of metaphor in different genres of political discourse, what all of them have in common is the claim that metaphors indeed have a great impact on the human conceptualization of political reality. It can be said that metaphors are guides of political thought,

which can be employed as persuasive tools by politicians and other participants in politics in promoting their policies or opinions. Metaphors as persuasive tools can even be dangerous. This is confirmed in the opening line of Lakoff's (1992, p. 463) discussion concerning the Gulf War, which states that "metaphors can kill."

Apart from the ideological force of metaphor, it can be claimed that metaphor performs another important function, that of structuring discourse. Metaphors can be consciously or unconsciously used as an organizing tool in discourse (cf. Goatly, 1997, p. 163). Many cognitive linguists (Berberović, 2013, Berberović & Mujagić, 2017, Cameron, 2003, Charteris-Black, 2004, Dancygier, 2012, Deignan, 2005, Dorst, 2017, Eubanks, 2000, Koller, 2004a, Kövecses, 2009c, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2020, Musolff, 2000, 2004, 2006, 2016, Ritchie, 2017a, 2017b, Semino, 2008, 2010, Semino et al., 2013) investigating metaphor in discourse have uncovered that an important function of metaphor is providing intratextual and intertextual coherence. Semino (2008, p. 54) claims that metaphors can occur in "a particular stretch of text (e.g., textual extension), throughout a text (e.g., metaphorical chains) or across texts (e.g., intertextual connections)." The outcome of such use of metaphor in discourse is the coherence of the text and discourse. As White (1997, p. 242) points out,

One major effect is that the host of interrelated linguistic expressions which accompany each metaphor forcefully contribute to the cohesion of the text while at the same time, the tightness and consistency of the argumentation which results from the structural logic provided by the metaphor structure contributes to such an essential textual feature as is coherence.

There are a number of patterns in which metaphors appear in the text. This issue has recently been discussed in several papers (cf. Cameron & Low, 2004, Cameron & Stelma, 2004, Goatly, 1997, Koller, 2003, 2004a). Semino (2008, pp. 22ff) presents a comprehensive overview of the patterning of metaphors in discourse, mostly based on Cameron & Stelma's (2004), Darian's (2000) and Goatly's (1997) work, as well as her own investigations.<sup>18</sup> The patterns of the textual manifestations of metaphors include repetition, recurrence, clustering, extension, combination and mixing, and literal-metaphorical opposition. It is important to point out that the patterns can co-occur and interact in various ways

<sup>18</sup> Although Semino (2008) bases her overview among others on Goatly's (1997) findings, there are certain differences in the terms used by Goatly and Semino as well as the classification of textual patterning of metaphors in discourse (cf. Goatly, 1997).

within a single text. As Semino (2008) points out, these textual manifestations of metaphors are just some of the patterns of textual interaction of metaphor. In the cognitive linguistic literature, metaphorical chains and clusters have received more attention than other phenomena, while other phenomena are mentioned in passing.

Apart from metaphor patterning within texts, metaphorical expressions originating from one text are used in another text establishing intertextual relationships in a variety of ways. A particular metaphor used in one text may be exploited in another text to show agreement or disagreement with the particular point of view (cf. Musolff, 2004, Semino, 2008). Certain metaphors can establish intertextual relationships within texts dealing with the same issue (Kövecses, 2009c, p. 82, Semino, 2008), providing examples of biblical metaphors, points out that one form of intertextual coherence “is achieved through inheriting and using a particular conceptual metaphor at different historical periods.” A further discussion of this issue in relation to metaphorical creativity is presented in section 3.3. below.

### ***3.2.2 Blending in discourse***

Mental space theory and conceptual integration theory, as the development of mental space theory, both tackle a wide variety of phenomena of the construction of meaning in various domains of human lives, ranging from discourse comprehension to the construction of meaning in music and religious rituals. Although both of these theories have, over the years, developed to account for a wide scope of phenomena, they were both primarily devised to be semantic theories of discourse meaning (Hougaard & Oakley, 2008, p. 1). Regardless of the fact that the theories have grown and expanded their scopes, discourse still presents a very important area of investigation in both mental space theory and conceptual integration theory. Hougaard & Oakley (2008, p. 1) highlight two major developments in discursive mental spaces and conceptual integration framework. The first development is that more attention is “being paid to the way contextual and situational factors determine mental spaces and blending operations, under which or in accordance with which discourse participants construct the meaning” (Hougaard & Oakley, 2008, p. 1). The second strand of development includes “an increasing multiplicity of particular theoretic and empirical notions on which researchers study discourse” (Hougaard & Oakley, 2008, p. 1). Various approaches to discourse are incorporated into discursive mental space and conceptual integration research, such as pragmatics, text linguistics, discourse studies, and interactional studies.

Regardless of the different directions in the investigation of blending in discourse, generally speaking, examining discourse within conceptual integration theory seems to be a vibrant area within the framework of cognitive linguistics, attracting the attention of linguists investigating various aspects of blending in discourse. The application of BT to discourse is not surprising as blending shows up in everyday language, jokes, advertising, poetry, and other types of discourse. As BT is focused on creative and novel instances of human imagination, the general impression that a glance at the cognitive linguistic literature leaves is that blending as a basic cognitive mechanism has not been systematically studied in different types of discourse in the sense that metaphor has. Rather, many studies focus on isolated examples of novel and creative language use, which can nevertheless be regarded as the studies of blending in discourse.

It can be claimed that certain types of discourse have been extensively studied within the framework of conceptual integration theory. There are numerous studies applying BT to literature, an example being a special issue of *Language and Linguistics* on blending theory in literature (cf. Dancygier, 2006). A common thread of all the papers in this volume is that they examine blending in literature; however, each focuses on a different phenomenon ranging from compression in blending to the conceptual blends involved in different interpretations of a single set of texts. Apart from this, blending has been extensively studied in persuasive discourse, in which, unlike in literature, creativity is not a primary goal.

Blending is considered to be a force behind promoting certain points of view, influencing the addressee to change the reality. That blending can have a great rhetorical and ideological impact is shown by Chilton (2005) in his discussion of a blend employed in anti-Semitic Nazi propaganda, as presented in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Chilton (2005, p. 38) claims that at the core of this propaganda was a conceptual blend in which the social group, the Jews, is linked to a parasite, which has to be expelled from the body and destroyed. According to Chilton, this conceptual blend extended in many aspects of discourse and became a central issue in this type of ideological discourse.<sup>19</sup>

19 Chilton also points out that exactly this cognitive insight into ideology is what is missing in Critical Discourse Analysis. Chilton (2005, p. 38) points out that BT could enable critical discourse analysts to build a cognitive theory of ideology. "What such a theory would give us, it should be noted, is not a means of combating directly those with whose ideologies we might disagree, but a means of deepening our understanding of what it could mean to give an explanation of how and perhaps why human minds produce such structures" (Chilton 2005, p. 38).

Coulson and associates (Coulson, 2006, Coulson & Oakley, 2006, Coulson & Pascual, 2006, Oakley & Coulson, 2008) and Semino (2010) discuss blending in different types of persuasive discourse. Coulson & Oakley (2006) show that BT can account for mental operations that can persuade the hearers to act. They point out that rhetorical effects are not simply produced by establishing appropriate mappings between the inputs but that “the rhetorical efficacy of the text depends on the hearer’s willingness to integrate and elaborate the models in a way that yields the desired emergent structure and affective responses” (Coulson & Oakley, 2006, p. 56). Similar to the abovementioned study, applying conceptual integration theory, Coulson & Pascual (2006) discuss several examples of persuasive discourse and conclude that the conceptual integration of two scenarios in a single absurd scenario in the blended space presents an effective argumentative tactic. Such blends are not constructed in order to be entertaining, creative, and humorous but in order to convince the addressee to change the current state of affairs or to persuade the addressee to change his or her convictions. What Coulson & Pascual (2006, p. 156) claim is that “the impossible images inherent in these blends are rhetorically effective because they present the speakers’ argument in an economic and convincing/straightforward manner.” This is achieved through compression to human scale frames. Coulson & Pascual (2006, p. 155) argue “that persuasive discourse makes critical usage of compression to human scale, and further that it also involves the construction of unrealistic blends to make a more serious point.” The importance of compression to human scale in persuasive discourse is further reiterated in other studies in which blends discussed do not necessarily include absurd scenarios (cf. Coulson, 2006, Coulson & Oakley, 2006). Simply, the rhetorical efficacy of a certain blend can be partly attributed to compression. Coulson & Pascual (2006) also point out that the blends in their analysis are also structured by cultural as well as cognitive models. A similar point is made in another Coulson’s paper (2006), in which she discusses humorous and persuasive discourse. Coulson (2006) emphasizes the role of conceptual integration in the perpetuation, negotiation, and propagation of cultural models. Coulson (2006, p. 187) claims that conceptual blending often produces novel concepts, and it can be used to “adapt cultural models to the rhetorical goals of individual members of the culture.” In that sense, Coulson (2006, p. 206) argues that “processes of conceptual blending mediate the exploitation of stable conventional mapping schemes and adapt shared cultural models to the idiosyncratic needs of individuals.” Similarly, Semino (2010) studies unrealistic metaphorical blends in scientific and political discourse and

finds that unrealistic blends, which contain inconsistencies, are rhetorically powerful.

Absurd scenarios arising in the blended space are also considered to be important in humorous discourse, which can have a serious rhetorical agenda (cf. Coulson, 1996, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006). Coulson (1996, 2002, 2005, 2006) discusses jokes and political cartoons, providing evidence that humorous blends with bizarre concepts arising in the blended space can promote certain aspects of reality. “Political cartoons and rhetorically motivated discourse prompt us to construct blended cognitive models and, in effective cases of rhetoric, desired inferences are analogically projected from blatantly unrealistic blended cognitive models to the real-world target domain” (Coulson, 2006, pp. 197-198).

All of these studies emphasize the importance of the emergent structure in producing new conceptualizations that shed new light on the real-life domains. What appears to be of greater importance than the structure of the blend itself are the inferences, emotional responses, and rhetorical force created in the blend. “The blended space is rarely the principal rhetorical focus of the network, as it is far more often the case (as with satire) that it exists to help us think about the topic of one of the input spaces” (Oakley, 2011, p. 6). It can be claimed that blends are often created to put forward specific arguments. Thus, the speaker’s main goal is to divert the hearer’s attention to the inferences and conceptualizations produced by the blend, not to the new structure created (Coulson & Pascual, 2006). Backward projections from the blended space to the input spaces make possible reasoning differently about input spaces or promoting construals in them. Backward projections from the blend to one or both inputs highlight certain aspects of the input(s) in accordance with the inferences created in the blend. Blends can have rhetorical power and can help the hearers view reality differently, provoke their emotional response, and sometimes even make them change the world around them. As Dancygier & Sweetser (2014, p. 191) claim, “blending supports the speaker’s rhetorical goals in a way that a single-space representation could not.”

### ***3.3 Figurative creativity in (political) discourse***

The phenomenon of figurative creativity is defined by Kövecses (2005) as creativity arising through the cognitive mechanisms of metonymy, metaphor, and blending. As presented previously, metaphor and blending contribute to various aspects of discourse, from creating the text to shaping its message. It is to be expected that more creative products of these mechanisms, namely, figurative creativity, have similar effects in discourse. However, in an enormous

body of cognitive linguistic literature discussing these cognitive mechanisms, surprisingly, only a few studies address the issue of figurative creativity in discourse. The disregard of this issue is especially noticeable in the studies dealing with metaphor in discourse, considering a large number of such studies. In a wide variety of studies dealing with metaphor in discourse, only a few papers acknowledge the presence of creative language use, that is, metaphorical creativity (cf. Koller, 2004a, 2004b, Kövecses, 2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2010b, 2012, 2015, Mueller, 2010, Musolff, 2000, 2004, 2016, Semino, 2002, 2008). Some of these studies, having their own different aims, only briefly mention this issue and pay as much attention to it as the scope and the purpose of the study allow. It can be claimed that recently only Kövecses (2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2010b, 2012, 2015) and Semino (2008) have systematically studied the factors influencing the use of creative metaphors and metaphorical expressions in discourse. Semino (2008) discusses metaphorical creativity in different types of discourse, from poetry and advertising to politics, and along with other issues of interest pertaining to metaphor in discourse, she pays considerable attention to rhetorical and textual functions of creative metaphorical expressions in discourse. These papers mostly concentrate on metaphorical creativity in discourse, mentioning blending in passing as an alternative analysis. As for blending in discourse, it is acknowledged in the cognitive linguistic literature that conceptual integration deals with creative products of the human mind. Studying blending in discourse in most cases implies studying creative blends.

Although the number of studies investigating metaphorical creativity in some form and to some degree is insignificant compared to the number of studies investigating conventional metaphors in discourse, such rare studies still make an important contribution to CMT. They prove that metaphorical creativity is not restricted to literature only, as it was first believed, but that it can be found in other realms of life in which people feel the need to seek unconventional ways of expressing their thoughts. Although the first serious discussion of metaphorical creativity within CMT was studied in Lakoff & Turner's (1989) work with regard to poetry, metaphorical creativity is found to be present in other genres or types of discourse. A rare quantitative study of novel metaphorical expressions in six different genres of discourse in English conducted by Goatly (1997, p. 321) reveals that the highest number of novel metaphorical expressions appear in literature, 56% in modern English lyric poetry and 28% in modern novels. The frequency of novel metaphorical expressions in other genres is not insignificant. Goatly finds that the percentage of novel metaphorical expressions in magazine advertising is quite high, amounting to 31% and that the percentage of novel

metaphors in popular science is slightly lower, amounting to 18%. Although the frequencies of 10% and 4% found in conversation and national news reports, respectively, are significantly lower, this fact still proves that metaphorical creativity is omnipresent in discourse. Nevertheless, it is often claimed in the cognitive linguistic literature (cf. Semino & Steen, 2008, p. 242, Semino, 2008, p. 43) that more studies of this kind should be conducted to paint a fuller picture of metaphorical creativity across different genres.

Many cognitive linguists (Deignan, 2005, Goatly, 1997, Kövecses, 2005, 2008, 2009a, 2010b, 2012, Semino, 2002, 2008,) reiterate the fact that metaphorical creativity is not restricted to literature only but that it appears in different types of discourse as well, albeit not as frequently as in literature. Considering this finding, the last several years have seen an increase in the study of metaphorical creativity in multimodal discourse, such as the volume edited by Hidalgo-Downing & Kraljevic Mujic (2020), which contains a selection of papers discussing metaphorical creativity expressed in different modes or cross-modally, such as music, political cartoons, films, performance, professional discourses. As for the definition of metaphorical creativity in various types of discourse, especially where it is not common as in literary discourse, for instance, political discourse, it is most typically defined as a deviation from the conventional metaphor. Mueller (2010, p. 323) provides the following definition of creative metaphor.

If we understand conventionality in terms of expectations within a given discourse or genre, we can define “creative metaphors” as expressions which draw attention to their metaphoricity because they deviate creatively from conventional ways of expressing things and thoughts within a particular discourse or genre.

According to Hidalgo-Downing (2020, pp. 3-4), the analysis of metaphorical creativity as a product in discourse can take place at three different levels, semantic, textual-discursive, and contextual. At the semantic level, the study of metaphorical creativity involves novel metaphors, creative elaborations of conventional metaphor, and elaboration and expansion of source domains. At the textual-discursive level, analysts examine the occurrence of metaphorical creativity in textual patterns such as recurrence, clustering, combing and mixing, intertextuality, and multimodality. At the contextual level, metaphorical creativity is examined “by analyzing the influence of contextual socio-cultural factors on creativity, together with the creative adaptation of metaphors to

new genres and contexts (re-contextualization)" (Hidalgo-Downing, 2020, p. 4). These three levels of analysis are conceived as feeding into each other and mutually influencing each other, where the semantic level is part of the textual-discursive level, which is in turn part of the contextual level, considering that "the importance of context in the analysis of metaphoric creativity is crucial, even when analyzing semantic and textual-discursive features" (Hidalgo-Downing 2020, p. 4). Similarly, Mueller (2010, p. 324) notes that in the analysis of metaphorical creativity, several levels have to be considered, such as co-textual, textual, context, conceptual, and discourse. Mueller (2010, p. 325) argues that these levels are not separated from each other and that information from all levels could be beneficial for the analysis of metaphor creativity.

Several studies show that metaphorical creativity in discourse can perform different functions. In her systematic study of metaphor in different types of discourse, including literature, politics, advertising, science, and education, Semino (2008) finds that metaphorical creativity constitutes an important aspect of different types of discourse. Although investigating metaphorical creativity is not a primary concern of Semino's study, she nevertheless pays considerable attention to this phenomenon because, as she observes, metaphorical creativity has important functions in discourse. As Semino claims (2008, p. 222), "[...] the functions of creative uses of metaphor can vary considerably depending on the genre [...]." These functions range from providing fresh perspectives of certain issues for artistic purposes in literature and educational purposes in science and education, persuasive purposes in politics and advertising, to contributing to discourse coherence. These findings imply that metaphorical creativity has similar effects in discourse as conventional metaphors concerning their role in expressing rhetorical goals and achieving coherence of discourse.

The rhetorical impact of metaphorical creativity has not been sufficiently discussed in cognitive linguistic studies. Semino (2002, 2008) provides sufficient evidence to support the claim that creative metaphorical expressions can be indeed used to achieve certain rhetorical goals. The basic idea behind this claim is that the exploitation of conventional metaphors resulting in novel metaphorical expressions is consciously and deliberately performed with the aim of achieving certain effects. Semino (2002, 2008, pp. 2ff, pp. 81ff) studies different metaphors used in political discourse and finds that certain metaphors are creatively exploited for rhetorical and ideological purposes. Although both conventional and novel metaphorical expressions can be used to promote certain rhetorical agendas, Semino (2008, p. 24, p. 108) argues that there exists a difference between the rhetorical functions of conventional

and novel metaphorical expressions in discourse. She (2008, p. 124) claims that conventional metaphorical patterns constitute certain discourses and “can reflect and reinforce particular ideologies.” The use of conventional metaphors in political discourse reveals the usual ways of talking and thinking about certain issues. It is commonly accepted that the use of particular conventional metaphors helps frame political issues in a certain way. On the contrary, “[...] more novel expressions and patterns [...] exploit conventional ways of talking and thinking to argue particular points and achieve particular rhetorical effects [...].” As opposed to conventional metaphorical expressions, novel metaphorical expressions “tend to be used more deliberately to argue particular points in particular contexts” (Semino, 2008, p. 124). The effects of novel metaphorical expressions are manifold. As Semino (2002, 2008) argues throughout her studies, novel metaphorical expressions in political discourse are used to question certain positions, express a certain stance in an emotive and persuasive way, extend and contest the opponent’s choice of metaphor, create humorous effects, all with the aim of promoting certain rhetorical agenda. The advantage of such creativity is framing issues in comprehensible terms based on conventional metaphor but still adding a new dimension producing memorable language, and thus achieving rhetorical goals. The view that novel metaphorical expressions in politics indeed have a rhetorical function is further confirmed by Chilton & Schäffner’s (2002, p. 29) term *rhetorical metaphors* to refer to this phenomenon. Additional confirmation of this is found by Mueller (2010), who studies metaphorical creativity in political speeches. In support of these claims goes Eubanks’ (2000, p. 26) view that no metaphor is used in “a rhetoric free-environment.” It is, therefore, reasonable to believe that creative metaphors are no different in this respect.

As conventional metaphors, metaphorical creativity contributes to the coherence of discourse. In their discussion of the role of metaphor in political discourse, Chilton & Schäffner (2002, p. 29) argue that both creative and conventional metaphorical expressions can contribute to intratextual and intertextual coherence. In the same vein, Semino (2008, p. 54) concludes that apart from creativity which encompasses a departure from conventional metaphorical concepts, creativity can be exhibited by the choice and occurrence of metaphorical patterns within, throughout, and across the texts. Semino (2008, p. 54) argues “that an important aspect of metaphorical creativity is the production of patterns of related metaphorical expressions, which may occur within a particular stretch of text (e.g., textual extension), throughout a text (e.g., metaphorical chains) or across texts (e.g., intertextual connections).”

Semino (2008, p. 107) defines intratextual coherence as “the overall coherence of the representation of (an aspect) of reality which is put forward in a particular text” and argues that such textual patterns usually involve the creative exploitation of conventional metaphors. Apart from effectively arguing particular points of view and achieving rhetorical goals, this type of metaphorical patterning is also effective in structuring the text and achieving textual coherence.

Creative metaphorical expressions can be used in discussions of particular issues across texts providing intertextual coherence, connecting texts discussing similar topics. As Zinken & Musolff (2009, p. 4) point out, “metaphors seem to play a vital role in keeping discussions going [...].” To demonstrate how conventional and novel metaphorical expressions can contribute to intertextual coherence, Semino (2008, pp. 109ff) studies the use of the ROAD MAP metaphor in political discourse. Further evidence supporting the claim that conventional, as well as novel metaphorical expressions contribute to intertextual coherence of discourse can also be found in Musolff’s studies (2004, 2016) on metaphorical scenarios employed in political discourse on the European Union in the UK and Germany. Although the objectives of Musolff’s studies are completely different from examining metaphorical creativity in political discourse and its possible contribution to intertextual coherence of discourse, some of the examples he uses to support his hypotheses can also be read in the light of the abovementioned studies.<sup>20</sup> Musolff (2004, 2016) presents cases of prominent metaphors used by politicians and the media in the debates on European integration and uses a corpus approach to illustrate their use and prominence at one point in time, providing ample examples of metaphorical expressions of certain metaphors. Musolff’s important hypothesis, which can be linked to intertextual coherence of discourse, is formulated as follows.

In the course of the public debate within a discourse community, micro-traditions of metaphor use emerge, in which specific scenarios and special formulations (e.g. *premature birth*, *being at the heart of Europe*, *Euro-sclerosis*, *the sick man of Europe*) become the foci of further extensions, variations and reinterpretations. (Musolff, 2004, pp. 112-113)

---

<sup>20</sup> Musolff (2004, p. 111, p. 143) only briefly mentions the creative exploitation of certain metaphors and points out that such use has rhetorical effects. Observed from a different angle, that of investigating the role of metaphor in achieving intertextual coherence, his study provides further evidence that metaphors, including their creative elaboration, contribute to intertextual coherence of discourse.

Most of the metaphorical expressions he considers can be viewed as creative metaphorical expressions or elaboration of striking metaphors, as well as conceptual blends used by politicians and the media in virtual conversations on a particular topic.<sup>21</sup>

According to Kövecses (2012, p. 254), metaphorical creativity in discourse can appear as source-external creativity and target-induced creativity. Kövecses (2009c, p. 87, 2010b, p. 665, 2012, p. 254) claims that source-external creativity has to do with the range of the target. Conventional target domains are conceptualized via novel source domains, allowing the conceptualization of new aspects of the target domain. As Kövecses (2005, 2009a, 2009c, 2012, 2015) claims, in target-induced creativity, in a certain conventional metaphor, the target domain takes additional conceptual material from the source, and thus further mappings between source and target are established. According to Kövecses (2005, p. 226), this phenomenon is particularly characteristic of discourse. “In a dynamic discourse situation the activated target domain in the discourse can indeed select components of the source that fit a particular target idea or purpose” (Kövecses, 2005, p. 226).

Apart from source-induced and target-induced creativity, cognitive linguists (Koller, 2004a, 2004b, Kövecses, 2009a, 2009b, 2010b, 2012, 2015, Semino, 2008) have also recognized that the context plays an important role in producing metaphorical creativity in discourse. Koller (2004a, p. 31, 2004b, p. 20) notices the role the context plays in the choice of metaphor in discourse and makes a passing mention of this phenomenon, claiming that the topic of the text may trigger the use of a certain metaphor. Semino (2008), in addition to the influence the topic under discussion may have on the choice of metaphor, also notices that some aspects of the communicative situation may trigger the choice of metaphor and calls such metaphors situation-triggered. “The notion of ‘situational triggering’ may be used to capture any nonmetaphorical connection between a particular metaphorical source domain and some aspect of the relevant situational context, including the speaker [...], the setting and so on” (Semino, 2008, p. 106). Topic-triggering and situation triggering may influence the choice of conventional as well as novel metaphors.

Similarly, Kövecses (2009a, 2009b, 2010b, 2012, 2015, 2020) also recognizes the role of context to contributing metaphorical creativity and

---

21 Musolff (2004, p. 5, *passim*) uses the term *virtual conversations* to refer to discussions of a particular issue within a discourse community. Needless to say, metaphors play an important role in virtual conversations on a particular topic. In virtual conversations, a history of a particular metaphor and its elaboration can be tracked.

devotes considerable attention to this phenomenon, systematically studying it in a series of papers. Kövecses (2012) calls this type of creativity context-induced creativity. According to Kövecses (2012, p. 254), in context-induced creativity, “the emergence of a particular metaphorical expression is due to the influence of some aspect of discourse.” Kövecses (2012) recognizes five different aspects of discourse that can lead to the use of novel metaphors.

In that sense, the choice of metaphor may be influenced by the immediate linguistic context, “that is, the concepts that surround the conceptual slot where we need a word or phrase to express a particular meaning” (Kövecses, 2012, p. 254).<sup>22</sup> Kövecses (2009b, 2010b, 2012, 2015) points out that metaphorical creativity can be influenced by the knowledge about major entities participating in the discourse, namely the speaker/conceptualizer, the topic, and the hearer/conceptualizer. As Kövecses (2012, pp. 257ff) notices, the speaker can have some additional knowledge about the participants in the discourse, which can consciously or unconsciously influence the choice of a conventional or novel metaphor on the part of the speaker. Kövecses (2012, pp. 259ff) argues that speakers and hearers discuss a certain topic in a particular social, physical or cultural context. Social and physical settings, as well as the immediate cultural context, can also influence the choice of metaphor in discourse. As Kövecses (2012, p. 254) points out, these factors are usually combined in real discourse, influencing the use of the novel as well as conventional metaphors in discourse. As far as blending is concerned, Kövecses (2020, p. 145) concludes that “blends seem to be just as much prone as metaphors to the various contextual effects in the creation of input spaces and the linguistic expressions based on them.”

The fact that the context plays an important role is not surprising because, as Kövecses claims, there is a general inclination on the part of the speaker to be coherent with the communicative situation. Kövecses (2005, p. 237) calls this the pressure of coherence and claims that the pressure of coherence “means that speakers try (and tend) to be coherent with various aspects of the communicative situation in the process of creating metaphorical ideas.”<sup>223</sup>

Context-induced creativity has been studied in different types of discourse. Kövecses’ studies provide extensive accounts of context-induced creativity in media discourse, Koller (2004a, 2004b) in passing notices this phenomenon in

---

22 Kövecses (2012, p. 254) thinks of “discourse as being composed of a series of concepts organized in a particular way.”

23 According to Kövecses (2005, p. 237), “[t]he communicative situation has to be understood as minimally comprising the audience, the medium, the topic, and the setting.”

business discourse, and Semino (2008) studies this issue in advertising, media discourse, as well as political discourse. However, both Kövecses (2012, p. 266) and Semino (2008, pp. 222ff) agree that this phenomenon has not received the attention it deserves in CMT, nor has it been systematically studied. Semino briefly considers the functions of context-induced metaphors in different types of discourse. Semino (2008, pp. 222ff) finds that topic-triggered and situation-triggered metaphors in media discourse and advertising are primarily used for attention-grabbing and humorous purposes as well as for witty exploitation of the real-world associations. As for political discourse, Semino recognizes the rhetorical potential of context-induced creativity and lays the foundations for further examination of this issue. Semino (2008, p. 106, pp. 222ff) argues that various aspects of context, in her study subsumed under the terms topic-triggering and situational-triggering, can help the speaker achieve certain rhetorical goals in political discourse. According to Semino (2008, p. 106), topic-triggered and situation-triggered metaphors in political discourse “may lend additional rhetorical strength to the speaker’s or writer’s arguments, by triggering particular inferences, evaluations, emotional associations and so on.” Context-induced creativity is another proof of the unbreakable bond that obtains between metaphors and the contexts they appear in. As Gibbs & Lonergan (2009, p. 251) phrase it, “[...] metaphors are inseparable from context because there is no division between metaphor and discourse, given that metaphors are both products of discourse and creators of discourse.”

Some of the examples of creative metaphorical expressions and creative metaphors mentioned above could be treated as conceptual blends. Indeed, the authors of the papers discussed above do point out that blending analysis would be suitable in certain cases. Kövecses (2005, p. 226) points out that target-induced metaphorical creativity could be analyzed in line with Grady et al.’s (1999) approach, applying conceptual integration theory. Although the major themes of Musolff’s (2004, p. 83ff, *passim*, 2016, 2019) studies are metaphors in political discourse, he does make a passing mention in several places that certain examples could be viewed as metaphorical blends. He does not analyze them in detail, nor does he explain the relationship between conceptual blending and conceptual metaphor in such cases. Semino (2008, p. 94, *passim*), whose main goal is studying metaphor in discourse, briefly mentions that certain examples discussed within the framework of CMT could be analyzed as conceptual blends as well. Semino does not provide a detailed analysis because, as she (2008, p. 52) states, such an analysis is beyond the scope of her study. Similar claims are put forward by Semino et al. (2013) and Ritchie (2017a) as well.

As far as figurative creativity through blending in discourse is concerned, as mentioned in the previous sections, most of the blends discussed in the cognitive linguistic literature are imaginative blends arising through a series of mental gymnastics. It can be concluded that studying blending in discourse is studying creative products of the human mind in discourse, where creativity is inherent. As mentioned in the previous section, blends appearing in discourse can be rhetorically powerful. Apart from isolated examples from political discourse, there have not been attempts to study the role of blending in political discourse systematically. Although the studies presented in the previous sections deal with creative and less creative blends in persuasive discourse, it is to be expected that figurative creativity through blending has the same rhetorical purpose in political discourse. It can be speculated that conceptual blends perform a similar textual function, that of contributing to discourse coherence, as creative metaphors.

# 4 CASE STUDIES

## 4.1 *Introduction*

**A**s presented in the previous parts, metaphor and blending as basic cognitive mechanisms have important functions related to shaping the text and its message. As the findings of the studies mentioned previously show, these cognitive mechanisms produce figurative language, which can occur throughout a single text or across different texts, performing an important textual function, that of achieving discourse coherence. In addition, metaphor and blending are powerful rhetorical tools, which can be successfully used to promote certain rhetorical agendas. Although only a few studies discuss the rhetorical potential and textual functions of creative products of these cognitive mechanisms, namely figurative creativity, they still lay the foundations for the present study. As discussed in the previous sections, these studies have shown that metaphorical creativity and blending in (political) discourse have important rhetorical potential. Such studies have revealed that metaphorical creativity also plays an important role in contributing to the intratextual and intertextual coherence of discourse.

Therefore, following in the footsteps of these studies (cf. Koller, 2004a, 2004b, Kövecses, 2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2010b, 2012, 2020, Musolff, 2000, 2004, 2016, Semino, 2002, 2008), the present study aims to discuss the role of figurative creativity, especially blending, in shaping discourse and its message in the American political discourse. Apart from this, the case studies aim to shed light on the relationship between two complementary cognitive mechanisms, namely conceptual metaphor and conceptual integration, and the nature of mappings in these cognitive processes. Although both of these processes have been extensively discussed in the cognitive linguistic literature, their relationship and complementary nature have been either completely neglected or mentioned only in passing. The only study that directly addresses the relationship between metaphor and blending is Grady et al.'s (1999) study, which views these two cognitive mechanisms as complementary. Therefore, the approach adopted in this study is similar to Grady et al.'s, viewing conceptual metaphor and conceptual integration as two complementary cognitive processes and the theories as benefiting from each other's findings.

Therefore, the following sections will examine examples of figurative creativity, especially creativity through blending, from American political discourse and study how figurative creativity contributes to achieving discourse coherence and creating rhetorically powerful statements. This part will present two different case studies dealing with prominent figurative expressions in the contemporary American political discourse, namely *playing the woman card* and *building a new foundation for economic growth/prosperity*. It is assumed that these expressions and other creative figurative language motivated by the use of these expressions are products of the interaction of conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending. The first study deals with *playing the woman card* in political discourse during the 2016 presidential election. The phrase itself is viewed as a metaphorical linguistic expression of the CARD GAME metaphor, which further motivates the creation of elaborate metaphorical blends producing creative figurative language. The second case study concentrates on *building a new foundation for economic growth* as a product of a novel conceptual blend motivated by the conventional BUILDING metaphor and on creative stretching, modification, and reinterpretation of this blend in conceptual blending. This expression was used during the Obama presidency in relation to the recession that started in 2007. Apart from examining the interaction of the basic cognitive mechanisms, the case studies also focus on the role of figurative creativity in achieving discourse coherence and its rhetorical potential in political discourse. The first case study is devoted to examining the role of figurative creativity in providing intertextual coherence of discourse, while the second case study, apart from showing intertextual coherence, also discusses the role of figurative creativity in achieving intratextual coherence. These studies are interwoven with the analyses of the rhetorical potential of figurative creativity in political discourse, primarily focusing on uncovering how creative figurative language can be used to achieve different discourse goals and promote particular ideologies. Generally speaking, these two case studies aim to establish the role of figurative creativity in political discourse, especially considering its role in providing discourse coherence and communicating rhetorical messages, but primarily to examine the interaction of the two basic cognitive mechanisms, namely conceptual metaphor and conceptual integration.

As Chilton & Schäffner (1997, p. 206) assert, "what is 'political' is a matter of interpretation." In that sense, in this study, political discourse is broadly and loosely defined as the discourse in which different political actors, such as politicians, political media, government, pundits, institutions, and supporters, provide their political insights into different issues of interest, including gender

and economy, with the common goal of promoting different political views and achieving political goals. Although such a definition could seem all-encompassing and potentially imply that all types of discourse can be characterized as political, it has to be emphasized that such discourse is distinguished from all other types in that it has primarily political goals. Considering the growing importance of social media and the Internet as a platform for grassroots political activism and its influence on political life, the case studies also contain examples from comment sections of newspapers and political blogs.

Following Semino (2008, p. 28), in this study, the text is understood in a broad sense to include “individual and self-contained instances of language use.” In this study, the term text is used to refer to written and spoken language and multimodal texts such as political cartoons and political jokes.<sup>24</sup> Although the primary focus is not on different forms of multimodal discourse, and thus they are not studied systematically, different forms of multimodal discourse are included in the analysis, such as the pictorial representation of blends and metaphors in political cartoons as well as a combination of modes such as spoken language, visual images, and gesture in late-night comedy shows, to illustrate the omnipresence of figurative creativity in political discourse in general.

The texts from the contemporary American political discourse containing examples of figurative creativity analyzed in the following sections come from two databases, namely LexisNexis Academic and Google News Archive, while the majority of examples of multimodal texts come from the website politicalhumor.com. Both of these databases provide full-text news and have various search options. Although the use of these databases simplified the search for appropriate examples, still the process of finding examples of figurative creativity was akin to finding a needle in a haystack. The examples were searched by key words, using the actual expressions, namely, *play the woman card* and *rebuild a new foundation for economic growth*, combined with other key words. These additional key words were selected based on the source concepts of card playing and houses or buildings and the basic mappings in the CARD GAME and BUILDING metaphors laid out by cognitive linguists. The search was also further enriched by including different lexemes related to these domains. As an illustration, for the BUILDING metaphor, basic mappings provided by Kövecses (2002, 2010a)

---

24 As Forceville & Urios-Aparisi (2009, p. 5) state, “multimodal discourse is a vast territory, comprising a multitude of material carriers (paper, celluloid, videotape, bits and bytes, stone, cloth ...), modes (written language, spoken language, visuals, sound, music, gesture, smell, touch), and genres (art, advertising, instruction manual; or at a more detailed level, say, “comedy,” “film noir,” “Western,” “science fiction”), many of these being further categorizable.”

were used as the starting point in the search, but the search was also broadened by incorporating lexemes related to the BUILDING domain such as *rooms*, *roof*, *corridor*, and other lexemes, generally referring to the aspects of the source domain usually not utilized in metaphorical mappings. Once the texts containing keywords were found, they were read in their entirety and portions of them or entire texts, depending on the goals of the analysis, were isolated and grouped.

The categorization of figurative expressions as conventional or creative was based on several criteria. In this study, in accordance with Mueller's (2010) definition of metaphorical creativity, figurative creativity is viewed as the departure from the conventional figurative patterns typical of political discourse. Therefore, figurative expressions whose meanings are not conventionalized are regarded as creative. This means that figurative expressions, especially metaphorical expressions, which became lexicalized and are, as such, included in various dictionaries, are considered conventional expressions. Consequently, the expressions which are not included in dictionaries are considered innovative, creative, and novel. This was especially useful in the search for the *woman card* examples considering the number of card game idiomatic expressions. Considering that the CARD GAME metaphor and the BUILDING metaphor have been extensively studied in various papers, the findings of these papers about basic metaphorical mappings and main meaning foci of these two metaphors were also used as guidelines for determining whether the example in question can be characterized as creative. As the search was primarily based on the abovementioned databases, generally speaking, a particular combination of keywords produced few results, which can be interpreted as somewhat confirmation of the novelty of figurative expressions.

## **4.2 Playing the woman card across texts in political discourse**

### **4.2.1 Introduction**

*I had always been fascinated by the bizarre world of cards. It was a world of pure power politics where rewards and punishments were meted out immediately. A deck of cards was built like the purest of hierarchies, with every card a master to those below it, a lackey to those above it. And there were 'masses' – long suits – which always asserted themselves in the end, triumphing over the kings and aces.*

Ely Culbertson (1891–1955), an American bridge player and world peace activist

Human beings endowed with the gift of ingenuity seem to have perceived a similarity, albeit not objective and preexisting, between a trivial and entertaining activity such as playing card games and a very serious and important human activity such as politics, either because of the bare necessity to understand the abstract concept of politics better or simply because of the need to be creative. Politicians are often caught playing political card games, gambling with human lives, slipping political cards from their sleeves, and even performing political card tricks. The standard vocabulary in American politics includes expressions such as *ace in the hole*, *a fast shuffle*, *dealing from the bottom of the deck*, *up his sleeve*, *call a bluff*, and many other expressions derived from the domain of card games (Safire, 2008, p. 102). Similarly, *to play*, or less commonly *to deal* or *to use*, *the woman or gender card* is an expression that has entered the political lexicon and has become part of the standard repertoire of the phrases used in political discourse communities in English-speaking countries. This expression is especially frequently used in American politics, where American politicians and the media have become very active players of the gender card, using it in various situations and on numerous occasions in the last decades. The meaning of the expression *to play the woman/gender card* is defined by the Merriam-Webster online dictionary as “the act of using one’s status as a woman to achieve a desired end.” Considering its meaning and its connection with an important issue in American politics, such as gender equality, it is not surprising that the expression has proven to be a successful tool for promoting different rhetorical agendas in the American political discourse.

It can be assumed that this expression was first coined as a metaphorical blend, motivated by a conventional metaphor, and, with time, it became a conventional metaphor. This part aims to show how this conventional conceptual metaphor, prominent at a certain point in American political life, namely the 2016 presidential election, is creatively developed into various conceptual blends. It is believed that figurative creativity through conceptual blending used in different contexts can be used for achieving different rhetorical goals. The use of this metaphor in different texts by politicians and journalists in different ways and for different purposes connects texts dealing with the same issues, providing coherence of discourse at the intertextual level.

The case study is organized as follows. The first part of this case study presents different card game idiomatic expressions and conventional metaphorical linguistic expressions of the CARD GAME metaphor used in politics and elsewhere. Section two of the case study discusses the creation of the figurative meaning of the expression *to play the woman card*, as well as the

creation of the WOMAN CARD metaphor. Section three presents examples of the creative elaboration of the WOMAN CARD metaphor through conceptual blending in the American political discourse. Apart from studying the interaction of two basic cognitive mechanisms, namely conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending, this section also focuses on the role that figurative creativity produced in metaphorical blends has in achieving intertextual coherence of political discourse on gender issues. The role of figurative creativity through blending in achieving various discourse goals and creating rhetorically powerful messages in political discourse on gender issues is discussed in this section as well. General conclusions and remarks on *playing the woman card* in political discourse are presented in the last section of the case study.

#### **4.2.2 Playing card games in politics and elsewhere**

It can be claimed that the expression *to play the woman card* is not an isolated example or an idiosyncrasy as there are many similar expressions in English in which card games, or elements of card games, such as *trump cards*, *wild cards*, and *aces*, are figuratively used. Even a cursory glance at English idiomatic dictionaries reveals that there are ample examples of fixed expressions derived from the CARD GAME domain, which can be used in connection to various situations. Some of the card game idioms, frequently used in English, are *play your cards right*, *have an ace/card up your sleeve*, *play/keep your cards close to your chest*, *lay/put your cards on the table*, *the ace in your hand*, *a trump card*, *the joker in the pack*, *hold all the aces*, *play your ace*, *play your trump card*, and many more. These idioms can be used in many life situations, in which humans are trying to make sense of an abstract concept such as life (cf. Schmidt & Brdar, 2012). This is not surprising as one of the most prevalent conceptual metaphors via which Westerners conceptualize life, including politics, law, business, and other spheres of human life, is the LIFE IS A GAME metaphor (cf. Ching, 1993). One of the basic conceptual metaphors existing in the human conceptual system is the LIFE IS A GAMBLING GAME metaphor via which life is conceptualized in terms of gambling and card games. Actions in life are conceptualized as gambles, while the consequences of these actions are seen as winning or losing. It is not surprising, either, that Lakoff & Johnson (1980) use this particular metaphor as one of the basic metaphors to explain and support the basic postulates of CMT.

As Langlotz (2006, p. 121) claims, the abovementioned idiomatic expressions should not be regarded as isolated examples but as instances of a more general metaphorical model. Although having different meanings and figuratively employing different elements of card games, all of the

abovementioned idioms are conceptually connected as they refer to “the conscious performance of decisive actions to achieve success” (Langlotz, 2006, p. 150). Langlotz (2006, p. 149) points out that card game idiomatic expressions are motivated by the PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE CARD GAMES metaphor.<sup>25</sup> In this generic metaphor, playing a card game is performing an activity, playing it well or badly means performing the activity well or badly, and winning or losing refers to success or failure. Competitors are conceptualized as players, means are conceptualized as cards, and methods or plans are conceptualized as game strategies. In the metaphorical card game, the player or an individual has to play or use his or her cards intelligently or make certain decisions based on the given circumstances. The cards used in the metaphorical card game, such as trump cards or aces, refer to employing the means at the individual’s disposal while playing the cards skillfully and strategically refers to the efficient use of the means. Furthermore, dangerous actions with unforeseeable consequences are conceptualized as gambling and betting.

As the abovementioned examples illustrate, the expressions based on card games are commonly used in different spheres of human lives. Politics, being an important part of human lives, is no exception. As already mentioned, much political action is conceptualized in terms of card games and gambling. The examples in (1) show the use of the card game metaphor during the 2008 and 2016 presidential campaigns in the American political discourse.

- (1) a. *We know the strategy because they've already shown their cards.*  
Ultimately, I think the American people recognize that old stuff hasn't moved us forward. That old stuff just divides us. [Senator Barack Obama, June 20, 2008]
- b. When Republican presidential nominee John McCain picked Palin last week, *he took the gamble of his life, investing his storied career and lifelong ambition for the presidency on someone many in the party were privately fretting was a penny dreadful.* (And even with this week's electric debut some continue to worry.)

*McCain rolled the dice*, a decision resting in part on personality and in part on political necessity. But as a former naval aviator, *this swaggering risk-taking* is part of his DNA and McCain never blinks. [*Hurricane Sarah Palin blows in*, The Australian, September 6, 2008]

---

25 Unlike the traditional phraseology theorists, cognitive linguists claim that idioms are motivated by conceptual mechanisms such as metaphor, metonymy, and conventional knowledge or emblems (cf. Kövecses, 2002, Kövecses & Szabó, 1996, Langlotz, 2006).

- c. Getting into the Las Vegas spirit, President Barack Obama told Nevadans late Sunday they have *a winning hand* in Democrats Hillary Clinton and Senate candidate Catherine Cortez Masto.

Obama was campaigning to boost Clinton's prospects and help Democrats to retake Senate control, scheduling a stop in tightly contested Nevada before headlining party fundraisers in California.

*"You've got black jack,"* Obama told a crowd of 3,000 boisterous supporters packed into a local high school, while another 2,100 were in an exterior courtyard. [Obama says Nevadans have drawn a winning hand with Democrats, AP, October 24, 2016]

William Safire (2008, p. 102), a famous New York Times columnist and the author of *Safire's Political Dictionary*, regards card game metaphors as very useful in the realm of politics, providing examples of the earliest uses of card games metaphors in politics. Safire provides evidence that card game metaphors entered the political lexicon centuries ago, showing that the examples of politics conceptualized as a card game can be traced back as early as 1651, in Hobbes's *Leviathan*. The fact that American politicians have extensively exploited card game metaphors for centuries is further emphasized in Tidwell's (1958) paper, which explores the historical use of two expressions drawn from poker, namely *new deal* and *stand pat*. To illustrate the ubiquity of card game expressions in American politics, Safire (2008, p. 102) further mentions that some of the most famous expressions in American politics, such as the abovementioned *New Deal* from Franklin D. Roosevelt's era and *the China card* from Richard Nixon's era were derived from the card game domain. It can be concluded that card game metaphors have for a long time structured American political discourse. As William Safire (2008, p. 102) concludes, "[b]ecause of the play of power in card games, the metaphor has been applied to politics for centuries."

#### **4.2.3 Playing the metaphorical woman card in politics**

Considering the widespread use of the expressions based on card games in political discourse and the existence of the underlying metaphor, it is not surprising that the expression *to play the woman/gender card* has entered the political lexicon and has become a regular phrase, especially in American politics.<sup>26</sup> In contemporary American political discourse, the use of this

---

<sup>26</sup> The expression *to play the woman card* is not listed as an idiom in most idiomatic dictionaries available at the market. However, dictionaries such as *Oxford Dictionary*

expression is not uncommon. Quite the contrary, the expression has dominated American political discourse over the past several decades, especially being extensively used in the 2016 US presidential campaign.<sup>27</sup>

- (2) a. By embracing gender politics, Clinton is taking *a big gamble*. She could overdo it, *playing the “gender card”* so much that she seems overly political and willing to do anything to win. At the same time, she could alienate men by ignoring their problems or seeming to play favorites by leaning too much toward women. [*Playing the Gender Card*, US News, October 23, 2015]
- b. Clinton is a woman of tremendous privilege, but she's also shown herself to be a fighter in the decades she's spent grabbing a spot at the table. She would be well served to campaign as someone who will bring that same tenacity to working women. *She may be playing the gender card, but that's only because it's the hand she's been dealt.* [*Play the “gender card,” Hillary: Why being a woman gives Clinton unique insight on economic issues*, Salon, April 13, 2015]

It can be assumed that the expression *to play the woman card* was first coined as a metaphorical blend, which soon became an entrenched blend or a conventional metaphor, being available for further elaboration and creative exploitation at any moment. It can be assumed that the blend was triggered by the CARD GAME metaphor, establishing the conventional links between the source and the target. The association between card games and human activities such as politics, exploited in this blend, is a conventional association residing in the conceptual repertoires of humans. The content of the generic space, including, in this particular case, the competitors, means, quality of means, and strategy, is provided by the activation of conventional mappings linking the domain of card games and politics.

---

of *Idioms* (2005) and *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* list expressions such as *play the \_ card*, where premodifier of the noun *card* can be *race, nationalists, environmentalist, gender*, defining it in general terms as exploiting “the specified issue or idea mentioned, especially for political advantage.” Such expressions included in the dictionaries, at least some of them, imply that they have become entrenched.

27 The phrase is not novel. Although the origin of the phrase or the first use of this phrase has not been officially recorded, Falk (2013, p. 196) claims that the first time a woman was described as playing the gender card appeared in the press in September 1990 in the Democratic primary for Governor of Massachusetts and has since been used in the American political discourse.

Input space one, the source input, contains card players engaged in playing a card game, which among other cards includes a trump card, the most powerful card in the game. The game strategy involves the participant playing the cards at his/her disposal, including the trump card, employing different tactics, and combining cards to win the card game. Input space two, the target input, contains the world of politics in which political rivals by means of political debates discuss serious issues, including gender issues. The political strategy involves trying to convince voters and their opponents to accept their political ideas.

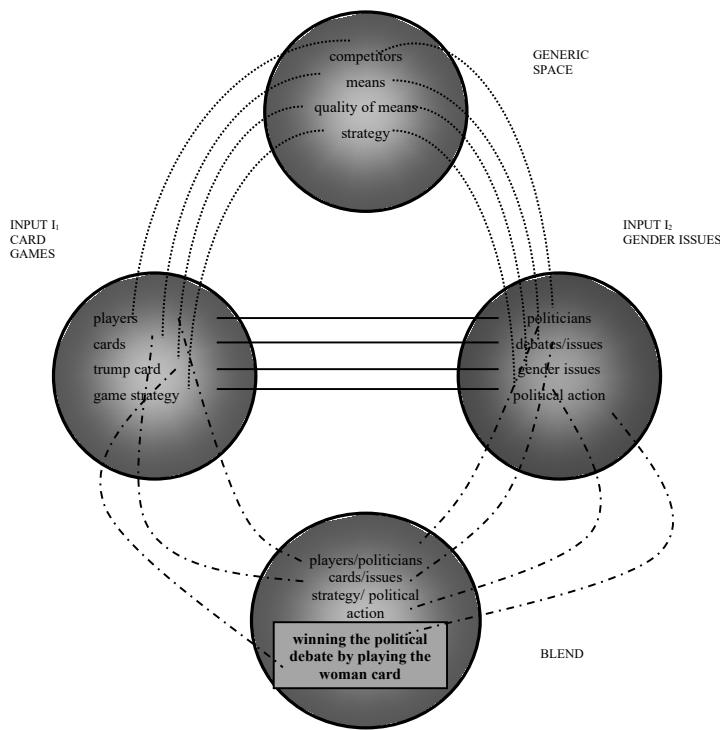


Figure 42 A conceptual integration network for *playing the woman card*

The source and target inputs are connected by cross-space mappings, mapping players onto politicians, cards onto political issues, the trump card onto gender issues, and a game onto political debates or political action in general. Projected to the blend from input space one are the trump card, players, and game strategy, and from input space two, politicians and gender issues. The blend is asymmetric, inheriting the organizing frame from the source input. In the blended space, the elements projected from the inputs are fused into single elements; most importantly, the trump card and gender issues are fused into a single element, the woman/gender card.

In the blend, politicians are engaged in playing a card game in which the most important political moves and means are conceived of as game moves and game strategy. Among the most important cards used in the card game is the woman/gender card, the card that trumps all other cards or issues. Playing the woman/gender card does not guarantee winning the game. Playing the woman/gender allows players to gain an advantage, introducing this issue into political discourse and taking the debate in another direction. By playing the woman/gender card, a female politician uses her gender to gain an advantage in politics. In the blend, any serious political issue and any discussion of it are downgraded to playing a card game, and the line between card playing and discussing issues human lives depend on is blurred. Moreover, suitable inferences produced in the blended space and projected to the target reinforce the fact that gender is simply a means of gaining advantage and scoring political points in the world of politics. Inferences also highlight the importance of gender used for political advantage, implying that raising such an issue in politics means a political move that guarantees to trump all other issues, making one's gender the issue of the highest importance, completely disregarding a long history of gender inequality. Considering the fact that the expression has been frequently used in politics, it can be assumed that once the blend became entrenched and useful inferences were projected from the blend to the target input, the generic space and the blended space were discarded, transforming the blend into a conventional metaphor, (cf. Fauconnier & Turner, [1998] 2001, Grady et al. 1999), the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor, which nevertheless allows further blending operations in creative instances.

*To play the woman card* is not the only such expression used in politics. Actually, politicians tend to play other cards as well, such as *the race card*, *the religion card*, *the hate card*, *the class card*, and many other cards or issues that seem to be important in politics or seem to be appealing to the wider public. These expressions can be viewed as possible modifications of the expression *to play the \_ card*.

- (3) a. In both 2000 and 2004 the machine went into action to distract you. They knew what they were offering, Bush, was simply not palatable. So they sold you that Gore was a liar and that Kerry was a traitor and you bought it. *Now they are using the race card, the religion card, the fear card, and the hate card. That is a full house of sleaze.* [*The Sadness of the Politics of Distraction*, OpEdNews, March 15, 2008]
- b. Barack Obama holds *the race card*; Hillary Clinton *the gender card*; the Breck Girl, John Edwards, is left trying to play *a class card*. *There's a*

*major poker game going on the Democrat side. ... [The Democrat Party Uncivil War, The Rush Limbaugh Show, January 14, 2008]*

In this case, it is hardly possible to establish which of the expressions was coined first, *the race card*, *the religion card*, or *the gender card*, or simply, which came first, the proverbial chicken or the egg.<sup>28</sup> Leaving the etymological problems aside, it can be observed that, during presidential campaigns, politicians use different issues to appeal to the electorate, or they play many different cards in the political card game. As example (4) shows, frequently used expressions such as *to play the race card* and *the gender card* but also less common expressions such as *the Europe card* and *the woman-as-victim card* were used in the 2008 presidential campaign. Generally speaking, any issue, not only gender issues, raised in the debate can be a useful card in the political card game, provided that the issue is appealing to voters.

- (4) Jon Stewart: Now I believe that by commenting on the perceived potential subtle gender messaging in the ad [Obama likened to Paris Hilton and Britney Spears] you've taken what political scientists refer to as the bait. And when you've taken the bait, the media goes fish.

[On screen: MSNBC: *Playing the race card*. Are both sides guilty?

Fox News: How large will the race factor loom?

Fox News: It is the elephant or the donkey in the room?

MSNBC: *The race cards are definitely a game-changer.*

CNN: *Barack Obama is playing a race card?*

MSNBC: *The race card.] ...*

Jon Stewart: Perhaps the media is just stunned to see *the race card played so close on the heels of all those other cards.*

[On screen: MSNBC: McCain is trying *to play the change card.*

Fox News: Obama played *the populous card.*

---

28 There are guesses that the phrase *to play the woman/gender card* is a modification of the expression *to play the China card*, from the Nixon era used to describe diplomatic relations with China. *The Oxford Dictionary of Idioms* states that the expression *to play the \_ card*, in which *woman/gender* and other premodifiers can appear in front of the noun *card*, was coined by Lord Randolph Churchill in 1886 when he used the expression *to play the Orange card* in connection with Irish Home Rule.

CNN: Being accused of playing *the fear card*.

CNN: And *the Europe card* has to be played carefully.

Fox News: This is *the patriotism card*.

Also playing *the woman-as-victim card*.

*The gender card. A class card. He's got a Maliki card he can play as well.]*

Jon Stewart: *What is this cribbage?* What the hell is going on? Right, *the only card left*, and it is only August, would be *the Messiah card, nobody will play that*.

[on screen ad showing Moses: Barack Obama may be the one, but is he ready to lead?]

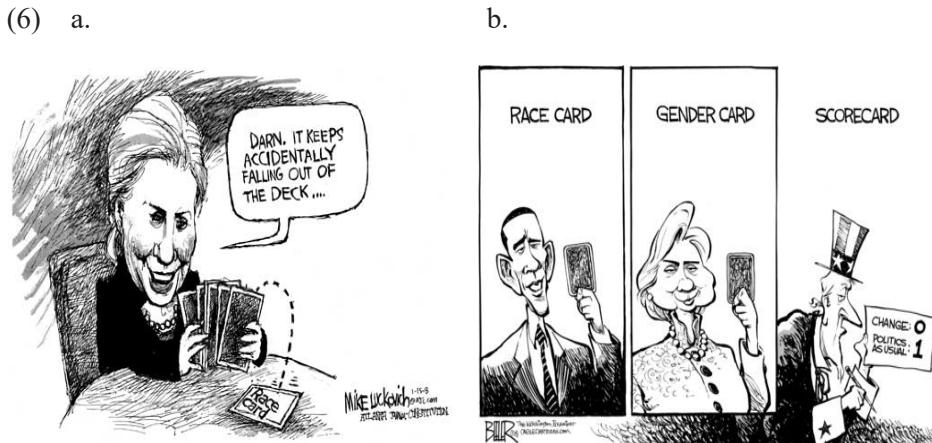
Jon Stewart: You are going to tar Obama with the Moses smear? He's already got Christians and Moslems, now you are going to give him the Jews? [The Daily Show with Jon Stewart, August 4, 2008]

In this humorous example, the prominence of the CARD GAME metaphor in political discourse during the 2008 presidential campaign turned the campaign into a game of cribbage, a popular card game, blending the world of politics and the world of card games into a world in which serious issues human lives depend on are downgraded to the quality of one's cards.

Similarly, in the 2008 presidential election, the race card was played along with the gender card. This is not surprising as two front-runners in the Democratic primaries were Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama, bringing gender and race issues to the campaign.

- (5) a. Wolf Blitzer, CNN anchor: Happening now, on the eve of the major primaries, *the stakes couldn't be any higher for Hillary Clinton. Can she pull an ace from her sleeve? Will she play the gender card?* Why the women's vote may be so important. [The Situation Room, CNN, March 3, 2008]
- b. Could it be that *the race card trumps the gender card* in U.S. politics? [*In politics, does race trump gender?* Politico.com, January 13, 2009]

The race card and the gender card were creatively exploited in political cartoons as well, blending card games and the world of politics in the creative pictorial representations of the political circumstances during the campaign.



Source: <http://politicalhumor.about.com/od/politicalcartoons/ig/Political-Cartoons/>

These examples also successfully show that the creation of humor with its inherent rhetorical potential is an effective means of criticizing political reality, or in this particular case, the prominence of the CARD GAME metaphor in political discourse.

#### ***4.2.4 Playing the woman card in the political discourse of the 2016 presidential campaign***

Although the humorous example presented above shows that many cards can be played during presidential campaigns, one card was played more often than others in 2016. The 2016 presidential election was historic in many respects considering that a woman was running for office. Although many important issues were discussed during the 2016 presidential election, gender issues somehow received special attention. This is not surprising, as Hillary Clinton was the presidential hopeful of the Democratic Party, the most viable female presidential candidate in the history of the US. From the moment Hillary Clinton began her bid for America's highest office, it was clear that gender issues would become part of the conversation. Even in the twenty-first century, gender inequality is still an issue in the country, which sees itself as the land of equal opportunity and democracy.

During the 2016 campaign, the woman card became the main topic in American political discourse. During the primaries, in a victory speech after winning five states in the primaries in April 2016, Donald Trump accused Hillary Clinton and repeated the same phrase in the press statements following the speech.

- (7) a. "Frankly, if Hillary Clinton were a man, I don't think she'd get 5 per cent of the vote. The only thing she's got going [for her] is *the women's card*, and the beautiful thing is: women don't like her," [Donald Trump, April 26, 2016]
- b. "I call her crooked Hillary because she's crooked and the only thing she's got is *the woman card*. That's all she's got. ... *It's a weak card in her hands*," Trump said on Fox. "I'd love to see a woman president, but she's the wrong person. She's a disaster." [Donald Trump, April 26, 2016]
- c. "She is a woman. *She is playing the woman card left and right. She didn't play it last time with Obama. But she's playing it much harder this time* and she will be called on it." In the weeks following, Trump repeatedly brought up this and related attacks, arguing the "women have it better" in a campaign speech and tweeting, "Crooked Hillary has ZERO leadership ability. As Bernie Sanders says, she has bad judgment. *Constantly playing the women's card - it is sad!*" [Donald Trump, April 26, 2016]
- d. "Of course I care. Nobody respects women more than I do. And *I wasn't playing the woman's card*, it's true... I mean, *she is playing the woman's card. Everything she says is about the woman's card*. And, frankly, all I'm doing is bringing out the obvious. And without *the woman's card*, Hillary would not even be a viable person to even run for a city-council position.... I think that the only thing she's got going is the fact that she's a woman. She has done a terrible job in so many different ways. You look at Libya, you look at some of the things that she's done are just absolutely disasters. Now I would say the primary thing that she has going is that she's a woman and *she is playing that card like I have never seen anybody play it before*." [Donald Trump, April 28, 2016]

Such use of this expression, or the conventional WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor, allowed all parties involved in the election to exploit it creatively. It provided the media and the politicians an opportunity to play different card games with the woman/gender card and to exploit their imagination and remarkable gift for creativity. As a response to Trump's statement, Hillary Clinton remarked the following.

- (8) The other day, Mr. Trump accused me of playing the, quote, 'woman card,'" Clinton said. "Well, if fighting for women's healthcare and paid

family leave and equal pay is playing the woman card, then deal me in.”  
[Hillary Clinton, April 26, 2016]

The use of creative figurative language, as in examples (7) and (8), gives members of a discourse community an opportunity to make reference to it or exploit it further creatively. Due to its conventional or more or less creative use, a particular metaphor can become very prominent in a discourse community, allowing further creative exploitation, reinterpretation, and modification. The WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor became very prominent in the American political discourse community once it was used by Donald Trump. The statements were material worth quoting in media texts. There are ample examples of texts produced in the period when the woman card discussion was in the spotlight, in which the actual expression *to play the woman card* was used, reporting on the issue. Apart from such texts, there are also ample examples in which members of the political discourse community used their genius for creativity, producing conceptual blends motivated by the WOMAN CARD metaphor. Once it became prominent within the American political discourse community, the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor was imaginatively exploited in various ways and for different purposes. The WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor was creatively developed into more or less creative conceptual blends by members of the political discourse community.

Such use of figurative expressions is especially common in political discourse because their meanings are often negotiated and reinterpreted by discourse participants (cf. Musolff, 2016), which also greatly influences the longevity of such expressions in certain genres and registers (cf. Semino et al., 2013). Putting the political messages of such statements aside, from the linguistic point of view, such use of a single conceptual metaphor, as the WOMAN CARD metaphor in the examples presented above, in virtual conversations among politicians across different texts keeps political discourse alive and interesting. The same metaphor can be used by different participants in political discourse for different purposes.

The woman card can be viewed as Cameron & Deignan's (2006, p. 679) metaphoreme, that is, “the bundle of stabilizing linguistic, semantic, pragmatic, and affective patterns in the use of the word as metaphor, together with its possibilities for variation.” Such expressions arise in the interaction of individuals who choose and adapt language resources to express particular meanings and can become used in a discourse community. They can be short-lived and tied to a specific context or discourse (cf. Semino & Demjén, 2017, Deignan, 2017).

Similarly, Ritchie (2017a, 2017b) claims that in order to understand certain figurative expressions, they have to be considered metaphorical stories or story metaphors. That is, in order to fully understand a figurative expression, with its extended, associative meaning, the implied story must be activated. Musolff (2004, 2016), in his work on metaphor, discusses scenarios, defined as

a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about the prototypical elements of a concept, that is, participants, dramatic story lines and default outcomes, as well as ethical evaluations of these elements, which are connected to the social attitudes and emotional stances that are prevalent in the respective discourse community (2016, p. 30).

Musolff (2004, 2016) also considers associated beliefs and evaluations of importance for the understanding of figurative expressions.

Disregarding different terms used for the same or similar phenomenon discussed in the abovementioned studies, all of them emphasize that the meaning of figurative expressions cannot be accounted for by simply considering cross-domain mappings. Rather, other factors, such as social, cultural, and cognitive, influence figurative language use and its understanding in the discourse. The meaning of such figurative expressions emerges in the discourse, can be reinterpreted or negotiated in the interaction of discourse participants, and can be used in specific contexts or across contexts, that is, can undergo what Semino et al. (2013) call re-contextualization.

The texts, alluding to the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor or using this metaphor as motivation for imaginative conceptual blends, are different texts on the same topic, namely the woman card, which are intertextually connected. The figurative language originally used in the texts in (7) and (8) was subsequently exploited in other texts for different reasons, forming a network of intertextual relations. Such intertextual relations were formed within the discourse community whose members used the same metaphor and its more creative products in order to agree or disagree with the politicians' statements, to provide their insights into the issue, to promote a certain rhetorical agenda, to question the validity of the metaphor, occasionally using metadiscursive remarks, to ridicule its use and prominence by means of political humor and satire and even to exploit it visually in political cartoons. Therefore, texts on the same topic were intertextually connected, providing intertextual coherence of discourse regarding gender issues. The prominence of the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor

formed a micro-tradition of discussing this issue within the American political discourse community in terms of card games.

As mentioned previously, apart from providing intertextual coherence of the discourse, the WOMAN/GENDER CARD as a conventional metaphor also served as a source for creativity, producing memorable figurative language. Example (8), which contains the rebuttal of the statements which initiated the discussion on gender issues and intertextually connected the political discourse on the issue at that stage of the campaign, can be viewed as the creative exploitation of the conventional metaphor, or more precisely a conceptual blend motivated by the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor. In this example, to rebut Trump's claim, Clinton asks to join the game if her fight for equality of women is perceived as her using her gender to gain the advantage in the campaign.

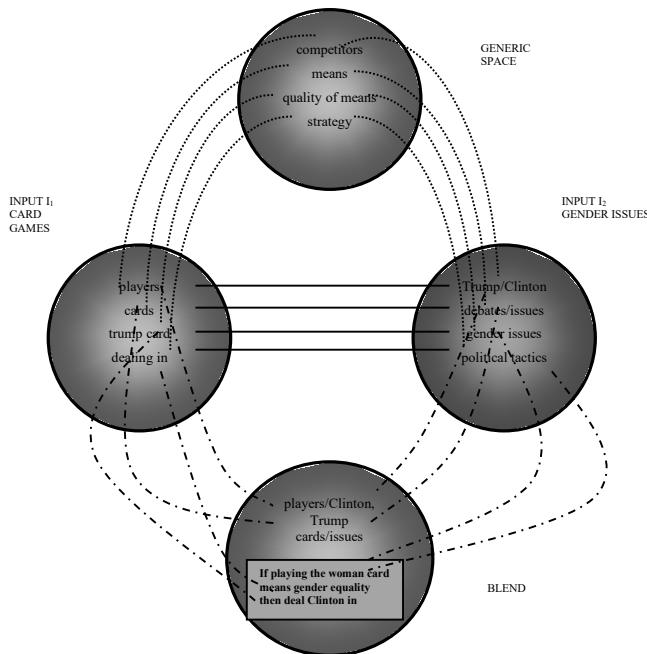


Figure 13 A conceptual integration network for *Deal me in!*

In this conceptual integration network, input space one, the card game input, apart from the trump card, and card players, contains other concepts related to card games such, the action of dealing the cards and the action of dealing someone in, that is, including someone in the game. Input space two, the target space, contains the 2016 presidential election with the Democratic presidential hopeful Hillary Clinton and her opponent, the Republican presidential hopeful Donald Trump. The target input contains Trump's comments on the Clinton

campaign tactics. Cross-space mappings connect card players to Clinton and Trump, and the trump card to gender, as well as the concept of dealing someone in to political moves. Projected to the blend from input space one are the trump card, players, as well as the concept of dealing cards. From input space two, projected to the blend are Clinton and her fight for gender equality.

The blend contains Hilary Clinton asking to be dealt in the political game in which she plays the woman card to fight for the rights of women. Retrospective projections project suitable inferences created in the blend to the target space emphasizing that Clinton's fight for women's healthcare, paid family leave, and equal pay, that is, fighting for gender equality, is what it means to use gender in her campaign.

In addition to Clinton's response, other female politicians used the same metaphor to reject Trump's offensive comment.

- (9) a. I don't know *what card he's playing, what, the joker's card? That doesn't even count in a deck of cards*. But here's the thing; I do not think that anybody should campaign on the basis – when I was running for leadership myself, the last thing I could say to my colleagues was you should support me because I'm a woman. It's not a winning message. The winning message is you should support me because I think I can do the best job and here's what I can do, and I think that's what Hillary Clinton is presenting.... Oh, *the woman's card*, yeah, that. I think Hillary Clinton is playing *the experience card*. [Nancy Pelosi, April 29, 2016]
- b. "I have *a woman card*. I have *an intelligence card*. I have *an achievement card*. I have *a background card*. I play with a full deck." ... "It's not saying you have nothing to offer but it's very close to nothing." [Republican Congresswoman Kay Granger for Huffington Post, April 27, 2016]

The female politicians cited above expressed their disagreement with Trump's remarks in purely figurative terms, elaborating and creatively stretching the WOMAN CARD metaphor. These examples can be treated as conceptual blends, motivated by the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor, which is further elaborated in conceptual blends as other elements from the card game input are projected into the blend, producing different figurative meanings.

In the examples in (9), the blends receive further projections from the source input. In (9) a., Nancy Pelosi rejects Trump's claims about Clinton by characterizing Trump's campaign tactics as playing the joker card of no value.

Apart from the projections to the woman card blend, the blend also receives additional projections from the source input. Projected to the blend is the joker card, a card which in many card games is used instead of other cards and has a specific appearance. In most card games, the joker is used as the highest trump, the card that can outrank any other card. However, in certain card games, the joker card is not used and has no value in the deck.

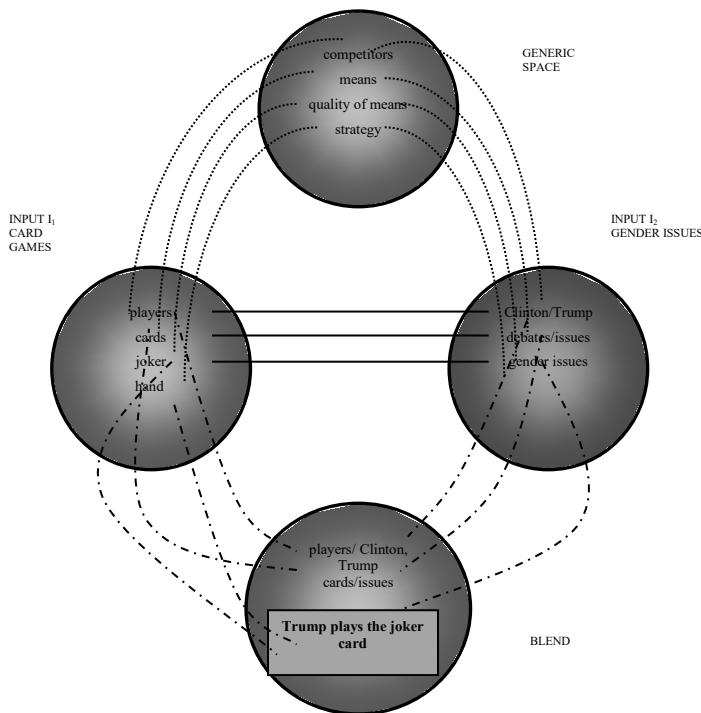


Figure 14 A conceptual integration network for *Trump is playing the joker card*

In addition to the value the joker card can have in some card games, another aspect of this playing card is exploited. In accordance with its name, the face of the joker card is pictorially represented as a clown or court jester. Stereotypically, clowns or court jesters are characterized as fools whose aim is to entertain and amuse the public.

Projected to the blend from the source input are the joker card and playing cards of specific values. Projected to the blend from the target input space are presidential candidates and various issues discussed in the campaign. Cross-space mappings connect card players to presidential candidates, different playing cards to various political issues, and the joker card to Trump's political

agenda. In the blend, Trump is playing the joker card, the card that does not have value. In the blend, his political agenda is also the card represented as a court jester. Considering the characteristic properties of jokers or court jesters, Trump's political campaign is also perceived as trivial and silly, and Trump himself as a trivial politician. Similarly, considering that Hillary Clinton has considerable experience as a politician, she is playing the experience card, not the woman card. Projections from the blended space to the target input emphasize the view that gender issues in the campaign should not be regarded as serious and important. Clinton's experience and not her gender should be taken into consideration by the voters. Also, Trump as a politician and his political agenda should be perceived as trivial in the election, which should be decided on the qualities which really matter in the realm of politics, such as political experience.

Similarly, in (9) b., criticizing Trump for the sexist comment, Republican Congresswoman Kay Granger claims that, apart from the woman card, she has other cards such as intelligence, achievement, and background, and that she plays with a full deck. The blend receives additional projections from both inputs. Projected to the blend from the source input are playing cards and a full deck of cards. Projected to the blend from the target input space are different qualities of female politicians that are of importance for politicians in general. In the blend, female politicians, or specifically Kay Granger, play with a full deck of cards. Backward projections from the blend to the target input highlight the fact that apart from her gender, this female politician has many qualities.

Apart from this example, there are numerous other creative instances of the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor extension through blending. The woman card in innovative conceptual blends can be a card of a specific rank and value. The woman card can be a card that replaces and outranks all other cards, such as the wild card or joker. The wild card is used in card games, especially poker, to refer to a card that can replace any rank according to the choice of the player having that card in hand. In (10) a., the wild card, the most powerful card which can replace any other card, is projected to the blend. In the blend, the woman card is the most powerful card, the political wild card, implying that in politics, gender issues can become more important than the others. In (10) b., the woman card is also a joker, which can be used instead of other cards and can trump all other cards. The concept of trumping, or playing the card which beats other cards, is projected to the blend from the source input. The inferences produced in the blend are projected to the target input, highlighting the importance that the gender issues could acquire in the campaign.

- (10) a. And shoot, when it comes to this election, a gender card isn't the most prominent card that has been played so far. It's *the wild card*. [Arkansas Democrat Gazette, May 8, 2016]
- b. '*Woman's card*' is real joker [Arkansas Democrat Gazette, May 8, 2016]

Further portions of conceptual material are projected to the blend in example (10). In card games, at various stages of the game, cards are revealed by placing them on the table, face up. In the blend, by placing the woman card on the table, the players must play their best cards against the woman card and eliminate it from the game, that is, to take it off the table. Inferences produced in the blended space and projected to the target space highlight the fact that Clinton's gender should be removed from the campaign because, as the first female presidential candidate, her gender could play a role in the election.

- (11) Trump wants to take '*the woman card*' off the table ...It's possible that Trump recognizes the existing "gender gap" between the parties, and hopes to take steps now to mitigate the potency of the issue in the fall, when he'll probably be taking on the first-ever woman nominee of a major party. But what he doesn't seem to understand is that Americans already know Clinton is a woman, and *trying to take this "card" off the table* by questioning her qualifications raises questions about his judgment, not her's. [*Trump wants to take 'the woman card' off the table*, MSNBC, April 27, 2016]

Donald Trump kept accusing Clinton of playing the woman card in the examples in (7), which made many political actors comment on his strategy to insist on using gender-biased language instead of finding ways to do the damage control. Thus, Trump doubles down on the woman card. In the game of blackjack, for example, to double down means to double the original bid in exchange for only one more card. The blend receives additional projections from the source input space, including the game in which a player can double its bid, and from the target input, it receives Trump's insistence on accusing Clinton of using her gender to gain an advantage in the campaign. In the blend, Trump doubles down on the woman card. Retrospective projections from the blend into the target input highlight the fact that Trump bases his campaign strategy on Clinton's gender to disregard her qualifications, emphasizing that her gender is more important than other issues.

- (12) *Trump doubles down on Clinton and ‘the woman card’* [New York Post, April 28, 2016]

Additional conceptual material activated in the source input can be related to gambling and winning in card games. In the example in (13), in the blend, by parlaying the woman card, Clinton bets all of her stakes and winnings on the woman card in order to win the top prize in the contest for the presidency. The source input projects additional material to the blend, which includes the concept of parlaying, that is, placing bets which include the original stake and its winnings and the concept of the jackpot, that is, the top prize in a game or contest. The target input projects to the blend Clinton’s statement in (7) and the race to the White House. Cross-space mappings additionally include mappings of parlay to Clinton’s statement and the concept of the jackpot to winning the presidency. Retrospective projections from the blend into the target input highlight the fact that Clinton is taking a risk by trying to use Trump’s accusations to gain an advantage in the race for the White House.

- (13) *Clinton hoping to parlay “woman card” into White House jackpot* [CBS Evening News, May 6, 2016]

The examples in (8)-(13) are instances of figurative creativity in which members of the political discourse community use their gift for ingenuity, producing metaphorical conceptual blends motivated by the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor. As mentioned previously, once the WOMAN/GENDER metaphor became prominent in the American political discourse community, it was imaginatively exploited in various ways through conceptual blending. The WOMAN/GENDER metaphor triggers the construction of conceptual blends, which may become as elaborate as human imaginations and genius for creativity would allow it. The possibility for creativity is further enhanced by the fact that metaphorical understanding of politics in terms of card games is a conventional way of conceptualizing the world of politics in the American political discourse community and is part of the overarching CARD GAME metaphor.

The metaphorical blends presented above are asymmetric, inheriting the organizing frame from the source input, the card game input. In the conceptual blends in (8)-(13), apart from the most powerful cards and players, other various portions of conceptual material are activated and projected to the blend. Therefore, different aspects of card games, ranging from the value of the cards to different strategies in playing card games, are projected from the source domain

to the blend, producing more or less creative conceptual blends. In most of the examples presented above, the source concept initiates the construction of a richer image in the blend.

This sort of creativity is possible because the input space of card games is very general and contains the complete encyclopedic knowledge of card games, which can be characterized as being quite extensive. This is not surprising because various card games have for centuries been present in cultures around the world. As the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A CARD GAME has, for centuries, shaped political discourse, humans have had opportunities to stretch it in a variety of ways. The ubiquity of the CARD GAME metaphor in various spheres of life is further highlighted by the existence of numerous conventional expressions derived from the card game domain, such as *lay/put your cards on the table, play your trump card, a wild card, the joker card, double down, to win the jackpot, to deal in someone*. The use of such expressions, in their original or slightly modified form, along with the WOMAN/GENDER metaphor, as in examples (8)-(13), contributes to the creativity of the conceptual blends presented above. It seems that the use of the WOMAN/GENDER metaphor licenses the use of entrenched expressions derived from the card game domain. Considering the fact that all of these expressions are derived from the same general domain of card games, combining these expressions with the WOMAN/GENDER metaphor simply seems natural in political discourse, and at the same time, they enhance the creativity of the blends.

The existence of the CARD GAME conceptual metaphor and the conventional expressions motivated by this metaphor also implies the existence of conceptual associations between card games and politics residing in human minds, which are highly conventional and feed the blending processes in the examples above. The links between the domains, such as conventional mappings between gambling and risks in politics, are conventional mappings based on perceived similarities between the domains of card games and politics. These mappings, stored in the long-term memory of the speakers in the American political discourse community, feed the conceptual integration processes and contribute to further creative exploitation of the metaphor. As Fauconnier claims (1997, p. 182), "entrenched mappings provide strong background support for on-line innovations." Therefore, conventional metaphors and their conventional mappings initiate the launch of conceptual blends, some of which are highly imaginative. In addition, the rich knowledge of the card game input allows speakers to use certain aspects of the domain, which are projected to the blend, enriching the image created in the blend. However, because of the exploitation

of the conventional aspects of the source domain and the existence of the entrenched expressions, these blends can be perceived as less striking examples of creativity.

As the previous examples show, the richness, conventionality, and flexibility of the CARD GAME metaphor enhance the creative power of these conceptual blends. The conceptual material residing in the card game input and conventional mappings are modified online in dynamic discourse situations producing imaginative blends. The rich conceptual knowledge about the source concept is at the disposal of the members of the political discourse community, and they are willing to use it for different purposes. Therefore, figurative creativity through blending can have different goals. As mentioned previously, members of the American discourse community in these cases use figurative creativity through blending to agree or disagree with the politicians' statements, to provide their insights into gender issues, to promote a certain rhetorical agenda, to question the validity of the WOMAN/GENDER metaphor, to ridicule its use and prominence by means of political humor and satire and even to exploit it visually in political cartoons. Although the examples presented above are, to a certain extent, neutral in reporting on the gender issues and the events that initiated the discussion on this topic, some creative blends were used to argue a particular point in figurative terms.

The aim of the authors of the examples in (14) and (15) is to provide their insights into gender issues, which have, for centuries, been an important aspect of the American political discourse. The authors of the articles, using creative figurative language, provide their insights into this complex issue by discussing the impact that raising gender issues could have on the election or, in metaphorical terms, by discussing the power the woman card could have in the election. Contemplating the power of gender issues in the campaign in figurative terms increases the argumentative power of views presented in this way.

In the blends in (14), the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor is creatively exploited to express the opinion that the woman card should be used in the campaign because it can put Clinton to an advantage. In (14) a., Clinton should use the woman card because no matter whether this card is an ace, a winning card, or a joker, a card that can replace other cards, the woman card is the one to be played. Retrospective projections from the blend to the target input highlight that gender issues are of importance in politics. In (14) b., Clinton has a full house because she plays with many different cards along with the woman card, including the youth card, the man card, the low-income card. Apart from the values of different cards, the blend also receives the projection of the concept

of a full house in the game of poker, which can be a winning hand. In the blend, all of these cards make a winning hand, and a trump card is not necessary. Backward projections from the blend to the target input highlight the fact that Clinton supporters cover different demographics and that this alone could secure her victory.

- (14) a. So if Hillary has *a gender card in her pack, why shouldn't she play it?*

Goodness knows American women need an advocate in high places.

....There is, as Schank concludes, still so much for American women to fight for. And that fight starts with a woman standing for president, facing down all the criticism levelled at her for having the audacity to do so. *Ace or joker, that's the card...* [Donald Trump says Hillary Clinton is playing the 'woman card' - and so what if she is?, Independent, April 27, 2016]

- b. If Hillary Clinton is *playing the "woman card,"* then I am representative of *one of the cards in her hand:* a middle-aged, employed and educated wife, mother and daughter.

The things I want are: a fair wage for my work; affordable health care for my family; my children to attend college without accumulating debt; my parents to stay comfortably in their homes without depleting their savings on long term care; and a foreseeable future where my husband and I can retire and enjoy reaping all the benefits of the hard work we have put in. I would also like to live in a society that does not instill fear or prejudice and accepts that everyone has different beliefs but we can work and live together for the common good.

I think it is fair to say that men want many of these same things, too. *They would represent another card in her hand and so would the youth and the low-income population. Hillary has a full house. She doesn't need a trump card in her deck.* [Clinton holding strong 'cards', Times Union, May 2, 2016]

As opposed to the examples in (14), some participants in political discourse hold that the woman card is a losing card. As in the previous examples, the authors of the texts in (15) creatively exploit the same metaphor in order to present their stance on gender issues. In the examples in (15), the woman card is not a trump card. Rather, the trump card is the man card, as in (15) b. In this example, the source input contains the concept of cheating in card games, precisely pulling

the card out of the sleeve without other players noticing it. In the blend, the man card pulled out of the sleeve by a woman would be a winning card.

- (15) a. So Donald Trump's claim that Hillary is using *the "woman's card"* and would be a failed presidential candidate if she were a man doesn't hold up. Contrary to what national polls like the Gallup poll show, gender does matter – but not in the way Trump seems to think. *Playing the woman card* actually makes it harder, not easier, for women to get elected. [Why 'woman' isn't Hillary Clinton's trump card, the Conversation, July 25, 2016]
- b. Hold on a minute. If Hillary wanted to use *a gender card* to get ahead, she certainly wouldn't use *a woman card*. No, if she's as scheming and ruthless as her detractors make her out to be, she would have figured out a way *to get her hands on a man card* long ago. Just think of what *a gal could do with one of those up her sleeve*. [Why Play the #WomanCard When the #ManCard Is So Much Better?, Money, April 30, 2016]
- c. So, if anything, Donald Trump should thank Hillary Clinton for playing *the #WomanCard*. History tells us that's *a losing hand*. [Why Play the #WomanCard When the #ManCard Is So Much Better?, Money, April 30, 2016]

Figurative creativity through blending was used to criticize and accuse Trump of playing the woman card, or the man card, or to agree with Trump that his opponent, Hillary Clinton, was playing the woman card. In a nutshell, more or less creative blends were used by journalists and political pundits to agree or disagree with the politicians' statements on who played the woman card and why. In the examples in (16), the implications of raising gender issues in the campaign by Trump are presented in figurative terms, extending the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor used by the politicians creatively and thus contributing to intertextual coherence of political discourse. In (16) a., the author of the article argues that Trump shows the weakness of his political strategy by raising gender issues. In this creative conceptual blend, additional material from the source input, such as the concept of dealing playing cards and the cards that were dealt to the player, or in card game terms, hand, as well as weak cards or the valueless cards are projected to the blend. In the blend, Donald Trump is playing the woman card and shows that the other cards in his hand he has to offer are weak.

- (16) a. In Clinton, Trump finds his ultimate adversary, a woman who brings him onto shaky ground. It's logical that he would tell the nation in last night's speech, that being a woman is the only source of her appeal to voters: in some ways, he cannot see past her gender.

But by *using the “woman card,”* the Trump campaign commits a grave error, *showing the weakness of its overall hand.* It implies that Trump has little else to damage Clinton, at least at the moment. [Trump's fatal mistake on women, CNN, April 27, 2016]

Similarly, in (16) b., the author criticizes Trump for playing the man card as proof of his masculinity, which occasionally includes sexism towards women.

- b. "*I wasn't playing the woman's card,*" Donald Trump said Thursday when asked about his claim that *Hillary Clinton was playing such a card* and that if she were a man, she would get only 5 percent of the vote.

For once, I agree with Trump: *He wasn't playing the woman's card. He was playing the man's card — and he was dealing from the bottom of the deck. ...*

It probably won't work. It definitely is ugly. But it may be *the best card he has to play*, with seven in 10 women regarding him unfavorably. A man who has demagogically divided Americans by race and ethnicity now aims to finish the job by dividing us by views of gender roles. [Trump's calculated misogyny, Star Tribune, May 3, 2016]

In this conceptual integration network, input space one, the card game input, apart from the trump cards and card players, contains other concepts related to card games such as a deck containing various playing cards, the action of dealing the cards, and the concept of cheating in card games. The expression *to deal from the bottom of the deck*, or *bottom-dealing*, is used in the game of poker to denote an illegal move on the part of the player who distributes the cards to other players from the bottom of the deck, instead of from the top of the deck. In this form of card cheating, the player deals strong or weak cards from the bottom of the deck to him/herself or his/her opponents in order to gain an advantage or win the hand. As Safire (2008, p. 102) notes, the expression *to deal from the bottom of the deck* has for decades been used in the American political discourse. The mapping between the concept of bottom-dealing from the card game domain and the concept of political tricks from the politics domain can

be characterized as a standard conceptual association residing in human brains. Bottom-dealing as a concept of cheating in a card game in this particular case is part of the source input.

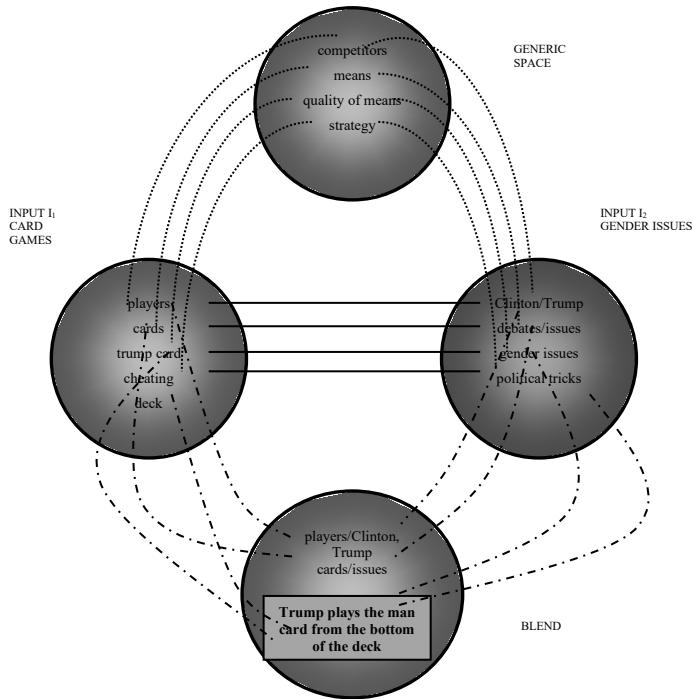


Figure 15 A conceptual integration network for *playing the man card from the bottom of the deck*

Input space two, the target space, contains the 2016 presidential election with the Democratic presidential hopeful Hillary Clinton and her opponent, the Republican presidential hopeful Donald Trump. The target input contains Trump's comments on the Clinton campaign tactics. Cross-space mappings connect card players to Trump and Clinton, and the trump cards to gender issues, as well as the concept of bottom-dealing to political tricks. Projected to the blend from input space one are the trump cards, players, a deck of cards, as well as the concept of cheating in card games or dealing cards from the bottom of the deck. From input space two, projected to the blend are Donald Trump, his statements, Hillary Clinton, and gender issues in the campaign.

The blend contains Donald Trump, a professional and skilled card player, performing a card trick and dealing the woman card, which is actually the man card, from the bottom of the deck to gain an advantage in the game. As the bottom dealing of the man card suggests, Trump does not play the woman card

according to the rules of the political card game, but he resorts to cheating and deals the man card instead. However, this move does not go unnoticed, but it is criticized and characterized as wrong and shameful as any other form of cheating would be judged in the world governed by high moral standards. Retrospective projections project suitable inferences created in the blend to the target space emphasizing the fact that raising gender issues in such a way is a slick political trick performed by Donald Trump in order to win an advantage in the campaign. Projections from the blend to the target input space also criticize Trump's mentioning gender issues with sexist overtones.

Similarly, in the examples in (17), the participants in the discussion about the woman card used different cards to criticize Trump's statements. In (17) a., the card played in the campaign is *the “my opponent is a raving misogynist” card*, which is not helpful to Trump. In (17) b. and c. Trump plays a number of different cards such as *the bully card*, *the Washington outsider card*, *the man card*, *the racist card*, *the anti-immigrant card*, and many other cards that are related to his character and the issues raised in the campaign. As in the previous examples, the blends in these examples receive additional projections from both inputs. From the source input space, projected to the blends are different playing cards of different values, the concept of dealing cards, the winning card(s), the trick of pulling the cards from one's sleeve as a way of cheating, a full deck. Projected to the blend from the target input are Trump's statements and his stances on issues of importance such as racism, immigration, religion, gender, and many others, as well as his character, demeanor, and behavior in certain situations. In (17) b., cross-space mappings connect the winning card, the ace, to gender issues. Additionally, cards of less or no value are connected to Trump's statements or stances. In the blends, the woman card is a winning card, an ace, and although Trump has many cards, this one is missing from his hand. In (17) c., apart from the above-mentioned mappings, cross-space mappings connect the wild card and the joker card to Trump's statements. In the blend, Trump, playing different cards, is also the wild card or the joker and has used most of the cards available. Although in the card game domain, playing the joker or the wild card implies winning, in the blend, these are losing cards. The causal structure is projected to the blend from the target input logic in which Trump's inappropriate behavior is perceived as wild and ridiculous, and the blend plays with the terms for names of cards. In the examples in (17), retrospective projections highlight the aspects of the target input related to Trump's negative statements, stances, and behavior, thus pointing out his weaknesses and the power of the gender issues in the campaign.

- (17) a. *The “woman card”* is a flop, but this is another that’s a sure winner with women. It’s *the “my opponent is a raving misogynist” card*. Women really—REALLY—don’t like Trump. Even within this morass of high voter dissatisfaction with these two candidates, the absolute disgust women have for Trump is notable. [*Playing the “Woman Card” Won’t Help You, Donald Trump, Says Columnist Krystal Ball*, Glamour, April 27, 2016]
- b. Presidential wanna-be Donald Trump has been playing *the “Billionaire card,” the “Bully card,” the “Washington outsider” card and even the “Man’s Man/My physical assets are plenty big card.”* But *the one card he doesn’t hold is the Woman’s card, which is no longer a joker in a leader’s hand.* Today, *the woman’s card is an Ace* and that’s what scares Donald Trump to death. My advice to Hillary Clinton: *Play it Hillary!* [*The Woman’s Card in a Leader’s Hand is an Ace. Deal Me In!* Anne Doyle Leadership, April 27, 2016]
- c. His latest contribution was last week’s assertion that Hillary Clinton is *playing the “woman card” and that without that trick up her sleeve she’d not get 5 percent of the vote. Hillary is certainly playing the “woman card,” as you have to play the cards you’re dealt.* She is a woman after all.

*When it comes to cards, The Donald has been playing many cards in his effort to trump the opposition. He’s played the “misogynist card,” “racist card,” “religious bigot card,” “obscene card,” “anti-immigrant card,” “bully card,” and “pandering card” constantly. He’s certainly a “wild card.” And “Joker” comes to mind. He’s played so many “cards” it seems he no longer has a full deck, although I don’t know that he started with one.* [*Trump Is Exactly What the GOP Was Heading Toward*, the Valley News, April 30, 2016]

As in the previous examples, in the examples in (16) and (17), the meaning is created through cognitively creative activity, that of conceptual blending. As already mentioned, these creative conceptual blends, extending the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor used in politicians’ statements, are effectively used to argue a certain point of view. The creative potential of the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor exploited in these blends aimed at agreeing or disagreeing with the politicians’ statements produces memorable figurative language, providing intertextual coherence of discourse. As in the previous examples, the

blends, motivated by the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor, receive additional projections from the source input. The richness, conventionality, and flexibility of the CARD GAME metaphor enhance the creative power of these conceptual blends. One of the key operations that contribute to the creativity of the blends is the exploitation of the background knowledge of the source input. Unlike in the previous examples, in most of the examples in (16) and (17), the additional elements projected from the rich source input to the blended space do not have their counterparts in the target space of politics. The elements such as a deck, dealing from the bottom of the deck, or the hand of playing cards, which are the inherent part of the card game domain, do not have their corresponding elements in the target space.

Figurative creativity relying on the same mechanisms and exploiting the richness of the encyclopedic knowledge of the source domain is further exemplified in (18) and (19). As in the previous examples, striking examples of figurative creativity through blending are produced by activating various portions of conceptual material located in the source input in order to achieve certain discourse goals. In these examples, input spaces are modified, and the mappings do not rely on the conventional conceptual associations between the domains of card games and politics. Rather, the blends exploit the aspects of the source domain that are not conventionally used metaphorically, producing more striking examples of creative conceptual blends.

The criticism of the woman card comments is also presented in the examples in (18). As in the previous examples, various portions of the conceptual material are projected from the source input into the blend. These include dealing from the bottom of the deck and cards up one's sleeve as cheating strategies in card-playing, folding, placing wagers. All of these examples also exploit the phonologically identical words, that is, Donald Trump's last name and a card of a winning suit or a winning card in a card game, a trump. In the integration networks for the examples in (18), a cross-space mapping connects a trump card from the source input to Donald Trump from the target input. In (18) a. and b., the Trump card is not necessarily a winning card. Rather, it is a dangerous card, characterized as a fascist or racist card. The causal structure is projected to the blend from the target input logic as Donald Trump's statements were often characterized as such. Retrospective projections in these blends highlight Trump's negative statements. In (18) c., considering Trump's statements, the author assumes that the Trump card is also Clinton's winning card. In this example, as in the previous examples, the blend receives additional projections from the source input, which include the concept of betting a wager and folding.

The concept of folding cards, or dropping out of the game of poker by folding the cards back into a pile and placing them on the table, is projected to the blend. Cross-space mappings connect the act of folding in card games from the source input with dropping out of a political campaign from the target input. In the blend, Clinton's best card is the Trump card, which will make Trump fold in the final part of the campaign. As in the previous examples, the logic by which a card can beat the player himself is projected from the target input because, in politics, it is possible for a politician to be his/her worst enemy and completely ruin his/her political career. Backward projections to the target input highlight Trump's reckless political action.

- (18) a. Donald Trump's forked tongue has unleashed another unsurprising attack, asserting that Hillary Clinton has nothing going for her but *the "woman's card."* Clinton's retort was generous, saying that if he means she is fighting for women's health care, paid family leave and equal pay and is thus playing the woman card, "*then deal me in.*"

But Hillary should be careful about *sitting down across the table from a man who deals from the bottom of the deck, with cards up his sleeve, possibly holding a nasty, downright vicious Trump card....*

*Beware the Trump card*, it contains more than a tad of incipient fascism.  
[*Beware the Trump card*, New York Amsterdam News, April 28, 2016]

- b. Donald Trump is designed to infuriate most women. And he played to type, claiming that all Hillary Clinton had going for her was "*the woman card*", suggesting that her gender — a manifest disadvantage — was her only advantage.

Of course, this set off an avalanche of irony on Twitter, with people detailing all the 'benefits' the woman card can buy you — being overlooked, condescended to, harassed, hated. They took apart the idea that *race and gender were useful "cards" to be played:* "*What card do racist white men get? The Trump card.*" [*Whatever the woman card is, it isn't buying you anything*, the Times of India, May 3, 2016]

- c. Yes, there's a '*woman card*' in US politics. Clinton should be proud to play it. Of course, *the best card in Hillary's hand is also the Trump*: when Americans go to the polls in November, she'll be on the ballot paper as his opponent. *I know who I'd put my wager on to fold in the final round.* [*Donald Trump says Hillary Clinton is playing the 'woman card'* - and so what if she is?, Independent, April 27, 2016]

Apart from criticizing Donald Trump for his statements, the creative figurative language produced in conceptual blending was also used to agree with Trump in accusing Clinton of using her gender to gain an advantage in the campaign. Although such examples are not as numerous as the ones criticizing Trump for using sexism, they still do exist and creatively exploit the same conceptual metaphor. In (19) a., the woman card is a losing card in hand. In (19) b., Clinton is playing with the loaded gender deck of cards. In this example, the blend receives additional projections from the source input, that is, a loaded deck. In card games, a loaded card deck is one that has been tampered with for advantage. In the blend, Clinton is cheating in the game by using gender cards from the loaded deck. Retrospective projections to the target input highlight Clinton's use of her gender as a dirty political move that can backfire.

- (19) a. Hillary's 'woman card' doesn't make a winning hand [the Baltimore Sun, May 11, 2016]
- b. In 2008, Hillary pulled *the gender card* and asked voters to help her break America's last glass ceiling. Instead, voters pulled the race card and elected Barack Obama the first black president. In 2016, *Hillary is pulling it again*.

Trump was right. If Hillary wasn't a woman and her last name wasn't Clinton, she wouldn't be beating Sen. Bernie Sanders. Without her marriage to former president Bill Clinton, Hillary wouldn't have run for president twice. In her 32 years of being a politician, Hillary's record of success has been enriching her bank account through government jobs.

...

Hillary's the one taking a campaign risk with *a loaded gender deck* and giving Trump lots of ammunition. [*Clinton taking risk with loaded gender deck*, Toronto Sun, May 2, 2016]

As in the previous examples, in the examples in (18) and (19), these creative conceptual blends, extending the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor used in politicians' statements, are effectively used to argue a certain point of view. As in the blends in (16) and (17), the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor is creatively exploited in these blends to argue a certain point of view on the issues in question, producing highly creative figurative language, which intertextually connects political discourse. In these examples as well, the blends, motivated by the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor, receive additional projections from the

source input. In some of the blends discussed, such as (18) a. and (19) b., the portions of conceptual material projected to the blended space are richer and more specific, such as a loaded deck or dealing from the bottom of the deck and having cards up the sleeve. This being the case, these aspects of the card game input can be viewed as marginal.

These examples further show that the richness, conventionality, and flexibility of the CARD GAME metaphor can be stretched and exploited in various ways in more striking creative conceptual blends motivated by the overarching WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor. In some of the examples in (16)-(20), the blends exploit the aspects of the source domain that are not conventionally used metaphorically, producing more radical examples of figurative creativity, linguistically and conceptually. The rich conceptual knowledge about the source concept is at the disposal of the members of the political discourse community, and they are willing to use it for different purposes. The projections to the blend and portions of the card game input activated depend on the individual's knowledge of the source input as well as on the goal the individual wants to achieve by producing memorable and creative language. It can be claimed that conceptual creativity also contributes to enhancing the argumentative power of such formulations.

The same conceptual metaphor can be stretched in conceptual blending in order to question the logic behind and the meaning of the original statements and the metaphor itself. In (20), the woman card to which women do not respond is a joker. As in example (9), the woman card has no value.

- (20) a. *If she's playing the 'woman card' and yet women don't respond to that, that's not much of a card at all, is it? More like a joker.* But logic hasn't been much of a strong point for Trump so far, so I'll let that one slip in favour of a closer look how his comments reflect the position of women in US politics today. [Donald Trump says Hillary Clinton is playing the 'woman card' - and so what if she is?, Independent, April 27, 2016]

Example (19) b. questions the meaning of the metaphor by providing an elaborate blend in which details of the card game in which the woman card has power are described in detail.

- b. I want to pause over the rhetoric of the provocation and consider *what it means to "play the woman card."*

*Let's begin with the game. It's a card game, perhaps a poker game, but for sure a game with high stakes that requires competition and cunning. Such a gambling game is not mere entertainment. It's a proving ground, and one of the stakes is competent masculine performance. In such a game, what does it mean to play the woman card? To play the queen? I don't think so. Ironically, it is more like playing the trump card, the card from a suit designated as outranking all others. Unlike the trump card, however, whose value is decided by the structure of the game, the woman card out-trumps the trump. It unsettles the rules.* This disturbance is read resentfully by some of the players, much as they read "playing the race card," as a move made by an intruder demanding attention to the very terrain of the playing field. [Collaborating with the Dead, Rice Feminist Forum]

In this conceptual blend, the woman card is a standard playing card in the game of poker. The source input space contains the game of poker, with its rules as a gambling game. Projected from the source domain are the concepts of gambling, stakes, and the rules of poker, including the strategy used in the game and cards of different values, such as the queen and the trump card. The target input space contains the presidential hopefuls in the 2016 presidential campaign, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, as well as gender issues. Cross-space mappings connect poker players to Clinton and Trump, a queen to gender issues, game strategy to political strategy, and game rules to the rules of political campaigns. Projected to the blend from the source input are the queen, the trump card, the rules of poker. Projected to the blend from the target input are the presidential hopefuls and gender issues. In the blend, presidential candidates are playing a game of poker in which the stakes are high and in which the status of the woman card in the game is unknown. The woman card is a special card, but it has a different value than the trump card. It out-trumps the trump and changes the rules. As this does not happen in card games which have strict and well-defined rules, the causal structure is projected from the target input. In politics, certain issues do change the course of the political discussions and, although marginal, become the most important issues. Backward projections emphasize that once gender issues are raised, they cannot be ignored and can take over the debate and that any political issue in such cases can have a gender bias.

As these examples further show, figurative creativity through blending can explore different aspects of the conventional source domain of card games, producing imaginative conceptual blends motivated by the WOMAN/

GENDER CARD metaphor. As in the previous examples, different aspects of the encyclopedic knowledge of card games are exploited, projecting different portions of conceptual material to the blend. As in the previous examples, in examples (20), input spaces are modified, and the mappings do not rely on the conventional conceptual associations between the domains of card games and politics. The blends exploit the aspects of the rich background knowledge of the card game input that are not conventionally used metaphorically, creating blends that are linguistically and conceptually more elaborate. Rather, in these examples, the aspects of the card game domain that are projected to the blended space are marginal and more specific, contributing to the novelty and creativity of the blends. Therefore, the richness and the flexibility of the CARD GAME metaphor, being an inherent part of the overarching WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor, motivate the creation of highly imaginative blends.

Examples (14)-(20) also show that the rich knowledge of the domain of card games can be successfully exploited argumentatively and rhetorically. These highly imaginative blends are used for argumentative purposes, agreeing or disagreeing with the statements of politicians or promoting the authors' views on gender issues in the campaign, discussing the impact raising gender issues could have on the election. The creativity of these blends additionally boosts the argumentative potential of the texts by making them memorable but at the same time relying on the familiar concepts shared by the discourse community. It can be argued that the conceptual flexibility and richness of the CARD GAME metaphor contribute to a better assessment of political issues. The creative exploitation of the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor provides intertextual coherence of political discourse by alluding to the prominent metaphor employed by the politicians themselves.

The meaning and the validity of the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor can be expressed in nonfigurative language. In the examples in (21), the use of the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor is criticized in various ways, from pointing out the phrase is harmful to drawing attention to the seriousness of political issues and the absurdity of conceptualizing such serious issues in terms of card games. In these examples, the authors of the texts reject the use of the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor and question its appropriateness and validity in the context of American politics by wording their views in metadiscursive comments. Although some of the previous examples use creative figurative language to criticize the use of the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor, the metadiscursive comments in these examples are used to argue that using the conventional WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor and figurative creativity through conceptual blending simply

diminishes the importance of gender issues in American political discourse and downgrades a serious political issue to playing a trivial game.

- (21) a. Last December, Donald Trump accused Hillary Clinton of “*playing the woman card*”—that is, using her gender to advance her political career. Many women have heard *this phrase* themselves when they tried to talk about the very real ways gender impacts their lives. In my opinion, *this is one of the most harmful phrases you can use toward women. With two simple words*, it furthers multiple forms of sexism and myriad other types of oppression. [*Here’s What’s Wrong With The Phrase “Woman Card”*, Bustle, October 10, 2016]
- b. *I reject the term “woman card,”* which implies being female confers some advantage, which in turn implies the reason women are underrepresented in politics is lack of merit instead of the obstacle that is sexism. [*How Should Clinton Play the ‘Woman Card’?*, Politico Magazine, June 9, 2016]
- c. Clinton’s response that “*if playing the woman card means supporting women’s health care and paid family leave and equal pay, then deal me in!*” pivots on the metaphor and highlights the persistence of structural inequality. Much like the metaphor of the 99% vs the 1%, which propelled the unspeakable question of class into political discourse in the US, turning around “*the woman card*” to spotlight the unfair realities of women’s lives is an important political opening. It has allowed women across racial differences and class sectors and against the tide of post-feminism to ask unsettling questions, beginning with the game itself: *Who sets the rules, gets to play, or hold this card? What are the costs of holding it or being dealt in? Is there a world outside the game?* [*Collaborating with the Dead*, Rice Feminist Forum]

As the examples in (20) and (21) show, the meaning of the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor can be questioned and criticized using highly creative figurative language or simply using metadiscursive comments. The authors of the texts use these strategies to reflect on the appropriateness of the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor in political discourse and to question the validity and the meaning of the metaphor in the political world explicitly. No matter whether the criticism in these examples is expressed in figurative or nonfigurative language, these examples show that the use of metadiscursive comments is an effective way

of refuting or rejecting a metaphor. Juxtaposing these examples to all the other examples discussed further shows that often a certain metaphor is taken for granted in political discourse and creatively stretched in various ways, usually without doubting its appropriateness or validity. A metaphor becomes part of political reality, forming a tradition within a political discourse community. In this particular case, considering the long tradition of the use of the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor in the American political discourse, it can be concluded that the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor has a life of its own, shaping political reality and forming a tradition of discussing gender issues in a certain way within the American political discourse community, allowing creative elaboration through blending and being contested only occasionally.

As mentioned previously, imaginative conceptual blends motivated by the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor can be used to ridicule the use and prominence of the conventional WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor within the American political discourse community by means of political humor and satire, in verbal or pictorial form. As Raskin (1985, p. 222) points out, “[t]he typical message of a political joke is that a particular leader or political figure, a political group, its ideas, or the entire way of life are not what they are supposed to be or purported to be.” Conceptual blending, being a cognitive linguistic theory that can account for a wide variety of linguistic and non-linguistic phenomena, has found its application in the study of humor.<sup>29</sup> As Coulson (2006, p. 185) claims, “[b]lending is common in social and political humor and often involves the projection of people into new contexts where the humorist’s point can be clearly illustrated.” As the following examples will show, political humor can be used to poke fun at the metaphorical conceptualization of certain serious political issues in a jocular fashion, exposing its weaknesses, questioning its validity and appropriateness, or simply utilizing it to get a serious political message across.

Some of the contemporary linguistic theories of humor hold that humor is created by the combination of two opposing frames or scripts producing incongruity.<sup>30</sup> In a similar vein, cognitive linguists (Coulson, 2002, Marín-Arrese,

29 Especially noteworthy is that different types of humorous texts, ranging from puns to political cartoons, have been studied within the framework of conceptual integration theory, cf. Bergen (2004), Berberović & Delibegović Džanić (2009, 2020), Coulson (1996, 2002, 2003, 2005), Delibegović Džanić & Berberović (2010), Dore (2015), Dynel (2011, 2018), Fujii (2008), Kyratzis (2003), Libura (2017), Lundmark (2003), Marín-Arrese (2003).

30 Cf. Attardo’s ([1991] 2010) *the General Theory of Verbal Humor*, developed from Raskin’s (1985) *Semantic Script Theory of Humor*, and Giora’s (2003) *Graded Salience Hypothesis*. Cognitive linguists (Brône & Feyaerts, 2003, Ritchie, 2005) claim that these two theories are compatible with cognitive linguistics.

2003) claim that incongruity in the blended space produced by the combination of the conceptual material from different input spaces is the key element in the creation and appreciation of humor. Conceptual integration theory seems to be a suitable linguistic theory for the study of humor. As Coulson (2002) claims, “[t]hough not all blends are humorous, blending does seem to be an inherent feature of humor.” It can also be claimed that the incongruity in the blended space is a characteristic of humorous blends only. However, what all blends have in common are backward projections from the blend into input space. It is believed that this cognitive operation is a decisive element in the resolution of humor. Marín-Arrese (2003) claims that “[t]he problem solving or resolution of the incongruity is realised by projecting backward to these input spaces [...].” As Marín-Arrese (2003) points out, the complex cognitive process producing the incongruity in the blended space and projections from the blended space to the inputs produce “unexpected inferential and emotional effects which contribute to the humor appreciation.”

As previously mentioned, political cartoons can be successfully used for the criticism of political reality. Quite a few political cartoons exploit the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor in the pictorial representation of the political situation in order to ridicule and criticize the use of gender issues in the world of politics or simply incorporate a (woman) card image along with other images to get their message across. As already mentioned, political cartoons can be viewed as products of conceptual integration, combining conceptual material from different input spaces in the blended space and producing incongruity in the blended space (cf. Coulson, 2002, Marín-Arrese, 2003). An interesting aspect of this type of political humor in view of conceptual integration theory is that political cartoons “directly represent the contents of a blended space and invite the viewer to unpack it into its inputs” (Coulson, 2006, p. 198).

Similar to examples (9) and (18), the cartoons in (22) exploit the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor creatively, producing an elaborate conceptual blend. The image represented in the cartoons is that of the joker card, usually pictorially represented as a clown or court jester. In most card games, the joker is a card that can replace and outrank any other card. The concept and the image of the joker card, projected from the source input, are creatively exploited in this cartoon. The target input space projects gender issues as well as Trump’s woman card statements. Cross-space mappings connect the cards from the source input to gender issues from the target input and the joker card from the source input to Donald Trump from the target input.

(22) a.



Source: <https://theweek.com/cartoons/621542/political-cartoon-hillary-trump-woman-card>

b.



Source: <https://theweek.com/cartoons/621512/political-cartoon-trump-hillary-woman-card-2016>

In the blend, (the) Trump is the joker card accusing Clinton of playing the woman card. The combination of the conceptual material in the blended space creates the political world in which the joker card is personified in the image of Donald Trump, having the ability to make facial expressions, express anger, and speak. The incongruity produced in the blended space by the creation of the world in which Donald Trump is the joker card actively engaged in American political life and its juxtaposition to the serious world of politics results in humorous effects. Apart from the humorous effects produced by the incongruity in the blend, the cartoon also has a serious rhetorical message. Retrospective projections to the target input highlight certain aspects of the political issues in light of the new structure created in the blend. Backward projections from the blended space, in which the joker card with the face of Donald Trump is alive and is presented as an active participant in political life, reinforce the absurdity of Trump's

statements and, in turn, criticize his personality and character. Stereotypically, clowns or court jesters are characterized as fools whose aim is to entertain and amuse the public. It can be argued that the cartoon also mocks Donald Trump's role in the world of politics.

Similar to the examples in (17), the political cartoon (23) pictorially presents Donald Trump accusing Clinton of playing the woman card and he, himself, playing many different political cards such as racism, bigotry, sexism, hate, and fear. In the blend, by playing all of the cards in his hand, Trump believes he can beat a single card Hillary Clinton is playing with, the woman card. Retrospective projections highlight Trump's political strategy to use all of these issues to gain an advantage in the campaign.

(23)



Source: [https://www.oleantimesherald.com/commentary/trump-cards/article\\_05aebfd2-af14-11e5-a5a6-9347e2eb8a3a.html](https://www.oleantimesherald.com/commentary/trump-cards/article_05aebfd2-af14-11e5-a5a6-9347e2eb8a3a.html)

As these examples show, political cartoons can be perceived as products of conceptual integration, combining conceptual material from different input spaces in the blended space and producing incongruity in the blended space (cf. Coulson, 2002, Marín-Arrese, 2003). Such conventional blends are often motivated by conventional metaphors. As Coulson (2002) claims, “[k]nowledge of entrenched metaphoric and metonymic mappings are routinely exploited in the comprehension of political cartoons.” In the political cartoons in (22) and (23), the contenders in the 2016 presidential race, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, play the metaphorical (gender) cards, depicted as regular cards in the deck, and score political points. Although these cartoons obviously have humorous and rhetorical value, juxtaposing literal card playing and the world of politics, they can also be regarded as pictorial representations of the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor and its creative exploitation in conceptual blending. In the cartoons,

the worlds of card playing and politics are blended, and in this hybrid world, politicians are simply card players, and issues are cards. Apart from highlighting an absurd aspect of the serious political issues, as are gender issues, the humor created in the blended space also successfully criticizes the world of politics, pointing out that using gender issues constantly can be risky as well as implying that playing the woman card in politics or conceptualizing serious political issues in terms of card games is absurd. As Coulson (2002) concludes, “[c]onceptual integration processes allow us to construct bizarre, disposable concepts which in turn promote particular construals of their input domains.”

Although a detailed analysis of the complex cognitive processes underlying the creation of humor in the examples in (22) and (23) is beyond the scope and purpose of this book, nevertheless, these cartoons further prove the prominence of the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor in political discourse in general. These examples show that the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor can be successfully used in different types of political discourse, including political humor, further reinforcing the fact that the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor forms a microtradition within the American political discourse community of discussing gender issues in figurative terms.

Inspired by the prominence of the woman card in the American political discourse, a regular deck of playing cards containing images of prominent women from public life was created. Such pictorial representation of the woman card metaphor can also be viewed as further proof of the entrenchment of the metaphor itself.

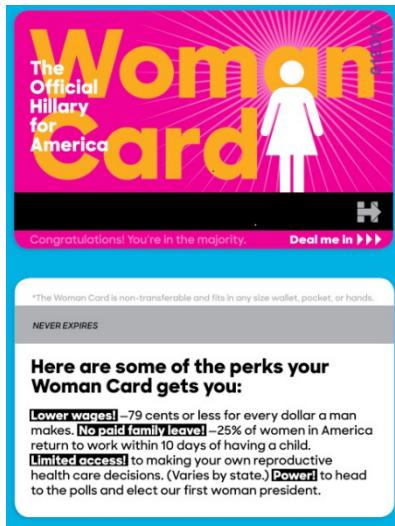
(24)



Source: <https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/general-news/woman-card-deck-hillary-clinton-ellen-degeneres-betty-white-beyonce-916886/>

Finally, the proof that politicians' statements can backfire was the release of the actual woman card by the Clinton campaign immediately following Donald Trump's comments. Hillary Clinton's campaign used the accusation by Trump to her advantage to raise money for the campaign. The woman card was sent to all those who decided to donate to the campaign a dollar or more. As it can be seen in the picture, the woman card is not a playing card, but it resembles a bank card or other cards given to members of retail chains to get discounts. At the bottom of the card, it says *Congratulations! You're in the majority*, and *Deal me in*. On the backside of the card, some of the ironic perks of being a woman in the US are written. They contain some of the gender inequalities the women in the US face on an everyday basis. The card also has its power as it entitles holders to use their right to vote and elect the first female president of the US. In addition, there is no expiration date for the woman card.

(25)



Source: <https://www.hillaryclinton.com>

The actual woman card released by the Clinton campaign can be viewed as a product of conceptual integration. The meaning is created in the blend, which uses the original *Deal me in* blend in (8), which is modified by an additional input space.

In this conceptual integration network, input space one, the card game input, apart from the trump card, and card players, contains other concepts related to card games such, the action of dealing the cards and the action of dealing

someone in, that is, including someone in the game. Input space two contains the 2016 presidential election with the Democratic presidential hopeful Hillary Clinton and her opponent, the Republican presidential hopeful Donald Trump. This input contains Trump's comments on the Clinton campaign tactics. Input space three contains membership cards, their appearance, and the benefits that cardholders can have. Cross-space mappings connect card players from input space one to Clinton and Trump from input space two, and the trump card from input space one to gender issues from input space two. The concept of dealing someone in from input space one is connected to political moves from input space two. Inputs one and three are connected by cross-space correspondences, mapping cards from input space two to cards from input space three based because of their similarities.

Projected to the blend from input space one is the value of trump card, as well as the concept of dealing cards. From input space two, projected to the blend are Clinton and her fight for gender equality. From input space three, the blend receives the projections that include membership cards and various things they entitle holders.

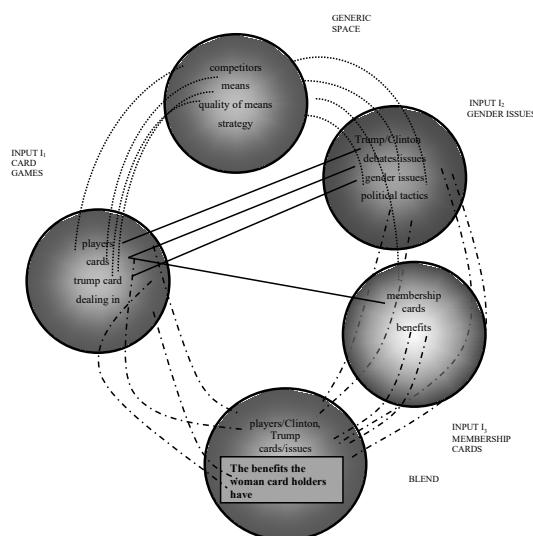


Figure 16 A conceptual integration network for *the woman card*

The blend contains the woman card in the shape of a membership card and the perks they entitle holders. In the blend, by becoming a member of the woman card club, the holder becomes the majority and can use the power of the card to elect the first female president of the US. Retrospective projections

project suitable inferences created in the blend to input space two, emphasizing that Clinton's campaign and her prospective presidency is all about the fight for women's rights, and it is also a fight for the majority as females make the majority of the US population.

The woman card had great success in the campaign, raising more than 2.4 million dollars in just two days from its release. It was also accompanied by other merchandise such as T-shirts with the *Deal me in* slogan and a deck of cards containing statistics representing gender inequality. The success of the creativity on the part of the Clinton campaign further shows that the statements can be used against the politicians who utter them.

#### **4.2.5 Final remarks on playing the woman/gender card in American political discourse**

The case study presented in the previous sections has revealed several interesting facts about the role of figurative creativity in political discourse. This case study shows that a prominent conceptual metaphor creatively exploited in conceptual blending can have different functions, such as promoting certain rhetorical agendas and contributing to discourse coherence at the intertextual level. This case study also uncovers several important aspects of the nature of two basic cognitive processes, that of conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending, showing the ways in which these two mechanisms interact and proving that they are compatible.

As far as the rhetorical and textual aspects are concerned, the case study shows that highly creative figurative language produced in conceptual blending intertextually connects political discourse, making reference to the original use of the conventional metaphor in the statements of the politicians. Alluding to the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor or using this metaphor as a motivation for imaginative conceptual blends, different texts on the same topic, namely gender issues, are intertextually connected. Due to its conventional or more or less creative use, a particular metaphor can become very prominent in a discourse community, allowing further creative exploitation, reinterpretation, and modification of the conventional metaphor.

In this particular case, the figurative language originally used in the statements of politicians was subsequently exploited in other texts having different discourse goals and forming a network of intertextual relations. In that sense, the intertextual relations providing coherence of the discourse on gender issues were formed within the political discourse community whose members used the same metaphor and its more creative products for different

reasons. Figurative creativity was used in order to agree or disagree with the politicians' statements, to provide their insights into gender issues, to promote a certain rhetorical agenda, to criticize and question the validity and meaning of the metaphor, to ridicule its use and prominence and expose its weaknesses by means of political humor.

The prominence of the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor formed a micro-tradition of discussing gender issues within the American political discourse community in terms of card games. This study also shows that often certain metaphors are taken for granted in political discourse and creatively stretched in various ways, usually without doubting their appropriateness or validity in the world of politics. In this particular case, the conceptualization of a serious political issue, that of gender, is downgraded to the trivial playing of card games. Nevertheless, this case study shows that a conceptual metaphor can become part of political reality, forming a tradition of discussing certain issues in metaphorical terms within a political discourse community. In this particular case, considering the long tradition of the use of the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor in American political discourse, it can be concluded that the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor has a life of its own, shaping political reality and forming a tradition of discussing gender issues in a certain way within the American political discourse community, allowing creative elaboration through blending and being contested only occasionally.

It can be claimed that figurative creativity through blending additionally boosts the argumentative potential of texts by making them memorable but at the same time exploiting familiar concepts shared by a discourse community. It can be argued that the conceptual flexibility and richness of the underlying conventional metaphors contribute to a better assessment of political issues. By creatively exploiting the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor through blending, the authors of the articles successfully achieve different discourse goals, from effectively explicating their points of view on gender issues to criticizing and ridiculing the constant use of gender issues for different purposes in politics. The result of these cognitively creative actions is memorable and highly creative language, which contributes to the argumentative power of such formulations. The creative exploitation of conventional metaphor produces greater cognitive effects but at the same time remains understandable to the members of the discourse community, requiring, only at times, slightly more processing efforts.

As already mentioned, the examples presented in the case study are instances of figurative creativity in which members of the political discourse community use their gift for ingenuity, producing metaphorical conceptual blends

motivated by the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor. As mentioned previously, once the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor became prominent in the American political discourse community, it was imaginatively exploited in various ways through conceptual blending. As these examples show, the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor triggers the construction of conceptual blends. The possibility for creativity is further enhanced by the fact that the metaphorical understanding of politics in terms of card games is a conventional way of conceptualizing the world of politics in the American political discourse community and is part of the overarching CARD GAME metaphor.

In most of the examples presented above, the source concept initiates the construction of a richer image in the blend. This sort of creativity is possible because the input space of card games is very general and contains the complete encyclopedic knowledge of card games, which can be characterized as being quite extensive. This is not surprising because various card games have for centuries been present in cultures around the world. As the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A CARD GAME has, for centuries, shaped political discourse, humans have had opportunities to stretch it in a variety of ways.

The ubiquity of the conventional CARD GAME metaphor and the existence of the conventional expressions motivated by this metaphor also imply the existence of the conceptual associations between card games and politics residing in human minds, which are highly conventional and feed the blending processes. These mappings, stored in the long-term memory of the speakers in the American political discourse community, feed the conceptual integration processes and contribute to further creative exploitation of the metaphor. Therefore, the conventional metaphors and their conventional mappings initiate the launch of conceptual blends, some of which are highly imaginative. Due to the exploitation of the conventional aspects of the source domain and the existence of the entrenched expressions, such blends can be perceived as less striking examples of creativity.

The rich knowledge of the card game input allows speakers to use certain aspects of the source domain that are not conventionally used metaphorically, enriching the image created in the blend and creating novel and even more creative blends. In these examples, input spaces are modified, and the mappings do not rely on the conventional conceptual associations between the domains of card games and politics. Recruiting marginal or ancillary facets of the card game domain, which are not part of conventional associations between the domains being part of the human conceptual repertoires, produces more striking examples of figurative creativity, both linguistically and conceptually. Projecting ancillary

bits of the encyclopedic knowledge from the source domain of card games seems to be essential in producing more radical examples of figurative creativity. The rich background knowledge, including marginal portions of conceptual material, recruited in these blends seems to be important in enhancing the argumentative and rhetorical power of the statements. These examples further highlight the argumentative flexibility of the underlying metaphor itself.

This type of creativity could be viewed as Kövecses' target-induced metaphorical creativity. As Kövecses (2005, 2009a, 2009c, 2010b, 2012, 2020) claims, in target-induced creativity, in a certain conventional metaphor, the target domain takes additional conceptual material from the source, and thus, further mappings between source and target are established. In Kövecses' view, target-induced creativity is particularly characteristic of discourse. As Kövecses claims (2010a, pp. 291-292), "[...] in real discourse, unconventional and novel linguistic metaphors can emerge not only from conventionally fixed mappings between a source and a target domain but also from mappings initiated *from the target to the source*" [italics in original]. In that sense, the rich target domain knowledge can initiate additional mappings from the source to the target, although in certain cases, such processes can be initiated from both the source and the target. Metaphorical creativity of this type is limited due to the fact that the source "is already constitutive of the target" (Kövecses, 2010, p. 292).

Although the analysis presented above contains many elements of what Kövecses calls target-induced creativity, the conceptual blending approach in line with Grady et al. (1999) adopted in this book, viewing figurative creativity in this case study as metaphorical blends, seems more suitable for several reasons. First, Kövecses himself (2005, p. 226) admits that target-induced creativity can be treated as blending in line with Grady et al.'s approach. It seems that in cases like these, the approach or the cognitive mechanism responsible for creativity is simply a choice a cognitive linguist has to make. Apart from Kövecses' claim, which encouraged the selection of the approach in this study, the reason why blending is seen as a more suitable approach in this case study or at least why it is opted for here was influenced by some other issues.

The metaphorical blends analyzed in the case study are asymmetric, inheriting the organizing frame from the source input, the card game input. The conceptual material residing in the card game input and conventional mappings are modified online in dynamic discourse situations producing imaginative blends. The rich encyclopedic knowledge about the source concept, including its ancillary bits, is a standard and entrenched part of human conceptual repertoires. As with target-induced creativity, one of the key operations that contribute to

the creativity of the blends is the exploitation of the background knowledge of the source input. In target-induced creativity, additional correspondences between the domains are initiated from the target, using the rich knowledge of the target, although both the source and the target can initiate these processes. In the case of the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor and its creative elaboration through blending, it seems that the situation is similar. In conceptual blending, both inputs contribute to the creation of the novel image in the blend. In most cases, it seems that the rich knowledge of the source concept initiates further projections and mappings, contributing to the creation of more striking examples of creativity and producing greater cognitive effects.

As the analysis shows, the additional elements projected from the rich source input to the blended space do not necessarily have their counterparts in the target space of politics, as is the case with target-induced metaphorical creativity. Some of the elements which are inherent parts of the card game domain and are used in instances of figurative creativity do not have their corresponding elements in the target space, or at least they cannot be easily perceived. Trying to find such correspondences at any cost could produce dubious results. Such forced and farfetched mappings between the domains, which could be deliberately perceived, would be created in an artificial and unnatural way, so to speak, stretching and adjusting the structure of the target to fit the source for the sake of complying with the basic postulates of CMT.

Treating figurative creativity of this sort as a product of target-induced creativity or conceptual blending seems to be a matter of choice. Both of these approaches in this context seem to fit the idea that dynamic discourse situations initiate the creation of highly innovative figurative language, produced in a series of complex cognitive operations, and relying on the entrenched and familiar concepts shared by the members of a discourse community. Therefore, the two processes can be viewed as the two sides of the same coin, the difference being that conceptual blending, unlike CMT, currently being under revision by prominent cognitive linguists, is less burdened by theoretical assumptions. This is particularly related to postulates of the Invariance Hypothesis, which, in real discourse situations, seem to be violated. Retrospective projections from the blended space to the target space promote particular construals in the target input, uncovering and explaining why figurative creativity through blending has rhetorical potential and can successfully achieve certain discourse goals.

This case study also reveals important insights into the ways in which conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending interact. The diagram below

illustrates the elaborate relations between these two basic cognitive processes and their interaction in cases of figurative creativity.

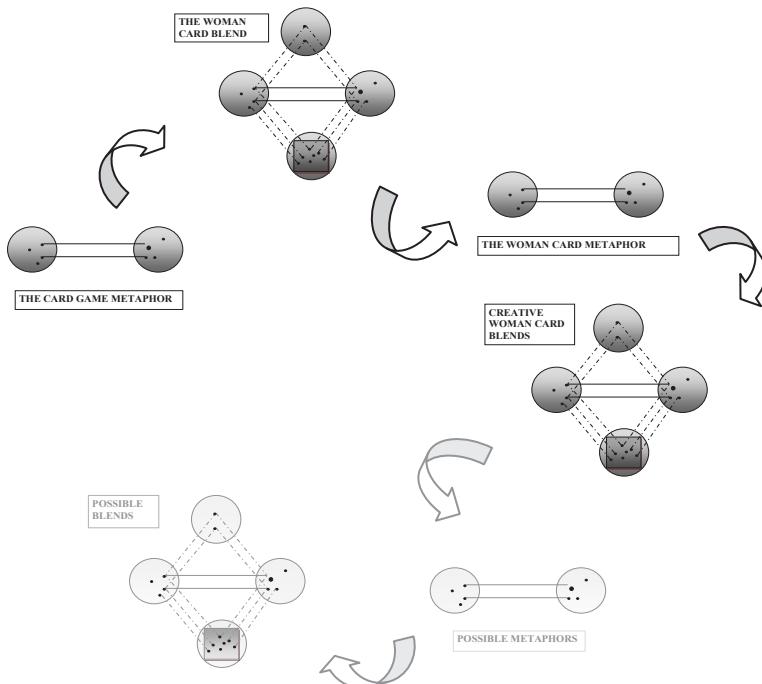


Figure 17 Cognitive processes involved in the production of figurative creativity in gender discourse

This case study shows that figurative creativity starts with the creation of the woman card blend motivated by the CARD GAME metaphor, which, over the course of time, became a conventional and entrenched metaphor. In turn, as the examples analyzed show, the conventional WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor is a readily available source for further elaboration in conceptual blending resulting in figurative creativity. The assumption is that some of the creative conceptual blends may become entrenched, turning into conventional metaphors, which in turn may become sources for further elaboration in conceptual blending.

It seems that combining two cognitive linguistic theories, CMT and BT, paints a fuller picture of the complex cognitive processes producing figurative creativity in discourse, which contributes to discourse coherence and its rhetorical message. This case study shows that CMT and BT are not only compatible theories but are also theories that can benefit from each other, uncovering complex creative processes taking place in human minds.

#### **4.3 Rebuilding economic houses destroyed in storms and fires across and within texts in political discourse**

##### **4.3.1 Introduction**

Human beings having the gift of ingenuity are able to produce remarkable and memorable creative figurative language even in times of crises, probably because of the need to explain various aspects of a crisis clearly, draw attention to it, propose their solutions in understandable language, or simply to produce memorable language. The global economic crisis that started in 2007 is no exception. When the *markets crashed, housing bubbles burst*, and the companies started *hemorrhaging money and jobs*, politicians and economists in the US tried to *overhaul the economy, pump liquidity into the financial system*, and find *a cure for the ailing economy*. In times of financial disaster, politicians and financial experts felt the need to find solutions for the crisis but also to search for the right words to describe it. Although the economic crisis created many serious problems worldwide, it also boosted the use of figurative language, often highly creative, especially in political discourse. This is not surprising considering that economy is another abstract concept that can be metaphorically conceptualized in terms of various source domains such as WAR, SPORTS, GAME, ROMANCE, PLANTS, BUILDING, JOURNEY, NATURAL DISASTER, MACHINERY, PHYSICAL and MENTAL HEALTH, and many more. It seems that it is almost impossible to talk about the economy and economic crisis in nonfigurative terms. Considering the importance of the global economic crisis and also the existence of a wealth of conceptual metaphors used for the conceptualization of the economy, using an adequate conceptual metaphor or its creative elaboration for the conceptualization of negative economic processes became an important but probably unconscious task among politicians and economists.

As the crisis started in the US, US politicians tried to use different conventional metaphors to describe the scope and dangers of the economic crisis and its consequences but also to suggest appropriate solutions for it, therefore, choosing different figurative language to achieve different discourse goals. Trying to offer a political answer to economic puzzles, relying on familiar concepts, politicians produced imaginative and creative figurative language as well. In their search for appropriate words to describe the crisis, politicians and economists relied on their gift for ingenuity, producing imaginative and novel figurative language. Among them was President Barack Obama, who proposed a series of legislation to take the country out of the crisis and set the basis for prosperity in the future. In his speeches, along with various conventional

and novel figurative expressions used to address the financial crisis, Obama also proposed *building a new foundation for economic growth*, a figurative expression which was probably coined to become a slogan of the Obama administration and which was used in official documents dealing with financial regulatory reform.

In this part, Obama's *new foundation for economic growth* with its two accompanying scenarios, that of a house on fire and that of a house destroyed in the storm, will be examined as a product of creative elaboration of a conventional metaphor through blending, that is, a product of the interaction of two basic cognitive mechanisms, conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending. As in the previous parts, it is believed that figurative creativity through blending used in different contexts can be employed to achieve various discourse goals. Furthermore, the creative figurative language in different texts by politicians and journalists connects, in different ways and for different purposes, texts dealing with the same issues, providing coherence of discourse at the intertextual level. Apart from intertextual coherence, this part will focus on the influence of figurative creativity on intratextual coherence, that is, patterning of figurative language within a single text.

The case study is organized as follows. Section one presents a brief overview of the BUILDING metaphor and provides several examples in which this metaphor is creatively stretched in conceptual blending to present the economic crisis vividly. The second part of the study presents the analysis of Obama's major address on the economic crisis, the house upon a rock speech, in which he vows to *build a new foundation for economic growth*. Obama's *new foundation* is viewed as a product of the creative elaboration of the conventional BUILDING metaphor through conceptual blending. In addition, this part of the case study focuses on the intratextual relations formed within the speech by the use of conventional and creative figurative language. The next two sections of the case study, sections three and four, deal with two different scenarios related to the BUILDING metaphor, that of a financial house destroyed in a storm and that of a financial house on fire. Apart from studying the interaction of two basic cognitive mechanisms, namely conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending, these two sections also focus on the role of figurative creativity produced in the house upon a rock blend on intertextual coherence of political discourse on the economic crisis and, especially, intratextual coherence of texts dealing with this issue. The role of figurative creativity through blending in achieving various discourse goals and creating rhetorically powerful messages in political discourse on economic crisis is a common thread of sections two through four.

General conclusions and remarks on *building a new foundation for economic growth* are presented in the last section of the case study.

#### **4.3.2 Construction sites in politics, economy, and elsewhere**

That economy is an abstract concept whose conceptualization primarily relies on conceptual metaphor was acknowledged in the cognitive linguistic literature even in the process of formulating the basic postulates of CMT. Many cognitive linguists, including Lakoff & Johnson (1980) in their seminal work *Metaphors We Live By*, setting the foundation for CMT, have noticed the importance of economic metaphors. As the field evolved, many cognitive linguists (Boers, 1999, Charteris-Black, 2004, Eubanks, 2000, Koller, 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2008) devoted their attention to investigating conceptual metaphors in financial reporting. Although some of these studies are embedded into different linguistic approaches, such as Critical Discourse Analysis, and have different aims and scopes, nevertheless, they have uncovered various interesting aspects of the use of metaphors in economic discourse but, at the same time, they have contributed to the body of literature dealing with CMT. One of the valuable findings of these studies is that they have revealed that human beings use many different conceptual metaphors for the conceptualization of the target domain ECONOMY. Some of these metaphors include the ECONOMY IS MACHINERY (A MOVING VEHICLE OR AN ENGINE), ECONOMY IS A PERSON (PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH OF A PERSON), ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE NATURAL DISASTERS, ECONOMY IS A BUILDING, ECONOMY IS A PLANT, ECONOMY IS A JOURNEY, ECONOMY IS SPORT, ECONOMY IS WAR, MARKET CHANGES ARE PHYSICAL MOVEMENTS.

In times of economic crisis when economies and markets *fall, plummet, plunge, nose-dive, collapse, crash, slow down, meltdown, overheat, suffer from deadly diseases and depression*, politicians and economists strive to *bailout economy and markets, to rebuild them, to overhaul them, to jump-start the economy, to present recovery plans, jolt the economy and cure it*. These expressions, heard in everyday language in relation to the global economic crisis, show that negative economic processes can be conceptualized in terms of different source domains such as MACHINERY, PERSON, NATURAL DISASTERS, BUILDING, and MOVEMENT, primarily focusing on the negative aspects of the target domain. This inevitably leads to the conclusion that it is almost impossible to talk about the economy and economic crisis in nonfigurative language.

Apart from the conceptual metaphors mentioned above, another metaphor contributing to the repertoire of playful and memorable figurative language

employed in times of financial crisis is the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING metaphor. This conventional metaphor is often used and creatively exploited in the discourse on economic crisis. According to Kövecses (2002, 2010a), the scope of the source domain BUILDING is not limited solely to the target domain ECONOMY, but it is used for a range of target domains such as THEORIES, RELATIONSHIPS, CAREERS, A COMPANY, SOCIAL GROUPS, LIFE. Kövecses notices that all of these target domains share the same characteristic; namely, these are complex abstract systems. All of these metaphors can be subsumed under the overarching metaphor ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS. The main meaning focus of this metaphor is on “the creation of a strong and stable structure for a complex system” (2010a, p. 137). Three basic mappings or three basic submetaphors characterize the BUILDING metaphor.

CREATING A WELL-STRUCTURED AND LASTING ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEM IS MAKING A WELL-STRUCTURED, STRONG BUILDING, which consists of several simple metaphors, such as CREATING AN ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEM IS BUILDING, THE STRUCTURE OF AN ABSTRACT SYSTEM IS THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF A BUILDING, and A LASTING ABSTRACT SYSTEM IS A STRONG BUILDING. (Kövecses, 2010a, p. 159)

These submetaphors are focused on the creation, stability and lastingness of an abstract complex system. Consequently, central mappings, according to Kövecses (2010a, p. 139), focus on the same features.

source: BUILDING	→	target: ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEM
foundation	→	basis that supports the entire system
framework	→	overall structure of the elements that make up the system
additional elements to support the framework	→	additional elements to support the structure of the system
design	→	logical structure of the system
architect	→	maker/builder of the system
process of building	→	process of constructing the system
strength	→	lastingness/stability of the system
collapse	→	failure of the system

In times of financial crisis, economic systems lose stability, their structure being endangered, or in metaphorical terms, *foundations of the economy crumble*, *cracks appear on the financial house* leading to its *collapse*. As a consequence, the economy is *in ruins*, requiring *financial engineers* and *architects to fix it*, *reinforcing the foundations*, and *rebuilding the economic house*. Considering the vast encyclopedic knowledge human beings possess about buildings, it is not surprising that many creative extensions of the conventional metaphor have been produced in times of crisis. The figurative expressions of the BUILDING metaphor, varying in the degree of conventionality or creativity, are used in the examples in (26).

The text in (26) a. is structured by conventional metaphorical expressions of this metaphor, explaining the state of the economy as well as proposing solutions for the rebuilding of the financial system. In (26) b., the financial house, which is crumbling, requires a crew of workers, a team of economic experts, to strengthen its structure and prevent it from collapsing by proposing appropriate financial regulation. Financial institutions on which the financial system rests, such as banks and brokers, are pictorially represented as the pillars whose collapse contributed to the complete destruction of the financial house in the cartoon in (26) c.

- (26) a. A common theme of our proposals notes that *fixing all the cracks will shore up the financial house but at great cost*. Instead, by *fixing a few major ones*, *the foundation can be stabilized*, *the financial structure rebuilt*, and innovation and markets can once again flourish. [Repairing a failed system, Vox, February 7, 2009]
- b. After a one-year 50% drop in the stock market and the fastest, deepest spate of job losses since 1974, Americans have a lot of data to support their sense that *the country's economic house is crumbling*. The last thing they want to hear is that *the man charged with the reclamation project doesn't have a crew ready to start work*. [Tim Geithner's Hiring! And His Critics Hope It's Soon, Time, March 9, 2009]

c.



Source: <http://politicalhumor.about.com/od/politicalcartoons/ig/Political-Cartoons/>

In the examples above, the BUILDING metaphor focuses on the construction, strength, stability, and lastingness of the economic system. The examples above illustrate the extent to which different elements of the source domain can be used in order to describe the state of the economy in terms of building, producing figurative language varying in the degree of conventionality or creativity. The figurative language in these examples is used to achieve different discourse goals. In these particular examples, generally speaking, conventional as well as creative figurative language is used to point out the flaws of the financial system and present solutions for its improvement.

Apart from the conceptual material related to the stability, creation, and structure, other, more marginal elements of the conceptual material from the source related to other properties of buildings can be activated. The ECONOMY IS A BUILDING metaphor can also be creatively stretched through conceptual blending, not focusing on the properties of structure and stability, but exploiting the vast encyclopedic knowledge about the source domain, namely the inner structure of a building or the ways to cover up the architectural flaws of a building.

The author of the statement in (27) wittingly exploits the encyclopedic knowledge about buildings to represent the inner structure of the American economic system as an apartment block occupied by different economic classes, vividly describing the state of the economic system and the various problems within the system which citizens experience. By starting with the expressions *think of*, used as a signaling device here (cf. Goatly, 1997, Semino, 2008), the author encourages the hearers to establish the connections between the source

and target inputs. In this creative example, marginal facets of the BUILDING domain, such as a penthouse, a flooded basement, elevator, and apartments, are activated. In the blend, the economic building is composed of the apartments in the middle, which are squeezed between the flooded basement and large penthouses, and the movement through the economic building is impossible due to the broken elevator. Such portions of conceptual material are not part of the conventional associations between the domains of buildings and economy and are not conventionally utilized in metaphorical mappings. Such ancillary portions of the encyclopedic knowledge about the source concept are projected to the blend, creating conceptually a very rich and creative scenario. The rich encyclopedic knowledge about the source concept, including its ancillary bits, can be activated without producing incomprehensible language as conceptualizing economy in terms of building is a standard and entrenched part of the human conceptual repertoires.

- (27) “Think of the American economy as *a large apartment block*. A century ago – even 30 years ago – *it was the object of envy*. But in the last generation its character has changed. *The penthouses at the top keep getting larger and larger. The apartments in the middle are feeling more and more squeezed and the basement has flooded. To round it off, the elevator is no longer working. That broken elevator is what gets people down the most.*” [The crisis of middle-class America, Financial Times, July 30, 2010]

Example (28) could also be perceived as a creative elaboration of the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING metaphor through conceptual blending. In the first part of the text, the source concept is activated, especially by the use of the expressions *well designed* and *to restore*, allowing the establishment of the mappings. In the second part of the text, the blend is fully developed and further enriched by the projection of marginal portions of the encyclopedic knowledge residing in the source input. Instead of covering the architectural flaws of the financial house by papering over or propping up the financial house, the regulations should be aimed at knocking down the entire economic house, dynamiting its foundation, and building a new economic house in its place. These projections from the source input to the blended space enrich the image created in the blend, the image of the financial house whose caretakers have to consider its many flaws and have to present appropriate solutions for long-term stability. In this imaginative blend, ancillary portions of the conceptual material from the

source input, which are not utilized in metaphorical mappings, are projected to the blend. These portions include the ways to cover and support the structure, including installing drywalls to cover up the studs in walls. The knowledge about different methods of knocking down the structure, such as dynamiting the foundation, is projected to the blend. This example also shows how conceptual blends, activated, gradually developed, and enriched throughout a stretch of text, contribute to achieving intratextual coherence of that stretch.

- (28) Six months ago, nobody believed that our banking system *was well designed*, functioning smoothly or properly regulated - so why then are we so desperately anxious *to restore* that model as the status quo? Nearly every new program emanating these days from the Treasury Department - the Term Asset-Backed Securities Loan Facility, the Public Private Investment Program, the “stress tests” of major - appears to have been designed to either *paper over* or to *prop up* a system that has clearly failed.

Instead of hauling out the new drywall to cover up the existing studs, let's seriously consider ripping down the entire structure, dynamiting the foundation and building a new system that rewards taking prudent risks, allocates capital where it is needed, allows all investors to get accurate and timely financial information and increases value to shareholders and creditors. [*The Economy Is Still at the Brink*, the New York Times June 7, 2009]

In the view of the authors of this text, the financial house is simply architecturally flawed, and the government's attempts to restore the financial system are conceptualized as cosmetic fixes of the financial house. The authors do not focus on the stability of the system, but rather they concentrate on the structural flaws of the system, presenting them in great detail in vivid language.

As Kövecses (2010a, p. 93) claims, many aspects of the source domain of buildings are not utilized in metaphorical mappings such as corridors, roofs, chimneys, and possibly the elements mentioned above. Examples (27) and (28), as well as examples provided by Musolff (2000, 2004) in his studies on discourse on the integration of Europe, which was structured by the BUILDING metaphor, show that various other elements, often unutilized in metaphorical mappings, of the BUILDING/HOUSE domain, can be used in different scenarios to achieve different discourse goals in real discourse. Exactly this type of metaphorical creativity is what Kövecses calls target-induced creativity, which can also be

explained in terms of metaphorical blends in accordance with Grady et al.'s (1999) model.

The conventional metaphor ECONOMY IS A BUILDING can be involved in the formation of different scenarios. In the examples in (29), this metaphor is used in two different scenarios, namely, a financial house damaged in a storm and a financial house burning in flames. In both of these examples, the complete encyclopedic knowledge of buildings and houses is activated, including various ways in which houses can be endangered and damaged. In (29) a., the economic house is hit by a storm, the rain flooding various parts of the house through the leak in the roof while rescue efforts are focused on draining the basement. The economic system and the economic crisis are conceptualized as a house and as rain and flooding, respectively, while financial measures aimed at rescuing the financial system are conceptualized as rescue efforts. In this example, in creative figurative language, Senator Franken draws attention to the severity of the crisis and the inadequate measures and proposes a different approach to dealing with economic problems. In (29) b., the encyclopedic knowledge about the dangers of fires in houses and ways to extinguish the fire is activated. In this example, the economic crisis is conceptualized as a fire threatening to swallow the economic house, and a set of financial regulations is conceptualized as a hose gushing water used to put the fire out. The author of the text criticizes the inability of politicians to agree on financial measures which are urgently needed to save the economy.

- (29) a. "The way I look at this is *we were trying to drain a basement that's filled with water and it's raining out and we have a roof with a huge hole in it and we're draining the basement without fixing the roof. We needed to fix the roof, here.*" [Senator Al Franken, October 3, 2008]
- b. All the predictable ideological voices in Congress and the media have started to weigh in with their short sighted and narrow views of what needs to happen. Some of this is not about saving the economy, but is designed to reduce the new President's political clout before he even takes office. It's amazing. *The house is burning down and these folks are fighting over the size of the hose we need to put out the fire.* [In Support of the Obama Stimulus Plan, the New York Observer, January 9, 2009]

Exactly these two scenarios were also employed by President Obama, who, after trying to find proper language to talk about the crisis and justify his financial

reform, used a term *building a new foundation for economic growth and lasting prosperity*. In his speeches, President Obama vowed to rebuild the economy, which was destroyed in a fire or a storm, on a new, solid foundation. This phrase became a standard phrase in the President's vocabulary in addressing the economic crisis, and it even became a term used in official documents proposing the financial regulatory reform. Having rhetorical power, this figurative expression motivated by the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A BUILDING, also dominated the discourse on economic reform, and provided intertextual as well as intratextual coherence of discourse.

#### **4.3.3 Building a new foundation for economic growth within a text**

<sup>24</sup>*Everyone then who hears these words of mine and acts on them will be like a wise man who built his house on rock.* <sup>25</sup>*The rain fell, the floods came, and the winds blew and beat on that house, but it did not fall, because it had been founded on rock.* <sup>26</sup>*And everyone who hears these words of mine and does not act on them will be like a foolish man who built his house on sand.* <sup>27</sup>*The rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat against that house, and it fell - and great was its fall!* [Jesus' words in a passage from Matthew 7: 24-27]

The parable quoted above comes from the Sermon on the Mount, in which Jesus teaches his disciples the basic moral teaching, concluding that those who act upon his words will be wise builders having a rock-solid foundation in life. Even for those who are not familiar with the religious message of this part of the Sermon, the words alone can mean a great deal and can be translated into various aspects of human lives, even in modern times. Metaphorical foundations are needed in all aspects of our lives, especially in times of crisis when people seem to rely on them even more. As an author of a magazine article mentions, “in tumultuous times, we take great comfort from our concrete slabs and steel girders ... We trust these “rocks” will keep us high and dry. Or we do, at least, until they fail.” [*The shifting sands of divorce and the rock-solid foundation of God’s love*, huffingtonpost.com, July 29, 2010]. Disregarding the strong religious message of the passage, the mundane understanding of building a foundation upon a rock as opposed to building a foundation in the sand resonates in the contemporary world in various aspects of human lives, including struggling to restore the foundations of the economic and political system and return to the world governed by real values. What is more, the clarity of the parable seems to

be rooted in the common conceptual basis of human beings who find foundations to be crucial elements of providing support, stability, and lastingness to many abstract systems.

Considering that this centuries-old metaphor has still not lost its appeal, it is not surprising that President Obama referred to it in the major address on the economic crisis at the beginning of his term. Disregarding how the use of this religious analogy was accepted in public, the reference had a great influence on creating the official economic policy of Obama's administration as well as presenting it in clear language. In his speech, exploiting the biblical imagery, Obama vowed to build *a new foundation for economic growth* on a rock. Considering the fact that the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING metaphor is one of the common conceptual metaphors, the reference to the biblical story produces even greater cognitive effects and rhetorically even more powerful messages. In this long speech, in which *a new foundation* was mentioned eleven times, Obama tried to explain the crisis clearly, to present his plan for economic recovery but also, in defending its plan, he tried to instill a hope for and belief in a better future.

Using the BUILDING metaphor to inspire and create a positive atmosphere in public is not Obama's own signature. Considering the scope of the BUILDING metaphor discussed in the previous section but also the passage mentioned above, showing tradition in using this particular metaphor, it is not surprising that other politicians have used this metaphor to elevate their messages. The BUILDING metaphor has been used for centuries to inspire but also to communicate a message. Charteris-Black (2004, pp. 95ff) shows that the BUILDING metaphor is often employed in political speeches, commonly carrying positive connotations. Based on his corpus study on the BUILDING metaphor in politics, Charteris-Black (2004, p. 96) mentions that the positive evaluation of this metaphor lies in the fact that the process of building is "a worthwhile social endeavor" that takes time and effort but eventually results in a positive outcome. This, in part, explains why this particular metaphor can have inspirational and moving effects in political speeches. *A New Foundation* was also shortly a slogan of the Carter administration; however, as it was not well received, or at least did not have the success of FDR's *New Deal*, Johnson's *Great Society*, or Kennedy's *New Frontier*, it was discarded.

Obama's major speech on economic crisis entitled *A House upon a Rock*, delivered at the Georgetown University in April 2009, is provided in (30). As the speech is quite lengthy, almost six thousand words long, only parts of the speech, especially those structured by the BUILDING metaphor but also those contributing

to the overall message of hope and prosperity in the future, are provided below. The selected portions of the speech are interrupted by the summaries of the parts of the speech omitted, containing metaphorical expressions of the economic metaphors used in these parts of the speech and brief analyses of the metaphors used. The aim of such structuring of this part of the analysis is to provide an insight into various metaphorical patterns used throughout the speech and their contribution to intratextual coherence but also to show the interaction of the figurative language produced in conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending in longer stretches of text. The full text of the speech, containing highlighted metaphorical linguistic expressions of the economic metaphors, is provided in the appendix.

- (30) It has now been twelve weeks since my administration began. And I think even our critics would agree that at the very least, we've been busy. In just under three months, we have responded to an extraordinary set of economic challenges with extraordinary action - action that has been unprecedented in both its scale and its speed.

I know that some have accused us of taking on too much at once. Others believe we haven't done enough. And many Americans are simply wondering how all of our different programs and policies fit together in a single, overarching strategy that will *move* this economy from recession to recovery and ultimately to prosperity.

So today, I want to step back for a moment and explain our strategy as clearly as I can. I want to talk about what we've done, why we've done it, and what we have left to do. I want to update you on *the progress we've made*, and be honest about *the pitfalls that may lie ahead*.

And most of all, I want every American to know that each action we take and each policy we pursue is driven by a larger vision of America's future - a future where sustained economic growth creates good jobs and rising incomes; a future where prosperity is *fueled* not by excessive debt, reckless speculation, and fleeing profit, but is instead *built* by skilled, productive workers; by sound investments that will spread opportunity at home and allow this nation to lead the world in the technologies, innovations, and discoveries that will shape the 21st century. That is the America I see. That is the future I know we can have.

To understand *how we get there*, we first need to understand *how we got here*. ...

As the highlighted expressions in the part of the speech presented above illustrate, even in the opening parts of the speech, Obama uses several conventional metaphorical linguistic expressions of different metaphors for the conceptualization of economy. The ECONOMY IS A JOURNEY metaphor, whose conventional metaphorical linguistic expressions extend throughout these paragraphs in chains, dominates this stretch of the text, providing intratextual coherence

In the next paragraphs of the speech, Obama tries to explain the origin of the crisis, which was brought about by the irresponsibility of Wall Street. Obama starts by saying that “markets and economies naturally ebb and flow” but that the recession “was caused by a perfect storm of irresponsibility and poor decision-making that stretched from Wall Street to Washington to Main Street.” Summarizing the course of the recession, Obama mentions the housing crisis, during which “the bubble grew” and it finally “burst” and “all those loans and securities plummeted.” In the following stages of the recession, “the crisis spread from Wall Street to Main Street the infected securities.”

All of these expressions are conventional metaphorical expressions of metaphors such as THE ECONOMIC MARKET CHANGES ARE PHYSICAL MOVEMENT (*ebb and flow*), THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IS A NATURAL DISASTER (*a perfect storm*), and THE BEHAVIOR OF THE MARKET IS THE BEHAVIOR OF GAS (*bubble burst*), MARKET CHANGES ARE WAYS OF MOVING IN THE AIR (*plummet*), and THE ECONOMY IS THE HEALTH OF A PERSON (*spread infected securities*).<sup>31</sup> The density of the metaphorical expressions is not high as these expressions are scattered across a relatively long stretch of the text.<sup>32</sup> The metaphorical expressions are distributed unevenly throughout this stretch of the text, at certain points of the text forming metaphorical clusters of mixed metaphors. Although these expressions are metaphorical linguistic expressions of different metaphors used for the conceptualization of economy, combining and mixing metaphorical expressions to achieve different discourse goals, in this particular case to explain the course of

---

31 These metaphorical linguistic expressions, along with other metaphorical expressions of the economic metaphors, are highlighted in the full text of the speech provided in the appendix.

32 Cameron & Stelma (2004, p. 120) state that in various types of spoken discourse, the density of metaphorical expressions varies from 107 per 1000 to just 27 per 1000 (cf. also Cameron, 2003). Although quantitative analysis is beyond the scope of this study, still the conclusion that the density of metaphorical expressions in this part of the speech is not high is based on simple counting of metaphorical expressions in these particular passages of the speech, although even a glance at the highlighted expressions in the appendix can confirm this claim.

the crisis clearly, seems unnoticeable and natural, not requiring extra processing efforts on the part of the hearer. The metaphorical expressions in this part of the speech do not seem incongruous as they fit the same general scenario, that of the economy in crisis.

In the next section of the speech, Obama explains the course of action undertaken on the part of his administration in order to deal with the economic crisis.

This is the situation we confronted on the day we took office. And so our most urgent task has been *to clear away the wreckage, repair the immediate damage to the economy*, and do everything we can *to prevent a larger collapse*. And since the problems we face are all working off each other to feed a vicious economic downturn, we've had no choice but *to attack all fronts of our economic crisis at once*. ...

In this part of the speech, the economic crisis is conceptualized as a building whose parts have already collapsed, possibly being destroyed in a storm, leaving the wreckage behind, and the set of economic measures is conceptualized as clearing away the wreckage and preventing other parts of the building from collapsing. In the second sentence, Obama uses metaphorical expressions of the ECONOMY IS A PHYSICAL CONFLICT metaphor. Therefore, in this relatively short paragraph, the metaphorical expressions, some very creative, of two different metaphors form a cluster. Obama continues the speech using the same metaphor, THE ECONOMY IS A PHYSICAL CONFLICT, in saying that the government must "fight" the recession. In addition to this expression, Obama explains that benefits to the unemployed are designed "to cushion the blow of this recession." Conventional metaphorical expressions of the ECONOMY IS A PHYSICAL CONFLICT metaphor form a metaphorical chain extending over the following paragraph.

In the next stretch of text, Obama tries to justify his financial recovery efforts, such as the Recovery Act, the bank capitalization program, the housing plan, the strengthening of the non-bank credit market, the auto plan, claiming that the government cannot "stand idly by as the economy goes into free fall," using the conventional metaphor MARKET CHANGES ARE WAYS OF MOVING IN THE AIR. These paragraphs are interwoven with various conventional metaphorical expressions of different economic metaphors; however, the density of metaphorical expressions is rather low. Some of the conventional metaphors used in this part of the speech include ECONOMY IS THE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH OF A PERSON ("to heal our financial system"), THE ECONOMY IS A BUILDING ("to

shore up the banking system”), and MONEY IS A LIQUID (“to get credit flowing”). In the following paragraphs, Obama extends the HEALTH metaphor by stating that “governments should practice the same principle as doctors: first do no harm.” Obama continues in the same tone, using the same conceptual metaphor, saying that “banks aren’t the only institutions affected by these toxic assets that are clogging the financial system,” forming a metaphorical chain over these two paragraphs. Further in the text, Obama’s financial measures are conceptualized as efforts to set a vehicle in motion (“jumpstart lending”) and help businesses and families to weather the storm (“ride out the storm.”), using two conventional conceptual metaphors, THE ECONOMY IS A MOVING VEHICLE and THE ECONOMY IS A NATURAL DISASTER, respectively. Warning that 2009 will be a difficult year for the economy, Obama continues the speech promising that his administration will *“fight for economic recovery on all fronts”* using the ECONOMY IS A PHYSICAL CONFLICT metaphor. Obama continues the speech by explaining the flaws of the current economic system, which he describes as not sustainable, and finally arrives at the major part of the speech formulated in figurative language.

There is a parable at the end of the Sermon on the Mount that tells the story of two men. The first built his house on a pile of sand, and it was destroyed as soon as the storm hit. But the second is known as the wise man, for when “...the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house...it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock.”

*We cannot rebuild this economy on the same pile of sand. We must build our house upon a rock. We must lay a new foundation for growth and prosperity - a foundation that will move us from an era of borrow and spend to one where we save and invest; where we consume less at home and send more exports abroad.*

*It's a foundation built upon five pillars that will grow our economy and make this new century another American century: new rules for Wall Street that will reward drive and innovation; new investments in education that will make our workforce more skilled and competitive; new investments in renewable energy and technology that will create new jobs and industries; new investments in health care that will cut costs for families and businesses; and new savings in our federal budget that will bring down the debt for future generations. That is the new foundation we must build. That must be our future - and my Administration's policies are designed to achieve that future.*

The first step we will take *to build this foundation* is to reform the outdated rules and regulations that allowed this crisis to happen in the first place. It is time to lay down tough new rules of the road for Wall Street to ensure that we never find ourselves here again. Rules that punish short-cuts and abuse. Rules that tie someone's pay to their actual job performance. Rules that protect typical American families when they buy a home, get a credit card or invest in a 401k. We have already begun to work with Congress to shape this *new regulatory framework* - and I expect a bill to arrive on my desk for signature before the year is out.

*The second pillar of this new foundation* is an education system that finally prepares our workers for a 21st century economy. In the 20th century, the GI Bill sent a generation to college, and for decades, we led the world in education and economic growth. But in this new economy, we trail the world's leaders in graduation rates and achievement. That is why we have set a goal that will greatly enhance our ability to compete for the high-wage, high-tech jobs of the 21st century: by 2020, America will once more have the highest proportion of college graduates in the world.

To meet that goal, we have already dramatically expanded early childhood education. We are investing in innovative programs that have proven to help schools meet high standards and close achievement gaps. We are creating new rewards tied to teacher performance and new pathways for advancement. I have asked every American to commit to at least one year or more of higher education or career training, and we have provided tax credits to make a college education more affordable for every American.

*The third pillar of this new foundation* is to harness the renewable energy that can create millions of new jobs and new industries. We all know that the country that harnesses this energy will lead the 21st century. Yet we have allowed other countries to outpace us on this race to the future.

Well, I do not accept a future where the jobs and industries of tomorrow take root beyond our borders. It is time for America to lead again.

The investments we made in the Recovery Act will double this nation's supply of renewable energy in the next three years. And we are putting Americans to work making our homes and buildings more efficient so that we can save billions on our energy bills and grow our economy at the same time.

But the only way to truly spark this transformation is through a gradual, market-based cap on carbon pollution, so that clean energy is the profitable kind of energy. Some have argued that we shouldn't attempt such a transition until the economy recovers, and they are right that we have to take the costs of transition into account. But we can no longer delay putting *a framework* for a clean energy economy in place. If businesses and entrepreneurs know today that we are closing this carbon pollution loophole, they will start investing in clean energy now. And pretty soon, we'll see more companies constructing solar panels, and workers building wind turbines, and car companies manufacturing fuel-efficient cars. Investors will put some money into a new energy technology, and a small business will open to start selling it. That's how we can grow this economy, enhance our security, and protect our planet at the same time.

*The fourth pillar of the new foundation* is a 21st century health care system where families, businesses, and government budgets aren't dragged down by skyrocketing insurance premiums. One and a half million Americans could lose their homes this year just because of a medical crisis. Major American corporations are struggling to compete with their foreign counterparts, and small businesses are closing their doors. We cannot allow the cost of health care to strangle our economy any longer.

That's why our Recovery Act will invest in electronic health records with strict privacy standards that will save money and lives. We've also made the largest investment ever in preventive care, because that is one of the best ways to keep costs under control. And included in the budgets that just passed Congress is an historic commitment to reform that will finally make quality health care affordable for every American. So I look forward to working with both parties in Congress to make this reform a reality in the coming months.

*Fixing our health care system* will certainly require resources, but in my budget, we've made a commitment to fully pay for reform without increasing the deficit, and we've identified specific savings that will make the health care system more efficient and reduce costs for us all.

In fact, we have undertaken an unprecedented effort to find this kind of savings *in every corner of the budget*, because *the final pillar in building our new foundation* is restoring fiscal discipline once this economy recovers. Already, we have identified two trillion dollars in deficit-reductions

over the next decade. We have announced procurement reform that will greatly reduce no-bid contracts and save the government \$40 billion. Secretary Gates recently announced a courageous set of reforms that go right at the hundreds of billions of dollars in waste and cost overruns that have bloated our defense budget without making America safer. We will end education programs that don't work, and root out waste, fraud, and abuse in our Medicare program.

After presenting his plan and its five pillars, anticipating criticism, Obama further explains the recession and his measures, warning that "*If we don't lay this new foundation*, it won't be long before we are right back where we are today". Finally, Obama concludes the speech by saying:

But we have been called to govern in extraordinary times. And that requires an extraordinary sense of responsibility - to ourselves, to the men and women who sent us here, and to the many generations whose lives will be affected for good or for ill because of what we do here.

There is no doubt that times are still tough. By no means are we out of the woods just yet. But from where we stand, for the very first time, we are beginning to see glimmers of hope. And beyond that, way off in the distance, we can see a vision of an America's future that is far different than our troubled economic past. It's an America teeming with new industry and commerce; humming with new energy and discoveries that light the world once more. A place where anyone from anywhere with a good idea or the will to work can live the dream they've heard so much about.

*It is that house upon the rock. Proud, sturdy, and unwavering in the face of the greatest storm. We will not finish it in one year or even many, but if we use this moment to lay that new foundation; if we come together and begin the hard work of rebuilding; if we persist and persevere against the disappointments and setbacks that will surely lie ahead, then I have no doubt that this house will stand and the dream of our founders will live on in our time. Thank you, God Bless you, and may God Bless the United States of America. [Barack Obama, *Progress of the American Economy*, Speech at Georgetown University, April 14, 2009]*

As this example shows, throughout the speech, Obama uses many metaphorical linguistic expressions, usually conventional, of conceptual metaphors such as

THE ECONOMY IS A MOVING VEHICLE, THE ECONOMY IS A NATURAL DISASTER, THE ECONOMY IS THE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH OF A PERSON, THE ECONOMY IS A PHYSICAL CONFLICT, THE MARKET IS THE BEHAVIOR OF GAS, MARKET CHANGES ARE PHYSICAL MOVEMENTS. As it has been shown, metaphorical expressions intratextually connect certain parts of the text, extending into chains over relatively short stretches of the text. The analysis of the particular parts of the text also shows that metaphorical expressions of different metaphors in which the target domain is ECONOMY can be combined, forming clusters of mixed metaphors within parts of the text. Such combining and mixing metaphors does not produce incongruous metaphorical language as such metaphorical expressions fit the general scenario of the economy in trouble and are focused on the same aspects of the target domain. It can be argued that these clusters provide intratextual coherence of the stretches of the text. These metaphorical expressions once again highlight the wealth of conceptual metaphors used for the conceptualization of the negative economic trends but at the same time confirm that talking and thinking about the economy heavily relies on conceptual metaphor as a basic cognitive process.

The major part of the speech, in terms of its rhetorical power, is focused on *building a new foundation of economic growth*, an expression that can be viewed as a creative elaboration of the conventional ECONOMY IS A BUILDING metaphor.<sup>33</sup> The creation of the meaning of this expression and the whole scenario underlying it is neither simple nor straightforward and obvious in terms of the cognitive mechanisms involved. It seems that the construction of the figurative meaning of this expression heavily relies on both linguistic and cultural context. Viewed in isolation, the expression *building a new foundation for economic growth* can be regarded as a conventional metaphorical expression of the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING metaphor, implying that the economic system should be based on programs and policies which will provide stability to the system. This seems like a plausible interpretation, especially because the term or its variations had been used even prior to the Georgetown speech, as it is exemplified in (31).

33 It has to be noted that the expression *economic growth* is itself a metaphorical linguistic expression of the PLANTS metaphor. Considering the aim and scope of this study, namely to study the complex cognitive processes involved in the creation of the house upon a rock blend, as well as the omnipresence of the house upon a rock blend in political discourse on economic crisis and its rhetorical power, this metaphorical expression neither influences any of these aspects nor contributes to meaning creation. In addition, it is often used together or interchangeably with the term *prosperity*, which is a literal term. Nevertheless, the expression *economic growth* once again shows that thinking and talking about economy almost completely relies on conceptual metaphors.

- (31) a. For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of our economy calls for action: bold and swift. And we will act not only to create new jobs but *to lay a new foundation for growth*. [Barack Obama, *Inaugural Address*, January 20, 2009]
- b. But today does mark the beginning of the end - the beginning of what we need to do to create jobs for Americans scrambling in the wake of layoffs; the beginning of what we need to do to provide relief for families worried they won't be able to pay next month's bills; the beginning of the first steps *to set our economy on a firmer foundation*, paving the way to long-term growth and prosperity. [Barack Obama, *Remarks Upon Signing the American Recovery & Reinvestment Act*, February 17, 2009]
- c. There are times where you can afford *to redecorate your house*, and there are times where you need to focus *on rebuilding its foundation*. Today, we have to focus on *foundations*. [Barack Obama, *Remarks on the fiscal year 2010 budget*, February 17, 2009]

The members of the Obama administration had used similar figurative language in the period prior to the Georgetown speech, emphasizing that the economic house cannot be rebuilt on a soft foundation.

- (32) “Things have been out of balance for the last decade,” Axelrod said. “We want *to restore that sense of balance*, that we’re all in this together. We’re not doing this right if we have a small group of people who are benefiting while most aren’t. The president wants to create a prosperity that is broadly held.”
- “We talk about ‘*the new foundation*,’” he continued. “*You can build a lovely house, but if it’s built on a soft foundation, it’s going to collapse*. *The foundation to us is energy, health care and education*.” [*Rolling Out Obamanomics*, the Washington Post, April 2, 2009]

As these examples illustrate, it seems that the Obama administration had been toying with the idea of building the economy on a strong foundation prior to the Georgetown speech. It seems that it was only when the parable from the Sermon on the Mount was incorporated that the phase acquired its full meaning and started its life. The examples presented in (33) show that Obama used the expression in the speeches held in the period after the Georgetown speech. The

reference to the Georgetown speech can be read in most of these phrases as Obama vows to build “a stronger foundation” and to warn the public that, without the reform, the economic house will be in danger as it “will continue to sit on shifting sands.” The message of a tiresome and long but worthwhile process of rebuilding is reiterated in example (33) c. Apart from these examples, there are numerous other occasions on which President Obama and the members of his administration spoke about building a new foundation for economic growth and used the expression in official documents, such as the financial regulatory reform document, whose title is *A New Foundation*.

- (33) a. And as a nation, we'll need a fundamental change of perspective and attitude. It's clear that *we need to build a new foundation - a stronger foundation - for our economy and our prosperity*, rethinking how we grow our economy, how we use energy, how we educate our children, how we care for our sick, how we treat our environment. [Barack Obama, *Commencement Address at Arizona State University*, May 13, 2009]
- b. I've spoken before about the need *to build a new foundation for economic growth* in the 21st century. And given the importance of the financial sector, Wall Street reform is an absolutely *essential part of that foundation*. Without it, *our house will continue to sit on shifting sands*, and our families, businesses, and the global economy will be vulnerable to future crises. That's why I feel so strongly that we need to enact a set of updated, commonsense rules to ensure accountability on Wall Street and to protect consumers in our financial system. [Barack Obama, *Financial Reform: Address at Cooper Union*, April 22, 2010]
- c. The role of government has never been to plan every detail or dictate every outcome. At its best, government *has simply knocked away barriers* to opportunity and *laid the foundation for a better future*. Our people - with all their drive and ingenuity - *always end up building the rest*. And if we can do that again - *if we can continue building that foundation* and making those hard decisions on behalf of the next generation - I have no doubt that we will leave our children the America that we all hope for. [Barack Obama, *President's Remarks on the economy at Carnegie Mellon University*, June 2, 2010]

It seems that the expression has acquired a new meaning, or it was conceptually enriched in the Georgetown speech, giving it a new dimension or, at least, the awareness of the Georgetown speech adds a new perspective to all subsequent uses of the expression as it has to be considered in a different context, both linguistic and cultural. This also implies that the creation of the figurative meaning of this expression is neither as simple nor as straightforward as it might seem at first glance, considering that the biblical reference adds a new meaning to the whole expression. It can be assumed that the expression is created in a metaphorical blend in which the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING metaphor is creatively extended into a conceptual blend to include the scenario of the house built upon a rock, being strong enough to stand firm in storms, winds, and floods or any other disasters that may come its way. Even the parable itself can be viewed as a blend, triggered by a conventional metaphor ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS, although such an assumption is more a question of the proverbial chicken and egg. Adding a humorous dimension to this historically challenging assumption, it is unknown whether Jesus was creatively stretching the existing conventional metaphor or creating it. To be on the safe side, the parable, especially the part quoted in the speech, regardless of whether having been created based on analogy, metaphor, or conceptual blending, forms a scenario, a mini-narrative about building a house upon a rock, whose foundations are strong as a result and which can endure great storms. This scenario incorporates the knowledge about the structure and stability of a house built on strong foundations, which cannot be easily destroyed or damaged in a storm or any other natural disaster. The scenario includes certain aspects of the common knowledge about buildings or houses but also builds up a storyline with a positive outcome and a strong message. The positive outcome of being wise and building a house upon a rock produces a feeling of hope in a better future, prosperity, and safety, which is enriched by religious and cultural tones as well. The scenario about building a strong foundation can be transferred into various spheres of life, allowing further adjustment and creative stretching of the scenario to fit a particular situation. It allows further variation, reinterpretation, and extension probably because of the common conceptual basis of humans who conceptualize various abstract complex systems in terms of buildings but also because of the vast encyclopedic knowledge of the domain of buildings humans possess. As the Georgetown speech shows, this scenario can be incorporated and extended through the basic conceptual mechanism, namely conceptual blending.

Therefore, the metaphorical blend motivated by the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING metaphor is composed of a generic space, two input spaces, and a

blend. The association between building and economy, exploited in this blend, is a conventional association residing in the conceptual repertoires of humans. The content of the generic space, including the process of creation and the concepts of stability and lastingness, is provided by the activation of conventional mappings linking the domain of buildings and economy. The source space contains the biblical scenario mentioned above, a mini-narrative about making wise decisions to build a house upon a rock, whose foundations are strong and which can endure great storms, as opposed to a foolish choice to build a house on sand, whose foundations are weak and which can be easily washed away in a storm. The source input space contains a conceptually rich image, the biblical scenario, but it also comprises the encyclopedic knowledge about buildings and houses, the construction, stability, and possible dangers to the structure. The target space includes the US economy as well as the knowledge about the economic system experiencing the worst economic crisis in recent history. The source and target inputs are connected by cross-space mappings, mapping house onto the economic system, foundation onto the basis of the economy, strength of the structure onto stability of the system, a storm onto economic crisis, the processes of building and rebuilding onto the processes of construction and reconstruction of the economic system.

Projected to the blend from the source input are parts of the house upon a rock mini-narrative, which include foundations, the ground on which the foundations are built, namely rock and sand, storm, and the processes of building and rebuilding. From the target input projected to the blend are economic system, its basis, economic crisis and all of its consequences such as instability of the system, its weaknesses, and failures. The blend is asymmetric, inheriting the organizing frame from the source input. In the blended space, the elements projected from the inputs are fused into single elements. In the blend, the economic house, which has collapsed when the economic storm hit due to its weak foundations, has to be rebuilt on a more solid foundation, set on a rock, to withstand the future economic storms. Suitable inferences produced in the blended space are projected to the target to highlight the need for creating stronger financial regulations on which the new economy will be based. The message of a long but worthwhile process of rebuilding with a positive outcome is projected to the target input, reinforcing the need to be wise in tumultuous times and to create a prosperous economic system for the future.

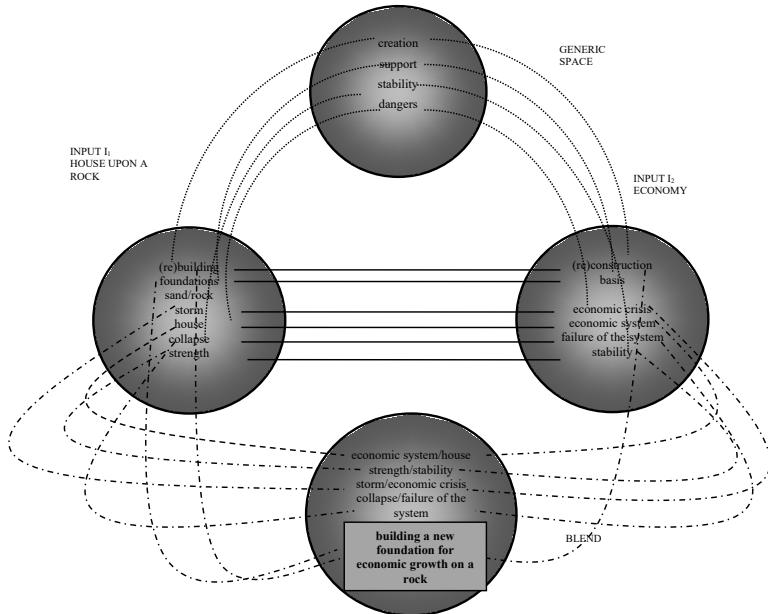


Figure 18 A conceptual integration network for *building a new foundation for economic growth on a rock*

After the establishment of the blend in the first two paragraphs of this part of the speech and the creation of the rich scenario, the economic program is presented in literal language mostly. As the speech unfolds, the scenario in the blend is constantly referred to, reactivated, and enriched in parts of the speech in which Obama introduces each *pillar of the new foundation*. Maintaining the existing links, the blend receives new projections from the source input, five pillars on which the foundation of the economic house will be built, or five aspects of the economic program, which should strengthen and support the overall structure of the new economic foundation. Building a foundation upon pillars is not part of the encyclopedic knowledge about buildings. Commonly, pillars do not support a foundation but are built upon a foundation to support the overall structure of the house. This logic is projected from the target space, where certain economic aspects and branches have to be strong enough to support other branches of the economy and to provide a good basis for the development of other trends. Suitable inferences produced in the blend are projected to the target input to reiterate the need for developing branches of the economy that are considered prosperous and sustainable and which will provide strong support for the rest of the economic system. In explaining each pillar of the new economy, Obama predominantly uses literal language. He also occasionally uses conventional

metaphorical linguistic expressions of different conceptual metaphors used for the conceptualization of economy. These metaphorical expressions, highlighted in the text in the appendix, do not disturb the flow and understanding of the text and are not incongruous with the blend.

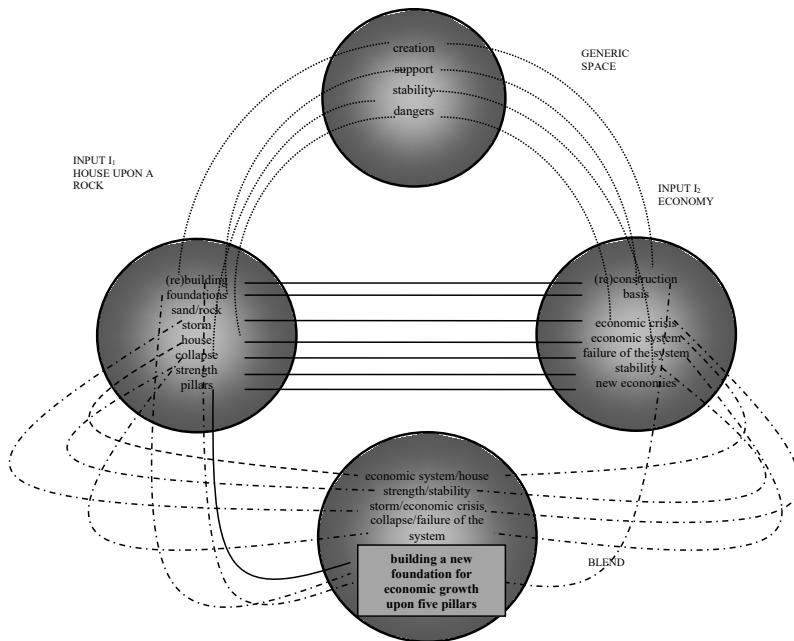


Figure 19 A conceptual integration network for *building a new foundation for economic growth upon five pillars*

The speech ends with a paragraph in which the blend is again fully activated and further enriched. The blend receives further projections from the source input, including the characteristics of the house upon a rock, being *proud*, *sturdy*, and *unwavering*. These projections create an even clearer image of the economic house that will be built on a strong foundation, whose rebuilding will require collective endeavor and which will be able to resist future economic storms. This paragraph, interwoven with the creative figurative language created in the blend, effectively reiterates the strong message of the whole speech about restructuring the economy and creating prosperity for the future. In blending, this is achieved by projecting suitable inferences produced in the blend to the target space, which highlight the fact that the new economy has to be based on sustainable and prosperous branches of the economy and stronger financial

regulation. Although the process of restructuring the economic system will be long and will require hard work, the outcome will be rewarding; namely, the economic system on which the generations to come will rely.

This paragraph is preceded by a paragraph that is interwoven with the metaphorical linguistic expressions of the JOURNEY metaphor, such as “where we stand” and “beyond that, way off in the distance we can see a vision of an America’s future.” The choice of this metaphor is certainly not accidental. This metaphor is deliberately used to create a rhetorically more powerful message of hope in a better future and to trigger an emotional response to the vision of a prosperous America in the future. These metaphorical expressions also emphasize the long process of achieving a common goal in the future. Combining this metaphor with the house upon a rock blend, which is reactivated in the following paragraph, accentuates the gradual achievement of the goal with worthwhile results. Apart from creating a rhetorically powerful message, the interplay of conventional and creative figurative language contributes to forming tighter intratextual links within this stretch of the text.

Generally speaking, the creativity of the house upon a rock blend additionally boosts the argumentative potential of the whole text by making it memorable. The common conceptual basis provided by the existing conventional metaphor ECONOMY IS A BUILDING allows Obama to use his creative potential to the full extent, creating imaginative figurative language, which is still understandable to the members of the discourse community. Projecting marginal portions of conceptual material from the source space to the blend, such as sand, rock, and pillars, but also characteristic of a house built on strong foundations, usually not utilized in metaphorical mappings, enriches the image in the blend, which is further developed enriched, extended, and intensified throughout this stretch of text. The rhetorical power of the speech is additionally enhanced by the exploitation of the biblical parable, aimed at creating a populist message with conservative overtones. Apart from exploiting the common conceptual basis, the speech also evokes aspects of cultural and religious contexts, adding an emotional dimension to the message. Using the mundane understanding of the building process exploited in the familiar biblical story helps to simplify complex economic issues and present them in vivid figurative language. The choice of the underlying metaphor and the biblical scenario also reveals that one of Obama’s rhetorical goals is to focus his message on the process of economic recovery rather than blame those who are responsible for the crisis. By conceptualizing the economic crisis like a storm that cannot be predicted and controlled, human agency in creating negative economic processes is concealed.

Overall, by deliberately exploiting the common conceptual basis as well as manipulating the entrenched religious scenario, Obama presents his economic program in creative figurative language produced in conceptual blending but at the same time evokes familiar concepts contributing to the clarity of his message. The result is playful and memorable figurative language that is understandable to the members of the discourse community. This type of figurative creativity successfully produces even greater cognitive effects, delivering a strong rhetorical message and achieving discourse goals.

This type of creativity also contributes to the intratextual coherence of the text. As already shown, the whole speech is interwoven with figurative language, produced in different mental operations, that of conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending. Generally speaking, the density of conventional metaphorical expressions of different conventional metaphors used for the conceptualization of economy varies throughout the first part of the text, forming clusters and chains of metaphorical expressions which contribute to intratextual coherence. However, conceptually the most effective part of the speech is governed by the figurative language produced in the abovementioned metaphorical blend. The conventional and creative metaphorical expressions of the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING metaphor appear in the text prior to the blend, possibly helping the activation of the blend itself. In the middle part of the speech, the source concept is activated by the reference to the parable from the Sermon on the Mount. In the following paragraph, the connections between the source input and the target input are established, and the blend is fully developed. After the establishment of the blend and the creation of the rich scenario, the economic program is presented in literal language mostly. Each paragraph in which Obama explains his economic program opens with a line mentioning *the pillar of the new foundation*. As the speech unfolds, the blend is constantly referred to, reactivated, and enriched. By reactivating and enriching the blend, apart from keeping the scenario of building the economic house upon a rock running, this portion of the speech also reminds the hearers of the overall message of the economic program, that is, the greater good that can be achieved through wise decisions and hard work, adding a new perspective to Obama's economic plan. The recurrence of the blend throughout this stretch of text also contributes to the effectiveness of the final paragraph, in which the blend is again fully evoked. The blend is strategically used in this paragraph to summarize the speech, reiterate the message and remind the audience of the positive outcomes, instilling a sense of hope and belief in a better future. This blend can be characterized as having a text organizing force, contributing to

the intratextual coherence of the text. The presence of the blend or the scenario created in the blend is not enforced and does not produce exaggerated vividness. The blend does not take over the speech but simply contributes to presenting complex and abstract economic issues in simple, understandable terms but also to prompting the emotional involvement of the hearer.

#### **4.3.4 Building a new foundation for economic growth across and within texts**

##### *Foundations*

*I built on the sand  
And it tumbled down,  
I built on a rock  
And it tumbled down.  
Now when I build, I shall begin  
With the smoke from the chimney.*

Leopold Staff (1878-1957), a Polish poet

As it has been shown in the previous section, a single conceptual blend can be activated and subsequently developed and enriched in different parts of the text, providing intratextual coherence. Apart from illustrating the gradual development of the blend in different speeches and the construction of the meaning of the expressions *to build a new foundation for economic growth*, examples (31)-(33), presented above, also show that this blend provides intertextual coherence, linking Obama's speeches on economic issues or more precisely linking Obama's ideas about restructuring the economic system and financial regulation, presented in simple and vivid language. As already mentioned, the examples in (31) and (32) show that the expression *to build a new foundation for economic growth* was at the beginning probably a product of the conventional ECONOMY IS A BUILDING metaphor, which, in the Georgetown speech, triggered the creation of the imaginative metaphorical blend. The subsequent uses of the same expression, presented in (33), as well as (34) below, making the explicit or implicit reference to speech, evoke the scenario created in the blend.

The examples in (33) also show that different aspects of the same blend can be used to emphasize different arguments, achieving different discourse goals. In example (33) b., Obama draws attention to the flaws of the existing economic system by stating that the economic house "will continue to sit on

“shifting sands” unless it is restructured, but also focuses on the structure of the new foundation, saying that Wall Street is “an essential part of the foundation.” The government’s role in the process of rebuilding, requiring social endeavor, is emphasized in (33) c., where Obama states that the government has “knocked away barriers” and “laid the foundation for a better future,” while the people will “end up building the rest.” In example (34) presented below, the focus is placed on the government’s efforts to control the crisis and start the process of economic recovery. Obama’s efforts are concentrated on weathering the economic storm, clearing away the wreckage, and rebuilding the economic house on a firmer foundation by replacing the one which crumbled in the storm due to the weak foundations. Both (33) c. and (34) focus on the government’s measures which are to prepare the ground and the building site for the process of rebuilding the economic house on a stronger foundation.

- (34) I am confident that the United States of America *will weather this economic storm*. But once we *clear away the wreckage, the real question is what we will build in its place. Even as we rescue this economy from a full-blown crisis, I have insisted that we must rebuild it better than before....*

I said when I took office that it would take many months *to move* our economy from recession to recovery and ultimately to prosperity. We *are not there yet*, and I continue to believe that even one American out of work is one too many. But we are *moving in the right direction*. We *are cleaning up the wreckage of this storm. And we are laying a firmer, stronger foundation so that we may better weather whatever future storms may come*. This year has been and will continue to be a year of *rescuing our economy from disaster*. [Barack Obama, *President’s Weekly Address*, July 11, 2009]

In all of these examples, in efforts to present different parts of the financial plan and to achieve his discourse goals, that is, to present his plan of economic recovery and the government’s role in it in simple terms, Obama uses the same scenario of a house damaged in a storm, whose foundations were built on sand. As these examples show, every time, upon its reactivation, the scenario in the blend is slightly adapted, expanded, and enriched by additional projections of the conceptual material from the space input. In these particular examples, the knowledge about different aspects of the source is activated, such as the fact that foundations have parts or internal structure, that storms destroy houses

leaving the wreckage behind, as well as the fact that wreckage has to be cleared away to prepare the construction site for the process of building or rebuilding. These parts of the encyclopedic knowledge about the BUILDING domain, which are activated, are projected to the blend. In this process, the focus shifts from one aspect of the scenario to the other. The original links within the blend are maintained, the scenario in the blend remaining the same but further enriched. In this process, certain parts of the scenario are placed in the background, while certain parts become more prominent. These examples show the conceptual flexibility of the blends, which, once created, can be further developed, adapted, modified, and stretched.

Example (34) also shows that intratextual coherence can be achieved by combining figurative language produced by two different cognitive mechanisms, namely, conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending. In this example, the scenario of the house destroyed in the storm is combined with the JOURNEY metaphor. The conventional metaphorical expressions such as “to move,” “we’re not there yet,” and “moving in the right direction,” are mixed with the figurative language describing the progress of the rebuilding of the new economic house on a firmer foundation. The JOURNEY metaphor employed here is not incompatible with the general rebuilding scenario. Rather, both of the conceptual metaphors, the BUILDING and the JOURNEY metaphors focus on the gradual achievement of a goal, each within its own capacity. In the BUILDING metaphor, the goal is building a structure, while in the JOURNEY metaphor, the goal is reaching a destination. The JOURNEY metaphor in this part of the text contributes to highlighting the goal-oriented endeavor of rebuilding the economic system on a stronger foundation, which, the same as a journey, is a gradual process. In this paragraph, the creative figurative language produced in conceptual blending and conventional metaphorical linguistic expressions are combined to highlight the goal-oriented aspect of the economic reform. In addition to contributing to the creation of the overall optimistic prospect of the economic plan, combining figurative language in this way also enhances the intratextual coherence of the text.

Apart from intertextually connecting Obama’s speeches on economic reform, the house upon a rock blend is also further creatively exploited, reinterpreted, and modified in texts of different authors, including journalists, politicians, and political and economic experts, reflecting on the economic reform. It seems that this blend is further creatively exploited only in text commenting on the speech and Obama’s reform, not having been entrenched enough to shape and govern the overall discourse on the economic crisis.

Unlike the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor, the blend did not gain enough prominence within the discourse community to form a micro-tradition of discussing the economic crisis and reform predominately in terms of building the economic house on a new foundation. This is understandable considering the fact that the blend creates a very specific and elaborate scenario, which did not become entrenched within the discourse community. The speaker has to refer to the scenario explicitly in order to evoke it, and the hearer has to be familiar with the speech and the specifics of the economic reform in order to understand it. Considering the number of available metaphors used for the conceptualization of economy and economic crisis, creatively stretching this particular blend is not the only way to express ideas about the economic crisis in imaginative figurative language. It seems that the wealth of the conceptual metaphors for the conceptualization of economy and economic crisis, which can be as creatively stretched as the human gift for creativity allows, represented a strong competition for the blend to take root and become a standard way of conceptualizing economic crisis and economic reform. However, this does not mean that the blend was not creatively exploited, producing remarkable and striking examples of figurative creativity. This type of extending the blend in various texts reflecting on the speech and the economic reform illustrates how intertextual relations are formed and how figurative creativity, creatively stretching a possibly short-lived blend, can be used to achieve various discourse goals.

As already mentioned, texts commenting on the issue, making an explicit reference to the Georgetown speech or the financial reform, are linked, forming a network of intertextual relations. There are ample examples of texts produced in the period after the speech, in which the actual expression *to build a new foundation for economic growth* was used, reporting on the issue. Apart from such texts, there are also ample examples in which members of the political discourse community, making the reference to the speech and the financial reform, used their genius for creativity, extending the house upon a rock blend. The house upon a rock blend, including its various aspects, was creatively exploited, reinterpreted, and modified, keeping the political discourse on economic crisis alive and interesting. As already mentioned, such creative extensions formed intertextual relations within the discourse community whose members used the same blend to achieve different discourse goals. These discourse goals include agreeing or disagreeing with the proposed financial reform, providing opinions about and insights into the matter, expressing strong criticism of it or simply questioning it, either by ridiculing the logic

behind it or reinterpreting it, commenting on the progress of the plan as well as commenting and questioning the phrase and the blend themselves, and ridiculing it in political cartoons.

The examples presented in (35) creatively exploit the house upon a rock blend in order to express a generally positive outlook on Obama's speech and financial reform but also to address possible flaws of the plans or to suggest ways to improve it. In all of these examples, an explicit reference is made to the official financial regulatory reform or the Georgetown speech, evoking the scenario created in the house upon a rock blend. The scenario in each of these examples is slightly altered and enriched by additional projections from the space input.

In (35) a., the author of the text argues that clean energy should be the cornerstone of the new foundation, not just one of the five pillars on which the foundation rests. In the blend, apart from the five pillars, the new foundation should be based on the cornerstone, the clean energy economy, which determines the position of the whole structure, the economic system. Cross-space mappings connect cornerstone from the source input to clean energy from the target input. The original links within the conceptual integration network are maintained, except for the link between one of the pillars and the new energy, which is canceled due to the new projections and the establishment of the new cross-space mapping. Suitable inferences produced in the blended space are projected to the blend highlighting the importance of one branch of economy in relation to the others.

- (35) a. A clean energy economy can be more than *a pillar* to our economic recovery. *It can be the cornerstone of our New Foundation.* [You can't build a new foundation with dirty energy, Grist, May 19, 2009]

In (35) b., all of the original links within the integration network are maintained and further enriched by additional projections from the source concept. In the blend, the success of the construction of the new foundation depends on the right masons and carpenters. Cross-space mappings connect carpenters and masons from the source input to the economic experts and politicians in charge from the target input. Suitable inferences produced in the blended space are projected to the target input questioning the ability of politicians and economists to execute the plan, which is considered promising.

- b. Let's support President Obama in 2010 *in building that "new foundation."* ...

I'm in favor of *a new foundation*. But I want *the house built on it to be strong and survive harsh conditions*. Only time will tell if we have *the right masons and carpenters to build it*. [A New Foundation or the Same Old Stonewalling?, CNBC, February 1, 2010]

As these examples show, the conceptual integration networks exploit different aspects of the source input. These aspects of the BUILDING concept, such as cornerstones and builders, are usually utilized in the conventional BUILDING metaphor. These portions of the encyclopedic knowledge about buildings can be regarded as part of conventional associations between the domains of buildings and abstract complex systems, being part of the human conceptual repertoires. In that sense, in the examples presented above, the source concept initiates the construction of a richer image in the blend by projecting conventional aspects of the source concept. These mappings, stored in the long-term memory of the speakers in the discourse community, feed the conceptual integration processes and contribute to further creative exploitation of the creative blend itself. The existence of the conventional metaphor and their conventional mappings enhance the creativity of these conceptual blends, varying in the degree of creativity. Due to the exploitation of the conventional aspects of the source concepts, such blends can be perceived as less striking examples of creativity.

An innovative conceptual blend can exploit the rich background knowledge of the source input by activating the aspects of the source that are not part of conventional associations between the domains of buildings and abstract complex systems, creating novel and even more elaborate blends. Example (35) c. can be viewed as an even more radical example of figurative creativity, both linguistically and conceptually.

- c. However, we do like the idea of *building our economic house on stone, despite the possible dangers of bad drainage*. [Gorging the Beast, the New York Times, April 15, 2009]

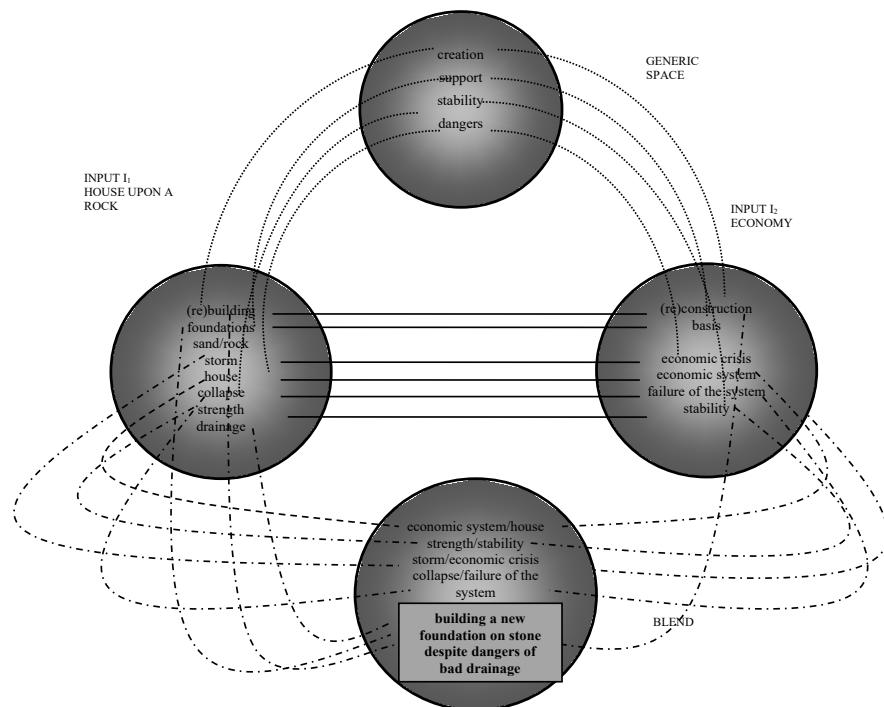


Figure 20 A conceptual integration network for *building a new foundation for economic growth despite the possible dangers of bad drainage*

In this blend, the portions of the encyclopedic knowledge about building houses and their foundations are activated, or more specifically, the knowledge about the terrain on which the foundation is built and the possible difficulties of constructing or having an efficient drainage system for a house on such terrain.

The blend contains an image of the economic house built on stone, which is possibly endangered by bad drainage. While the original links within the integration network are maintained, the blend receives additional projections from the source input related to installing a drainage system, which can be inefficient as the terrain is demanding. In this blend, possible flaws of the new economic system are conceptualized as bad drainage. Backward projections to the target domain emphasize that creating a new economic system on a new set of economies is favored even though the flaws which could endanger the whole structure are possible. The author's goal is to characterize the idea of restructuring the economic system as positive in the sense that a reconstructed

economic system, even flawed, could support the growth of the economy as opposed to the current one.

As the examples in (35) show, the scenario in the house upon the rock blend, after its reactivation, is slightly adapted, expanded, and enriched by additional projections of the conceptual material from the source input. Most of the original links within the blend are maintained. In that sense, the scenario in the blend remains almost the same but is further enriched by additional projections from the source input. In this process, certain parts of the scenario are placed in the background, while certain parts become more prominent. The focus shifts from one aspect of the scenario to the other, emphasizing different parts of the scenario, enriching them, and manipulating them through conceptual blending, in order to achieve different discourse goals. The rich conceptual knowledge about the source concept is at the disposal of the members of the political discourse community, which can be fully exploited in attempts to present a certain point of view in creative, playful, and memorable language. The part of creativity has to be attributed to the original house upon a rock blend, itself being conceptually very complex, which allows further creative stretching, reinterpretation, and modification, producing even greater cognitive effects. The projections to the blend and portions of the building input activated depend on the individual's knowledge of the source input as well as the goal the individual wants to achieve by producing memorable and creative language. It can be claimed that conceptual creativity also contributes to enhancing the argumentative power of such formulations.

In a similar way, the same conceptual blend can be creatively stretched to criticize the proposed economic measures. The examples in (36) are all based on the house upon a rock blend which is further enriched and modified to emphasize the flaws of the financial regulatory reform and express opposition to it.

In (36) a., the author argues that the foundation of the existing economic system is unsound, not because it was built on sand but because it is built on a foundation of debt. The author views the proposed measures as being inadequate, finally concluding that it is impossible to build a new foundation without the cement, financial regulations and incentives, taken away by the government. The blend receives new projections from both inputs. Cement, or the knowledge about the building material used for the construction of foundations, is projected to the blend from the source input. Consumer debt, as well as government measures to stop the recession and save the economy, are projected to the blend from the target input. The house upon a rock blend is modified by these projections. In the blend, the economic house

now rests on a foundation of debt, causing the instability of the structure. The rebuilding process, or laying a solid foundation, is impossible because of the lack of cement, financial regulations, and incentives as a means to restructure the economy. Backward projections to the target input highlight the inadequacies of the proposed regulations, which are seen as preventing economic development and taking away the means for the restructuring of the economic system.

- (36) a. Obama also made the clear-eyed observation that *the foundation of our economy was unsound and that a sturdier one needed to be laid*. To do this, he even asserted that we need to import less and export more. This has been one of my fundamental points. Our economy is *unsound* precisely because it is *built on a foundation of consumer debt*. Instead of spending for today, we need to invest for tomorrow. However, we cannot save more unless we spend less.

Production requires capital, which only comes into existence when resources are not consumed. However, by interfering with this process, Obama prevents the very transformation he acknowledges must take place. When the government spends what individuals save, private investment is crowded out. Society is deprived of the benefits such savings would otherwise have brought about. *How can we lay a solid foundation if the government takes away all our cement?* [Not All Economists Agree on Obama U.S. Economy Recovery Policies, the Market Oracle, April 17, 2009]

Example (36) b., having the same discourse goal, namely criticism of the economic recovery program, relies on the same conceptual mechanism to produce creative, memorable, and argumentatively powerful language. The leader of the Republican Party, Michael Steel, commenting on Obama's Georgetown speech, criticizes the financial regulatory reform and the speech itself by creatively stretching the house upon the rock blend. In only one sentence, using creative figurative language, Steel dismisses Obama's plan as being too expensive. In this blend, Obama is a bad construction worker because he does not mention the price of a foundation, whose building is usually costly. The financial aspect of building a house is projected to the blend from the source input. Backward projections to the target input emphasize the expensiveness of the new economic program, which in the economic world is seen as unnecessary in the economy already burdened by excessive debts.

- b. Republican National Committee Chairman Michael Steele: "Tonight, after a year of failed policies and broken promises, President Obama once again demonstrated the rhetorical flair in an attempt to sound populist, if not downright 'conservative,' in addressing the very requirements for job creation his administration has ignored for the past year. But, by all accounts, his explanations failed to answer the question on the mind of Americans: 'When will I get a job?' Last year, he promised a 'New Era of Responsibility' and instead delivered the exact opposite. Now that he's offering a '*New Foundation for Prosperity*,' business owners and the unemployed alike have reasons to be worried. There is just no amount of spin and blame shifting that can hide the fact that tonight the President added more zeros to an already burdensome deficit with no explanation as to how he would *pay for this 'new foundation.'* As a good construction worker will tell you - *foundations cost money.* [A different kind of Republican response, Salon.com, January 28, 2010]

In addition, these examples illustrate how the creative stretching of a blend can be used against the creator of the blend to argue against his/her ideas presented in creative figurative language. The richness of the scenario created in the house upon a rock blend and its conceptual flexibility are further exploited and stretched in conceptual blending to criticize the financial reform effectively, in the same terms. The authors of the texts above exploit the vast encyclopedic knowledge about the building concept, such as the knowledge about building material used in the construction of foundations or the financial aspect of building foundations. Such aspects of the source concept are not part of conventional associations between the domains of buildings and abstract complex systems. The exploitation of these aspects contributes to the creation of more striking examples of figurative creativity, both linguistically and conceptually. The result is highly creative figurative language, which can effectively achieve different discourse goals and which is still understandable to the members of the discourse community.

The author of the text below criticizes the proposed economic reform and at the same time presents his personal view on the state of the economic system and defends the existing economic system in creative figurative language, extending and modifying the house upon a rock blend.

- c. President Obama gave an economic pep talk today. Invoking some biblical imagery, the White House billed it as the "House Upon a Rock"

speech. If all I knew about the U.S. economy came from listening to the president, I would think that we were a low-productivity country with an inefficient private sector dominated by Wall Street. Actually, we are a high productivity country with an extremely competitive private sector. Indeed, we have the most competitive economy in the world, according to the World Economic Forum. The U.S. economy *is already built on a rock*. We just need *to rehab a few rooms*, maybe *replace some old wiring*. *This thing isn't a tear-down candidate*. If we don't understand our strengths, we can't build upon them. [Analysis: Obama Georgetown Speech, US News, April 14, 2009]

Unlike in the original blend, in which the house is completely destroyed in the economic storm and requires rebuilding, in this blend, the economic house, already built on the rock, is still standing. The author presents the program as being aimed at knocking down the existing economic house and rebuilding a new one in its place. The original blend is modified by canceling certain links within the integration network but also changing the scenario in the source input, excluding the destruction of the house in the storm. New portions of conceptual material are projected to the blend, including the knowledge about the inner structure of houses, such as rooms, the possibility of decorative fixes but also highly specific and ancillary portions of encyclopedic knowledge, such as the existence of wiring systems within houses.

Cross-space mappings connect rooms and decorative fixes from the source input with different aspects of the economic system and financial regulations from the target space, respectively. However, wiring from the source input is not connected to any of the aspects in the target input. The blend contains a house built upon a rock that requires some decorative fixes, but it is not in such a bad shape to be a tear-down candidate. The house upon a rock blend is reinterpreted and modified in a series of mental gymnastics performed in the conceptual integration network creating a modified blended space that includes the existing economic house upon a rock in relatively good shape, which is nevertheless waiting to be completely destroyed. Backward projections to the target space intensify the criticism of the program presenting the complete restructuring of the economic system and creating a new economic system instead of simply improving the existing one as unnecessary.

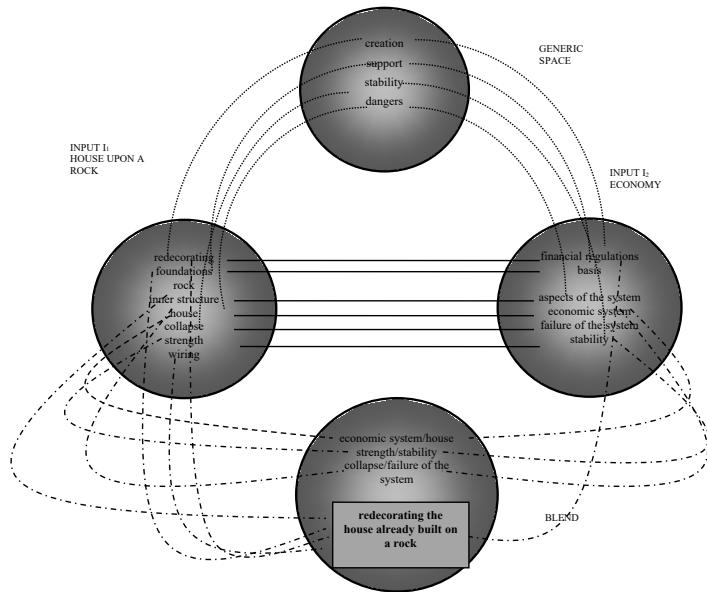


Figure 21 A conceptual integration network for  
*redecorating the house already built on a rock*

In example (37), the author of the text provides his insight into the economic reform program and argues that the economic foundation should not be simply reinforced by building it on five pillars, but the whole structure should be additionally reinforced by concrete and steel slabs. The process of rebuilding the economic house should be conducted carefully in different stages, ensuring that the final result is a durable and effective foundation. In this relatively long stretch of text, the house upon a rock is enriched by projections from the source input, which enrich the image in the blend and which at the same time modify the blend, producing highly creative figurative language.

- (37) President Obama's design for America's future appears to be captured in *his five-pillar blueprint for a new national foundation*. Although President Obama offers a short description of *each pillar*, *the new foundation* as outlined by the president *must be filled in with the remainder of the foundation – reinforced concrete “slab” must be formed and poured*.

I look forward to expansive and comprehensive discussions of President Obama's *five pillars for a new foundation on which to build our nation's*

*future growth and prosperity. President Obama's five pillars offer an excellent start to the construction of a new and sustainable foundation for future national growth and prosperity, but a lasting and effective foundation is built on more than just its pillars – a "steel" reinforced slab, consisting of rock-solid policy mixtures, is also necessary. Then the foundation must be allowed time to take hold and harden.*

*In building our new national foundation, it behooves us to remember the admonition that the devil is always in the details – the "rock" and "steel" must be of high enough quality so that they can be "cemented" into a strong and durable foundation. [President Obama's Five Pillars Speech, www.dailykos.com, April 17, 2009]*

In this very elaborate blend, the blended space is further enriched by projections of ancillary bits of knowledge about the source concept, which is not part of conventional associations between the domains of buildings and abstract complex systems. The blend receives additional projections from the source input about different stages of the process of building and different parts of the framework, including the process of pouring a steel-reinforced concrete slab and its function within the overall framework, namely reinforcing the stability of the structure, different stages in the process of constructing it, namely allowing it to take hold and harden, as well as the importance of using mixtures, concrete, and steel of high quality to ensure successful cementing. Cross-space mappings connect different materials that reinforce the overall structure of the house, such as steel, rock, and other materials, from the source input to different rules and regulations from the target input. In the blend, the new economic house is not built on five pillars only but is further reinforced by the creation of steel-reinforced slab, carefully, patiently, and gradually built using the components of high quality to ensure greater stability of the whole house. Within the integration network, the links created in the house upon a rock blend are maintained, and the scenario in the blend remains the same, only further enriched. In this process, certain parts of the scenario are placed in the background, while certain parts become more prominent. The part of the scenario about the old economic house destroyed in the storm is completely placed in the background, while the prominence is taken by the process of rebuilding the new economic house on an even stronger foundation.

The whole stretch of text presented above is structured by the creative figurative language produced in this highly innovative blend. The blend provides intratextual coherence of the text. In the opening lines of the text, by recapping

Obama's blueprint for the new economic house, the author of the text first evokes the house upon a rock blend and activates the source concept by presenting the plan in figurative language. In the subsequent parts of the text, the blend is enriched by receiving additional projections from the source input, and in turn, the scenario in the blend is modified, the focus being shifted to the stability of the economic house. It could be claimed that the whole stretch of the text is completely governed by the blend as the use of literal language is minimal. The blend creates a mental representation of a world completely compatible with the source input. The connections between the inputs are signaled, albeit rarely, by phrases such as *national foundations*, *our nation's future growth and prosperity*, and *rock-solid policy mixtures*. Although such signals are scarce, they still successfully remind the hearer that in the blended world, the house being built and reinforced is not an ordinary house but an economic system. These signals help the hearer establish the cross-space mappings mentioned above. These signals also prompt the hearer to unpack the blend in accordance with the encyclopedic knowledge members of the discourse community possess about buildings and economy and also in accordance with the conventional associations between BUILDINGS and ECONOMY residing in human minds. This highly innovative blend shows that apart from providing intertextual coherence of discourse on a particular subject, creative stretching of a single blend can also contribute to providing intratextual coherence of a single text.

The blends in examples (36) c. and (37) presented above are enriched by very specific and marginal portions of the knowledge about the source input in order to present personal insights of the authors of the texts effectively. Although the discourse goals of these two examples are different, these examples show the conceptual flexibility of the blends, which, once created, can be further developed, adapted, modified, and reinterpreted in order to achieve various discourse goals. The figurative language produced in such blends is highly creative, boosting the argumentative potential of such language and producing even greater cognitive effects.

Apart from criticizing and suggesting improvements to the economic plans, the house upon a rock blend can also be creatively stretched to present the author's insight into the progress of the plan. The author of the text in (38), using figurative language produced in a modified house upon a rock blend vividly describes the failure of Obama's economic reform and the resistance of the legislative branches of the government to conduct it. In the blend, the new economic house is represented as part of crumbling infrastructure, while the five pillars, which are radioactive, are scattered across the legislative landscape. The

house upon a rock blend is modified by additional projections from the source input, including the new foundations in a deteriorating state, and the pillars on which the new foundation is to be built are scattered across the surrounding landscape. The pillars are also made of radioactive material, preventing construction workers from touching them, let alone continuing building the new economic house. Cross-space mappings connect the radioactive material from the source input with the possible dangers of new economies from the target input. These projections, being in opposition to the existing links within the original integration network, cancel the original links and form a new set of connections within the new network. The projections from the source input modify the image in the blend, which is now exactly the opposite of the image in the original blend. These projections further enrich the blend with marginal portions of the source input in order to create a clearer picture of the failure of Obama's economic plan.

- (38) Less than a year later, this agenda is in *shambles*. *The president's "new foundation" is just another part of America's crumbling infrastructure. Its pillars are strewn across the congressional landscape. Democrats are afraid to touch them—and for good reason. They are radioactive.* ...

It takes time for an administration to change course; maybe Obama will drop his big government agenda and move to the center over the coming year. He doesn't, however, seem to want to. So Republicans have every reason to be cheerful. Obama persists in *laying the foundation for a house nobody wants to buy*. [An Agenda in Shambles: The New Foundation collapses, Weekly Standard, February 8, 2010]

The author also exploits the conventional BUILDING metaphor by stating that the “agenda is in shambles.” By incorporating this metaphorical linguistic expression with the creative blend based on the same metaphor, the author achieves intratextual coherence of the text but also strengthens conceptual coherence. The use of the conventional metaphor is probably triggered by the figurative language produced in the blend based on the same metaphor. This type of exploiting similar domains can be viewed as Kövecses’ pressure of coherence. The conceptual flexibility of the blend combined with the vast background knowledge about the source concept enhances the creativity of the blend and its accompanying figurative language and, at the same time, it enhances the argumentative power of such phrasing of the criticism.

The rich background knowledge about the source concept can also be used to challenge the logic behind the blend and criticize the use of the blend. The examples in (39) are aimed at criticizing the choice of the figurative language employed to represent the economic reform as well as the logic behind the use of such language. The authors of the articles explore the rich background knowledge about the source domain, such as the process of building foundations and their function in relation to the overall framework. It seems that the authors of these blends unpack the blend, seemingly suppressing the connections with the target input, evoke the source concept only, therefore exploring the logic of the source concept. The blend is reinterpreted in accordance with the source logic, and the links within the network are reestablished. The modified image in the blend produces inferences that are projected to the target domain casting new light on the target input questioning the appropriateness and usefulness of the economic reform. In this process, the focus is switched to different aspects of the building process in the real world. In that sense, the author of the text in (39) a. contests the logic of building the foundation upon pillars, basing his claims on the construction of foundations in the real world. In (39) b., apart from providing possible associations which could be created by the use of the phase, the author also explains the importance of foundations, their function, and the role of an architect in the process of building foundations in the real world. Using these aspects of the source concept, the author diminishes the role of architects in the process of building; that is, he criticizes Obama and his economic agenda. In a similar vein, in the text in (39) c., the author exploits the function and the status of foundations in relation to the overall structure, diminishing their importance and prominence. The blend criticizes Obama's focus on rebuilding the new foundations.

- (39) a. Does Obama know that *pillars rest on top of foundations, not the other way around?* If George W. Bush said something like this, we'd never hear the end of it. [*Holy Confused Metaphor*, the American Spectator, May 17, 2009]
- b. *The New Foundation* has a couple of things going for it, notably that it can have both an innovative edge and a conservative feel. It means real change, since it implies *rebuilding from the bottom up* - changing the way we organize our financial system, provide health care, use energy and educate ourselves. But *building a foundation is the most basic and cautious act of all. Architects rarely brag about the foundations of their buildings. Foundations aren't about glitter. They're about the essentials.*

[*New Foundations and Obama's Style*, the Washington Post, April 29, 2009]

- c. *Whether old or new, foundations are of course essential. It's nice to know they're there. But let's face it: they're built in the dirt. And once they're finished, you don't have to think about them again. Unless there's a disaster of some kind that cracks the foundation. In which case the builders are in for it.* [Obama's 'New Foundation': a catchphrase for the ages?, truesland.com, January 29, 2010]

The blend can be commented on in literal language using metadiscursive comments. The authors of the texts in (40) question the appropriateness and validity of the phrase *the new foundation* in the context of American politics by wording their views in metadiscursive comments. Although some of the previous examples use creative figurative language to criticize the use of the house upon a rock blend, the metadiscursive comments in these examples are used to question the successfulness of this figurative expression explicitly and its implications in the world of politics in view of possible associations which can be produced by the activation of the source concept and the connotative meaning which can arise.

- (40) a. Still, I wonder if the New Foundation has the same crisp feel of the New Deal or the romance of the New Frontier. For one thing, it's a mouthful of syllables. It does sound a little bit like *a reference to a basement*. I'm still not convinced it will stick. [*New Foundations and Obama's Style*, the Washington Post, April 29, 2009]
- b. First of all, "New Foundation" has a rather dreary ring, *calling up visions of an unfinished basement*. [*Gorging the Beast*, the New York Times, April 15, 2009]
- c. "*The New Foundation*" is solid and workmanlike, but it attempts to put form and order to a governing philosophy that is still too herky-jerky to be summed up. [*The Obama Contradiction*, the Wall Street Journal, February 12, 2010]
- d. *The New Foundation suggests do-it-yourself home repairs rather than the mad-architect grandiosity of, say, Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.* [*Not Again: A New Foundation Revisited*, Politics Daily, May 5, 2009]

Although some of the examples in (40) could be perceived as humorous because of the use of metadiscursive comments, example (41) can be perceived as being aimed at poking fun at the economic recovery plan by exploiting the background knowledge of the source concept in conceptual blending. Considering that Obama aims to rebuild the new economy on a stronger foundation, the author argues that it is only natural that the leading figure in Caterpillar, a factory producing heavy construction machinery, is part of the economic team in charge of building a new foundation.

- (41) *Building a new foundation requires a lot of heavy machinery. Bulldozers to clear the land, extractors to dig the foundation, concrete-mixers to pour the cement, and trucks to haul the raw materials.* So perhaps it's appropriate that Jim Owens, the CEO of Caterpillar will be at the White House tomorrow for the first meeting of the President's Economic Recovery Advisory Board (PERAB). The group includes some of America's leading thinkers, business executives, and academics, including the CEOs of GE, UBS, and Google.... [You can't build a new foundation with dirty energy, Grist, May 19, 2009]

As in the previous examples, various aspects of the process of building foundations, including a detailed description of the whole process and the use of heavy machinery in the process, are projected to the blend enriching the image created in the house upon a rock blend. The source and target inputs are connected by cross-space mappings, linking constructions workers to economic experts. In the blend, the construction workers, the team of economic experts is in charge of rebuilding the economic house. However, the logic about the skills of different members of the team is drawn from the source input. Jim Owens is a member of the team only because he is the leading figure in Caterpillar, and he has the machinery required to build a new foundation. The incongruity created in the blend, in which the world of economy and its governing principles is juxtaposed to the world of the construction of physical structures, produces humorous effects. These two worlds blend into a world in which the success of the economic reform relies on the skills that economic experts have in the real-world construction business. Backward projections from the blended space into the target space lead to the resolution of the incongruity but also highlight the aspects of the target input, which are now reinterpreted in accordance with the new structure produced in the blend. By creating an absurd situation in which the team of economic experts must have real-world experience with building

foundations, the new structure in the blended space highlights the ridiculous side of politics or, more precisely, the constant use of the new foundation phrase and the economic reform in the political world. Suitable inferences produced in the blend are projected to the target space criticizing the economic reform. Apart from highlighting an absurd aspect of the serious economic and political issues such as economic reform, the humor created in the blended space also successfully criticizes the world of politics, pointing out that conceptualizing serious economic issues in terms of building a new economic house is absurd.

The house upon a rock blend is also pictorially exploited in political cartoons in (42). As already mentioned, political cartoons can be successfully used for the criticism of political reality. Political cartoons can be used to poke fun at the way of conceptualizing certain serious political and economic issues in a jocular fashion, exposing their weaknesses, questioning their validity and appropriateness, or simply utilizing it to get a serious political message across. Quite a few political cartoons exploit the house upon a rock blend in the pictorial representation of the economic and political situation in order to ridicule and criticize Obama's economic reform. As already mentioned, political cartoons can be viewed as products of conceptual integration, combining conceptual material from different input spaces in the blended space and producing incongruity in the blended space (cf. Coulson, 2002, Marín-Arrese, 2003).

The political cartoon in (42) pictorially represents the house upon a rock blend, portraying Obama as a visionary standing on a rock on which he wants to rebuild the economic house. The house upon a rock blend is altered and enriched by further projections from the target input, including consumer debt, and further projections from the source input, including details about the size and stability of the rock. In the cartoon, the rock is supported by other smaller rocks which represent debt. This can be viewed as a pictorial representation of one portion of the blend in (36) a. In the blended space, Obama stands on a small unstable rock rooted in debt, which obviously cannot accommodate the building of a house. The world created in the blend by juxtaposing the world of building physical structure and the world of the economy produces incongruity, which leads to the production of humorous effects. The incongruity is produced in the blended space by the creation of an absurd image that pictorially represents the construction of the economic house on a rock supported by debt, which cannot support a regular house, let alone the entire economic system. Apart from the humorous effects produced by the incongruity in the blend, the cartoon also has a serious rhetorical message. Retrospective projections to the target input highlight certain aspects of the political issues in light of the new structure

created in the blend. Backward projections from the blended space, in which the economic system is to be restructured on a small unstable rock, reinforce the criticism of the extensive reform of the economic system burdened by debt. The blend can also be interpreted as the implicit criticism of the house upon a rock blend and the accompanying figurative language.

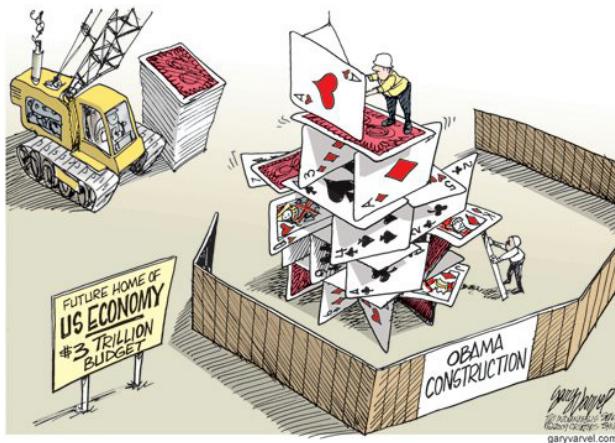
(42)



Source: [http://img.slate.com/media/53/090417\\_ed.gif](http://img.slate.com/media/53/090417_ed.gif)

Similarly, the humor created in the cartoon in (43) is also aimed at the criticism of Obama's economic agenda.

(43)



Source: <http://fromthefoothills.files.wordpress.com/2009/09/obama-house-of-cards.jpg?w=500&h=358>

In this cartoon, Obama's house upon a rock is portrayed as a house of cards, further highlighting the flaws of the agenda. The house upon a rock blend is creatively exploited and modified, or, more precisely, the scenario in the source input space is modified to include a house of cards, a structure that is highly unstable and shaky. The blend pictorially represents the restructuring of the economic system as the construction of a house of playing cards, which are represented as building blocks. The presence of heavy construction machinery and construction workers at this imaginary construction site further enriches the image created in the blend. The incongruity produced in the blended space by the creation of the image representing Obama's economic plan as the construction site on which the process of building an economic house of cards is underway produces humorous effects. Retrospective projections to the target input highlight the flaws of the economic program. Backward projections from the blended space, in which the economic system is represented as a house of cards, reinforce the criticism of the economic reform, highlighting the unsoundness of such a plan.

As examples (31)-(43) show, the house upon a rock blend can be further creatively exploited, adapted, reinterpreted, and modified in conceptual blending in different texts reflecting on the economic reform. Most of the original links within the blend are maintained. The scenario in the blend remains almost the same but is further enriched by additional projections from the source input. In this process, certain parts of the scenario are placed in the background, while certain parts become more prominent. The focus shifts from one aspect of the scenario to the other, emphasizing different parts of the scenario, enriching them, and manipulating them through conceptual blending, in order to achieve different discourse goals. These discourse goals include agreeing or disagreeing with the proposed financial reform, providing opinions about and insights into the matter, expressing strong criticism of it or simply questioning it, either by ridiculing the logic behind it or reinterpreting it, commenting on the progress of the plan as well as commenting and questioning the phrase and the blend themselves, and ridiculing it in political cartoons. Creative exploitation of the blend in various texts reflecting on the speech and the economic reform illustrates how intertextual relations are formed and how figurative creativity, creatively stretching a possibly short-lived blend, can be used to achieve various discourse goals. However, the blend did not gain enough prominence within the discourse community to form a micro-tradition of predominantly discussing the economic crisis and reform in terms of building the economic house on a new foundation. The examples above show that memorable language can be stretched, forming

a network of intertextual relations. Some of the texts analyzed above show that a whole stretch of text can be structured by the creative figurative language produced in a highly innovative blend. In addition, figurative creativity can be combined with conventional metaphorical linguistic expressions within the same text. Such examples show that apart from providing intertextual coherence of discourse on a particular subject, creative stretching of a single blend and combining of a blend with conceptual metaphors can also contribute to achieving intratextual coherence of a single text, thus contributing to achieving different discourse goals as well.

#### **4.3.5 Burning down the economic house across and within texts**

Apart from creatively exploiting, adapting, and modifying the house upon a rock blend in different texts reflecting on the economic reform and commenting on the Georgetown speech, the BUILDING metaphor can be further exploited in conceptual blends creating worlds that represent different aspects of the same situation, namely the economic crisis. The conceptual flexibility of the BUILDING domain and the encyclopedic knowledge people possess about houses or buildings can be explored to create new scenarios compatible with the one created in the house upon a rock blend but focusing on different aspects of the target and exploiting different portions of the vast encyclopedic knowledge of the source. Different aspects of the BUILDING domain can be employed to highlight certain aspects of the target but still concentrate on the aspects of stability, lastingness, or in a nutshell, foundations. In a text commenting on the economic reform and the house upon a rock speech, presented in (47) below, the scenario in the source input contains the house on fire scenario. Consequently, the image created in the blend contains an economic house in flames of the economic fire, which has to be extinguished in order for the house to be saved. The reconstruction of the economic house burning in fire includes building *a new foundation* as well. This example can be viewed as the reinterpretation of the house upon a rock blend, which can be even more extensive than in the examples discussed in the previous section. In this example, the scenario in the source input is completely altered, and, as a result, the image in the blend is changed. Nevertheless, it maintains intertextual ties with the house upon a rock speech and the proposed economic reform.

As already mentioned, such reinterpretation is not surprising considering that the scenario of the house on fire is compatible with the scenario created in the house upon a rock blend. A common thread of these two scenarios lies in the fact that the creation of both of these scenarios is triggered by the same

conventional conceptual metaphor, namely ECONOMY IS A BUILDING. It can be argued that the creation of these scenarios is further aided by the existence of the conventional conceptual metaphor, THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IS A NATURAL DISASTER. The economic house being hit by the economic storm and the economic house burning down in flames of the economic fire seem to be the products of two compatible scenarios, exploiting the encyclopedic knowledge of the same source domain, the BUILDING domain. These two scenarios have completely different meaning foci. A storm is a product of a whim of nature over which humans have no control. A fire, on the other hand, can be caused by humans and can be successfully or unsuccessfully prevented, controlled, and contained. These two scenarios promote different construals in the target space. The scenarios share another common thread. Renovating or rebuilding a house is necessary after both of these disasters, including possible rebuilding or reinforcing foundations. Considering the compatibility of these scenarios, it is not surprising that the author of the text in (47) perceives the house on fire scenario as a suitable alternative to the house in a storm scenario to present his unique perspective of the economic agenda in a creative way, using the same conceptual mechanism and the same source input as Obama did in the house upon a rock blend, but casting new light on the agenda to achieve a different discourse goal. By making an implicit or explicit reference to the speech and the economic agenda, this text is also an integral part of the network intertextually linking the texts dealing with this issue.

The house on fire scenario is not a distinctive feature of the text reflecting on the house upon a rock speech only. This scenario does not appear only as an alternative to the house hit by a storm scenario, nor is it used only for commenting on the economic agenda. Rather, the scenario in which the economic crisis is conceptualized as a fire burning down the economic house was extensively used independently of the house upon a rock speech in political discourse to achieve different discourse goals, including explaining the scope of the economic crisis in clear and vivid language as well as criticizing different aspects of the economic reform.

President Obama and the members of his administration used the scenario of the house on fire on several occasions, prior to the Georgetown speech but also in the period after the speech. In the examples in (44), the economic house is burning in flames of the economic fire.

- (44) a. The main thing is to just move away from this hyper-political environment and recognize *the house is on fire, let's put the fire out first*

- and we can figure out what caused it.* [Barack Obama, an interview with ABC's John Berman, September 30, 2008]
- b. But while there's plenty of blame to go around - and many in Washington and Wall Street who deserve it - all of us - all of us have a responsibility to solve this crisis, because it affects the financial well-being of every single American. There will be time to punish those who *set this fire*, but now is not the time to argue about how *it got set, or did the neighbor sleep in his bed, or leave the stove on*. Right now *we want to put out that fire*, and now's the time for us to come together and do that. [Barack Obama, *Senate Floor Speech in Support of the Wall Street Bailout Bill*, October 1, 2008]
  - c. "I think that we have stepped back from the abyss. *I think we've put out the fire*," he said in an interview with PBS, according to a transcript released by the TV station. [*Obama on US economic crisis: 'The fire is now out'*, AFP, July 20, 2009]
  - d. It is important to remember that the Federal Reserve, under the law, had no role in supervising or regulating AIG, investment banks, or a range of other institutions that were at the leading edge of crisis. But Congress gave the Federal Reserve authority to provide liquidity to the financial system in times of severe stress. Given that responsibility, the Federal Reserve had to act. The Federal Reserve was *the only fire station* in town. Three Days in September. ... [U.S. Treasury Secretary Timothy F. Geithner, *Geithner Recounts AIG Rescue in Testimony to U.S. House*, Bloomberg, January 27, 2010]

It can be assumed that the scenario of the economic house on fire is created in a metaphorical blend triggered by the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING metaphor, but that its activation is also aided by the ECONOMIC CRISIS IS A FIRE metaphor. The source input includes the scenario of the house on fire, which has to be extinguished in order for the house to be saved. This scenario incorporates the knowledge about the structure of a house, its stability, and lastingness, but it focuses on the knowledge about the ways in which the structure itself can be endangered. The scenario includes certain aspects of common knowledge about buildings or houses, but it also builds up a storyline in which the economic house is burning in the economic fire, which has to be extinguished in order for the house to be saved. It includes other actions that have to be taken once the fire is extinguished. The focus is placed on the process of saving the house,

but also on prioritizing actions in such situations; namely, the priority is to save the house in danger, and then other actions such as finding and punishing arsonists and repairing the house can be undertaken. The meaning focus of this scenario is quite different from the focus of the scenario of the house upon a rock.

The metaphorical blend motivated by the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING, and the ECONOMIC CRISIS IS A FIRE (as a special case of ECONOMIC CRISIS IS A NATURAL DISASTER) metaphors is composed of a generic space, two input spaces, and a blend. The association between buildings and economy, exploited in this blend, is a conventional association residing in the conceptual repertoires of humans. It is enriched by the conventional associations between the domains of natural disasters and economic crisis, also being part of the common conceptual basis of the members of the discourse community. The content of the generic space, including the concepts of structure and stability but also various dangers which can jeopardize various aspects of the structure, is provided by the activation of conventional mappings linking the domains of buildings and economy, as well as the domains of natural disasters and economic crisis. The source space contains the house on fire scenario, or more precisely, a scenario in which a house can be endangered by fire, comprising the knowledge about various ways in which fires can start as well as necessary measures which have to be taken to prevent the complete destruction of a house, possible rescue measures, and means used in order to extinguish the fire. The source input space contains a conceptually rich image, the scenario of a house on fire, but it also comprises the encyclopedic knowledge about buildings and houses, possible dangers of fires, and the ways to contain them. The target space includes the US economy as well as the knowledge about the economic system experiencing the worst economic crisis in recent history. The source and target inputs are connected by cross-space mappings, mapping house onto the economic system, fire onto economic crisis, rescue efforts onto the economic measures to stop the crisis.

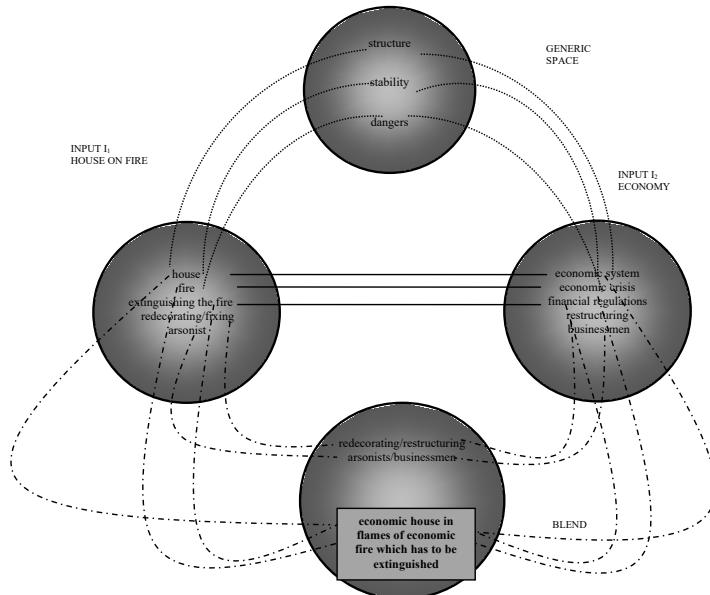


Figure 22 A conceptual integration network for *the economic house on fire*

Projected to the blend from the source input are parts of the house on fire scenario, including the house in flames, rescue efforts to put out the fire, consequences of the fire, and the actions to be taken once the fire is extinguished, such as finding those who set the fire and repairing the house. The blend is asymmetric, inheriting the organizing frame from the source input. In the blended space, the elements projected from the inputs are fused into single elements. In the blend, the house on fire, that is the economic system in crisis, has to be saved, and subsequently those guilty of starting the fire, the crisis, will be punished, and the house will have to be repaired. Suitable inferences produced in the blended space and projected to the target promote the construal in the target space of the need for an immediate action to stop the economic crisis, without thinking about who or what caused it and what actions will have to be taken subsequently. This scenario focuses on the need to save the economic system in danger rather than restructure the economic system, ensuring its stability and lastingness, although this aspect of the scenario can be perceived as not completely missing but as being placed in the background. Unlike in other natural disaster metaphors, in this metaphorical blend, human agency in starting the crisis is not concealed. As already mentioned, the blend focuses on saving the system and then blaming those responsible for the crisis, implying that the crisis was started by someone or something and is definitely not a result of a whim of nature.

This basic scenario of the house on fire created in the blend, which can be viewed as the blend producing figurative creativity in (44) a., is not a novel scenario created in this Obama's statement in a sense the house upon a rock blend is. Simply, such blends, focusing on different aspects and being developed to different degrees, were used for the economic crisis prior to and independently of Obama's statements. The creation of the image in the blend cannot be attributed to a single creator as the figurative language produced in such blends is scattered across political discourse on the economic crisis, varying in the degree of creativity as well as focusing on different aspects of the crisis. Discourse goals of the use of such figurative language are various. The blend above can be viewed as a basic scenario created in the metaphorical blend motivated by the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING and ECONOMIC CRISIS IS A NATURAL DISASTER metaphors. The scenario in the blend can be altered either by enriching it by further projections from the source or by manipulating the existing links in order to shift the focus on various aspects of the target and achieve various discourse goals. The basic blend, as well as the house on fire scenario in the source input, allows further creative stretching, reinterpretation, and modification probably because of the common conceptual basis of the human beings who conceptualize various abstract complex systems in terms of buildings but also because of the vast encyclopedic knowledge of the domain of buildings humans possess, as well as the knowledge about the scenario of the house on fire in the source input.

In (44) b. it seems that the fire spread from a house of a neighbor, who was sleeping while the fire raged or who started the fire by leaving the stove on. Cross-space mappings connect a careless neighbor from the source input to the careless businesses from the target input. In the blend, the economic fire burning down the economic house has to be put out regardless of who or what started the fire. The inferences produced in the blend are projected to the target space to highlight the importance of focusing efforts on stopping the crisis. In (44) d., the Federal Reserve, which started the bailout of the banks and insurance companies due to its authority, is conceptualized as the only fire station in town. The existence of the fire-burning house or houses in the town is presupposed in this blend. The role of the Federal Reserve is to extinguish the fire and save the town. Justifying the actions of the Federal Reserve, Geithner evokes the image of the economic crisis as the fire which has to be extinguished by the Federal Reserve, the only fire station in town.

As the examples above show, the scenario of the economic house on fire can be used to achieve different discourse goals. In the examples presented

above, President Obama and Treasury Secretary Geithner use creative figurative language produced in the economic house on fire blend to justify their actions to stop the crisis. The figurative creativity in these statements is also used to clarify and simplify complex economic issues in clear and memorable language. Such conceptualization also contributes to representing the severity of the crisis by exploiting familiar concepts. An important aspect of such conceptualization of the economic crisis is to provide a mundane understanding of the crisis, creating a conceptually rich scenario that is accessible to the members of the discourse community. This type of figurative creativity successfully produces even greater cognitive effects, delivering a strong rhetorical message and achieving different discourse goals.

The examples in (45) below show the extent to which the basic scenario of the economic house on fire created in the blended space can be enriched by projections of ancillary portions of conceptual material from the source input. These examples illustrate the presence of the scenario in political discourse on the economic crisis without referring to a particular statement and forming intertextual links within discourse. The relatively widespread use of the same scenario in the discourse on the economic crisis without forming intertextual coherence implies that different members of the discourse community have a similar motivation for using the house on fire scenario. The motivation may be the fact that this scenario is accessible to the members of the discourse community who share the common conceptual basis as well as real-life experience. These examples also illustrate that the BUILDING metaphor is highly entrenched in the human conceptual system and further highlight the conceptual flexibility and richness of this metaphor allowing further creative stretching in various ways in conceptual blending.

In (45) a., in the blended space, Democrats use a garden hose to put out the economic fire in order to save the economic house. The basic scenario created in the blend discussed above is enriched by additional projections from the source input, which include the knowledge about the means to extinguish the fire, especially the inefficiency of putting out a fire using inappropriate equipment, such as a garden hose. Cross-space mappings connect the garden hose used as the means to extinguish the fire from the source input with the economic measures proposed to stop the crisis from the target input. Suitable inferences produced in the blend promote a particular construal in the target space. The economic measures proposed by Democrats are insufficient considering the scope of the crisis. In (45) b., the economic system is represented as a wooden house that was filled with flammable material and which was subsequently burnt.

Cross-space mappings connect the wooden house with the economic system, flammable materials with risky business conducted on Wall Street, and the arson inspector with President Obama. Projections from the source input to the blend include various ancillary portions of the knowledge about fires in residential areas, including different degrees of the response of firefighters, namely different categories of fire, arson inspectors, and various ways to set a fire. The economic house created by Wall Street was bound to burn down, and thus, the arson inspector, President Obama, is not to be blamed for the fire, the economic crisis. Suitable inferences produced in the blended space are projected to the target space highlighting that the crisis which was created by the recklessness of Wall Street cannot be attributed to President Obama. Taking into consideration the main meaning focus of the BUILDING metaphor, which includes the stability, support, and lastingness of the system, the use of the wooden house as opposed to a house built of more durable materials could also entail that the economic system created on Wall Street was unstable and doomed to fail.

- (45) a. *The house is on fire and Democrats brought a garden hose.* [*The Trouble With Democrats*, the Nation, 6 June, 2009]
- b. *Wall Street built a wooden house, stuffed it with flammable material, set it on fire and then poured gasoline on the blaze. And now it's blaming the inferno on the arson inspector, who wasn't appointed until after the fire had reached three-alarm status?* [*D.C. to Wall Street: Drop Dead*, Newsweek, March 14, 2009]

In accordance with the scenario of the house on fire, various members of the Obama administration were referred to as firefighters in various texts dealing with the economic crisis. The Chairman of the US Federal Reserve, Ben Bernanke, is often called *Fireman Ben* [Michael Grunwald, *Why Obama Reappointed Bernanke to the Fed*, Time, August 25, 2009] and *our financial firefighter in chief*. [Simon Johnson, *Bernanke and Other 'Firefighters'*, the New York Times, August 27, 2009]. The scenario of the house on fire was also creatively exploited in political cartoons to ridicule the economic measures to stop the crisis. In the cartoon in (45) c., the economic crisis is pictorially represented as fire, and President Obama is a firefighter using a hose gushing dollar bills to extinguish the fire. The incongruity created in the blend by the combination of the world in which the fire can be extinguished using dollar bills creates humorous effects. Backward projections from the blended space to the target input promote the construal of the inadequacy of the use of

various stimulus bills spending taxpayers' money to stop the crisis created by the banks.

c.



Source: <http://politicalhumor.about.com/od/politicalcartoons/ig/Political-Cartoons/>

The examples above creatively stretch the same basic scenario of the house on fire, focusing on different aspects of the target and achieving different discourse goals. The economic house on fire scenario enriched by additional projections of the knowledge about the source concept creates different images in the blended space, which in turn successfully promote particular construals in the target space. The discourse goals achieved by the creative stretching and manipulation of the basic scenario of the economic house on fire include criticism of the financial regulations proposed to stop the crisis in (45) a., blaming the crisis on the reckless behavior of Wall Street, as well as vividly explaining the cause of the crisis in simple terms in (45) b. Presenting the crisis in an unrealistic and ridiculous world, the cartoon in (45) c. is also aimed at the criticism of the government's economic measures.

Although the examples in (45) do not refer to the use of this imaginative blend in Obama's statements, texts commenting on Obama's use of the figurative language produced in the economic house on fire blend and creatively stretching the same blend do exist and form a network of intertextual relations in the discourse on the economic crisis. As an illustration, the text in (46) makes a direct reference to Obama's statement presented in (44) c., in which he claims that the fire has been extinguished. The text forms a mini-narrative in which Obama, due to his narcissistic urges, starts the fire in order to pose as a hero saving the house on fire. In this blend, various portions of the knowledge about the source input are projected to the blend to form an elaborate image in the

blend. The creative language produced in this way is used to criticize Obama's statement but also to represent the crisis as having been created by the president himself, concealing the involvement of the previous Republican government. By creating this elaborate scenario in conceptual blending, Rush Limbaugh, a conservative political commentator, extends and manipulates the economic house on fire blend to promote a particular ideology. Using expressions such as *your house, leaving you with a big soggy mess of a home*, Limbaugh also successfully employs the cultural and symbolic meaning of a house or home, which for the members of the discourse community represents a safe haven and sacred place that is out of limits to those uninvited. By portraying Obama as an arsonist entering the hearer's home, Limbaugh evokes the emotional response on the part of the hearer whose privacy is invaded, and safety violated, thus creating a rhetorically more powerful message. Apart from exploiting the common conceptual basis, this mini-narrative produced in conceptual blending also evokes aspects of cultural context, adding an emotional dimension to the message.

- (46) *So maybe there was arson. If the fire is out now, we've gotta ask who started the fire. Obama loves attention and adulation, so he goes into your house and starts the fire, he took office, he's an arsonist, he started the fire. After he starts the fire, he runs out of the house, he waits for the smoke, and then he starts yelling, "Fire, fire, fire, fire!" He then gets the hose, and he starts spraying your house, all to get the credit as the hero who noticed and put out the fire that he started, leaving you with a big soggy mess of a home, when he started it in the first place.* [the Rush Limbaugh Show, July 21, 2009]

Although the previous examples represent just a preview of the use of the economic house on fire blend in political discourse on the economic crisis, they confirm the existence of such a scenario and show various ways in which it can be used. These examples are further confirmation of the conceptual flexibility and richness of the BUILDING and NATURAL DISASTER metaphors creatively exploited in conceptual blending for the conceptualization of different aspects of the economic crisis. It has to be noted that the economic house on fire scenario was as extensively explored in the discourse on the economic crisis as the house upon a rock blend. The economic house on fire scenario formed links between the texts referring to this scenario and creatively exploiting it, forming a network of intertextual relations in political discourse. The scope

and extent of such intertextual relations are relatively limited compared to the house upon a rock blend. Considering that the scenarios of the economic house on fire and the economic house hit by a storm are compatible and related, it is not surprising that the scenario of the rebuilding, including building a new foundation, of the economic house burnt down in a fire is creatively explored as well.

In example (47), the scenario of the house on fire explores aspects of the building input, which are placed in the background in the blends above, the aspects of support and stability, or in a nutshell, foundations. In this scenario, the economic house destroyed in economic fire has to be rebuilt on a new foundation. This example explores the house on fire scenario in the reinterpretation of the Georgetown speech and the house upon a rock blend. The blend creates a new scenario compatible with the scenario created in the house upon a rock blend but focuses on different aspects of the target by exploiting different portions of the vast encyclopedic knowledge of the source. By exploiting different aspects of the source concepts, the author of the text below presents his insights into the economic reform and his own interpretation of the Georgetown speech, the house upon a rock blend, and the economic agenda. As already mentioned, this example can be viewed as the reinterpretation of the house upon a rock blend, which can be even more extensive than in the examples discussed in the previous section. In this example, the scenario in the source input is completely altered, and, as a result, the image in the blend is changed. This example maintains intertextual ties with the house upon a rock speech and the proposed economic reform but also provides intratextual coherence within the text itself.

The author of the text in (47) uses creative figurative language to provide his perspective on the Georgetown speech and the economic agenda. Instead of creatively stretching and modifying the house upon a rock blend, as in the examples in the previous section, the author completely reinterprets the house upon a rock blend by replacing it with an image created in an alternative network. The author, throughout the text, comments on the Georgetown speech as having been written to clarify and simplify the complex economic issues and justify the financial reform. The author, using the alternative scenario in the source input, reinterprets the speech clarifying and simplifying the economic agenda further. The author's intention to provide his own interpretation of the speech is signaled in the first sentence. By incorporating the metadiscursive comment interrupting the text, he also justifies his creative use of the BUILDING metaphor, compatible with Obama's use of the biblical house upon a rock

imagery. The author employs the house on fire scenario. As already mentioned, although these two scenarios are compatible and related, they still focus on different aspects of the target space, therefore, producing different images in the blended space contributing to different representations of the construal in the target space.

- (47) So the speech portrays *the economy as a house in trouble*. Mr. Obama is, in essence, using bank bailouts and stimulus spending (which now is called “the recovery plan”) as a kind of *fire extinguisher to douse financial flames on the top floor of the house, while simultaneously dispatching work crews to put new education, health and energy stones in place to rebuild the foundation down below*.

The idea is that once *the flames are out, the country will discover that the house's foundation has been made stronger* by using federal dollars to create a whole raft of new jobs in an alternative energy industry, while saving old jobs by lightening the burden of health costs on existing industries.

The metaphor President Obama used in the speech is, in fact, that of a house - a Biblical house. He refers to the story from the Sermon on the Mount about how houses built on sand fall, while those built on rock remain standing.

As for deficits that accumulate during the work - well, *they are the construction debris that will have to be cleared out*, with the help of stronger economic growth, after *the project is finished*. [Obama's 'House Upon a Rock', the Wall Street Journal, April 17, 2009]

The meaning of this creative example is constructed in conceptual blending motivated, as all other examples in this section, by two conventional conceptual metaphors, namely the BUILDING and FIRE metaphors.

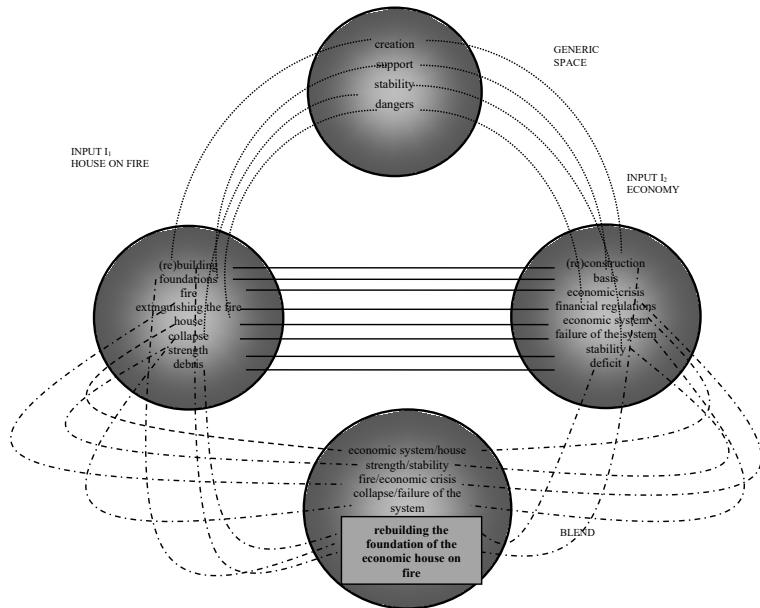


Figure 23 A conceptual integration network for *rebuilding the foundation of the economic house on fire*

The source input contains a scenario of a house in trouble, or precisely a house on fire, including the knowledge about necessary measures which have to be taken to prevent the complete destruction of the house, as well as possible rescue measures and means used in order to extinguish the fire. The house on fire also requires structural reinforcement to retain its stability. This blend, unlike the economic house on fire blends discussed above, employs the conventional associations between the foundations and the stability of the economic system, or simply, the conventional metaphorical associations between the domains of BUILDINGS and ECONOMY. The source input contains a conceptually rich scenario of a house on fire that also has structural flaws which have to be repaired. The content of the generic space, including the concepts of structure and stability but also various dangers which can jeopardize various aspects of the structure, is provided by the activation of conventional mappings linking the domains of buildings and economy, as well as the domains of natural disasters and economic crisis. The target space includes the US economy, including the knowledge about the economic system experiencing the worst economic crisis in recent history, as well as the attempts of the government to stop the crisis and restructure the economic system. The source and target inputs are connected by cross-space mappings, mapping house onto the economic system, foundation onto the basis

of the economy, strength of the structure onto stability of the system, a fire onto economic crisis, the processes of building and rebuilding onto the processes of construction and reconstruction of the economic system, and the process of extinguishing the fire onto attempts to stop the crisis employing economic measures.

Projected to the blend from the source space is the house on fire with its peculiarities and characteristics, including ways to extinguish the fire and the ways to restructure the house to reinforce its stability. From the target input, the blend receives projections including the economic crisis, the structure of the economic system as well as various measures proposed by the government. In the blend, the economic house is on fire, whose flames are burning the top floor of the house while construction crews are involved in restructuring the foundation with the energy, education, and other stones, the new, improved industries being parts of the new foundation. The new structure created in the blend is not consistent with the logic of the source space because it is impossible to perform construction work on the house while parts of it are on fire. The blended space creates an imaginary world in which such a sequence of events is possible and in which, as a result of performing these actions simultaneously, the reconstruction of the economic house is completed at the same time the fire is extinguished. The blend receives ancillary portions of conceptual material from the source, including the knowledge about the inner structure of houses, such as floors, but also the results of the construction processes leaving construction debris after the work is finished. In the blend, the construction debris is deficits accumulated during the reconstruction of the economic system.

Backward projections to the target space cast new light on the construal in the target input, presenting the economic agenda as a comprehensive program aimed at tackling different problems of the economic system simultaneously, stopping the crisis, and reinforcing the entire economic system. By creating the economic house on fire image in the blend, the author of the text further simplifies the economic agenda. The author may have had a number of reasons for the reinterpretation of the original house upon a rock blend; however, such reasons cannot be easily discerned. By creating this scenario, the author conceals the strong rhetorical message accompanying the house upon a rock speech. In this blend, the economic house is simply in trouble, and it does not include religious and cultural aspects as the house upon a rock blend. In that sense, the author simplifies the message of the speech, freeing it from the emotional dimension. By simplifying Obama's plan presented in figurative language, the author

presents his views on the speech and economic agenda in figurative language exploiting the same conventional metaphor but creating a simplified image in the blend in the sense that it, in a nutshell, vividly represents various aspects of the economic agenda. These several paragraphs of the text structured by creative figurative language comment on the whole speech and economic agenda and provide a summary of the whole speech. The text can also be interpreted as a mild criticism of the economic agenda, especially taking into consideration the meaning of the last paragraph.

This example shows the way in which a blend can structure a stretch of text, providing intratextual coherence. It also shows the ways in which the author guides the hearer to unpack the blend. In the first sentence, the author activates both the source and target spaces. The author proceeds with developing the blend by indicating that he is going to use figurative language employing the signal *kind of*, guiding the hearer to interpret the figurative language in accordance with the activated input spaces. The author informs the hearer that the choice of the figurative language used in the text is compatible with the figurative language used in the speech by incorporating the metadiscursive comment about Obama's metaphor into the text. In the last paragraph, the author spells out the mappings between the deficits and construction debris to make sure that the hearer will set up the mappings or unpack the blend in the way he intended. This stretch of the text is dominated by the creative figurative language produced in the abovementioned blend, providing intratextual coherence of this part of the text. This example once again confirms the conceptual richness and flexibility of the underlying BUILDING metaphor, which can be creatively exploited to create rhetorically powerful messages but also to form networks of intertextual relations in political discourse.

#### **4.3.6 Final remarks on building a new foundation for economic growth**

The case study presented in the previous sections reveals several interesting facts about the role of figurative creativity through blending in political discourse. This case study shows that a prominent but potentially short-lived blend, further creatively exploited in conceptual blending, can have different discourse functions, such as promoting certain rhetorical agendas and contributing to discourse coherence at the intertextual level as well as intratextual level. However, this case study also uncovers several important aspects of the nature of the two basic cognitive processes, that of conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending, showing the ways in which these two mechanisms interact and further proving that they are compatible.

As it has been shown in the previous chapter, figurative creativity through blending has an important role in achieving intertextual coherence in political discourse. The house upon a rock blend created by deliberately exploiting the common conceptual basis as well as manipulating the entrenched religious scenario was created in Obama's major address on the economic crisis to present the economic program in creative figurative language relying on familiar concepts which contribute to the clarity of his message. The case study shows that highly creative figurative language produced in a series of mental gymnastics further creatively stretching the original house upon a rock blend intertextually connects American political discourse on the economic crisis. Therefore, a potentially short-lived blend can become very prominent within a discourse community, allowing further creative exploitation, reinterpretation, and modification through conceptual blending.

In this particular case, the figurative language originally used in Obama's speeches was subsequently exploited in other texts having different discourse goals and forming a network of intertextual relations. The intertextual relations providing coherence of the discourse on the economic crisis were formed within the political discourse community whose members creatively exploited the same blend for different reasons. The discourse goals include agreeing or disagreeing with the proposed financial reform, providing opinions about and insights into the matter, expressing strong criticism of it or simply questioning it, either by ridiculing the logic behind it or reinterpreting it, commenting on the progress of the plan as well as commenting and questioning the phrase and the blend themselves, and ridiculing it in political cartoons. Some of the examples analyzed achieve different discourse goals, such as criticism of the reform or the clarification of the economic agenda by reinterpreting the original blend exploiting a compatible scenario in the source input.

It seems that this blend is further creatively exploited only in the texts commenting on the speech and Obama's reform, not having been entrenched enough to shape and govern the overall discourse on the economic crisis. Unlike the WOMAN/GENDER CARD metaphor, the blend did not gain enough prominence within the discourse community to form a micro-tradition of discussing the economic crisis and reform in terms of building the economic house on a new foundation. This is understandable considering the fact that the blend creates a very specific and elaborate scenario, which is not entrenched within the discourse community. The speaker has to refer to the scenario explicitly in order to evoke it, and the hearer has to be familiar with the speech and the specifics about the economic reform in order to understand it. Considering the number of available

metaphors used for the conceptualization of the economy and economic crisis presented, creatively stretching this particular blend is not the only way to express ideas about the economic crisis in imaginative figurative language. It seems that the wealth of the conceptual metaphors for the conceptualization of economy and economic crisis, which can be as creatively stretched as a human gift for creativity allows, represented a strong competition for the blend to take root and become a standard way of conceptualizing the economic crisis and economic reform. This does not mean that the blend was not creatively exploited, producing remarkable and striking examples of figurative creativity. This type of extending the blend in various texts reflecting on the speech and the economic reform illustrates how intertextual relations are formed and how figurative creativity, produced by creatively stretching a possibly short-lived blend, can be used to achieve various discourse goals.

The original house upon a rock blend is motivated by the conventional ECONOMY IS A BUILDING metaphor. The conventional associations between the domains of buildings and economy which reside in the conceptual repertoires of humans feed the blending process. The result is playful and memorable figurative language that is understandable to the members of the discourse community. This type of figurative creativity successfully produces even greater cognitive effects, delivering a strong rhetorical message and achieving different discourse goals. Other examples creatively stretching the house upon a rock blend also exploit the common metaphorical basis and the vast encyclopedic knowledge the speakers possess about the source concept. In some of the examples discussed, the source concept initiates the construction of a richer image in the blend by projecting conventional aspects of the source concept. These mappings, stored in the long-term memory of the speakers in the discourse community, feed the conceptual integration processes and contribute to further creative exploitation of the creative blend itself. The existence of the conventional metaphor and their conventional mappings enhance the creativity of these conceptual blends, varying in the degree of creativity. Due to the exploitation of the conventional aspects of the source concepts, such blends can be perceived as less striking examples of creativity. Some of the examples producing innovative conceptual blends exploit the rich background knowledge of the source input by activating the aspects of the source that are not part of conventional associations between the domains of BUILDINGS and ECONOMY, creating even more creative and elaborate blends. As the examples analyzed illustrate, the conceptual flexibility of the BUILDING domain and the encyclopedic knowledge people possess about houses or buildings can

be explored to create new scenarios compatible with the one created in the house upon a rock blend but focusing on different aspects of the target and exploiting different portions of the vast encyclopedic knowledge of the source. Some of the examples exploit the economic house on fire scenario created in metaphorical blends, motivated by the same conventional metaphor.

As already mentioned, the creative stretching of the original blend can be aimed at achieving different rhetorical goals. It seems that the creativity of these blends additionally boosts the argumentative potential of the texts by making them memorable but at the same time exploiting familiar concepts shared by a discourse community. By relying on the same conceptual mechanism, the authors of the texts discussed produce creative, memorable, and argumentatively powerful language. It can be claimed that figurative creativity through blending produces greater cognitive effects and rhetorically even more powerful messages. This further implies that the use of figurative language may also uncover possibly hidden ideas and viewpoints, or generally speaking, ideology and rhetoric behind the figurative language use. The rhetorical potential of some of the texts discussed above is additionally boosted by exploiting different cultural models, stereotypes, and religious and cultural associations but also by combining figurative creativity through blending with conventional or creative metaphorical expressions.

As it has been shown, figurative creativity through blending also contributes to achieving intratextual coherence. Although each individual text shows its own peculiarities, some general conclusions about the role of creative figurative language in structuring texts can be drawn. The case study shows different patterns in which figurative language produced in conceptual blending appears within texts or stretches of texts. Figurative creativity through blending can structure relatively short but also long stretches of text. Figurative creativity can produce intratextual links providing complete conceptual and intratextual coherence to a whole text or a part of it. Creative figurative language can appear in clusters and chains within certain parts of the text. As mentioned, the figurative language produced by different cognitive mechanisms can be combined and mixed in stretches of text. Figurative creativity through blending can be combined with conventional metaphorical linguistic expressions within the same text. Such examples show that the creative stretching of a single blend and combining the blend with conceptual metaphors can also contribute to enhancing intratextual coherence. The meaning focus of these mechanisms must be compatible in order to provide overall conceptual and textual coherence. These texts also illustrate how the writer guides the reader to unpack the blend in

accordance with the signals distributed throughout the text and the encyclopedic knowledge the reader possesses.

However, as already mentioned, the house upon a rock blend did not gain enough prominence within the discourse community to form a micro-tradition of predominantly discussing the economic crisis and reform in terms of building the economic house on a new foundation. The blend did not become entrenched enough or conventionalized to turn into a conventional metaphor. The role of conventional metaphors motivating these blends is significant. The conventional associations feed the blends and provide the basis for further creativity. These examples also show a complex cognitive manipulation of different scenarios and encyclopedic knowledge about the source concept casting new light on the construals in the target space. The elements such as drainage, rooms, wiring, reinforced concrete slabs, bulldozers, and many others, which are not utilized in metaphorical mappings, are used in these blends.

As with the woman card blends, this type of creativity could be viewed as Kövecses' target-induced metaphorical creativity, especially because Kövecses uses Musolff's examples of the creative stretching of the BUILDING metaphor as the basis for his claims. As already mentioned in the previous part, target-induced creativity can be treated as blending in line with Grady et al.'s approach, and it seems that in cases like these, the approach or the cognitive mechanism responsible for creativity is simply a choice a cognitive linguist has to make. The reasons governing the choice of the blending approach in this chapter are identical to the reasons presented in the previous chapter. This approach reveals an important aspect of the interrelation between two basic cognitive mechanisms, namely conceptual metaphor and conceptual integration.

The examples analyzed in this case study show that a prominent but potentially short-lived blend can be further creatively stretched in conceptual blending by exploiting different aspects of one scenario or a completely different scenario in the source input. These examples actually show different directions in which creative elaboration can develop and the stages in which figurative creativity arises. This case study also reveals important insights into the ways in which conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending interact. The diagram below illustrates the elaborate relations between these two basic cognitive processes and their interaction in cases of figurative creativity discussed in the previous sections. It shows that figurative creativity starts with the creation of the creative house upon a rock blend motivated by conventional metaphors, which, over the course of time, may potentially become a conventional and entrenched metaphor. As the examples show, this novel blend is a readily available source

for further elaboration in conceptual blending, but it is at the same motivated by different conceptual metaphors and the encyclopedic knowledge about the source concept. The assumption is that some of the creative conceptual blends may become entrenched, turning into conventional metaphors, which in turn may become sources for further elaboration in conceptual blending.

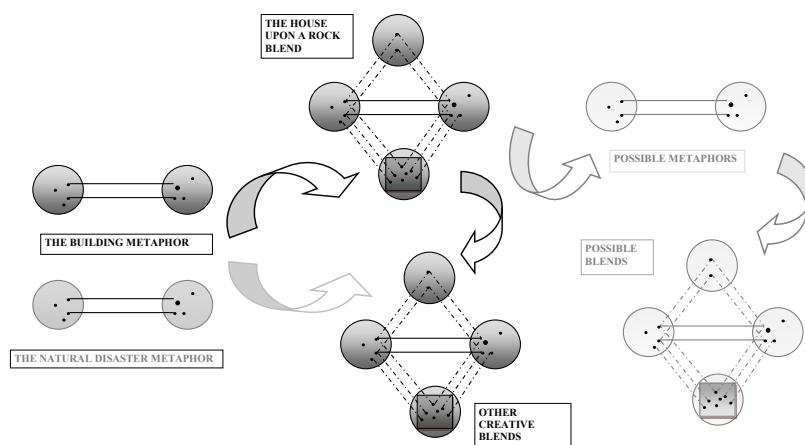


Figure 24 The cognitive processes involved in the production of figurative creativity in political discourse on economic crisis

Overall, this case study shows the possibility of using different conceptual mechanisms and the wealth of available metaphors for the conceptualization of the target domain of economy to produce memorable language, which creates greater rhetorical effects and contributes to achieving intratextual and intertextual coherence. Therefore, it seems that combining two cognitive linguistic theories, CMT and BT, paints a fuller picture of the complex cognitive processes producing figurative creativity in discourse, which contributes to discourse coherence and its rhetorical message. This case study shows that CMT and BT are not only compatible theories but are also theories that can benefit from each other, uncovering complex creative processes taking place in human minds.

## 5 CONCLUSION

**H**uman beings endowed with the gift of ingenuity seem to use this gift in many different spheres of human action, including political action and political discourse. This study examines the meaning construction of creative figurative language in American political discourse as a product of two creative processes of the human mind: metaphorical thought and conceptual integration. Combining two cognitive linguistic theories, conceptual metaphor theory and conceptual integration theory, the study investigates creative figurative language in political discourse and its role in shaping the text and enhancing the rhetorical power of political statements. The study presents two case studies examining figurative creativity in the American political discourse, which uncover how the two basic conceptual mechanisms interact, forming an intricate network of relations, how intertextual and intratextual relations within discourse are formed, and how figurative creativity, produced by creatively stretching a conventional metaphor or metaphorical blend, can be used to achieve various discourse goals.

The case studies show that metaphorical blends, triggered by conventional conceptual metaphors, may become as elaborate as human imaginations and genius for creativity allow. These metaphorical blends are asymmetric, inheriting the organizing frame from the source input. The conventional associations between the source and target domains in conventional metaphors, which reside in the conceptual repertoires of humans, feed the blending process and contribute to further creative exploitation of metaphors. Thus, conventional metaphors and their conventional mappings initiate the launch of conceptual blends, some of which are highly imaginative. The conceptual material residing in the source input and conventional associations between the domains are modified online in dynamic discourse situations producing elaborate images in the blends. The rich encyclopedic knowledge about the source concept allows speakers to use certain aspects of the source concept that are not conventionally used metaphorically, enriching the image in the blend and producing novel and even more creative blends. Recruiting marginal or ancillary facets of the source concept, which are not part of conventional associations between the domains, produces more striking examples of figurative creativity, both linguistically and conceptually. In most cases, it seems that the rich knowledge about the source concept initiates further projections and mappings, contributing to

the creation of more striking examples of creativity and producing greater cognitive effects. One of the key operations that contribute to the creativity of the blends is the exploitation of the rich background knowledge about the source concept. It can be concluded that the conceptual flexibility and richness of the underlying metaphor and the vast encyclopedic knowledge people possess about the source concept allow creative stretching, reinterpretation, and modification of conventional metaphors and metaphorical blends through conceptual blending, producing striking examples of creative figurative language. The rich background knowledge, including marginal portions of conceptual material, recruited in these blends seems important in enhancing the argumentative and rhetorical power of political statements and providing textual coherence of political discourse.

Highly creative figurative language produced in conceptual blending can intertextually and intratextually connect political discourse on the same subject. A particular metaphor or a metaphorical blend can become very prominent within a discourse community, allowing further creative exploitation, reinterpretation, and modification through conceptual blending, connecting the discourse on the same topic, and thus forming a network of intertextual relations. In addition, the prominence of a certain metaphor or metaphorical blend can form a micro-tradition of discussing particular issues within a political discourse community predominantly in figurative terms. Figurative creativity through blending also contributes to achieving coherence within texts, forming different patterns within texts or stretches of texts and thus producing intratextual links. These intratextual links provide complete conceptual and intratextual coherence. It can be concluded that the creative stretching, exploitation, reinterpretation, and modification of a prominent metaphor or metaphorical blend through conceptual blending in dynamic discourse situations contributes to achieving the overall conceptual and textual coherence of political discourse on a particular subject.

In addition, the creative figurative language produced through conceptual blending successfully contributes to achieving different discourse goals on the part of the speaker. Figurative creativity can be used in political discourse for different discourse goals, from effectively explicating a certain point of view to criticizing and ridiculing the use of creative figurative language in politics. Retrospective projections from the blended space to the target space promote particular construals in the target input, uncovering and explaining why figurative creativity through blending has rhetorical potential and can successfully achieve certain discourse goals. It can be claimed that

figurative creativity through blending additionally boosts the argumentative potential of texts by making them memorable but at the same time exploiting familiar concepts shared by a discourse community. It can be further argued that the conceptual flexibility and richness of the underlying conventional metaphors contribute to a better assessment of political issues. Even in the most creative and imaginative examples of figurative creativity, a common conceptual basis provided by the existing conventional metaphors allows the speakers to use their creative potential to the full extent, creating imaginative figurative language still understandable to the members of a discourse community, requiring, only at times, slightly more processing efforts. It is believed that creative figurative language in political discourse produces great rhetorical and ideological impacts. This further implies that the use of creative figurative language in political discourse is neither accidental nor insignificant. Rather, the use of figurative language may uncover hidden ideas and viewpoints, or generally speaking, ideology and rhetoric behind the figurative language use.

Most importantly, the case studies also produce several conclusions about the interaction of conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending in real discourse. These case studies provide important insights into the ways in which conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending interact. The diagram below illustrates the elaborate relations between these two basic cognitive processes and their interaction in cases of figurative creativity. Overall, the case studies lead to the conclusion that figurative creativity starts with the creation of an innovative blend, which, over the course of time, becomes a conventional and entrenched metaphor. In turn, the conventional metaphor becomes a readily available source for further elaboration in conceptual blending resulting in figurative creativity. The assumption is that certain creative conceptual blends may become entrenched, turning into conventional metaphors, which in turn may become sources for further elaboration in conceptual blending.

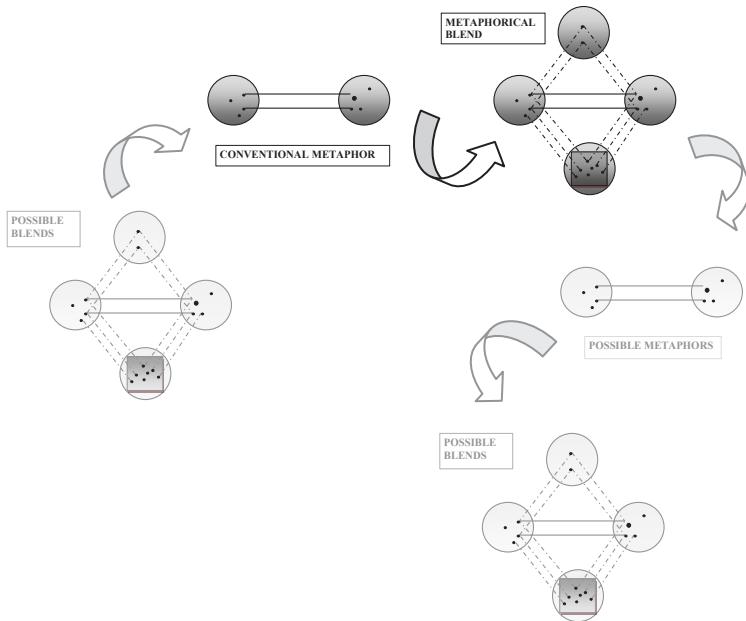


Figure 25 Cognitive processes involved in the production of figurative creativity in discourse

Therefore, by accepting the fact that metaphorical thought and conceptual integration are creative processes of the human mind which are interrelated and can interact in various ways, the conclusion that ensues is that figurative creativity is produced in a series of complex mental operations, which can be constrained only by limits of human imagination. It seems that in real discourse situations, including political discourse, which is commonly characterized as dull and uncreative, people employ the creative process of their minds and exploit their inborn gift for creativity to produce memorable and playful language which can successfully promote different ideological and rhetorical agendas and which can provide overall conceptual and textual coherence of discourse. This study shows that combining two cognitive linguistic theories, CMT and BT, paints a fuller picture of the complex cognitive processes producing figurative creativity in discourse, which in turn contributes to achieving discourse coherence and enhances the rhetorical power of political statements. Therefore, CMT and BT are not only compatible theories, but they are also theories that can benefit from each other, uncovering complex creative processes taking place in human minds in dynamic discourse situations.

## 6 APPENDIX

*Progress of the American Economy: Speech at Georgetown University*  
[Barack Obama, April 14, 2009]

**I**t has now been twelve weeks since my administration began. And I think even our critics would agree that at the very least, we've been busy. In just under three months, we have responded to an extraordinary set of economic challenges with extraordinary action - action that has been unprecedented in both its scale and its speed.

I know that some have accused us of taking on too much at once. Others believe we haven't done enough. And many Americans are simply wondering how all of our different programs and policies fit together in a single, overarching strategy that will *move* this economy from recession to recovery and ultimately to prosperity.

So today, I want to step back for a moment and explain our strategy as clearly as I can. I want to talk about what we've done, why we've done it, and what we have left to do. I want to update you on *the progress we've made*, and be honest about *the pitfalls that may lie ahead*.

And most of all, I want every American to know that each action we take and each policy we pursue is driven by a larger vision of America's future - a future where sustained *economic growth* creates good jobs and rising incomes; a future where prosperity *is fueled* not by excessive debt, reckless speculation, and fleeing profit, but is instead *built* by skilled, productive workers; by sound investments that will spread opportunity at home and allow this nation to lead the world in the technologies, innovations, and discoveries that will shape the 21st century. That is the America I see. That is the future I know we can have.

To understand *how we get there*, we first need to understand *how we got here*.

Recessions are not uncommon. Markets and economies naturally *ebb and flow*, as we have seen many times in our history. But this recession is different. This recession was not caused by a normal downturn in the business cycle. It was caused by a *perfect storm* of irresponsibility and poor decision-making that stretched from Wall Street to Washington to Main Street.

As has been widely reported, it started in the housing market. During the course of the decade, the formula for buying a house changed: instead of

saving their pennies to buy their dream house, many Americans found they could take out loans that by traditional standards their incomes just could not support. Others were tricked into signing these subprime loans by lenders who were trying to make a quick profit. And the reason these loans were so readily available was that Wall Street saw big profits to be made. Investment banks would buy and package together these questionable mortgages into securities, arguing that by pooling the mortgages, the risks had been reduced. And credit agencies that are supposed to help investors determine the soundness of various investments stamped the securities with their safest rating when they should have been labeled "Buyer Beware."

No one really knew what the actual value of these securities were, but since the housing market was booming and prices were rising, banks and investors kept buying and selling them, always passing off the risk to someone else for a greater profit without having to take any of the responsibility. Banks took on more debt than they could handle. The government-chartered companies Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, whose traditional mandate was to help support traditional mortgages, decided to get in on the action by buying and holding billions of dollars of these securities. AIG, the biggest insurer in the world, decided to make profits by selling billions of dollars of complicated financial instruments that supposedly insured these securities. Everybody was making record profits - except the wealth created was real only on paper. *And as the bubble grew*, there was almost no accountability or oversight from anyone in Washington.

Then *the housing bubble burst*. Home prices *fell*. People began defaulting on their subprime mortgages. The value of all those loans and securities *plummeted*. Banks and investors couldn't find anyone to buy them. Greed gave way to fear. Investors pulled their money out of the market. Large financial institutions that didn't have enough money on hand to pay off all their obligations *collapsed*. Other banks held on tight to the money they did have and simply stopped lending.

This is when the crisis *spread* from Wall Street to Main Street. After all, the ability to get a loan is how you finance the purchase of everything from a home to a car to a college education. It's how stores stock their shelves, farms buy equipment, and businesses make payroll. So when banks stopped lending money, businesses started laying off workers. When laid off workers had less money to spend, businesses were forced to lay off even more workers. When people couldn't get car loans, a bad situation at the auto companies became even worse. When people couldn't get home loans, the crisis in the housing market only deepened. Because *the infected securities* were being traded worldwide

and other nations also had weak regulations, this recession soon became global. And when other nations can't afford to buy our goods, it *slows* our economy even further.

This is the situation we confronted on the day we took office. And so our most urgent task has been *to clear away the wreckage, repair the immediate damage to the economy*, and do everything we can *to prevent a larger collapse*. And since the problems we face are all working off each other to feed a vicious economic downturn, we've had no choice but *to attack all fronts of our economic crisis at once*.

The first step was *to fight* a severe shortage of demand in the economy. The Federal Reserve did this by dramatically lowering interest rates last year in order to boost investment. And my administration and Congress boosted demand by passing the largest recovery plan in our nation's history. It's a plan that is already in the process of saving or creating 3.5 million jobs over the next two years. It is putting money directly in people's pockets with a tax cut for 95% of working families that is now showing up in paychecks across America. And *to cushion the blow of this recession*, we also provided extended unemployment benefits and continued health care coverage to Americans who have lost their jobs through no fault of their own.

Now, some have argued that this recovery plan is a case of irresponsible government spending; that it is somehow to blame for our long-term deficit projections, and that the federal government should be cutting instead of increasing spending right now. So let me tackle this argument head on.

To begin with, economists on both the left and right agree that the last thing a government should do in the middle of a recession is to cut back on spending. You see, when this recession began, many families sat around their kitchen table and tried to figure out where they could cut back. So do many businesses. That is a completely responsible and understandable reaction. But if every family in America cuts back, then no one is spending any money, which means there are more layoffs, and the economy *gets even worse*. That's why the government has to step in and temporarily boost spending in order to *stimulate* demand. And that's exactly what we're doing right now.

Second of all, I absolutely agree that our long-term deficit is a major problem that we have to fix. But the fact is that this recovery plan represents only a tiny fraction of that long-term deficit. As I will discuss in a moment, the key to dealing with our deficit and debt is to get a handle on out-of-control health care costs - *not to stand idly by as the economy goes into free fall*.

So the recovery plan has been the first step in confronting this economic crisis. The second step has been *to heal our financial system* so that credit is once again *flowing* to the businesses and families who rely on it.

The heart of this financial crisis is that too many banks and other financial institutions simply stopped lending money. In *a climate of fear*, banks were unable to replace their losses by raising new capital on their own, and they were unwilling to lend the money they did have because they were *afraid* that no one would pay it back. It is for this reason that the last administration used the Troubled Asset Relief Program, or TARP, to provide these banks with temporary financial assistance in order to get them lending again.

Now, I don't agree with some of the ways the TARP program was managed, but I do agree with the broader rationale that we must provide banks with the capital and the confidence necessary to start lending again. That is the purpose of *the stress tests* that will soon tell us how much additional capital will be needed to support lending at our largest banks. Ideally, these needs will be met by private investors. But where this is not possible, and banks require substantial additional resources from the government, we will hold accountable those responsible, force the necessary adjustments, provide the support to *clean up* their balance sheets, and assure the continuity of *a strong, viable institution* that can serve our people and our economy.

Of course, there are some who argue that the government should stand back and simply let these banks fail - especially since in many cases it was their bad decisions that helped create the crisis in the first place. But whether we like it or not, history has repeatedly shown that when nations do not take early and aggressive action *to get credit flowing* again, they have crises that last years and years instead of months and months - years of *low growth*, low job creation, and low investment that cost those nations far more than a course of bold, upfront action. And although there are a lot of Americans who understandably think that government money would be better spent going directly to families and businesses instead of banks – “where’s our *bailout*?,” they ask - the truth is that a dollar of capital in a bank can actually result in eight or ten dollars of loans to families and businesses, a multiplier effect that can ultimately lead to *a faster pace* of economic growth.

On the other hand, there have been some who don't dispute that we need *to shore up* the banking system, but suggest that we have been too timid in how we go about it. They say that the federal government should have already preemptively stepped in and taken over major financial institutions the way that the FDIC currently intervenes in smaller banks, and that our failure to do so is

yet another example of Washington coddling Wall Street. So let me be clear - the reason we have not taken this step has nothing to do with any ideological or political judgment we've made about government involvement in banks, and it's certainly not because of any concern we have for the management and shareholders whose actions have helped cause this mess.

Rather, it is because we believe that preemptive government takeovers are likely to end up costing taxpayers even more in the end, and because it is more likely to undermine than to create confidence. *Governments should practice the same principle as doctors: first do no harm.* So rest assured - we will do whatever is necessary *to get credit flowing again*, but we will do so in ways that minimize risks to taxpayers and to the broader economy. To that end, in addition to the program to provide capital to the banks, we have launched a plan that will pair government resources with private investment in order *to clear away* the old loans and securities - *the so-called toxic assets* - that are also preventing our banks from lending money.

Now, what we've also learned during this crisis is that our banks aren't the only institutions *affected by these toxic assets that are clogging the financial system*. A.I.G., for example, is not a bank. And yet because it chose to insure trillions of dollars worth of risky assets, its failure could threaten the entire financial system and *freeze* lending even further. This is why, as frustrating as it is - and I promise you, nobody is more frustrated than me - we've had to provide support for A.I.G. It's also why we need new legal authority so that we have the power to intervene in such financial institutions, just like a bankruptcy court does with businesses that hit hard times, so that we can restructure these businesses in an orderly way that does not induce panic - and can restructure inappropriate bonus contracts without creating a perception that government can just change compensation rules on a whim.

This is also why we're moving aggressively to *unfreeze* markets and *jumpstart* lending outside the banking system, where more than half of all lending in America actually takes place. To do this, we've started a program that will increase guarantees for small business loans and *unlock* the market for auto loans and student loans. And to stabilize the housing market, we've launched a plan that will save up to four million responsible homeowners from foreclosure and help many millions more re-finance.

In a few weeks, we will also reassess the state of Chrysler and General Motors, two companies with an important place in our history and a large footprint in our economy - but two companies that have also fallen on hard times.

Late last year, the companies were given transitional loans by the previous administration to tide them over as they worked to develop viable business plans. But the plans they developed fell short, and so we have given them some additional time to work these complex issues through. We owed that, not to the executives whose bad bets contributed to the *weakening* of their companies, but to the hundreds of thousands of workers whose livelihoods hang in the balance.

It is our fervent hope that in the coming weeks, Chrysler will find a viable business partner and that GM will develop a business plan that will put it on *a path to profitability* without endless support from the American taxpayer. In the meantime, we are taking steps to spur demand for American cars and provide relief to autoworkers and their communities. And we will continue to reaffirm this nation's commitment to a 21st century American auto industry that creates new jobs and builds the fuel-efficient cars and trucks that will carry us toward a clean energy future.

Finally, to coordinate a global response to this global recession, I went to the meeting of the G20 nations in London the other week. Each nation has undertaken significant stimulus to spur demand. All agreed to pursue tougher regulatory reforms. We also agreed to triple the lending capacity of the International Monetary Fund, an international financial institution supported by all the major economies, and provide direct assistance to developing nations and vulnerable populations - because America's success depends on whether other nations have the ability to buy what we sell. We pledged to avoid the trade barriers and protectionism that hurts us all in the end. And we decided to meet again in the fall to gauge our progress and take additional steps if necessary.

So all of these actions - the Recovery Act, the bank capitalization program, the housing plan, the strengthening of the non-bank credit market, the auto plan, and our work at the G20 - have been necessary pieces of the recovery puzzle. They have been designed to increase aggregate demand, *get credit flowing again* to families and businesses, and help them *ride out the storm*. And taken together, these actions are starting to generate signs of economic progress. Because of our recovery plan, schools and police departments have cancelled planned layoffs. Clean energy companies and construction companies are re-hiring workers to build everything from energy efficient windows to new roads and highways. Our housing plan has helped lead to a spike in the number of homeowners who are taking advantage of historically-low mortgage rates by refinancing, which is like putting a \$2,000 tax cut in your in pocket. Our program to support the

market for auto loans and student loans has started to *unfreeze* this market and securitize more of this lending in the last few weeks. And small businesses are seeing a jump in loan activity for the first time in months.

This is all welcome and encouraging news, but it does not mean that hard times are over. 2009 will continue to be a difficult year for America's economy. The severity of this recession will cause more job loss, more foreclosures, and more pain before it ends. The market will continue to *rise and fall*. Credit is still *not flowing* nearly as easily as it should. The process for restructuring AIG and the auto companies will involve difficult and sometimes unpopular choices. All of this means that there is much more work to be done. And all of this means that you can continue to expect an unrelenting, unyielding, day-by-day effort from this administration to *fight for economic recovery on all fronts*.

But even as we continue to *clear away the wreckage* and address the immediate crisis, it is my firm belief that our next task is to make sure such a crisis never happens again. Even as we *clean up* balance sheets and *get credit flowing*; even as people start spending and business start hiring - we have to realize that we cannot go back to *the bubble and bust economy* that led us to this point.

It is simply not sustainable to have a 21st century financial system that is governed by 20th century rules and regulations that allowed the recklessness of a few to threaten the entire economy. It is not sustainable to have an economy where in one year, 40% of our corporate profits came from a financial sector that was based too much on inflated home prices, maxed out credit cards, overleveraged banks and overvalued assets; or an economy where the incomes of the top 1% have skyrocketed while the typical working household has seen their income decline by nearly \$2,000.

For even as too many were chasing ever-bigger bonuses and short-term profits over the last decade, we continued to neglect the long-term threats to our prosperity: the crushing burden that the rising cost of health care is placing on families and businesses; the failure of our education system to prepare our workers for a new age; the progress that other nations are making on clean energy industries and technologies while we remain addicted to foreign oil; the growing debt that we're passing on to our children. And even after we emerge from the current recession, these challenges will still represent *major obstacles that stand in the way of our success* in the 21st century.

There is a parable at the end of the Sermon on the Mount that tells the story of two men. The first built his house on a pile of sand, and it was destroyed as soon as the storm hit. But the second is known as the wise man, for when "...

the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house...it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock."

*We cannot rebuild this economy on the same pile of sand. We must build our house upon a rock. We must lay a new foundation for growth and prosperity - a foundation* that will move us from an era of borrow and spend to one where we save and invest; where we consume less at home and send more exports abroad.

*It's a foundation built upon five pillars* that will grow our economy and make this new century another American century: new rules for Wall Street that will reward drive and innovation; new investments in education that will make our workforce more skilled and competitive; new investments in renewable energy and technology that will create new jobs and industries; new investments in health care that will cut costs for families and businesses; and new savings in our federal budget that will bring down the debt for future generations. *That is the new foundation we must build.* That must be our future - and my Administration's policies are designed to achieve that future.

The first step we will take *to build this foundation* is to reform the outdated rules and regulations that allowed this crisis to happen in the first place. It is time to lay down *tough new rules of the road for Wall Street* to ensure that we never find ourselves here again. *Rules that punish short-cuts and abuse.* Rules that tie someone's pay to their actual job performance. Rules that protect typical American families when they buy a home, get a credit card or invest in a 401k. We have already begun to work with Congress to shape *this new regulatory framework* - and I expect a bill to arrive on my desk for signature before the year is out.

*The second pillar of this new foundation* is an education system that finally prepares our workers for a 21st century economy. In the 20th century, the GI Bill sent a generation to college, and for decades, we led the world in education and economic growth. But in this new economy, we trail the world's leaders in graduation rates and achievement. That is why we have set a goal that will greatly enhance our ability to compete for the high-wage, high-tech jobs of the 21st century: by 2020, America will once more have the highest proportion of college graduates in the world.

To meet that goal, we have already dramatically expanded early childhood education. We are investing in innovative programs that have proven to help schools meet high standards and close achievement gaps. We are creating new rewards tied to teacher performance and new pathways for advancement. I have asked every American to commit to at least one year or more of higher education

or career training, and we have provided tax credits to make a college education more affordable for every American.

*The third pillar of this new foundation* is to harness the renewable energy that can create millions of new jobs and new industries. We all know that the country that harnesses this energy will lead the 21st century. Yet we have allowed other countries to outpace us on this race to the future.

Well, I do not accept a future where the jobs and industries of tomorrow take root beyond our borders. It is time for America to lead again.

The investments we made in the Recovery Act will double this nation's supply of renewable energy in the next three years. And we are putting Americans to work making our homes and buildings more efficient so that we can save billions on our energy bills and *grow our economy* at the same time.

But the only way to truly spark this transformation is through a gradual, market-based cap on carbon pollution, so that clean energy is the profitable kind of energy. Some have argued that we shouldn't attempt such a transition until the economy *recovers*, and they are right that we have to take the costs of transition into account. But we can no longer delay putting a *framework* for a clean energy economy in place. If businesses and entrepreneurs know today that we are closing this carbon pollution loophole, they will start investing in clean energy now. And pretty soon, we'll see more companies constructing solar panels, and workers building wind turbines, and car companies manufacturing fuel-efficient cars. Investors will put some money into a new energy technology, and a small business will open to start selling it. That's how we can *grow this economy*, enhance our security, and protect our planet at the same time.

*The fourth pillar of the new foundation* is a 21st century health care system where families, businesses, and government budgets aren't *dragged down by skyrocketing* insurance premiums. One and a half million Americans could lose their homes this year just because of a medical crisis. Major American corporations are struggling to compete with their foreign counterparts, and small businesses are closing their doors. We cannot allow the cost of health care to *strangle* our economy any longer.

That's why our Recovery Act will invest in electronic health records with strict privacy standards that will save money and lives. We've also made the largest investment ever in preventive care, because that is one of the best ways to keep costs under control. And included in the budgets that just passed Congress is an historic commitment to reform that will finally make quality health care affordable for every American. So I look forward to working with both parties in Congress to make this reform a reality in the coming months.

Fixing our health care system will certainly require resources, but in my budget, we've made a commitment to fully pay for reform without increasing the deficit, and we've identified specific savings that will make the health care system more efficient and reduce costs for us all.

In fact, we have undertaken an unprecedented effort to find this kind of savings in *every corner* of the budget, because *the final pillar in building our new foundation* is restoring fiscal discipline once this *economy recovers*. Already, we have identified two trillion dollars in deficit-reductions over the next decade. We have announced procurement reform that will greatly reduce no-bid contracts and save the government \$40 billion. Secretary Gates recently announced a courageous set of reforms that go right at the hundreds of billions of dollars in waste and cost overruns that *have bloated* our defense budget without making America safer. We will end education programs that don't work, and root out waste, fraud, and abuse in our Medicare program.

Altogether, this budget will reduce discretionary spending for domestic programs as share of the economy by more than 10% over the next decade to the lowest level since we began keeping records nearly half a century ago. And as we continue to go through the federal budget line by line, we will be announcing additional savings, secured by eliminating and consolidating programs we don't need so that we can make room for the things we do need.

Now, I realize that for some, this isn't enough. I know there is a criticism out there that my administration has somehow been spending with reckless abandon, pushing a liberal social agenda while mortgaging our children's future.

Well let me make three points.

First, as I said earlier, the worst thing that we could do in a recession this severe is to try to cut government spending at the same time as families and businesses around the world are cutting back on their spending. So as serious as our deficit and debt problems are - and they are very serious - major efforts to deal with them have to focus on the medium and long-term budget picture.

Second, in tackling the deficit issue, we simply cannot sacrifice the long-term investments that we so desperately need to generate long-term prosperity. Just as a cash-strapped family may cut back on luxuries but will insist on spending money to get their children through college, so we as a country have to make current choices with an eye on the future. If we don't invest now in renewable energy or a skilled workforce or a more affordable health care system, this economy simply won't grow *at the pace it needs to in two or five or ten years down the road*. If we don't lay this new foundation, it won't be long before

*we are right back where we are today.* And I can assure you that *chronically slow growth* will not help our long-term budget situation.

Third, the problem with our deficit and debt is not new. It *has been building* dramatically over the past eight years, largely because big tax cuts combined with increased spending on two wars and the increased costs of government health care programs. This structural gap in our budget, between the amount of money coming in and the amount going out, will only get worse as Baby Boomers age, and will in fact *lead us down an unsustainable path*. But let's not kid ourselves and suggest that we can do it by *trimming* a few earmarks or cutting the budget for the National Endowment for the Arts. Along with defense and interest on the national debt, the biggest costs in our budget are entitlement programs like Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security that get more and more expensive every year. So if we want to get serious about fiscal discipline - and I do - then we are going to not only have *to trim waste out of our discretionary budget*, a process we have already begun - but we will also have to get serious about entitlement reform.

Nothing will be more important to this goal than passing health care reform that brings down costs across the system, including in Medicare and Medicaid. Make no mistake: health care reform is entitlement reform. That's not just my opinion - that was the conclusion of a wide range of participants at the Fiscal Responsibility Summit we held at the White House in February, and that's one of the reasons why I firmly believe we need to get health care reform done this year.

Once we tackle rising health care costs, we must also work to put Social Security on *firmer footing*. It is time for both parties to come together and find a way to keep the promise of a sound retirement for future generations. And we should restore a sense of fairness and *balance* to our tax code by shutting down corporate loopholes and ensuring that everyone pays what they owe.

All of these efforts will require tough choices and compromises. But the difficulties can't serve as an excuse for inaction. Not anymore.

This brings up one final point I'd like to make today. I've talked a lot about the fundamental weakness in our economy that led us to this day of reckoning. But we also arrived here because of a fundamental weakness in our political system.

For too long, too many in Washington put off hard decisions for some other time on some other day. There's been a tendency to score political points instead of rolling up sleeves to solve real problems. There is also an impatience that characterizes this town - an attention span that has only grown shorter with

the twenty-four hour news cycle, and insists on instant gratification in the form of immediate results or higher poll numbers. *When a crisis hits, there's all too often a lurch from shock to trance, with everyone responding to the tempest of the moment until the furor has died away* and the media coverage has moved on, instead of confronting the major challenges that will shape our future in a sustained and focused way.

This can't be one of those times. The challenges are too great. The stakes are too high. I know how difficult it is for Members of Congress in both parties to grapple with some of the big decisions we face right now. It's more than most congresses and most presidents have to deal with in a lifetime.

But we have been called to govern in extraordinary times. And that requires an extraordinary sense of responsibility - to ourselves, to the men and women who sent us here, and to the many generations whose lives will be affected for good or for ill because of what we do here.

There is no doubt that times are still tough. By no means are *we out of the woods just yet*. But *from where we stand*, for the very first time, we are beginning to see glimmers of hope. *And beyond that, way off in the distance*, we can see a vision of an America's future that is far different than our troubled economic past. It's an America teeming with new industry and commerce; humming with new energy and discoveries that light the world once more. A place where anyone from anywhere with a good idea or the will to work can live the dream they've heard so much about.

*It is that house upon the rock. Proud, sturdy, and unwavering in the face of the greatest storm. We will not finish it in one year or even many, but if we use this moment to lay that new foundation; if we come together and begin the hard work of rebuilding; if we persist and persevere against the disappointments and setbacks that will surely lie ahead, then I have no doubt that this house will stand and the dream of our founders will live on in our time.* Thank you, God Bless you, and may God Bless the United States of America.

## 7 REFERENCES

- Ahrens, K. (2019). First Lady, Secretary of State and Presidential Candidate: A comparative study of the role-dependent use of metaphor in politics. In J. Perrez & M. Reuchamps & P. H. Thibodeau (Eds.), *Variation in political metaphor* (pp. 13-34). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Ahrens, K., & Lee, S. Y. M. (2009). Gender versus politics: When conceptual models collide in the US Senate. In K. Ahrens (Ed.), *Politics, gender and conceptual metaphors* (pp. 62-82). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Attardo, S. (2010). *Humorous texts: A semantic and pragmatic analysis*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Barcelona, A. (2003). Clarifying and applying the notions of metaphor and metonymy within cognitive linguistics: An update. In R. Dirven, & R. Pörings (Eds.), *Metaphor and metonymy in comparison and contrast* (pp. 207-278). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Berberović, S. (2013). Magic tricks with race cards: Conceptual integration theory and political discourse. *Jezikoslovje*, 14(2-3), 307-321.
- Berberović, S., & Delibegović Džanić, N. (2009). Političari, dvorske dame i kajgana: Teorija konceptualne integracije i politički humor. In M. Brdar & M. Omazić & B. Belaj & B. Kuna (Eds.), *Lingvistika javne komunikacije: Sociokulturni, pragmatički i stilski aspekti* (139-153) Zagreb/Osijek: HDPL.
- Berberović, S., & Delibegović Džanić, N. (2020). The president and the viper: Political satire and conceptual blending theory. *Jezikoslovje*, 21(3), 371-391.
- Berberović, S., & Mujagić, M. (2017). A marriage of convenience or an amicable divorce: Metaphorical blends in the debates on Brexit. *ExELL (Explorations in English Language and Linguistics*, 5(1), 1-24.
- Bergen, B. (2004). To awaken a sleeping giant: Blending and metaphor in editorial cartoons after September 11. In M. Achard & S. Kemmer (Eds.), *Language, culture, and mind* (pp. 23-36). Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Boers, F. (1999). When a bodily source domain becomes prominent: The joy of counting metaphors in the socio-economic domain. In R.W.J. Gibbs & G. J. Steen (Eds.), *Metaphor in cognitive Linguistics* (pp. 47-56). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Brandt, L., & Brandt, P. A. (2005). Making sense of a blend: A cognitive-semiotic approach to metaphor. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 3(1), 216-249.

- Brdar, M., & Brdar-Szabó, R. (2020). The role of metaphors and metonymies in framing the transplantation discourse. *Jezikoslovje*, 21(3), 305-344.
- Brône, G., & Feyaerts, K. (2003). *The cognitive linguistics of incongruity resolution: Marked reference-point structures in humor*. KU Leuven, Departement Linguistiek, 1-58. Available at <http://wwwling.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/iclc/Papers/BroneFeyaerts.pdf>
- Brugman, C. (1990). What is the invariance hypothesis?. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 1(2), 257-266.
- Cameron, L. (2003). *Metaphor in educational discourse*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Cameron, L., & Stelma, J. H. (2007). Metaphor clusters in discourse. *Journal of Applied Linguistics and Professional Practice*, 1(2), 107-136.
- Cameron, L., & Deignan, A. (2006). The emergence of metaphor in discourse. *Applied Linguistics*, 27(4), 671–690.
- Cameron, L., & Low, G. (2004). Figurative variation in episodes of educational talk and text. *European Journal of English Studies*, 8(3), 355-373.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2004). *Corpus approaches to critical metaphor analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2005). *Politicians and rhetoric*. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2009). Metaphor and political communication. In A. Musolff & J. Zinken (Eds.), *Metaphor and discourse* (pp. 97-115). Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2011). *Politicians and rhetoric: The persuasive power of metaphor* (2nd edition). Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2014). *Analysing political speeches: Rhetoric, discourse and metaphor*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2016). *Fire metaphors: Discourses of awe and authority*. London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2019). *Metaphors of Brexit: No cherries on the cake?*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing political discourse: Theory and practice*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Chilton, P. (2005). Missing links in mainstream CDA. In R. Wodak & P. Chilton (Eds.), *A new agenda in (critical) discourse analysis: Theory, methodology and interdisciplinarity* (pp. 19-52). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Chilton, P., & Schäffner, C. (1997). Discourse and politics. *Discourse as Social Interaction*, 2, 206-230.
- Chilton, P., & Schäffner, C. (2002). Introduction: Themes and principles in the analysis of political discourse. In P. Chilton & C. Schäffner (Eds.), *Politics as text and talk: Analytic approaches to political discourse* (1-41). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 1-41.
- Chilton, P., & Ilyin, M. (1993). Metaphor in political discourse: The case of the common European house. *Discourse & Society*, 4(1), 7-31.
- Ching, M. K. L. (1993). Games and play: Pervasive metaphors in American life. *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity*, 8(1), 45-65.
- Coulson, S. (1996). The Menendez brothers virus: Analogical mapping in blended spaces. In A. Goldberg (Ed.), *Conceptual structure, discourse, and language* (pp. 67-81). Stanford, CA: CSLI.
- Coulson, S. (2001). *Semantic leaps: Frame-shifting and conceptual blending in meaning construction*. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coulson, S. (2002). What's so funny: Conceptual blending in humorous examples. Available at: <http://www.cogsci.ucsd.edu/~coulson/funstuff/funny.html>
- Coulson, S. (2003). Reasoning and rhetoric: Conceptual blending in political and religious rhetoric. In E. Oleksy & B. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (Eds.), *Research and scholarship in integration processes* (pp. 59–88). Lodz, Poland: Lodz University Press.
- Coulson, S. (2005). Extemporaneous blending: Conceptual integration in humorous discourse from talk radio. *Style* 39, 107-122.
- Coulson, S. (2006). Conceptual blending in thought, rhetoric, and ideology. In G. Kristiansen & M. Achard & R. Dirven & F.J. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (Eds.), *Cognitive linguistics: Current applications and future perspectives* (pp. 187-210). Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Coulson, S., & Oakley, T. (2000). Blending basics. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 11(3-4), 175-196.
- Coulson, S., & Oakley, T. (2006). Purple persuasion: Conceptual blending and deliberative rhetoric. In J. Luchjenbroers (Ed.), *Cognitive linguistics investigations: Across languages, fields and philosophical boundaries* (pp. 47-65). Amsterdam & Philadelphia and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Coulson, S., & Págán Cánovas, C. (2009). Understanding timelines: Conceptual metaphor and conceptual integration. *Cognitive Semiotics*, 5(1-2), 198-219.

- Coulson, S., & Pascual, E. (2006). For the sake of argument: Mourning the unborn and reviving the dead through conceptual blending. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 4, 153-181.
- Coulson, S. & Van Petten, C. (2002). Conceptual integration and metaphor: An event-related potential study. *Memory and Cognition*, 30(6), 958-968.
- Dancygier, B, guest ed. (2006). Special issue. Conceptual Blending. *Language and Literature* 15 (1).
- Dancygier, B. (2012). *The language of stories: A cognitive approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dancygier, B. (2017). Figurativeness, conceptual metaphor, and blending. In S. Elena & Z. Demjén (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of metaphor and language* (pp. 28-41). New York: Routledge.
- Dancygier, B., & Sweetser E. (2014). *Figurative language*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Darian, S. (2000). The role of figurative language in introductory science texts. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 10(2), 163-186.
- Deignan, A. (2005). *Metaphor and corpus linguistics*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Deignan, A. (2008). Corpus linguistic data and conceptual metaphor theory. In M.S. Zanotto & L. Cameron & M.C. Cavalcanti (Eds.), *Confronting metaphor in use: An applied linguistic approach* (pp. 149-162). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Deignan, A. (2010). The evaluative properties of metaphors. In G. Low & Z. Todd & A. Deignan & L. Cameron (Eds.), *Researching and applying metaphor in the real world* (pp. 357–374). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Deignan, A. (2017). Mappings and narrative in figurative communication. In B. Hampe (Ed.), *Metaphor: embodied cognition and discourse* (pp. 200–219). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Delibegović Džanić, N. & Berberović, S. (2010). On politicians in big women's sunglasses driving buses with their feet in mouths: Late-night political humour and conceptual integration theory. *Jezikoslovlje*, 11(2), 197–214.
- Dore, M. (2015). Metaphor, humour and characterisation in the TV comedy programme Friends. In G. Brône & K. Feyaerts & T. Veale (Eds.), *Cognitive linguistics and humor research* (pp. 191–214). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dorst, A. G. (2017). Textual patterning of metaphor. In S. Elena & Z. Demjén (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of metaphor and language* (pp. 196-210). New York: Routledge.

- Dynel, M. (2011). Blending the incongruity-resolution model and the conceptual integration theory: The case of blends in pictorial advertising. *International Review of Pragmatics*, 3(1), 59–83.
- Dynel, M. (2018). Taking cognisance of cognitive linguistic research on humour. *Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 16(1), 1–18.
- Eubanks, P. (2000). *A war of words in the discourse of trade: The rhetorical constitution of metaphor*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Falk, E. (2013). Clinton and the playing-the-gender-card metaphor in campaign news. *Feminist Media Studies*, 13(2), 192-207.
- Fauconnier, G. (1997). *Mappings in thought and language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fauconnier, G. (2007). Mental spaces. In D. Geeraerts & H. Cuyckens (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of cognitive linguistics* (pp. 351-376). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fauconnier, G. (2009). Generalized integration networks. In V. Evans & S. Pourcel (Eds.), *New directions in cognitive linguistics* (pp. 147-160). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Fauconnier, G., & Lakoff, G. (2013). On metaphor and blending. *Journal of Cognitive Semiotics*, 5, 393–399.
- Fauconnier, G., & Turner M. (2000). Compression and global insight. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 11(3-4), 283-304.
- Fauconnier, G., & Turner M. (2001). Conceptual integration networks. Expanded web version of Conceptual integration networks. (1998). *Cognitive Science*, 22(2), 133-187. Available at <http://markturner.org/cin.web/cin.html>.
- Fauconnier, G., & Turner M. (2002). *The way we think: Conceptual blending and the mind's hidden complexities*. New York: Basic Books.
- Fauconnier, G., & Turner, M. (2006). Conceptual integration networks. In D. Geeraerts (Ed.), *Cognitive linguistics: Basic readings* (303-371). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. Reprint of Conceptual integration networks (1998). *Cognitive Science* 22(2), 133-187.
- Fauconnier, G., & Turner, M. (2008). Rethinking metaphor. In R. Jr. W. Gibbs (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of metaphor and thought* (53-66). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ferrari, F. (2007). Metaphor at work in the analysis of political discourse: Investigating a ‘preventive war’ persuasion strategy. *Discourse & Society*, 18(5), 603-625.
- Forceville, C., & Urios-Aparisi, E. (2009). Introduction. C. J. Forceville & E. Urios-Aparisi (Eds.), *Multimodal metaphor* (3-17). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Gibbs, R. Jr. W. (2000). Making good psychology out of blending theory. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 11(3-4), 347-358.
- Gibbs, R. Jr. W. (2017). *Metaphor wars: Conceptual metaphors in human life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gibbs, R. Jr. W., & Lonergan, J. E. (2009). Studying metaphor in discourse: Some lessons, challenges and new data. In A. Musolff & J. Zinken (Eds.), *Metaphor and discourse* (pp. 251-261). Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Giora, R. (2003). *On our mind: Salience, context and figurative language*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Glucksberg, S., & Keysar B. (1990). Understanding metaphorical comparisons: Beyond similarity. *Psychological Review*, 97(1), 3-18.
- Glucksberg, S. & McGlone M. S. (1999). When love is not a journey: What metaphors mean. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 31, 1541-1558.
- Goatly, A. (1997). *The language of metaphors*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Grady, J., & Oakley, T. & Coulson, S. (1999). Conceptual blending and metaphor. In R.W. Jr. Gibbs & G. J. Steen (Eds.), *Metaphor in cognitive linguistics* (101-124). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hidalgo-Downing, L. (2020). Introduction. Towards an integrated framework for the analysis of metaphor and creativity in discourse. In L. Hidalgo-Downing & B. Kraljevic Mujic (Eds.), *Performing metaphoric creativity across modes and contexts* (1-18). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hidalgo-Downing, L., & Kraljevic Mujic, B. (eds.) (2020). *Performing metaphoric creativity across modes and contexts*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hougaard, A. & Oakley, T. (2008). Mental spaces and discourse analysis. In T. Oakley & A. Hougaard (Eds.), *Mental spaces in discourse and interaction* (1-26). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Kennedy, V. (2000). Intended tropes and unintended metatropes in reporting on the war in Kosovo. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 15, 253-265.
- Koller, V. (2003). Metaphor clusters, metaphor chains: Analyzing the multifunctionality of metaphor in text. *metaphorik.de*, 5, 115-134.
- Koller, V. (2004a). *Metaphor and gender in business media discourse: A critical cognitive study*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave.
- Koller, V. (2004b). Businesswomen and war metaphors: “Possessive, jealous and pugnacious”? *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 8(1), 3–23.
- Koller, V. (2005). Critical discourse analysis and social cognition: Evidence from business media discourse. *Discourse & Society*, 16(2), 199–224.

- Koller, V. (2008) Brothers in arms: Contradictory metaphoric constructions in contemporary marketing discourse. In M.S. Zanotto & L. Cameron & M.C. Cavalcanti (Eds.), *Confronting metaphor in use: An applied linguistic approach* (pp. 103-125). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Koller, V. & Semino, E. (2009). Metaphor, politics and gender: a case study from Germany. In K. Ahrens (Ed.), *Politics, gender and conceptual metaphors* (pp. 9-35). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kövecses, Z. (2002). *Metaphor: A practical introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2005). *Metaphor in culture. universality and variation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2006). *Language, mind, and culture. An introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2008). Conceptual metaphor theory. Some criticisms and alternative proposals. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 6, 168–184.
- Kövecses, Z. (2009a). Metaphor, culture, and discourse: The pressure of coherence. In A. Musolff & J. Zinken (Eds.), *Metaphor and discourse* (pp. 11-24). Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Kövecses, Z. (2009b). The effect of context on the use of metaphor in discourse. *Ibérica*, 17, 11-24.
- Kövecses, Z. (2009c). Aspects of metaphor in discourse. *Belgrade English Language and Literature Studies (Belgrade BELLS)*, 1, 81-95.
- Kövecses, Z. (2010a). *Metaphor: A practical introduction* (2nd edition). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2010b). A new look at metaphorical creativity in cognitive linguistics. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 21(4), 663-697.
- Kövecses, Z. (2011). Recent developments in metaphor theory: Are the new views rival ones? F. González-García & M. S. Peña Cervel & L. Pérez Hernández (Eds.), *Metaphor and metonymy revisited beyond the contemporary theory of metaphor: Recent developments and applications*. Special issue of *Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 9(1), 11–25.
- Kövecses, Z. (2012). Metaphorical creativity in discourse. In M. Brdar M & I. Raffaelli & M. Žic Fuchs (Eds), *Cognitive linguistics between universality and variation* (pp. 253-270). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Kövecses, Z. (2015). *Where metaphors come from: Reconsidering context in metaphor*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Kövecses, Z. (2016). A view of “mixed metaphor” within a conceptual metaphor theory framework. In R. W., Jr. Gibbs (Ed.), *Mixing metaphor* (pp. 1-16). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kövecses, Z. (2017a). A radical view of the literal-figurative distinction. In A. Benedek & Á. Veszelszki (Eds.), *Virtual reality – real visuality. Virtual, visual, veridical* (pp. 17–28). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Kövecses, Z. (2017b). Conceptual metaphor theory. In S. Elena & Z. Demjén (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of metaphor and language* (pp. 13-27). New York: Routledge.
- Kövecses, Z. (2017c). Levels of metaphor. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 28(2), 321–347.
- Kövecses, Z. (2018). Metaphor in media language and cognition: A perspective from conceptual metaphor theory. *Lege artis. III*(1), 124-141.
- Kövecses, Z. (2020). *Extended conceptual metaphor theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. & Szabó P. (1996). Idioms: a view from cognitive linguistics. *Applied Linguistics*, 17 (3), 326–355.
- Kyratzis, S. (2003). Laughing metaphorically: Metaphor and humour in discourse. Paper presented at the 8th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference. Logroño: 20-25 July 2003. Available at <http://wwwling.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/iclc/Papers/Kyratzis.pdf>
- Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire, and dangerous things. What categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago ans London: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1990). The Invariance Hypothesis: Is abstract reason based on image schemas? *Cognitive Linguistics*, 1(1), 39-74.
- Lakoff, G. (1992). Metaphor and war: The metaphor system used to justify war in the Gulf. In M. (Ed.), *Thirty years of linguistic evolution: Studies in honour of René Dirven on the occasion of his 60th birthday* (pp. 463-482). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Lakoff, G. (1993). The contemporary theory of metaphor. In A. Ortony (Ed.), *Metaphor and thought* (pp. 202-251). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1995). Metaphor, morality, and politics, or, why conservatives have left liberals in the dust. *Social Research*, 62, 177–213.
- Lakoff, G. (1996) *Moral politics: How liberals and conservatives think*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (2001). Metaphor of terror. Available at: <http://www.press.uchicago.edu/News/911lakoff.html>

- Lakoff, G. (2003). Metaphor and war, again. Available at: <http://www.alternet.org/story/15414>
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1999). *Philosophy in the flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to western thought*. New York: Basic Books.
- Lakoff, G., & Turner, M. (1989). *More than cool reason: A field guide to poetic metaphor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Langlotz, A. (2006). *Idiomatic creativity: A cognitive linguistic model of idiom-representations and idiom-variation in English*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Libura, A. (2017). Conceptual integration and humor. In W. Chłopicki & D. Brzozowska (Eds.), *Humorous discourse* (pp. 53–74). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lundmark, C. (2003). Puns and blending: The case of print advertisements. Paper presented at the 8th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference. Logroño: 20-25 July 2003. Available at <http://wwwling.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/iclc/Papers/Lundmark.pdf>
- Marín-Arrese, J. I. (2003). Humour as ideological struggle: The view from cognitive linguistics. Paper presented at the 8th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference. Logroño: 20-25 July 2003. Available at <http://wwwling.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/iclc/Papers/JuanaMarinArrese.pdf>
- Mueller, R. (2010). Critical analysis of creative metaphors in political speeches. In G. Low & Z. Todd & A. Deignan & L. Cameron (Eds.), *Researching and applying metaphor in the real world* (pp. 321–332). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Musolff, A. (2000). Political imagery of Europe: A house without exit doors? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 21(3), 216–229.
- Musolff, A. (2004). *Metaphor and political discourse: Analogical reasoning in debates about Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Musolff, A. (2006). Metaphor scenarios in public discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 21(1), 23–38.
- Musolff, A. (2010a). *Metaphor, nation and the Holocaust: The concept of the body politic*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Musolff, A. (2010b). Political metaphor and bodies politic. In U. Okulska & P. Cap (Eds.), *Perspectives in politics and discourse* (pp. 23-42). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Musolff, A. (2016). *Political metaphor analysis: Discourse and scenarios*. London and Oxford and New York: Bloomsbury.
- Musolff A. (2019). Creativity in metaphor interpretation. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*, 23(1), 23-39.
- Nerlich, B. (2007). Media, metaphors and modelling: How the UK newspapers reported the epidemiological modelling controversy during the 2001 foot and mouth outbreak. *Science, Technology, & Human Values*, 32(4), 432-457.
- Nerlich B., & Clarke, D. D. & Dingwall, R. (2000). Clones and crops: The use of stock characters and word play in two debates about bioengineering. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 15(4), 223–239.
- Oakley, T. (2011). Conceptual integration. In J. O. Östman & J. Verschueren (Eds.), *Handbook of pragmatics*, vol. 6 (pp. 1-25). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Oakley, T., & Hougaard, A., eds. (2008). *Mental spaces in discourse and interaction*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Oakley, T., & Coulson, S. (2008). Connecting the dots: Mental spaces and metaphoric language in discourse. In T. Oakley & A. Hougaard (Eds.), *Mental spaces in discourse and interaction* (27-50). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Oakley, T. & Pascual, E. (2017). Conceptual blending theory. In B. Dancygier (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of cognitive linguistics* (pp. 421–448). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Págán Cánovas, C. (2011a). Erotic emissions in Greek poetry: a generic integration network. *Cognitive Semiotics*, 6, 7-32.
- Págán Cánovas, C. (2011b). The genesis of the arrows of love: Diachronic conceptual integration in Greek mythology. *American Journal of Philology*, 132(4), 553-579.
- Potts, A., & Semino, E. (2019). Cancer as a Metaphor. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 34(2), 81-95.
- Pragglejaz Group (2007). MIP: A method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 22(1), 1-39.
- Raskin, V. (1985). *Semantic mechanisms of humor*. Dordrecht/Boston/Lancaster: D. Reidel Publishing Company.
- Reddy, M. J. (2003). The conduit metaphor: A case of frame conflict in our language about language. In A. Ortony (Ed.), *Metaphor and thought* (pp. 164-201). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Ritchie, L. D. (2005). Frame-shifting in humor and irony. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 20, 275-294.
- Ritchie, L. D. (2017a). *Metaphorical stories in discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ritchie, L. D. (2017b). Contextual activation of story simulation in metaphor comprehension. In B. Dancygier (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of cognitive linguistics* (pp. 220-238). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rohrer, T. (1995) The metaphorical logic of (political) rape: The new wor(l)d order. *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity*, 10(2), 115–37
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F. J. (1998). On the nature of blending as a cognitive phenomenon. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 30(3), 259-274.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F. J., & Díez Velasco, O. I. (2003). Patterns of conceptual interaction. In R. Dirven, & R. Pörings (Eds.), *Metaphor and metonymy in comparison and contrast* (pp. 489-533). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F. J., & Peña Cervel, S. (2002). Cognitive operations and projection spaces. *Jezikoslovlje*, 3(1-2), 131-158.
- Safire, W. (2008). *Safire's political dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sandıkçıoglu, E. (2000). More metaphorical warfare in the Gulf: Orientalist frames in news coverage. In A. Barcelona (Ed.), *Metaphor and metonymy at the crossroads: A cognitive perspective* (pp. 299–320). Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Santa Ana, O. (1999) “Like an animal I was treated”: Anti-immigrant metaphor in US public discourse. *Discourse & Society*, 10, 191–224.
- Schmidt, G., & Brdar, M. (2012). Variation in the linguistic expression of the conceptual metaphor *life is a (gambling) game*. In M. Brdar M & I. Raffaelli & M. Žic Fuchs (Eds.), *Cognitive linguistics between universality and variation* (pp. 271-222). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Semino, E. (2002). A sturdy baby or a derailing train? Metaphorical representations of the Euro in British and Italian newspapers. *Text*, 22(1), 107-139.
- Semino, E. (2008). *Metaphor in discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Semino, E. (2010). Unrealistic scenarios, metaphorical blends and rhetorical strategies across genres. *English Text Construction*, 3(2). 250-274.

- Semino, E. (2021). "Not soldiers but fire-fighters"—metaphors and COVID-19. *Health Communication*, 36(1), 50-58.
- Semino, E., & Deignan, A., & Littlemore, J. (2013). Metaphor, genre, and recontextualization. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 28(1), 41-59.
- Semino, E., & Demjén, Z. (2017). The cancer card: Metaphor, intimacy, and humor in online interactions about the experience of cancer. In B. Hampe (Ed.), *Metaphor: Embodied cognition and discourse* (pp. 181–199). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Semino, E., & Koller, V. (2009). Metaphor, politics and gender: A case study from Italy. In K. Ahrens (Ed.), *Politics, gender and conceptual metaphors* (pp. 36-31). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Semino, E. & Steen G. (2008). Metaphor and literature. In R. Jr. W. Gibbs (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of metaphor and thought* (232-246). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Semino, E., & Heywood, J. & Short, M. (2004). Methodological problems in the analysis of metaphors in a corpus of conversations about cancer. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 36, 1271–1294.
- Semino, E., & Masci M. (1996). Politics is football: Metaphor in the discourse of Silvio Berlusconi in Italy. *Discourse and Society*, 72, 243-269.
- Steen, G. J. (2007). *Finding metaphor in grammar and usage: A methodological analysis of theory and research*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Taylor, J. R. (2002). *Cognitive grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tidwell, J. N. (1958). Political words and phrases: Card-playing terms. *American Speech*, 33(1), 21-28.
- Turner, M. (2007). Conceptual integration. In D. Geeraerts & H. Cuyckens (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of cognitive linguistics* (pp. 377-393). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Turner, M. (2014). *The origin of ideas: Blending, creativity, and the human spark*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Turner, M., & Fauconnier, G. (1995). Conceptual integration and formal expression. *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity*, 10(3), 183-204.
- Turner, M., & Fauconnier, G. (1999). A mechanism of creativity. *Poetics Today*, 20(3), 297-418.
- Turner, M., & Fauconnier, G. (2003). Metaphor, metonymy, and binding. In R. Dirven, & R. Pörings (Eds.), *Metaphor and metonymy in comparison and contrast* (pp. 469-487). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2007). Editor's introduction: The study of discourse: An introduction. In T. A. Van Dijk, (Ed.), *Discourse studies* vol 1 (pp ix-xlii). New Delhi: Sage.

- White, M. (1997). The use of metaphor in reporting financial market transactions. *Cuadernos de Filología Inglesa*, 6(2), 233–245.
- Wilson, J. (2003). Political Discourse. In D. Schiffrin & D. Tannen & H. E. Hamilton (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 398-415). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Zinken, J. (2003). Ideological imagination: Intertextual and correlational metaphors in political discourse. *Discourse & Society*, 14(4), 507–523
- Zinken, J., & Musolff, A. (2009). A discourse-centred perspective on metaphorical meaning and understanding. In A. Musolff & J. Zinken (Eds.), *Metaphor and discourse* (pp. 1-8). Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.

