Narratives in crisis: The use of metaphor in reporting social unrest

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Abstract

This paper investigates the use of metaphor in newspaper reports of social unrest. Eighteen newspaper reports of two incidents of social unrest were analyzed. It was found that there are four structural metaphors supported by four aspects of the event structure metaphor associated with this subgenre of reporting. It is suggested that metaphors associated with a particular genre or subgenre need to be considered as essential to the study and teaching of genre, and that further studies are necessary to establish which metaphors are salient in each genre or subgenre.

Introduction

Gibbs (1999) raises six challenges for researchers of metaphor:

> distinguish different kinds of metaphor in language, distinguish metaphor from metonymy, distinguish between the processes and products of metaphor, distinguish metaphor processing from metaphoric processing, distinguish how metaphor in language and thought interact, and recognize the embodied motivation for metaphor in thought and language. (p. 30)

Although others will be addressed, this paper focuses most closely on the fifth challenge: distinguishing how metaphor in language and thought

interact. To this end, it is argued that evidence of the metaphoric structures found across examples of newspaper reports of social unrest suggest that select metaphors are an essential lexical component of this particular genre type. Although research of further examples of this and other genre types must be undertaken, this study provides evidence for the fourth hypothesis that Gibbs has formulated: "Metaphoric thought might function automatically and interactively in people's on-line use and understanding of linguistic meaning" (p. 43).

Genre and Metaphor

As an area of academic investigation, pragmatics concentrates on meaning and meaning making. Fairclough (1989) asserts that all meaning is embedded in social relations and, therefore, the nature of both institutional and personal discourses in varying contexts should be considered, especially the processes whereby institutions shape the nature of discourse.

Bakhtin (2004) suggests that "genres (of literature and speech) throughout the centuries of their life accumulate forms of seeing and interpreting particular aspects of the world" (p. 5), explaining that genres are learned generic textual forms which allow listeners or readers to "predict a certain compositional structure; we foresee the end; that is, from the very beginning we have a sense of the...whole, which is only later differentiated during the speech [or reading] process" (p. 79). Genre analysis investigates and describes compulsory and optional moves in the structure of any spoken or written text type as well as the grammatical and lexical patterns that may be expected to occur within such a text type. Metaphor constitutes one example of the lexical patterns that contribute to the structure of a particular text type, and "can be used, consciously or subliminally, to structure the development of a text, as the organizing principle which gives the text a lexical cohesion" (Goatly, 1997, p. 163).

Metaphor is one aspect of meaning making which is both institutionalized and inherent to our conceptual system. Lakoff (1996) claims "part of our job as linguists is to find what systematicitities there are in our metaphorical language and metaphorical inferences" (p. 249). In terms of genre analysis, uncovering and describing patterns of metaphor inherent to a particular text type allows an analysis of power relations as well as a deeper investigation of thought and cognition in terms of and as displayed by a particular set of cultural artifacts.

In describing a situation or thing in terms of another, metaphors use the concrete in order to describe the abstract. Each metaphor highlights certain aspects of that which it is attempting to describe, whilst downplaying others. In so doing, it is both maximizing cognitive processing, and ignoring potentially important information about that which is so described. The danger with institutionalized metaphor is that conflict arises in response to such issues as power, the maintenance of the status quo, and exploitation, and positions must be renegotiated through discourse or a redefinition of the discourse itself.

There have been assorted investigations of cognitive metaphors in a range of registers and channels across a diversity of fields. In psychology, for example, the contributors to *Metaphors in the History of Psychology* (Leary, Ed., 1994) examined both the metaphors encountered in psychological practice and those that contributed to the discourses of psychology and, therefore, clinical approaches. The opposite approach is taken in *The Machine as Metaphor and Tool* (Haken, Karlqvist, & Svedin, Eds., 1993), where the concept of one metaphor and its use in a variety of circumstances is investigated. More consistent with the approach taken in this study, Lakoff (1991) described the metaphors produced by political leaders in reference to the military operations of Allied forces in Iraq. This paper investigates the use of metaphor in the reporting of two situations of social unrest.

Narratives of News Reporting

Jacobs (1996) looks to narrative "linked to a central cleavage in society... [which] demands the attention of citizens as well as political etites" (p.1241), arguing that an "explanation of the dynamics of civil society can be organized around the central concept of narrative" (p. 1240), due to both "the role narrative plays in constructiong identities and enabling social action" (p.1240) and the ability of individuals to connect "their self-narratives to collective narratives,... [thereby enabling them to] identify with such 'imagined communities' as class, gender, race, ethnicity and nation" (p.1241). Furthermore, Fitzgerald (1993) notes "media play a central role in reshaping relationships, hence social and cultural identities as well" (p.86).

Narratives chosen as newsworthy are key because they act as a bridge between the actions of groups and individuals and knowledge of such actions by groups and individuals. Parenti (1993) reports that the worldview promoted by journalists through their articles reflects journalist education, "the assignments given them by them by their supervisors, anticipatory responses to the reactions of superiors and public officials, career considerations, and the general political climate and dominant ideology" (p.45), also noting the influence of editorial adjustments and rewriting on changes in the meaning carried in the article. Dunn, Moore, and Nosek (2005) demonstrate through their experiments on reader interpretation how even small lexical differences in otherwise similar texts of newspaper reports about armed attacks influence reader identification of the attackers as patriots or as terrorists.

Foucault (1981) asks of the authority of voices carried in discourse:

Who is speaking? Whom among the totality of speaking individuals is accorded the right to use this sort of language? Who is qualified to do so? Who derives from it his own special quality, his prestige,

and from whom, in return, receive if not the assurance, at least the presumption that what he says is true? What is the status of the individual who—alone—have the right, sanctioned by law or tradition, juridically defined or spontaneously accepted, to proffer such a discourse? (in Bhatia, 1997, p. 359)

Quarantelli (1971, 1981, in Ploughman, 1997) suggests that the media employ a *command post viewpoint* in which official or established news sources are preferred in times of disaster or turbulence, perhaps due to factors such as ease of access against tight deadlines or institutional requirements. The tendency toward reporting authority during events of social unrest is in evidence in the reports under study herein. However, employing such a viewpoint conceals the voices of those who may (or may not) be demonstrating against aspects of the established system. Thus, the reasons for the unrest remain a matter of conjecture until the crisis has dissipated. Once the unrest has subsided, the event is no longer newsworthy, and any demonstrator grievances are victim to the stroke of the editor's pen.

Additionally, media reliance on a command post viewpoint allows authorities the opportunity to frame the event to their purposes. Parenti (1993) claims that "the most effective propaganda is that which relies on framing rather than on falsehood" (p. 200–201), suggesting that by "... using emphasis, nuance, innuendo, and peripheral embellishments, communicators can create a desired impression" (p. 201), a claim supported by the Dunn, Moore, and Nosek (2005) study. In so far as the authorities are able to frame the unrest, they are also able to frame any official response to that unrest, influencing public opinion as to the appropriateness of such action.

Although acknowledging how meaning is manipulated, Parenti (1993) fails to address the role of metaphor in reporting. Our conception of reality, and the metaphors that we ascribe to it, are of unquestionable import in defining who we are within the environment in which we

find ourselves, and how we react in it, including the models and means of discourse and action useful in that reality. As will become apparent in the investigation of metaphors in the reporting of social unrest below, the major instrument used to produce "emphasis, nuance, innuendo, and peripheral embellishments" (Parenti, 1993, p. 201) is the creation of one or more metaphorical contexts through which the facts may be described.

Procedure

This paper describes the metaphorical patterns found in a number of newspaper reports of social unrest. The incidents reported in France and Australia in November and December of 2005. Eighteen newspaper reports were downloaded from the online news sites of major English language news organizations, including *The Guardian*, *BBC News*, *The New York Times*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, and *The Age*. The URLs from which these articles may be accessed appear in Appendix 1. Six of these texts reported on an incident of social unrest in France, and 12 referred to an incident on and around Cronulla Beach, Sydney, Australia. Metaphors were identified and classified according to type. The numbers of each type of metaphor were collated in a table to identify the frequency of use of each metaphor in reports of the two instances of civil disturbance. Patterns of use were then identified.

Results

Even a cursory investigation of the example of newspaper reports used in this study will reveal that there are differences between them. These differences stem from both variations in the nature of the social unrest and in the distance from the sites of social unrest at which these articles were published. The Cronulla disturbances were fought between two groups of Australian citizens, ostensibly over acceptable conduct at, and the right to use, the beach. In contrast, incidents comprising the

French unrest were directed aganist the authority of the French state. Additionally, the reports of the Cronulla incidents were taken primarily from the Australian Press. However, reports of the French unrest are not taken from the French Press, but originated from the major press services of several English-speaking nations, separated by both distance and issues of language and culture. A closer investigation of these differences is beyond the scope of this paper. However, although major patterns of metaphoric usage are consistent among the subgenres, some variation does occur. Such variation will be discussed where relevant.

Table 1 shows the metaphors to be found within the eighteen news reports under study. These can be classified into structural metaphors and those that can be grouped as part of the Event Structure Metaphor. Structural metaphors, "in which one concept is structured in terms of another... organize whole systems of concepts with respect to one another" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 14). The event structure metaphor, in contrast, refers to the way in which

> events in general... are understood metaphorically in terms of physical movement, physical force, and physical space. The main aspects or components of events include states, change, cause, purpose, means, difficulty, progress, and some others. It is these abstract concepts to which the notions of physical space, force, and motion apply (Kovecses, 2003, p. 52).

Structural Metaphors

The most common metaphoric pattern associated with this genre in this sample of texts is that of "Social unrest is war." There were 46 examples of this metaphor appearing in 11 reports about the Cronulla riots and 18 examples in five reports of the French incidents of social unrest. The examples show how the pattern of metaphoric use can help to shape a text and our thoughts about an incident. In one report about the Cronulla riots, metaphors of this type were used in the following order:

Table 1 Occurrences of metaphors in news reports of social unrest

Metaphor	Type of metaphor	Sydney ♯ of examples in ♯ of reports (n=12)	Paris ♯ of examples in ♯ of reports (n=6)	Examples from the texts
Social unrest is natural disaster	Structural	12 examples in 6 reports	8 examples in 4 reports	... violence rocks Sydney (earthquake) ... violence erupted (volcano)* ... the worst-hit region ... firestorm in France ... crisis swells (high waves) ... the riot epicenter
Social unrest is an illness	Structural	3 examples in 2 reports	7 examples in 4 reports	... outbreak of violence ... riots that have convulsed France ... the fever has spread uncontrollably ... the spreading violence ... a chronic problem
Social unrest is war	Structural	46 examples in 11 reports	18 examples in 5 reports	... latest explosion of violence ... a cowardly attack ... the clash of cultures ... lost the fight ... a series of retaliation raids ... France exploded ... fighting escalated ... similar attacks took place ... 1300 officers were deployed ... waging nightly battles

Social unrest is a machine	Structural	3 examples in 3 reports	2 examples in 2 reports	... racially-fuelled violence ... added fuel to that fire ... fuelled by drink and drugs ... political mismanagement fuelled the rage
The state / organisation is an entity	Event structure	12 examples in 6 reports	9 examples in 5 reports	... national soul searching ... defending Australian values ... the nation's character ... the continent has woken up ... France finds itself ... France was in dire need
Importance is a physical property	Event structure	10 in 6 reports	2 in 2 reports	... middle Australia ... to position themselves at the center of the riots issue
Change is motion	Event structure	15 in 9 reports	6 in 3 reports	... rushed to judgement ... multiculturalism still has got a way to go in Australia ... the ugly jingoism came to the surface
Caused change of state is control over an entity relative to a location	Event structure (causation: location case)	4 in 3 reports	10 in 6 reports	... riots drew international media attention ... a stronger police presence averted the crisis ... slowly pushed out police presence ... rioting has become embroiled in the political succession war
Action is control over possessions	Event structure (action)	5 in 3 reports	5 in 3 reports	... fresh violence ... feeding stereotypes ... multiculturalism was alive and well

External events	Event structure (external events)	4 in 2 reports	2 in 2 reports	... a tidal surge of intolerance ... shame rises like surf of childhood (metonymy) ... a steady stream [of customers]
Harm	Event structure (harm)	12 in 6 reports	8 in 3 reports	... the initial outbreak of violence ... a rampant redneck mentality ... the fever has spread uncontrollably ... crime is rampant
Competition	Event structure (competition)	10 in 4 reports	3 in 2 reports	... the blame game ... all sides are losers ... covering up the real state of play ... used as pawns
External conditions are climate	Event structure (external events)	6 in 5 reports	2 in 2 reports	... a day of relative calm ... a black day ... through a fog of inebriation
Difficulties are a container	Event structure (difficulties)	18 in 10 reports	9 in 4 reports	... trouble erupted ... tensions rose again ... filled with hatred
Time	Event structure	16 in 9 reports	2 in 2 reports	... since September 11 ... fuelled by a week-long media build-up ... clashes of yesteryear

the explosion; defending Australian values; the trigger for the bloodshed; a cowardly attack on an Australian icon; invading one beach; clashes of yesteryear; targeting each other; the clash of cultures; an explosive mix; under siege. It defines for the Australian reader the actors who are the defenders (those retaliating for the attack on the Australian icon) and those who are the enemies (those who attacked the Australian icon and values). We learn that the incident began with an explosion (of emotion), leading to action that led to bloodshed, and that it is a problem of two opposed cultures, rather than two groups of badly behaved young men. We finally discover that the cultures together are *an explosive mix* and, therefore, that the beaches are *under siege.* The use of this metaphoric pattern to refer to social unrest in English is not surprising. The metaphoric pattern of war is common in describing situations of dispute such as debate and argument, as well as international conflicts.

The second most common metaphoric pattern describing social unrest is that of "Social unrest is a natural disaster." There were 12 examples of this metaphor in six of the reports about the Cronulla incident, and eight examples in four reports of the French riots. The metaphors occurring within this pattern include: *violence rocks Sydney; violence erupted; firestorm in France; crisis swells; the riot epicenter.* This pattern of metaphor use conveys to the reader that these incidents of social unrest developed quickly and without warning. It also implies that there was little that could have been done to predict the incident, and very little to prepare for it. The incident occurs, for all intents and purposes, to be an "Act of God." As such, it acts to distance the authorities from any blame for the incident.

Although not as common as the previous two metaphoric patterns, those of "Social unrest is an illness" and "Social unrest is a machine" are also in evidence in these reports. The former pattern is congruent with the metaphor of "the state or organization is an entity" (see below) and appeals to readers to understand that disease must be isolated and removed or cured. Fitting with this metaphor are examples of police

activity as "police operations." Using similar entailments, the latter metaphoric pattern appeals to readers to understand that the "machine" of social unrest is fuelled by one or more catalysts, and maybe stopped if the source of the fuel is isolated or the fuel itself removed.

Event Structure Metaphor

The first component of the event structure metaphor apparent in these texts is that of "The state or organization is an entity." There are 12 examples of this in six of the reports about the Cronulla riots and nine examples in five reports of the French incidents. Examples include *national soul searching*, *Australian values*, *the Australian psyche*, *the continent has awoken*, *France finds itself...*, and *old-world identity*. In assigning identity to a state or organization, it becomes "able" to feel, think, and react. Thus in terms of social unrest, the state or an instrument of the state suffers the "disease" as well as being the entity reacting to the situation of "war" in which they find themselves or to the "natural disaster" that they have experienced. The unrest becomes the problem of the state apparatus, most notably the police. Thus, the state takes responsibility for reacting to the unrest.

Another aspect of event structure metaphor evident in this study is that of "Importance is a physical property." This aspect appears to be far more salient in the reports about the Cronulla riots, with 10 examples in six reports, as compared to only two examples in two reports concerning the incidents in France. I would suggest that there are two reasons for this. The first is that the riots in Australia were not against the state, so ascertaining importance and positioning oneself vis-à-vis the actors and the metaphors of "Australia," "Australian," and "multiculturalism" was key to the intent of the writers. The second is that physical, language, and cultural distance to the actors makes this aspect of the metaphor less salient. Examples of this aspect of the metaphor, including *middle Australia* and *to position themselves at the center of the riots issue* show that the case of position vis-à-vis the actors is of central

concern in this type of text.

In addition, the use of the "Competition" aspect of the event structure metaphor also supports the "Social unrest is war" structural metaphor and the above components of the event structure metaphor, with 10 examples of this aspect in four reports about the Cronulla incidents, and three examples in two reports of the French riots. Examples include *the blame game, all sides are losers, covering up the real state of play*, and *used as pawns*.

Another component of the event structure metaphor in evidence in these texts is that of "Harm." There are 12 examples of this aspect occurring in eight of the Cronulla texts, and six in three of the texts of the French incidents. Examples of this component include *a rampant redneck mentality* and *the fever has spread uncontrollably*. The use of this component supports the structural metaphors of war, illness, and natural disaster through linking human understanding to the shock and horror associated with first or second-hand, real or virtual, experience of the events.

"Difficulties are a container" is another component of the event structure metaphor that occurs frequently in these texts, with 18 examples in 10 of the Cronulla texts, and nine examples in four of the texts of the French incidents. This component of the event structure metaphor expresses difficulties as being a viscous substance held within a container. When the substance is heated, it expands. When it cools, it contracts. In the texts under study, it is manifest in such examples as *trouble erupted, tensions rose again*, and *filled with hatred*. If the container is closed during the heating process, pressure builds until there is an explosion or eruption. The first example, which assumes a closed container, can be seen to support the "Social unrest is a natural disaster" and "Social unrest is a disease" structural metaphors in that a volcano or skin blemish will swell with increased pressure until it erupts or explodes.

The aspect, "Change is motion," is also important in these texts, with 15 examples in nine of the Cronulla reports and six in three of the French

reports. Examples of this aspect of the metaphor include *rushed to judgement* and *jingoism came to the surface.* The examples reflect the focus on movement seen in the structural metaphors of war, disease, natural disasters, and machines, as well as in other aspects of the event structure metaphor.

The aspect, "Caused change of state is control over an entity relative to a location" appears to be more salient to cases of social unrest against the state, reflected by there being 10 examples in six reports of the riots in France, as compared to only four examples in three reports of the Cronulla disputes. Examples of this aspect include *riots drew international attention, slowly pushed out police presence,* and *rioting has become embroiled in the political succession war.*

The "Action is control over possessions" aspect of the event structure metaphor is also important in supporting the structural metaphors in these texts. In reports of both the French and Cronulla incidents, there are five examples in three texts of each. In the example of *fresh violence,* the metaphor of "Social unrest is a disease" is supported. Similarly, the example of *multiculturalism is alive and well* further supports the important aspect of the event structure metaphor, "The state or organization is an entity."

Although not as prevalent as other aspects of the event structure metaphor, "External events" and "External conditions are climate" also play a role in supporting the conceptualization of these texts. There are four incidents of the former aspect in two of the Cronulla reports, and two of the French reports. Examples include *a tidal surge of intolerance, shame rises like surf of childhood,* and *a steady stream* [of customers]. This aspect supports the "Social unrest is a natural disaster" metaphor. There are six examples of the latter aspect in five of the Cronulla reports and two in two of the French reports. Examples include *a day of relative calm, a black day,* and *through a fog of inebriation.* Most of these also support, or juxtapose, the "Social unrest is a natural disaster" metaphor.

The final aspect of the event structure metaphor to be discussed is

that of "Time," with 16 occurrences in 10 of the Cronulla reports, and two occurrences in two of the French reports. Examples include *since September 11*, *fuelled by a week-long media build-up*, and *clashes of yesteryear*. The occurrence of this aspect of the event structure metaphor is to be expected in texts of newspaper reports, since they report on local, national, and world events for which time is an integral factor in determining whether the event is newsworthy and in a way as to link the event to contributing factors or similar events that have occurred at different times. However, as is evident by the examples above, the selection of these metaphors also supports structural metaphors such as "Social unrest is war" and "Social unrest is a machine."

Discussion

The patterns of metaphor use in these texts point to the conclusion that there is a systematic use of metaphor according to genre or subgenre. The structural metaphor, "Social unrest is war," is the dominant organizing metaphor for this genre, but it is supported to a lesser degree by the structural metaphors "Social unrest is an illness," "Social unrest is a natural disaster," and "Social unrest is a machine." The use of the various aspects of the event structure metaphor is less predictable. However, it can be seen that the aspects used support the commonly used structural metaphors. Those that are most common in this sampling of texts include "The state or organization is an entity," "Difficulties are a container," "Change is motion", "Harm," and "Competition." Furthermore, variations on use of aspects of event structure metaphor appear to occur with the use of "Importance is a physical property," "Time," and "Caused change of state is control over an entity relative to a location," and may be attributed to factors including whether the social unrest is directed against the state and distance of the publication to the social unrest in terms of time, space, and linguistic and cultural barriers.

The use of these metaphors is not accidental in our culture. This paper shows that the use is systematic and associated with the events and the reporting of the events. The overriding images projected by such reporting are those of real or potential harm to the reader and the morality of the participants. The genre frames the authorities as heroes of the narrative. The effect is to align the reader with the authorities in combating adversity or disease. Voices of the demonstrators are rarely heard in actions against the state, and in conflicts against other citizens, the minority view is often absent. This is expected as a response to the metaphors in the genre: We do not expect to hear the opinions of the enemy in times of war, of the virus in times of disease, of the earth at times of natural disaster, or of the machine when it has run amok.

Lakoff (1996) notes that "Immoral action is action that causes harm, that is, action that deprives someone of one or more of...health, wealth, happiness, strength, freedom, safety, beauty, and so on" (p. 250), and explains that "moral action is seen as bounded movement—movement in permissible areas and along permissible paths. Given this, immoral action is seen as motion outside of the permissible range, as straying from a prescribed path or transgressing prescribed boundaries" (p. 257). Social unrest is seen through the use of metaphors as being immoral. It is described through the metaphors of war, natural disaster, and the spread of disease as transgressing moral boundaries. Like an amoral machine, it is difficult to stop. It harms the health of the state, the wealth of the citizens, and the "happiness, strength, safety, beauty, and so on" (p. 250) of the nation.

The reactions of the authorities are justified through the choice of metaphor: combat with those involved in social unrest, police operations against participants, and stemming the supply of fuel to the machine. Each of the metaphors implies a different response, with those of war and disease being the most aggressive. The use of the natural disaster metaphor clearly removes the authorities from blame for the event, and again implies a different response.

Implications for further research

The reporting of a different event using a different subgenre of reports, such as the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize, will necessitate the use of different metaphors. It is difficult to imagine how metaphors of war or disease, for example, would enter the narrative of the award of a prominent prize. The same is true for the "Harm" component of the event structure metaphor.

The patterns associated with all subgenres are yet to be documented. However, the role of metaphor as an essential element of genre appears to be clear in terms of the reporting of social unrest. Further analysis of a wide range of subgenres of news reports and over the broader range of genre is necessary before theorizing the broader patterns of metaphoric use in English. Such research will further our understandings of how events are culturally constructed and perceived, and how actions are decided. Historical analyses of changes in genre and metaphoric patterns may also prove relevant to current issues in a number of fields, such as the *constructed fear* vs. *emergent fear* debate in the study of the *Culture of Fear*.

Implications for the language classroom

I have written elsewhere

> ...in demonstrating to learners how language choices are actualized through the ways that key vocabulary and grammatical structures associated with a particular genre interact with the who, what, where, when, how, and why of the text in terms of situation and context, the relationship between culture and language can be directly addressed. (Bradford-Watts, 2003, p. 11)

In approaching the teaching of genre in the language classroom, metaphor should be considered to be one of the components of *key vocabulary* that needs to be taught. Learners can begin to see patterns in the use of structural metaphors easily, and these should be addressed exlicitly. The event structure metaphor is much more complex, and apart from pointing to examples of components of the metaphor that support the structural metaphors in a majority of samples, the teacher should avoid any mention of it in all but the most advanced EFL classrooms.

Language teachers wishing to teach the role of metaphor as part of a genre approach will need to ascertain the salient metaphors in a particular text type. Samples should be collected and analyzed. Helpful in this endeavor is the *Master Metaphor List* (Lakoff, Espenson, & Schwartz, Eds., 1991). The results of such investigations should be written up and shared with fellow teachers and researchers in order to further our understanding of both the patterns of use and the link between language and thought. This will contribute to satisfying the need of an informed approach and methodology to the teaching of genre and metaphor in the language classroom.

Conclusion

This study of metaphors in the reporting of social unrest has revealed the prevalence of the structural metaphors of war, natural disaster, illness, and machine supported by the "State or organization as an entity," "Harm," "Container," and "Change is motion" components of the event structure metaphor. An analysis of the ways in which these metaphors are used has pointed to the control exercised by the state and its institutions in framing events that occur during periods of social unrest in order to influence public opinion and, especially in the Cronulla texts, issues of national identity.

Moreover, this study reveals a pattern of metaphor use across a sub-

genre. It is clear that in terms of analysis and teaching, metaphors associated with a specific genre should be explicitly addressed as one aspect of salient vocabulary within the scope of genre studies. Further research will need to identify the patterns of metaphor use in various genres and subgenres as well as suggesting ways in which these may be taught.

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Appendix: Links to Sampled News Reports
The Cronulla texts

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