METAPHORS IN U.S. SAME-SEX MARRIAGE DISCOURSE: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY

Mr. Pongbodin Amarinthnukrowh

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY
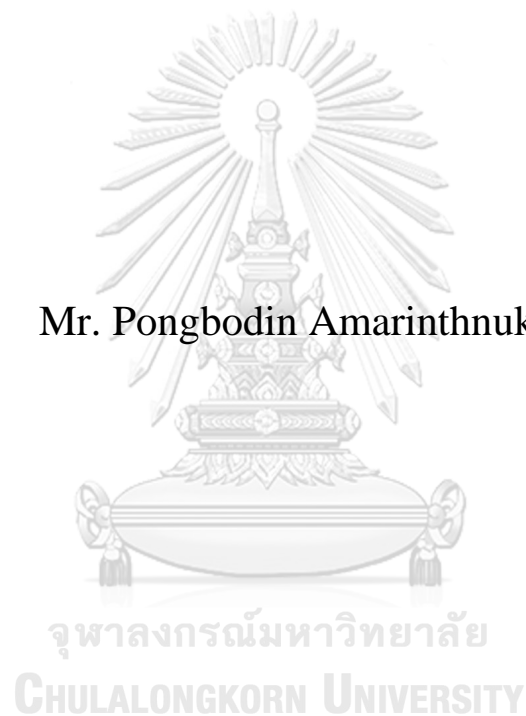
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อุปลักษณ์ในวาทกรรมการแต่งงานของคนเพศเดียวกันในสหรัฐอเมริกา: การศึกษาตามแนว
ภาษาศาสตร์คลังข้อมูล

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วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาอักษรศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต
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ลิขสิทธิ์ของจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

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Thesis Advisor   Assistant Professor PAVADEE SAISUWAN, Ph.D.

Accepted by the FACULTY OF ARTS, Chulalongkorn University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Master of Arts

.... Dean of the FACULTY OF ARTS
(Associate Professor SURADECH CHOTIUDOMPANT, Ph.D.)

THESIS COMMITTEE

.... Chairman
(Associate Professor Raksangob Wijitsopon, Ph.D.)
.... Thesis Advisor
(Assistant Professor PAVADEE SAISUWAN, Ph.D.)
.... External Examiner
(Kachen Tansiri, Ph.D.)

พงษ์บดินทร์ อัมรินทร์นุเคราะห์ : อุปลักษณ์ในวาทกรรมการแต่งงานของคนเพศเดียวกันใน
สหรัฐอเมริกา: การศึกษาตามแนวภาษาศาสตร์คลังข้อมูล . (METAPHORS IN U.S. SAME-
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งานวิจัยนี้จึงมุ่งหวังที่จะศึกษารูปแบบของอุปลักษณ์ที่ใช้ในวาทกรรมการแต่งงานของคนเพศเดียวกันในอเมริกาเพื่อ
เข้าใจถึงการใช้อุปลักษณ์ในการสร้างความขัดแย้งเกี่ยวกับประเด็นการแต่งงานของคนเพศเดียวกัน ดังนั้นผู้วิจัยจึงสร้างคลังข้อมูล
เฉพาะทางที่ประกอบด้วยข่าวจำนวน 254 บทความที่ตีพิมพ์ในปี 2015 ผู้วิจัยวิเคราะห์อุปลักษณ์ด้วยทฤษฎีอุปลักษณ์เชิง
มโนทัศน์และทฤษฎีการผสานมโนทัศน์เพื่อให้การวิเคราะห์ครอบคลุมทั้งอุปลักษณ์ที่ใช้เป็นแบบแผนและอุปลักษณ์ที่เกิดขึ้น
ใหม่ ผู้วิจัยวิเคราะห์อุปลักษณ์ที่ใช้เป็นแบบแผนด้วยทฤษฎีอุปลักษณ์เชิงมโนทัศน์และวิเคราะห์อุปลักษณ์ที่เกิดขึ้นใหม่ด้วย
ทฤษฎีการผสานมโนทัศน์ ผลการวิจัยพบว่ามีอุปลักษณ์เด่น 8 ประเภทได้แก่ กลุ่มครอบครัวอุปลักษณ์ที่เกี่ยวกับการแข่งขัน อุป
ลักษณ์สถานที่-โครงสร้างเหตุการณ์ อุปลักษณ์เชิงภววิทยา อุปลักษณ์ตึกและการก่อสร้าง อุปลักษณ์ศาสนาและสิ่งเหนือ
ธรรมชาติ อุปลักษณ์อาชญากรรม อุปลักษณ์แสงสว่างและความมืด และอุปลักษณ์โรคและความเจ็บป่วย กลุ่มคนที่สนับสนุน
การแต่งงานของคนเพศเดียวกันใช้กลุ่มครอบครัวอุปลักษณ์ที่เกี่ยวกับการแข่งขันเพื่อเน้นความไม่เท่าเทียมทางสังคมหรือให้
กำลังใจซึ่งกันละกัน ส่วนกลุ่มคนที่ต่อต้านใช้อุปลักษณ์ประเภทนี้เพื่อแสดงว่าฝั่งตนเองเป็นผู้ปกป้องความชอบธรรม ในขณะที่
อุปลักษณ์สถานที่-โครงสร้างเหตุการณ์ไม่ปรากฏในวาทกรรมของผู้ต่อต้านการแต่งงานของคนเพศเดียวกัน กลุ่มผู้สนับสนุนใช้
อุปลักษณ์ประเภทนี้เพื่อเน้นความยากลำบากและความพยายามเพื่อให้ได้ผลลัพธ์ที่คุ้มค่า อุปลักษณ์เชิงภววิทยาเป็นอุปลักษณ์
พื้นฐานที่นำไปสู่การสร้างอุปลักษณ์ที่ซับซ้อนขึ้น ได้แก่ อุปลักษณ์ตึกและการก่อสร้างและอุปลักษณ์ศาสนาและสิ่งเหนือ
ธรรมชาติ ส่วนอุปลักษณ์อาชญากรรม อุปลักษณ์แสงสว่างและความมืด และอุปลักษณ์โรคและความเจ็บป่วยนั้นใช้เพื่อเพิ่ม
มุมมองในแง่ลบต่อสิ่งที่พูดถึง

สาขาวิชา	ภาษาศาสตร์	ลายมือชื่อนิสิต	....
ปีการศึกษา	2563	ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก	....

This research aims to investigate metaphorical patterns in the US legalization of same-sex marriage discourse to shed light on how metaphor is employed to conceptualize same-sex marriage controversies. To this end, a specialized corpus which contains 254 news articles published in 2015 was compiled. The metaphorical expressions in the corpus were analyzed with both "Conceptual Metaphor Theory" (CMT) and "Conceptual Blending Theory" (CBT) to cover not simply the pedestrian uses of metaphors, but also the wild and creative expressions. Specifically, while conventional metaphors were analyzed following the CMT traditions, novel metaphors were analyzed through the lens of blending. The results of this study show that the same-sex marriage controversy is construed primarily by 8 types of metaphors, namely the COMPETITION MF, the Location ESM, ontological, Building/Construction, Religion and the Supernatural, Crime, Light and Darkness, and Disease/Illness metaphors. The supporters of same-sex marriage utilize the COMPETITION MF to highlight social inequity and struggles the LGBT people are facing and empower one another, whereas the opponents use this type of metaphors to construe themselves as a protector of righteousness and construct the opposing side as a violent, harmful group of people. While the Location ESM is absent from the discourse of the opponents of same-sex marriage, it is employed by the supporters to highlight the struggle and efforts toward achieving worthwhile goals. Ontological metaphors function mostly as building blocks for more complex metaphorical expressions. The Building/Construction and the Religion and the Supernatural metaphors are mainly an extension of ontological metaphors. And the Crime, Light and Darkness, and Disease/Illness metaphors are utilized to add negative viewpoints toward the target concepts.

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

On June 26, 2015 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on the legalization of same-sex marriage case, pronouncing it to be legal nationwide after more than four decades of various movements and attempts. This landmark ruling can be regarded as one of the most important social movements of our generation since it symbolically overcame social, religious, and political barriers to accept the marriage between people of the same sex.

On the very same day, Barack Obama, the then President of the United States, joined the celebration of this event on Twitter by writing:

> Today is a big step in our march toward equality. Gay and lesbian couples now have the right to marry, just like anyone else. #LoveWins (NOW corpus 3387828)

Even a cursory glance at Obama's tweet suffices to say that metaphor plays a pivotal role in the conceptualization of the ideas conveyed in this text. Here, equality is portrayed as a physical location where we can enter or move toward ('march toward equality'); calling for marriage equality as a long and arduous journey ('a big step' and 'march'); the right to marry as an object that one can possess ('have the right to marry'). More importantly, the hashtag itself ('#Lovewins') is metaphorical: love is

conceptualized as a person who takes part in a sort of antagonistic situation and fights for a victory or, in this case, for marriage equality.

At this point an important question must be raised: how and why are metaphors used in the expression and conveyance of ideas? In the late twentieth century, the two towering figures in Cognitive Science named George Lakoff and Mark Johnson shed light on this bafflement with their most resonant publication called *Metaphor We Live by* (1980). The gist of this publication lies on an assertion that metaphors play a central role in defining our everyday realities since our conceptual system is metaphorical in nature. In the light of this, the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is therefore very much a matter of metaphors. Crucially, the reason why we can metaphorically conceptualize one thing in terms of another is on the grounds that we have conventional patterns of thought, known as conceptual metaphors, entrenched in our mental lexicon.

Nonetheless, the linguistic data contributes to Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory (henceforth CMT), is randomly collected in a relatively small fashion as 'the main proponents of CMT mostly rely on artificially constructed examples to support that claim' (Semino, 2008). This casts doubt on the validity of the claims made in CMT literature since it raises two important issues: (a) what counts as adequate evidence for the existence of conceptual metaphors in our lexicon and (b) to what extent can the metaphorical expressions gained by introspection be trusted? Being aware of these weaknesses, a number of scholar (for example Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2004; Musolff, 2004; Deignan, 2005; Semino, 2008)

have turned to the discourse approach and the corpus-based approach to metaphor analysis to avoid the common pitfalls shared among conceptual metaphor theorists.

Unlike conceptual metaphor theorists, discourse analysts conduct their research based on 'naturally occurring language use: real instances of writing or speech which are produced and interpreted in particular circumstances and for particular purposes' (Semino, 2008: 1). By examining discourse data, researchers are able to not only make claims on the basis of the authenticity of linguistic data, but also extend their scope of emphases from merely conventional metaphorical patterns in a particular language or languages to include motivations behind particular metaphorical choices and patterns in a particular text, genre, and discourse. In addition, the discourse approach to the study of language reveals another crucial aspect that linguistic choices – metaphors included – are mainly governed by the text-producer's rhetoric aim of persuasion (Charteris-Black, 2004: 247). From this perspective, metaphors are scarcely neutral since there must be some particular communicative intent behind conceptualizing one thing in terms of another. Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) offer a more thorough insight into the non-neutrality of metaphors, claiming that metaphors are inevitably concerned with the transfer of viewpoints since 'metaphorical mappings crucially involve mapping not just objects and qualities and relations, but also inferences about causes, results, and other aspects of the structure of the two [conceptual structures]' (39). In this regard, metaphors are also ideological[1] in nature and as a consequence central to Critical Discourse

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[1] The term 'ideology' – or 'ideological' – is problematic as it is used in social and linguistic research in a number of different ways. The definition of 'ideology' I adopt here is 'the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group. This means that ideologies allow

Analysis, which is a branch of Applied Linguistics focusing on the relationship between language and society, especially on how language produces and/or reinforces ideology, identity, and inequality (Hart, 2011: 13).

It seems that both Cognitive Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis underpin different but related strong claims. Cognitive Linguistics theorizes 'the study of language, conceptual systems, human cognition, and general meaning construction' (Fauconnier 2006). Critical Discourse Analysis concerns the role of discourse in constructing social inequalities and 'presupposes an account that relates discourse structures to social cognition, and social cognition to social structures' (van Dijk, 1993: 280). Although these claims sound plausible, how do we truly understand our conceptual systems, our cognition, social cognition, and the relations among them? In other words, what is the proof of the validity of these claims? One of the various ways to provide empirical evidence in support of linguistic research is to consult language corpora. So, this is the point when metaphor researchers begin to integrate the corpus-based approach into their methods of analysis[2].

The corpus-based approach to the study of language concerns the use and manipulation of large amounts of data. This approach helps researchers recognize the big picture of what they are studying since they can look at hundreds of words or texts, rather than looking at just one or two. In addition, this approach enables researchers to measure statistical significance, so that they can test what they are

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people, as group members, to organize the multitude of social beliefs about what is the case, good or bad, right or wrong, for them and to act accordingly' (van Dijk, 1998: 8)

[2] It must be noted that the chronological order presented here is for the case of metaphor research only. The use of corpus methods to carry out Critical Discourse Analysis is, however, not a novel practice (see, for instance, Baker, 2006; 2008; and Stubbs ,1994).

seeing and make more concrete claims as a consequence. Also, by examining a large number of texts, systematic patterns of language can be identified, allowing researchers to draw some generalizations on language, the way humans think, and the relation between these two.

Traditionally, the corpus-based approach to metaphors is done by concordancing the pre-selected list of lexical items. Researchers have to consult several thesauri to compile a list of lexical items in the source and/or the target domains being studied. This pre-determined list, then, is used as search strings in finding metaphorical expressions (See, for example, Charteris-Black, 2004; Deignan, 2005; and Musolff, 2004). However, Hardie *et al*. (2007) and Koller *et al*. (2008) see the flaw of this method: its limitation to the search strings. As a result, they suggest that semantic annotation software should be applied to enable a more open-ended search. The integrated approach combining the corpus linguistic methods with semantic annotation software is, at the current state, the most effective means in corpus-based approaches to metaphor analysis. Noticing the advantages, this study will follow Hardie *et al*. (2007) and Koller *et al*.'s (2008) suggestions and utilize semantic annotation software in a search for metaphorical expressions as a consequence.

Although a combination of the cognitive approach and corpus-assisted discourse analysis seems to be a useful synergy which can provide better insights into metaphor research, this combined approach still triggers a theoretical debate in the house of cognitive linguists. Having looked closely at a large amount of naturally-occurring data, corpus-assisted critical discourse analysts found that metaphorical

expressions can be more or less conventional. Viewed in this light, CMT which is a perfect apparatus for conventional metaphorical patterns, seems to fall out of usefulness when researchers aim to investigate 'novel metaphors' coined by the text-producer to suit his or her communicative intent. To this end, some scholars (see, for example, Hart, 2008) suggest that another framework for metaphor analysis available within Cognitive Linguistics, called Conceptual Blending Theory (hereafter CBT) by Fauconnier and Turner (2002), is a more suitable tool for analyzing metaphors in discourse.

Having had prior experience in researching both CMT and CBT (see for example Amarinthnukrowh, 2019; Chaiwat et al., 2018, 2020), I found that the two theories can fit together and complement each other in a useful way. Thus, I decided not to use my Master Thesis as a battlefield and pursue this academic rivalry any further. Rather, my true intentions here are emphasizing what Dancygier (2016) has suggested and carrying it forward to illustrate on how a competing view of CMT and CBT is nothing but a pure mistaken perception. According to Dancygier (2016), arguing which theory has better or more analytical benefits over the other is not a very helpful quest. What is needed, in fact, are justifications for using a particular theory to account for a metaphorical expression in a particular discourse situation. To come up with such justifications, nonetheless, a comparison between CMT and CBT must be drawn to see bigger pictures of both frameworks.

On the one hand, both theories share a similar mechanism in describing meanings – projecting aspects of meaning from one conceptual structure to another. On the other hand, they differ in the scope of emphasis. CMT focuses on conventional

uses of metaphors, whereas CBT focuses mainly on novel expressions created in a particular discourse. CMT is therefore an appropriate tool when analysts aim to examine 'a broad understanding of how a [metaphorical] thought pattern affects the ways to discuss an issue, construe a problem, [and] draw inferences… in a specific discourse genre', while CBT is a suitable choice 'when a creative [or novel] term is used to encapsulate a rich and complex combination of meanings for the purposes of current expression' (Dancygier, 2016: 34-35).

However, this is not of course to say that CBT is merely restricted to the analysis of novel metaphors. Although blends are often novel, they can be entrenched and become conceptual structures shared throughout the community (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002: 49). More importantly, there are four sub-types of blends, and one sub-type called 'single-scope blends' are, as Dancygier (2016) suggested, conceptual metaphors. In this regard, CBT is in fact applicable to all kinds of metaphors. However, why are CBT not popularly used for the analysis of conventional metaphors? In other words, what makes CMT a more common and natural choice when it comes to conventional metaphors? My answer is that it is not economical to use CBT to account for conventional metaphors. To make this clearer, we have to consider another difference between CMT and CBT, which is numbers of conceptual structures (whether they are called domains or inputs) required.

Under CMT, metaphor is a conceptual mapping between two conceptual domains, allowing speakers to talk about one thing in terms of another. Metaphorical expressions such as *'He attacked every weak point in my argument.'*, *'I've never won an argument with him.'*, and so forth can be put across using the ARGUMENT IS WAR

conceptual metaphor. The violent and antagonistic aspects of the source domain WAR is mapped onto the target domain ARGUMENT to conceptualize a hostile verbal conflict between two opposing parties which can eventually lead to a victory or a defeat. By positing two conceptual domains and the aspects being transferred, it suffices to explain these conventional metaphorical expressions since the patterns of thinking of argument in terms of war have already been conventionally used and, probably, neurally-wired in our conceptual system. As a consequence, there is no need to explain the whole conceptualization process of these conventional metaphorical expressions. What really matters instead is to draw a connection between metaphorical expressions and the schema, or the conceptual metaphor, they derive from.

CBT, on the other hand, is by a large a theory of online meaning construction. It accounts for the conceptual operations performed during discourse (Hart, 2008). From this perspective, if the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor is explained by using CBT, a conceptualization process illustrating how this metaphor is construed must be described in detail, including the conceptual structures involved, the similarities they share, the elements projected, meanings created as a result of the process, and emergent structures arisen in the blend. To simplify the representation of the process, meaning constructions are normally explained in a form of diagrams, known as 'blending diagrams.' The blending diagram for the conceptualization of argument in terms of war can be presented briefly as in Figure 1.1.
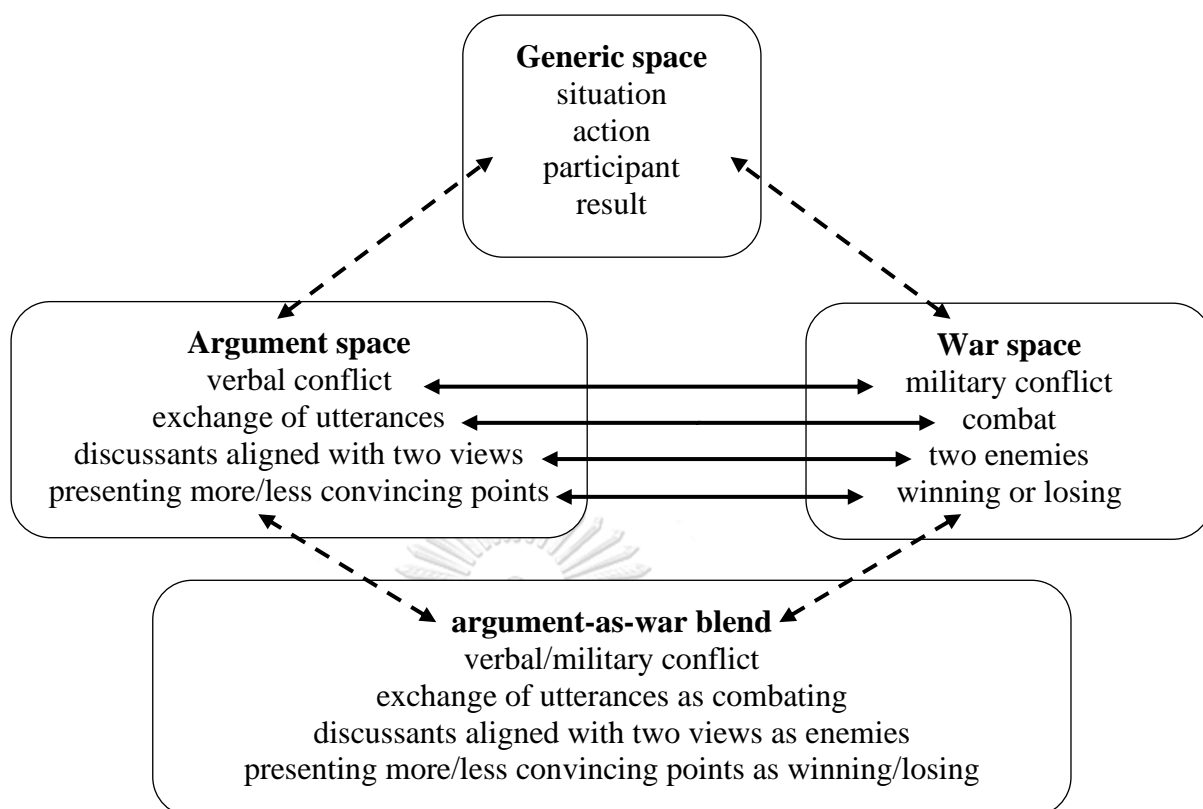
Figure 1.1   The argument-as-war blend (adapted from Dancygier, 2016: 33)

In case of this blend, there are two input spaces involved: the argument space and the war space. These two spaces can be mapped onto each other because they share some particular structures captured in the generic space. Then, elements from both inputs project onto the blended space, constructing the argument-as-war blend and its internal metaphorical patterns. Once the argument-as-war blend is frequently created, the blend itself can become conventional, causing the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor to become entrenched in our conceptual system.

Comparing the two methods of analyses used to account for the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor, it is quite obvious that CMT is much more economical than CBT since we already have the schematic mappings in our conceptual system, allowing us to skip some conceptualization processes. However, this is only for the case of

conventionalized metaphors. When we encounter novel metaphors, we have to decipher, as discourse unfolds, the ways in which two conceptual structures map onto each other, along with the motivation behind them in order to interpret the meaning of the creative expression in question. In this case, CBT becomes an appropriate apparatus, whereas CMT begins to fall out of usefulness.

Having compared the two theories, it is quite apparent that if I choose CMT as the only framework for analyzing the U.S. same-sex marriage discourse, I will be bound to miss important aspects of novel metaphorical expressions. However, if I decide to base my analysis on merely CBT, my M.A. Thesis will be unnecessarily thick since I have to draw hundreds of blending diagrams. Thus, in order to cover both types of metaphorical expressions and to be economical at the same time, I opt for a mixed, adaptive method by examining conventional metaphorical expressions following the CMT traditions and investigating creative or novel metaphorical expressions by using CBT.

Returning to same-sex marriage discourse, previous studies on this type of discourse are mainly concerned with the construction of homosexual identities, the heteronormative ideology, the invisibility of homosexuality in discourse, attitudes toward the homosexual and same-sex marriage, and the conceptualizations of homosexuality and homophobia in general (see, for example, Bachmann, 2011; Baker, 2005; Hackl *et al*., 2012; Love and Baker, 2015; and Turner *et al*., 2018). The number of studies in metaphors and such discourse in proportion of the overall studies in the discourse in question is, nevertheless, extremely small – or perhaps zero. The most relevant research may be Koller (2004)'s observations on how the WAR, the

SPORT, and the GAMES metaphors are employed to marginalize women and position them as an out-group in the realm of business.

From these perspectives, I aim to investigate metaphors in the discourse on the legalization of same-sex marriage in the United States through the lenses of Cognitive Linguistics, Corpus Linguistics, and Discourse Analysis to fill the knowledge gaps in the studies of same-sex marriage discourse, especially the ways in which metaphors are utilized in the conceptualization of the same-sex marriage controversy. Ultimately, I also aim to function my M.A. Thesis as an insightful example of how to make use of the mix, adaptive methods suggested in analyzing both conventional and novel metaphorical expressions in discourse.

1.2 Objectives

This study primarily aims:

1.2.1   to identify metaphorical expressions in web-based news articles on the legalization of same-sex marriage in the United States; and

1.2.2   to investigate the conceptualization of the same-sex marriage controversy by means of metaphorical strategies utilized by the text-producer of the discourse in question.

1.3 Hypotheses

This study makes the following hypotheses:

1.3.1 The WAR metaphor is ubiquitous and has conceptual links to other types of metaphors in the U.S. same-sex marriage discourse.

1.3.2 Metaphors contribute to the construction, reinforcement, and attenuation of the same-sex marriage controversy.

1.4 Scope

The scope of this study is restricted to:

1.4.1 news articles on the legalization of same-sex marriage in the United States in 2015 extracted from The NOW (News on the Web) corpus (Davies, 2013);

1.4.2 the construction of the same-sex marriage controversy through the use of merely metaphorical strategies.

1.5 Contributions

This study contributes to:

1.5.1 the application of the cognitive approach to metaphors and corpus-assisted discourse analysis to the studies in same-sex marriage discourse;

1.5.2   the cognitive approach to figurative language studies by providing the

mixed, adaptive method which can enable researchers to gain better

descriptions of figurative language.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Same-sex marriage in the United States

"No union is more profound than marriage, for it embodies the highest ideals of love, fidelity, devotion, sacrifice, and family…It would misunderstand these men and women to say they disrespect the idea of marriage. Their plea is that they do respect it, respect it so deeply that they seek to find its fulfillment for themselves. Their hope is not to be condemned to live in loneliness, excluded from one of civilization's oldest institutions. They ask for equal dignity in the eyes of the law. The Constitution grants them that right. The judgment of the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit is reversed. It is so ordered."

(*Obergefell v. Hodges*, 2015: 28)

This is what victory looks like. A Reagan-appointed Justice Anthony Kennedy wrote the above excerpt on June 26, 2015 to conclude the US Supreme Court's decision to make same-sex marriage legal nationwide. On that day we could observe crowds in the streets and in the bars displaying jubilation. And social media sites were awash in rainbow flags. Although this ruling made thousands of people feel overjoyed, the road toward this pure delight was by no means easy and pleasant. The fight over equal marriage has emerged since 1971. In 1971, Michael McConnell and Jack Baker, a same-sex couple, applied for a marriage license from Blue Earth County, Minnesota.

However, the clerk refused to issue a arriage license for them. This led to *Baker v. Nelson* case as the couple filed suit to force those being responsible to issue the marriage license. In the end, the Minnesota Supreme Court decided that construing a marriage statute to restrict marriage licenses to people of the opposite sex does not offend the U.S. Constitution. They claimed that "the institution of marriage as a union of man and woman, uniquely involving the procreating and rearing of children within a family, is as old as the book of Genesis" (quoted in Stoddard, 1993: 400). Therefore, McConnell and Baker's wish was not granted. And throughout the 1970s, 15 states passed laws to explicitly define marriage as simply a union between a man and a woman (Chauncey, 2005).

Another significant case of pre-2015 developments that reflected a culmination of triumphs for LGBT equality at every level is *Romer v. Evans* (1996). *Romer v. Evans* is the first Equal Protection Clause victory by LGBT plaintiffs in the U.S. Supreme Court. Richard Evans and his friends brought suit to enjoin an amendment to the Colorado Constitution that prevents protected status under the law for homosexuals or bisexuals. As a result of this attempt, the Supreme Court of Colorado decided to overturn the state constitutional amendment in Colorado, saying that it was not rationally related to a legitimate state interest.

Although 1996 was a great year for LGBT social movements due to *Romer v. Evans*, it was also a year that the activists encountered one big obstacle. President Bill Clinton signed into a law called The Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA). This law defined marriage for federal purposes as the union of one man and one woman, and allows states to refuse to recognize same-sex marriages granted under the laws of

other states. However, with various attempts, in the 2013 Edith Windsor sued the federal government to overturn Section 3 of DOMA, which denied federal recognition of same-sex marriages. In the end, District Judge Barbara S. Jones ruled that Section 3 of DOMA was unconstitutional (*United States v. Windsor*, 2013).

United States v. Windsor eventually led to *Obergefell v. Hodges* in 2015. *Obergefell v. Hodges* is a landmark civil rights case in which the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that the fundamental right to marry is guaranteed to same-sex couples by both the Due Process Clause and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution (*Obergefell v. Hodges*, 2015: 22-23). *Obergefell v. Hodges* is related to the first case of same-sex marriage, which is *Baker v. Nelson*, since the main purpose of this ruling is to overturn *Baker v. Nelson* and require all states to issue marriage licenses to same-sex couples and recognize same-sex marriages validly performed in other jurisdictions.

From the brief history of the legalization of same-sex marriage in the United States presented in this sub-section, we could see that this topic is controversial can full of conflicts. In the next sub-section, I will outline the theory of metaphor to help the reader see why a controversial topic like the legalization of same-sex marriage should be examined through the lens of metaphor.

2.2 Conceptual metaphor theory and its criticisms

Broadly speaking, metaphors are 'the phenomenon whereby we talk and, potentially, think about something in terms of something else' (Semino 2008: 1). For the narrower

sense inside the realm of literature, metaphors refer to a kind of poetic devices used to make literary works more imaginative, vivid and expressive. Consider Dickinson's "Over the fence –" below to shed light on the role of metaphors in literature.

> Over the fence —
>
> Strawberries — grow —
>
> Over the fence —
>
> I could climb — if I tried, I know —
>
> Berries are nice!
>
> But — if I stained my Apron —
>
> God would certainly scold!
>
> Oh, dear, — I guess if He were a Boy —
>
> He'd — climb — if He could!

Even a cursory glance at Dickinson's "Over the fence –" suffices to say that this literary work is governed mainly by metaphors such as '*fence*', '*strawberries*', and '*apron*'. Clearly, the 'fence' here refers to an obstacle preventing the speaker to do something which is forbidden (stealing strawberries from the opposite side of the fence). The interpretation of 'strawberries', nevertheless, is fairly unclear. One possible reading might be concerned with sexuality as prompted by the image of red stains on the apron, suggesting that this topic was more restricted for women than men in Dickinson's culture. Another possible reading might concern Dickinson's career as a female writer which was forbidden in the nineteenth-century American society. This interpretation arises from the image of climbing, together with the information provided in the poem that boys are allowed to climb while girls are not.

What really is the true interpretation intended by Dickinson is still unknown. Nevertheless, what we can see from this poem is the power of metaphors in literary analysis since only a few metaphorical uses can provide the rhetorical flourish and deep, profound messages of the whole poem. In short, metaphors, from this view, are a matter of extraordinary language used to embellish literary works and therefore not pervasive in our everyday language.

In the late twentieth century, however, new insights toward the concept of metaphors have been introduced by the two towering figures in cognitive semantics named George Lakoff and Mark Johnson with their resonant publication – *Metaphors We Live by* (1980). Lakoff and Johnson claim that the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphors as we tend to understand the more abstract concepts in terms of the more concrete ones. Importantly, metaphors are also conceptual in nature since they play a crucial role in defining our everyday realities. To get clearer pictures, consider the STATE IS PHYSICAL LOCATION metaphorical pattern reflected in expressions such as '*James is in trouble*', '*We are in debt*', '*The country is at war*', '*She is on the verge of madness*', '*The blouse is on sale*', etc. (Evans 2015: 36-37). The concepts of STATE here are metaphorically understood in terms of PHYSICAL LOCATION – as suggested by the prepositions '*at*', '*in*', and '*on*'. Literally speaking, there is no way for a human being to really stay inside '*trouble*' or '*debt*', In this light, the above expressions are undeniably metaphorical. Yet, at first glance, some may not notice that these sentences contain metaphorical bases. This is unsurprising, however, since these expressions are generated from the STATE IS PHYSICAL LOCATION metaphorical pattern

which is so highly conventional and, possibly, entrenched in our conceptual system that sometimes we might not easily figure their figurative roots. Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) and other cognitive metaphor theorists refer to this conventional type of metaphorical patterns as conceptual metaphor – 'a unidirectional relation between two conceptual domains (the source domain and target domain) which sets up links (mappings) between specific elements of the two domains' structures. A conceptual connection of this kind may be further reflected in metaphorical expressions, linguistic usages of source-domain forms to refer to corresponding aspects of the target domain' (Dancygier and Sweetser 2014: 14). To see that we do indeed talk about the target domain in terms of the source domain, let us consider some of the classic examples from Lakoff and Johnson's (1980).

ARGUMENT IS WAR

Your claims are *indefensible*.

He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

His criticisms were *right on the target*.

I *demolished* his argument.

I've never *won* an argument with him.

You disagree? Okay, *shoot*!

If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*.

He *shot down* all of my arguments.

TIME IS MONEY

You're *wasting* my time.

This gadget will *save* you hours.

I don't *have* the time to *give* you.

How do you *spend* your time these days?

That flat tire *cost* me an hour.

I've *invested* a lot of time in her.

I don't *have enough* time to *spare* for that.

You're *running out* of time.

You need to *budget* your time.

Put aside some time for ping pong.

Is that *worth your while*?

Do you *have* much time *left*?

He's living on *borrowed* time.

You don't *use* your time *profitably*.

I *lost* a lot of time when I got sick.

LOVE IS JOURNEY

Look *how far* we've come.

We're *at the crossroads*.

We'll just have to go *our separate ways*.

We can't *turn back* now.

I don't think this relationship is *going anywhere*.

Where are we?

We're *stuck*.

It's been *a long, bumpy road*.

This relationship is *a dead-end street*.

We're just *spinning our wheels*.

Our marriage is *on the rocks*.

We've *gotten off the track*.

This relationship is *foundering*.

IDEAS ARE OBJECT

It's hard to get that idea *across to* him.

I *gave* you that idea.

Your reasons *came through* to us.

When you *have* a good idea, try to *capture* it immediately in words.

MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN

The number of books printed each year keeps *going up*.

His draft number is *high*.

My income *rose* last year.

The amount of artistic activity in this state has gone *down* in the past year.

The number of errors he made is incredibly *low*.

His income *fell* last year.

He is *under*age.

If you're too hot, turn the heat *down*.

The above examples lead us to the three important aspects of metaphors inside conceptual metaphor theory (henceforth CMT): unidirectionality, embodiment, and systematicity. Conceptual metaphor theorists make an observation that metaphorical mappings are unidirectional –from the source to the target, but not vice versa. This is

because the target concept tends to be more abstract, lacking physical characteristics and therefore more difficult to understand and talk about in their own terms. The source domain, on the other hand, tends to be more concrete and more graspable. (Evans and Green 2006: 296-298) As a result, describing the target (abstract) concept in terms of the source (more concrete) concept can enable us to understand the abstract concept better.

However, Dancygier and Sweetser's (2014) cast doubt on the asymmetry in concreteness of metaphorical mappings since 'concrete and abstract are fuzzy and complex terms' (72) and may not be helpful in comparing the source and the target. For instance, how can we be certain that the concept of WAR is more concrete than ARGUMENT when, in fact, war is just an abstract state of contention between two opposing (political) sides. In this regard, Dancygier and Sweetser suggest that 'the concrete/abstract contrast in metaphors is really about more or less intersubjectively accessible domains' (65). Returning to the ARGUMENT IS WAR conceptual metaphor, the notion of conflict inside the WAR domain is so common that almost everyone knows the correlation between war and conflict – so conflict in the WAR domain is intersubjectively accessible. As a result, when the language-user wants to highlight antagonistic atmosphere in verbal communication, which may not be shared, common experience among his or her interlocutors, the WAR domain is therefore a perfect source for metaphorically construing the ARGUMENT concept in order to serve the his or her communicative intent.

Another facet of conceptual metaphors reflected from the above examples is experiential embodiment. According to Kövecses (2010: 325), some 'conceptual

metaphors are grounded in, or motivated by, human experience. The experiential basis of metaphor involves just this groundedness-in-experience. Specifically, we experience the interconnectedness of the two domains of experience, and this justifies for us conceptually linking the two domains. Consider the MORE IS UP and the LESS IS DOWN conceptual metaphors as our example here. It is quite apparent that there is a correlation in experience between quantity and verticality since 'when the quantity or amount of a substance increases (MORE), the level of the substance rises (UP) and when the quantity of the substance decreases (LESS), the level of the substance goes down (DOWN)' Kövecses (2010: 80). Due to the existence of the experiential-based conceptual metaphors, expressions which reflect the correlation in experience such as '*My income rose last year*' seem natural and comprehensible, while expressions such as '*Jane kept filling my glass down with wine*' sound anomalous as – based on our everyday experience – MORE and DOWN are not correlated.

Lastly, conceptual metaphors are made up of sets of well-established and systematic mappings between the source and the target. Consider the mappings of the LOVE IS JOURNEY conceptual metaphor presented briefly in Table 1 as an example.

Table 2.1   Mappings for love is journey (Adapted from Evans, 2015: 40)

JOURNEY (source)	mappings	LOVE (target)
travelers	⟶	lovers
forward movement	⟶	events in the relationship
crossroads	⟶	choices
obstacles	⟶	problems
destination	⟶	goal of the relationship

This systematic set of metaphorical mappings, which is stored in our long-term memory, then gives rise to a systematic set of metaphorical expressions like '*Look how far we've come*', '*We're at the crossroads*', '*We'll just have to go our separate ways*', '*We can't turn back now*', and so on. In short, the systematicity of conceptual does not exist only in the level of mappings, but also in the relation between conceptual metaphors and metaphorical expressions (or linguistic metaphors).

Although Lakoff and Johnson's CMT is convincing and unarguably considered the cutting edge of figurative language research, it seems that Lakoff and Johnson still fail to foresee an inevitable counter-argument which can utterly rock the foundations of their argument: any claim on the degree of conventionality and the level of entrenchment must be confirmed by investigating frequency data. The linguistic data contributes to the study of CMT, however, is randomly collected in a relatively small fashion as 'the main proponents of CMT mostly rely on artificially constructed examples to support that claim' (Semino, 2008: 10), and this therefore casts doubts on the validity of the claims made in CMT literature. Being aware of these weaknesses, a number of scholar (for example Charteris-Black, 2004; Deignan, 2005; Koller, 2004; Musolff, 2004; and Semino, 2008) have turned to the discourse approach and the corpus-based approach to metaphor analysis to avoid the common pitfalls shared among conceptual metaphor theorists.

2.3 The critical discourse approach to metaphor analysis

Unlike conceptual metaphor theorists, discourse analysts who work on metaphors conduct their research based on 'naturally occurring language use: real instances of writing or speech which are produced and interpreted in particular circumstances and for particular purposes' (Semino 2008: 1). By examining discourse data, researchers are able to not only make claims on the basis of the authenticity of linguistic data, but also extend their scope of emphases from merely conventional metaphorical patterns in a particular language or languages to include motivations behind particular metaphorical choices and patterns in a particular text, genre, and discourse. In addition, the discourse approach to the study of language reveals one crucial aspect of linguistic choices, metaphors included: linguistic choices are mainly governed by the text-producer's rhetoric aim of persuasion (Charteris-Black, 2004: 247). From this perspective, metaphors are scarcely neutral since there must be some particular communicative intent behind conceptualizing one thing in terms of another. Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) offer a more thorough insight into the non-neutrality of metaphors, claiming that metaphors are inevitably concerned with the transfer of viewpoints since 'metaphorical mappings crucially involve mapping not just objects and qualities and relations, but also inferences about causes, results, and other aspects of the structure of the two [conceptual structures]' (39). In this regard, metaphors are ideological in nature and as a consequence central to Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter CDA), which is a branch of Applied Linguistics focusing on the relationship between language and society, especially on how language produces and/or reinforces ideology, identity, and inequality (Hart 2011: 13).

In the realm of CDA, language and society are held to exist in a dialectical relation: language 'is socially shaped, but it is also socially shaping, or constitutive' (Fairclough 1995: 131). In other words, language reflects the social structures of its speakers (so it is 'socially shaped'), but at the same time it also plays a crucial role in forming and reinforcing beliefs or values shared among members of the society ('socially shaping'). To make this point clearer, consider the italicized expressions in the sentence (1) below.

(1)   One of the activists invited by Mr . Pence said *homosexuality was " treatable"* and supports so-called *"therapy" sessions intended to change gay people's sexual orientation.* (3156372)

In the late nineteenth century, there was a new wave of theories viewing homosexuality as a sort of pathology. In the early twentieth century, this homosexuality-as-illness theory started to lose its popularity when Sigmund Freud, an Austrian neurologist and the founder of psychoanalysis, and Havelock Ellis, an English physician, argued that homosexuality is not a disease. Rather, it is inborn – according to Ellis – or shaped by our experience – according to Freud (Herek 1997-2012). However, since the majority of people nowadays does not share the homosexuality-as-illness theory, how can this idea still be reflected in a modern discourse as in (1)? One of the possible answers to this question links back to Fairclough's ideas on the relationship between discourse and society. The fact that the discourse in (1) expresses the ideology that homosexuality is a disease suggests that this view of homosexuality is still dominant in some groups of people, and it in some way influences or shapes the way people in those groups view the world. Also, since

people in those groups share this same ideological worldview, whenever they discuss this matter, they – through their language use – reinforce and maintain this ideology to be held to exist in the community as a consequence. Viewed in this light, language and society are, thus, in a two-way relationship, and they are mediated by ideology which is part of what van Dijk refers to as social cognition or 'the system of mental representations and processes of group members' (van Dijk, 1995: 18). The dialectical relation between language and society can be diagrammatically presented as in Figure 2.1.
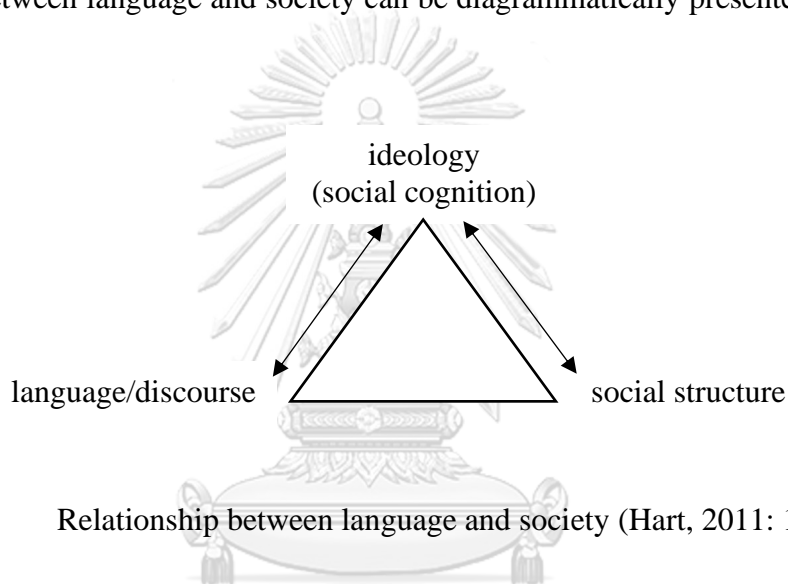
Figure 2.1   Relationship between language and society (Hart, 2011: 15)

This dialectical relation between language and society leads us to a discussion of the goal of CDA. Since language and society are mediated by social cognition, social problems – including social inequalities or negative worldviews toward particular people or groups of people – created with the assistance of the ideology shared among group members may not, therefore, be immediately apparent or easily noticeable as they have been concealed and normalized through repeated instantiations in discourse (Fairclough 1995). From this perspective, the core of CDA is thus to address social problems by 'denaturalizing' and 'demystifying' opaque ideological worldviews to raise critical consciousness among people in the society

(Reisigl and Wodak 2001). By doing so, CDA practitioners have to illuminate the role that language plays in creating and sustaining ideology, identity, and social inequality (Hart, 2014).

At this point, one crucial question must be raised: why do a large number of the researchers undertaking CDA have to investigate metaphorical uses in discourse (see, for instance, Charteris-Black 2004; Hart 2008; Koller 2004; Musolff 2004; Semino 2008, etc.)? As discussed earlier that metaphors are a matter of conceptualization which are non-neutral, ideological, and 'viewpointed', they are in this light 'vital in creating a representation of reality' (Charteris-Black, 2004: 28), and become one of the tools for the construction, the reinforcement and the attenuation of ideology, identity, and social inequality accordingly. To elaborate this point, I would like to draw the reader's attention back to (1) where homosexuality is metaphorically construed as DISEASE/ILLNESS by the text-producer's uses of '*treatable*' and '*therapy*'. By construing homosexuality as a sort of curable illnesses, the text-producer is able to not only reinforce an ideology that being a homosexual is an anomaly or a mental condition, but also indirectly contribute to the demonization of homosexuality. Based on our experience, when we are not feeling well, we will find a way such as taking some medicine or seeing a medical practitioner in order to get rid of physical discomfort or pain. This kind of experience can lead to a hostile view toward illnesses, and this hostility is transferred from the DISEASE/ILLNESS source domain to the target domain of homosexuality through the use of metaphor in this discourse situation. Crucially, the demonization of homosexuality here is only made possible by the text-producer's exploitation of a metaphorical strategy. Without the transfer of

viewpoints which is an inherent mechanism of the metaphorical meaning construction, it would be more difficult (or even impossible) for the text-producer to economically and esthetically convey the same ideological message as he or she has to further develop the discourse with several more literal sentences. In this respect, metaphors are, thus, worth examining through the lens of CDA as they have a unique and essential role in addressing social problems.

Although the discourse approach to metaphor analysis enables researchers to overcome the criticism against CMT that metaphor researchers do conduct their research based on authentic data, it still has some possible weaknesses that we should concern:

> …the qualitative and interdisciplinary nature of CDA can sometimes mean that it is difficult to adequately carry out a detailed analysis on large amount of texts. As a result, CDA needs to guard against making generalizations based on having chosen, by accident or design, to analyze unrepresentative texts…Thus, [CDA] would benefit from being backed up by rigorous methodological techniques that can starve off criticisms regarding researcher subjectivity resulting in a biased analysis.

> (Baker and McEnery 2014)

Accordingly, many CDA practitioners have turned to corpus-assisted discourse analysis to present systematic, rigorous, and less subjective analyses of data.

2.4 The corpus-assisted approach to metaphor

Corpus linguistics can be described roughly as 'the study of language based on examples of real-life language uses' (McEnery and Wilson, 2001: 1) which utilizes bodies of electronically encoded representative samples of text. The corpus-based approach helps researchers recognize the big picture of what they are studying since they can look at hundreds of words or texts, rather than looking at just one or two. In addition, this approach enables researchers to measure statistical significance, so that they can test what they are seeing and make more concrete claims as a consequence. Viewed in this light, though implementing a more quantitative methodology, corpus-based research cannot be characterized as a pure qualitative technique as it actually depends on both quantitative and qualitative techniques (Baker 2006: 1-2).

Returning to metaphor analysis, the corpus-based metaphor research is a brilliant example of how corpus methods work best when quantitative and qualitative approaches interact. Charteris-Black (2004: 34) asserts more on this point saying:

Both quantitative and qualitative approaches are necessary for the investigation of metaphor. Qualitative judgements are necessary initially to establish what will be counted as metaphor. Then quantitative analysis can allow us to measure the frequency of a metaphor in a corpus and to estimate the extent to which a particular metaphorical sense of a word form has become conventionalized. Corpora can provide us with insight into the conventional metaphors that has become accepted in particular areas of intellectual enquiry,

thereby providing us with insight into the cognitive characteristics of this domain

Traditionally, the corpus-based approach to metaphors is done by concordancing the pre-selected list of lexical items. Researchers have to consult several thesauri to compile a list of lexical items in the source and/or the target domains being studied. This pre-determined list, then, is used as search strings in finding metaphorical expressions (See, for example, Charteris-Black 2004; Deignan 2005; and Musolff 2004). However, Hardie *et al*. (2007) and Koller *et al*. (2008) see the flaw of this method: its limitation to the search strings. As a result, they suggest that semantic annotation software should be applied to enable a more open-ended search.

The automatic semantic annotation software which has been used widely is the USAS (UCREL Semantic Analysis System) semantic tagger (Wilson and Thomas 1997). The USAS semantic tagger is embedded in the web-based software called Wmatrix (Rayson 2008). When the corpus is uploaded using the tag wizard in Wmatrix, the whole corpus will be automatically annotated at part-of-speech – with CLAWS tagger – and semantic levels. In addition, Wmatrix also provides standard reference corpora (such as the BNC Sampler spoken corpus, the BNC Sampler written corpus, the British English 2006 corpus, the American English 2006 corpus, and so forth) for keyness analysis. Thus, by comparing the corpus in question to a reference corpus at semantic level, for instance, researchers can obtain semantic domains which are statistically significant to the corpus in question. In the quest of metaphors, researchers can then perform a concordance analysis of each semantic domain. In this

regard, metaphor research done by utilizing semantic annotation software can reduce researchers' biases when determining what it is that will be searched for in the corpus and enable researchers to analyze the corpus without limitation to the search strings.

Despite some obstacles in using electronic corpora in metaphor research which include misidentifying or overlooking relevant metaphorical expressions, extensive manual reworking, and the disproportionate amount of time required for compiling, combining, and comparing corpora (Koller, 2006), the integrated approach combining the corpus linguistic methods with semantic annotation software is, at the current state, the most effective means in corpus-based approaches to metaphor analysis. Noticing the advantages, this Master's Thesis will utilize semantic annotation software in a search for metaphorical expressions as a consequence.

Although a combination of the cognitive approach and corpus-assisted discourse analysis seems to be a useful synergy which can provide better insights into metaphor research, this combined approach still triggers a theoretical debate in the house of cognitive linguists. Having looked closely at a large amount of naturally-occurring data, corpus-assisted critical discourse analysts found that metaphorical expressions can be more or less conventional. Viewed in this light, CMT which is a perfect apparatus for conventional metaphorical patterns, seems to fall out of usefulness when researchers aim to investigate 'novel metaphors' coined by the text-producer to suit his or her communicative intent. To this end, some scholars such as Hart (2008) and O'Halloran (2007) suggest that another framework for metaphor analysis available within Cognitive Linguistics, called Conceptual Blending Theory

(hereafter CBT) by Fauconnier and Turner (2002), is a more suitable tool for analyzing metaphors in discourse.

2.5 Conceptual blending theory

Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT) – a development of Fauconnier's (1994) Mental Space Theory[3] – is by a large a theory for online meaning construction. It accounts for various conceptual operations, metaphors included (Hart 2008). The essential claim of CBT is that:

> conceptual packets (mental spaces or frames, here called inputs) can be activated in a person's mind by verbal as well as nonverbal prompts and integrated into a new conceptual configuration (called a blend) to construct new meanings as discourse develops. The conceptual structure of the blend, while relying on projection from the inputs, achieves its own coherence by selecting only the relevant parts of the inputs and by compressing vital relations such as time, causation, or identity…The blend is characterized by its own structure (emergent structure), but can then become an input to another blend, or series of blends.

> (Dancygier 2012: 32)

The blending processes mentioned above can be depicted in a form of diagrams as illustrated in Figure 2.2 where mental spaces are represented by circles; elements within the spaces are represented by points; cross-input mappings are

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[3] Mental spaces are 'small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action' (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 40)

represented by solid lines; and projections between the inputs and the generic space, on the one hand, and between the inputs and the blend, on the other hand, are represented by dotted lines.
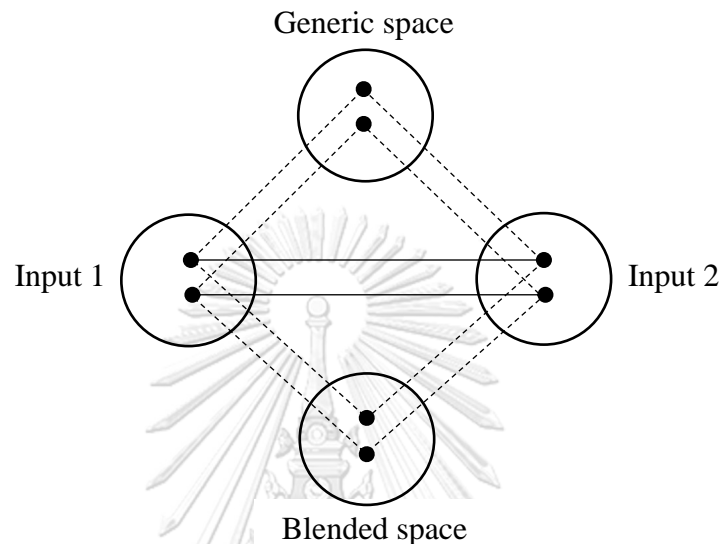
Figure 2.2   Basic diagram for conceptual blending network

In Figure 2, there are (at least) four mental spaces involved in blending operations: two input spaces (roughly defined as being similar to the source and the target in CMT), a generic space (a mental space capturing shared elements between the inputs), and a blended space – a mental space containing not only elements from the inputs, but also specific emergent elements which do not exist in any input. While the diagram in Figure 2 is a static illustration of the blending operation, it should be noted, as Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 46) stress, that such a diagram 'is really just a snapshot of an imaginative and complicated process'.

There are four types of blends: simplex blends, mirror blends, single-scope blends, and double-scope blends. In this sub-section, I will go over these four types of

blends one-by-one. The first type of blend or the simplex blend 'involves a space which provides an input frame, and another space which provides fillers for the roles in that frame' (Dancygier and Sweetser 2014: 90). In the light of this, role-value mappings are important and very common for the simplex blend. To elaborate, let us consider the brilliant example from Dancygier and Sweetser (2014): '*Hillary was Bill Clinton's First Lady*'. Obviously, the frame of the U.S. Presidency, which is one of the inputs, involves in the meaning construction of the above sentence. In this frame, apart from the role of the U.S. President, a special role for the President's wife – the First Lady – is also evoked. These two roles also profile a second input (the marriage frame) since the President can be profiled as a husband, and the First lady as his wife. With these roles, the two values – Bill Clinton and Hillary Clinton – are then mapped onto these roles to complete the meaning construction of '*Hillary was Bill Clinton's First Lady*' as illustrated in Figure 2.3. It should be noted that the analysis of '*Hillary was Bill Clinton's First Lady*' is far from being metaphorical or figurative. This is not unusual since CBT is an apparatus accounting meaning construction in general – whether they are literal or figurative.
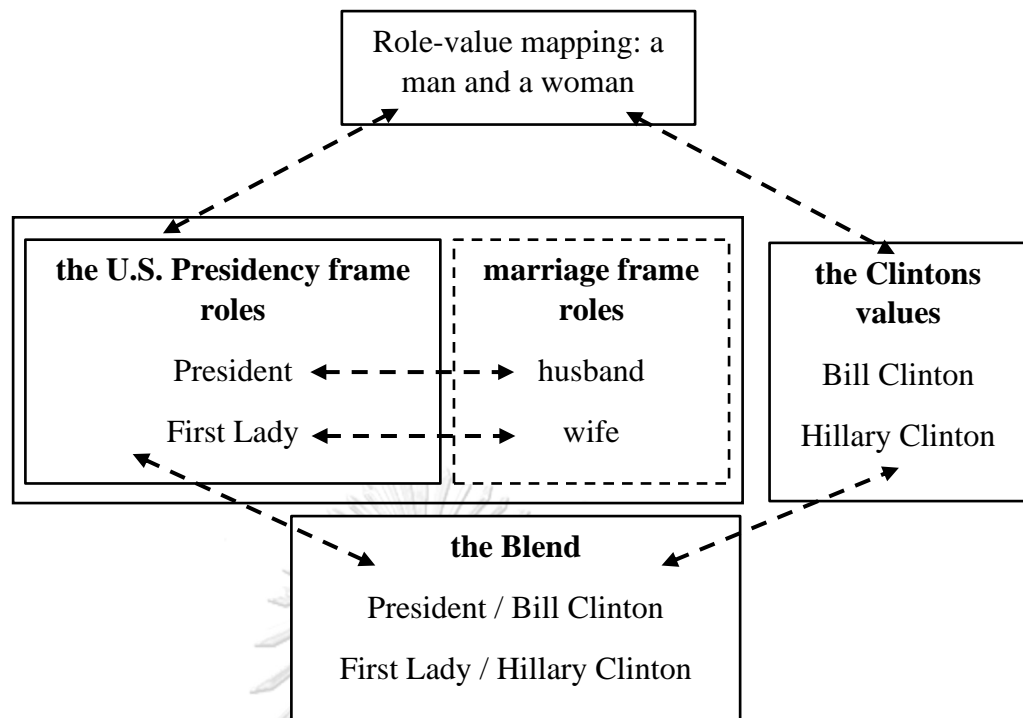
Figure 2.3   The '*First Lady*' blend (Dancygier and Sweetser 2014: 91)

Of all blending operations, there are also instances where the inputs are structured by the same organizing frame; these are known as mirror blends – the second type of blending network. The classic example of the mirror blend is Fauconnier and Turner (2002)'s analysis of the Buddhist Monk riddle which was originally presented by Arthur Koestler's *The Act of Creation*. The Buddhist monk riddle is as follows:

> 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 dawn when he begins to walk back to the foot of the mountain, which he reaches at sunset. Make no assumptions about his starting or stopping or about his

pace during the trips. *Riddle: Is there a place on the path that the monk occupies at the same hour of the day on the two separate journeys?*

To construct this unreal situation, we need two inputs: one for the upward journey and the other for the downward journey. Crucially, these two inputs share the same organizing frame – traveling up and down the mountain, so the whole blending operation is a mirror blend. The blend selects the mountain slopes, moving individuals, and the moving directions. These elements are then projected into the blend, resulting in the same single mountain slope and two individuals who are moving in opposite directions, starting from opposite ends of the path. With the emergent structure of two people walking on a path in opposite directions, we can now run the blend to get an idea of the Buddhist Monk meeting himself at the same hour of the day on the two different journeys. The mirror blend for the Buddhist Monk riddle can be presented briefly as in Figure 2.4.
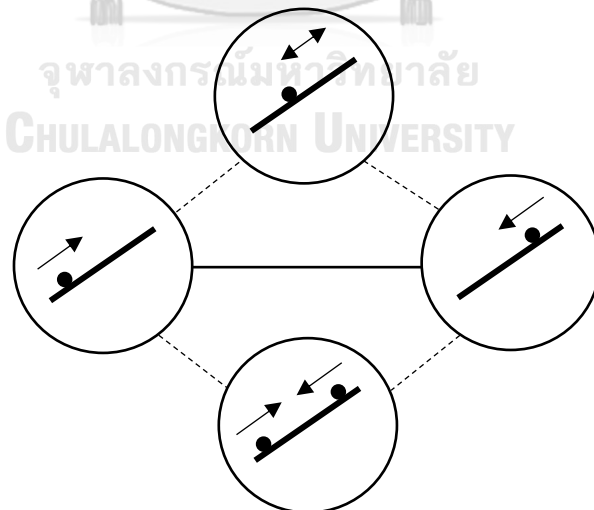
Figure 2.4   The Buddhist Monk blend (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 43)

The third type of blend, or the single-scope blend, is a blend 'where one of the two inputs provides the primary organizing frame for the blend, and thus determines the basic blend structure' (Dancygier and Sweetser 2014: 87). According to Dancygier (2016), the unidirectional conceptual metaphors discussed in CMT literature are in fact pretty the same as metaphors constructed by single-scope blends. This is unsurprising since the definitions of both conceptual metaphors and the single-scope blend have already provided us some glimpses of the similarities. Conceptual metaphors are, again, defined as unidirectional mappings from the source to the target. This is similar to the single-scope blend where only one organizing frame (the organizing frame of the source domain) governs the structure of the whole blend. As a result, metaphorical patterns constructed in the blended space is in fact conceptual metaphors

At this point, one might argue that the single-scope blend cannot be similar to conceptual metaphors since blends are constructed online as discourse develops, while conceptual metaphors are conventionalized and entrenched in our mental lexicon. According to Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 49), although blends are often novel, they can be entrenched and become conceptual structures shared throughout the community. Thus, when the metaphorical blends are frequently used that they become entrenched, they also become conventional metaphorical patterns known widely in the realm of CMT as conceptual metaphors.

The final type of blends is the double-scope blend, 'where the inputs are structured by different organizing frames, but one single frame does not provide the organizing structure for the blend. Instead, both frames contribute to the blended

organizing structure' (Dancygier and Sweetser 2014: 93). One vivid example of the double-scope blend is Grady *et al*. (1999)'s famous novel metaphor – '*This surgeon is a butcher.*' – which metaphorically means the surgeon is incompetent in what he is doing. Nonetheless, where does the notion of incompetence come from? If we interpret this metaphorical expression with a single-scope blend, are we going to say that incompetence is inherent in the domain of BUTCHERY? I believe everyone would agree that a butcher, though less prestigious than a surgeon, is competent in his job, so incompetence is not from the BUTCHERY domain. Then, if the notion of incompetence does not come from both BUTCHERY and SURGERY, then how can this concept occur in the overall meaning of the metaphorical expression? Grady *et al*. (1999) shed light on this bafflement using the double-scope blend. In this blending network, there are two inputs involved: the butchery input and the surgery input. The blend selects the goal of performing a surgery (healing) from the surgery input, but at the same time chooses the means from the butchery input. The incongruity of the surgeon's goal and the butcher's mean eventually leads to the inference that the surgeon is incompetence (as no surgeon can successfully treat his or her patients by severing their flesh from their bones). The blending diagram can be drawn briefly as in Figure 2.5. Note that the generic space is omitted to simplify the diagram.
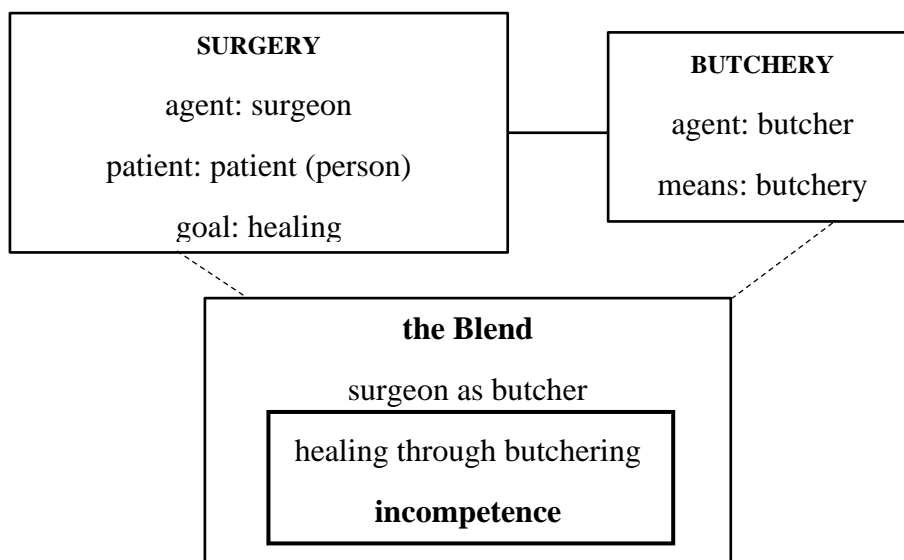
Figure 2.5   The surgeon as butcher blend (Adapted from Grady *et al*. 1999: 105)

The surgeon as butcher blend is clearly a double-scope blend since both BUTCHERY and SURGERY contribute to the organizing frame of the blend. Having discussed all four types of blends, it is worth noting that metaphors are mainly a product of either the single-scope blend or the double-scope blend. Mirror and simplex networks are typically used to account for other forms of meaning construction. This is of course not to say that the simplex and the mirror blends will have no roles in analyzing metaphors. As a blend can become an input for another blend in a series of a megablend – a blend that consists of multiple layers – it is therefore possible that the simplex or the mirror blends are required (as inputs for another blend) in the construction of the whole metaphorical megablend.

CHAPTER III

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I provide a detailed account of the data and methods used in this study. The first part of the chapter (sections 3.1 and 3.2) outlines an overview of my corpus data, a description of how the data was compiled, and the corpus tools and techniques employed. The second half of the chapter (sections 3.3 and 3.4) focuses on the processes and procedures for identifying metaphorical expressions and the criteria in classifying the types of metaphorical expressions.

3.1 Collecting the data

As the U.S. Supreme Court pronounced same-sex marriage to be legal nationwide on June 26, 2015, the data this empirical approach to metaphor study is based on is thus online newspaper and magazine articles published in 2015. In order to examine the overall metaphorical patterns people used when discussing the legalization of same-sex marriage in the U.S., cherry-picking random texts or investigating only a small number of articles is not a good practice. To draw generalizations about metaphorical patterns being used, however, a representative sample of text is required.

To this end, I decided to compile a specialized corpus on the U.S. legalization of same-sex marriage (hereafter the US-LSM corpus). This corpus is a collection of relevant texts extracted from the News on the Web (NOW) corpus[4] (Davies, 2013), which contains around 6. 5 billion words of text from online newspapers and

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[4] For further information, see https://corpus.byu.edu/now/

magazines in 20 different English-speaking countries from 2010 to the current time. The composition of the NOW corpus is shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1   Composition the NOW corpus (retrieved September 2, 2018)

Country	Websites	Texts	Words
United States	12,932	1,484,115	1,122,633,101
Canada	1,795	1,442,420	957,769,816
Great Britain	4,435	1,391,262	895,485,206
India	1,319	1,568,927	845,407,591
Australia	1,370	910,848	552,904,051
Ireland	471	989,943	512,267,807
South Africa	481	856,707	453,320,925
Nigeria	259	738,007	381,276,797
New Zealand	383	649,209	338,374,070
Singapore	371	657,256	314,598,872
Malaysia	227	618,929	278,029,285
Philippines	422	484,335	235,523,508
Pakistan	322	475,853	223,288,713
Kenya	155	277,437	119,303,289
Ghana	113	275,781	119,209,492
Sri Lanka	138	78,641	44,599,312
Jamaica	21	73,575	39,172,072
Bangladesh	62	71,647	34,018,356
Hong Kong	183	63,192	30,591,608
Tanzania	26	20,022	9,566,126

Although this study concerns the U.S. legalization of same-sex marriage, I by no means wish to restrict the scope of the US-LSM corpus to merely the articles published in the United States. Consequently, upon the compilation of the US-LSM corpus, I decided to include all of the relevant articles – whether they were published in the U.S. or not – to see a broad picture of this issue. It should be noted that this study does not aim to observe metaphor variations across these 20 English-speaking countries. All relevant articles were collected in one specialized corpus without

annotating and analyzing their origins. In this regard, the whole NOW 2015 sub-corpus was uploaded to Antconc[5], a freeware corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis (Anthony, 2014). Three search terms namely same-sex marriage*, gay marriage*, and homogam* were entered to sort through the whole corpus for relevant articles. The reason why I used these three search terms is because the topic of the purpose-built corpus is regarded with the legalization of same-sex marriage. Thus, using "same-sex marriage" and its synonyms seems to be a helpful way to compile a corpus.

Importantly, it should be noted that not all articles containing the search term words were selected since some of them are irrelevant to the topic in question despite having the search term words. For instance, the term 'gay marriage' was found in an article on abortion, suggesting that the two are equally bad and should be banned. To avoid the problem of irrelevancy, all articles were checked manually to find only the texts concerning the U.S. legalization of same-sex marriage.

Following the above procedure, the US-LSM corpus which contains 254 articles of 197,385 words was finally composed. Figure 3.1 provides an overview of the US-LSM corpus.

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[5] Available for free download at http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/
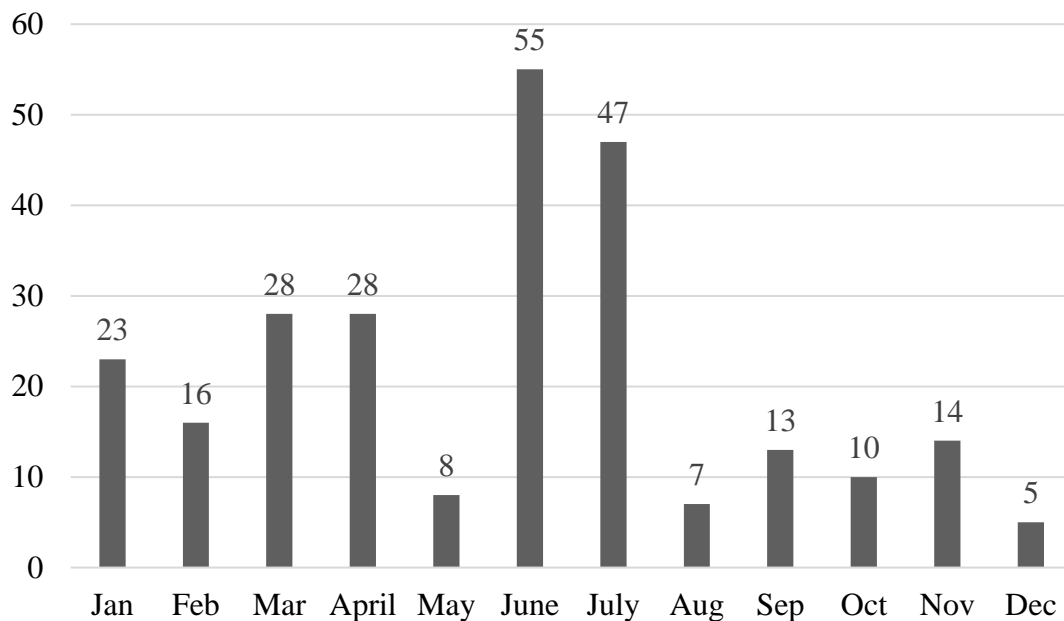
Figure 3.1   Composition of the US-LSM corpus

As the figure shows, the articles in June and July comprise almost half of the US-LSM corpus. This is not surprising as these two months were around the time of the legalization. Another interesting point about the US-LSM corpus is that there were more articles from the first half of 2015 than those from the second half of 2015. This is because during the first half of 2015 people kept debating whether same-sex marriage should be legalized or not. Yet, once it was legalized, most of the articles containing the search term words in the NOW corpus were concerned with other countries discussing whether they should follow the U.S. and legalize same-sex marriage. Based on the research questions of this study, I had to exclude those articles as they are irrelevant to situation in the U.S. And that explains why there were fewer articles from the second half of 2015. In addition, there were fewer than 10 articles in May, August, and December – 8, 7, and 5 articles respectively. At first, I believed that I must have found plenty of articles in May as it was the month before the month of

the legalization. Nevertheless, it appeared that May was the month when the Irish Supreme Court ruled that same-sex marriage was legal nationwide. Thus, most of the articles in May were dedicated to describe the situation in Ireland. August, on the other hand, was the month we can observe the global impact of the U.S. legalization of same-sex marriage. Almost 90 percent of the articles in this month was about a debate on the appropriateness of other countries following the U.S. and legalizing same-sex marriage. For December, the majority of the articles containing the search term words were recapitulations of the major incidents in 2015. Based on the purpose of the US-LSM corpus, most articles from May, August, and December were excluded from the corpus accordingly.

Having described my corpus compilation processes and the composition of the US-LSM corpus, it is time to turn to the corpus tools and techniques utilized to help find metaphorical expressions.

3.2 Using the USAS semantic tagger and Wmatrix

After compiling the US-LSM corpus, the next step is to search for metaphorical expressions. Admittedly, it would have been time-consuming and prone to human errors if I had manually read through the whole corpus to do such a task. Hence, I opted for corpus-based techniques and tools to help make this drudgery more manageable.

The first corpus tool employed in this study is the UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS) (Wilson and Thomas, 1997), which is an automatic annotation program used to analyze words and multi-word expressions at the semantic level. The

lexicon of the USAS consists of 232 fine-grained semantic tags. These tags are arranged in a hierarchical taxonomy with 21 major discourse fields based on *Longman Lexicon of Contemporary English* (McArthur, 1981). The 21 major domains at the top of the USAS taxonomy are shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2   The 21 major domains at the top of the USAS taxonomy

A	General and abstract terms
B	The body and the individual
C	Arts and crafts
E	Emotion
F	Food and farming
G	Government and public
H	Architecture, housing and the home
I	Money and commerce in industry
K	Entertainment, sports, and games
L	Life and living things
M	Movement, location, travel, and transport
N	Numbers and measurement
O	Substances, materials, objects, and equipment
P	Education
Q	Language and communication
S	Social actions, states, and processes
T	Time
W	World and environment
X	Psychological actions, states, and processes
Y	Science and technology
Z	Names and grammar

The USAS semantic tagger is embedded in a web interface developed at Lancaster University called Wmatrix[6] (Rayson, 2008). Wmatrix is a software tool for corpus analysis and comparison which provides the USAS semantic tagger, a program called CLAWS (Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-tagging System) which carries out the part-of-speech (POS) tagging, reference corpora for key analysis, and tools for standard corpus linguistic methodologies such as frequency lists and concordances.

In search of metaphorical expressions, the US-LSM corpus was uploaded to Wmatrix so that the whole corpus could be annotated at the semantic level. Subsequently, the annotated US-LSM corpus was compared to the BNC Sampler Written Informative corpus (779,027 words) to find statistically significant domains being characteristic of the observed corpus. The composition of the BNC Sampler Written Informative corpus is presented in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3   Composition of the BNC Sampler Written Informative corpus

Genres	Words
Pure science	32,974
Applied science	117,685
Social science	29,868
World affairs	277,128
Commerce and finance	92,057
Arts	51,645
Belief and thought	43,626
Leisure	134,044
Total	779,027

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[6] Available at http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/wmatrix/

At this point the readers may wonder why I chose the BNC Sampler Written Informative corpus as the reference corpus. While the US-LSM corpus is a collection of written (journalistic) texts, the whole BNC Sampler corpus contains both spoken and written materials. In this light, comparing the US-LSM corpus with the whole BNC Sampler corpus is highly problematic since speech and writing are two different modes of communication. Still, comparing the purpose-built corpus with the whole BNC Sampler Written corpus is also problematic. The BNC Sampler Written corpus is comprised of two major genres which are imaginative and informative texts. Imaginative texts (drama, poetry, and prose fiction) are written differently from journalistic texts which aim to provide news and information. As a result, the most suitable corpus for comparison available in Wmatrix is the BNC Sampler Written Informative corpus.

To find statistically significant domains, I compared the purpose-built corpus to the reference corpus by utilizing the log-likelihood significance statistic for key calculation. Normally, if the statistics show that there is a 99% chance of non-randomness (p < 0.01; 1 d.f.; log-likelihood cut-off of 6.63), then it can be said that the result is significant. However, in this study, I aimed for higher percent chance of non-randomness, so I set the log-likelihood cut-off of 15.13 for 99.99% significance (p < 0.0001; 1 d.f.).

Here, I will briefly describe how to calculate the log-likelihood significance statistic. In case the readers seek for detailed explanations, I recommend the readers read Rayson and Garside (2000). The log-likelihood calculation can be achieved by constructing the contingency table with the tag frequencies as in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4   Contingency table for log-likelihood calculation

	Observed corpus	Reference corpus	Row total
Frequency of a tag	a	b	a + b
Frequency of other tags	c - a	d - b	c + d - a - b
Column total	c	d	c + d

The values 'a' and 'b' in Table 3.4 are called the observed values (O). However, in calculating the log-likelihood (LL) values, the expected values (E) are also required. The E values can be obtained according to the following formula:

$$E_i = \frac{N_i \sum_i O_i}{\sum_i N_i}$$

The value 'c' from Table 3.4 equates the N1, and the value 'd' is N2. Thus, the expected values of the observed corpus (E1) is c * (a + b) / (c + d), and the expected values of the reference corpus (E2) is d * (a + b) / (c + d). It should be noted that the calculation for the expected values takes account of the size of the two corpora, so there is no need to normalize the two corpora before applying the formula. Having gained the expected values, the next step is to calculate the LL values using the following formula:

$$LL = 2 \sum_i O_i \ln \left(\frac{O_i}{E_i} \right)$$

After the calculation, the tag frequency list was then sorted according to the results of the LL values – placing the largest LL value (the most significant relative frequency difference between the two corpora) at the top of the list. There are 76

significant semantic domains in the US-LSM corpus as compared to the BNC Sampler Written Informative corpus. And the top 5 domains are as follows[7]:

1. Relationship: Intimacy and sex (LL 8223.14; 3,049 words)

2. Kin (LL 6988.70; 4,595 words)

3. Law and order (LL 5257.80; 3,807 words)

4. Religion and the supernatural (LL 2875.53; 2,925 words)

5. Government (LL 2014.02; 2,891 words)

It should be noted that these domains are no direct pointers to metaphorically used words or expressions. Koller (2009: 126) asserts that "this is not surprising…as any metaphor source domain would have to be utilized on a massive scale in order to come up as significant when compared to a larger corpus". This is not of course to say that these significant domains are completely useless. One of a few means to conduct a corpus-based approach to metaphor study using a semantic tagger is to generate concordance lines for each tag and analyze them manually. However, even a cursory glance at these domains would suffice to say that they are candidates for metaphorical target domains. As a result, if I analyze the metaphorical expressions from these domains, I will get metaphorical patterns belonging to those target domains – not to the corpus as a whole. One way to avoid this pitfall is to broaden the scope of analysis and investigate all of the significant domains. Theoretically, this may work perfectly as I have to look at almost every single word in the corpus, so the metaphorical patterns found are more likely to be those of the whole corpus. Nevertheless, this method is demanding and by no means practical. Analyzing simply the top 5 domains

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[7] A full list of the significant semantic domains in the US-LSM corpus is provided in the Appendix

(approximately 17,000 concordance lines) would cause me a few months, let alone going through all 76 significant domains. Moreover, the majority of the words in the corpus are supposed to be literal, so it would be a waste of time and energy to perform a concordance analysis of thousands of literal instances occurring in all significant domains.

To this end, I decided to scrutinize just the wordlist of all significant domains and export only the concordance lines of the words which I refer to as *potential metaphorical pointers*. There are the two criteria for determining a word or expression as a potential metaphorical pointer:

1. Consider if that word or expression can possibly express metaphorical senses in that particular context. If yes, mark that word or expression as a potential metaphorical pointer

2. Determine whether that word or expression should appear in the topic of the corpus in question. If it should not (but it somehow occurs in the corpus), mark that word or expression as a potential metaphorical pointer

To illustrate, consider the tag S9 (Religion and the supernatural; LL 2875.53) which contains words such as 'religious', 'church', 'demon', 'Satan', and so forth. It is not surprising for the first two words to occur in the US-LSM corpus due to the fact that the U.S. is a Christian-based society where matrimony is considered religious and normally performed in church. From this perspective, the words 'religious' and

'church'[8] were judged to be non-metaphorical pointers as they are more likely to be non-metaphorical. On the contrary, 'demon' and 'Satan' have less tendencies to be literal as they can be creatively used to metaphorize something as wicked, unethical, and unacceptable. Based on the first criterion, these two words therefore fall under the category of potential metaphorical pointers. In some cases, potential metaphorical pointers are much easier to be tracked down. The tag A1.1.2 (Damaging and destroying; LL 18.10) is a brilliant example to illustrate such cases. Throughout the U.S. history of the LGBTQ movements, there was, to my knowledge, no incident when an individual or a group was literally damaged or destroyed – so this tag should not come up as significant at all. However, as the tag A1.1.2 is somehow one of the key domains of the US-LSM corpus, it can be speculated that the words belonging to this tag are metaphorically used. Looking closely at the wordlist could bolster my speculation to a certain degree. A large amount of words and expressions in the tag A1.1.2 such as 'harm', 'damage', 'devastate', 'tear down' are hard to be imagined as literal in this specialized corpus. In accordance with the second criterion, these words were thus marked as potential metaphorical pointers.

At this point, it should be emphasized that potential metaphorical pointers are merely words and expressions with high tendencies for metaphority. They are far from being perfect indicators of metaphorical expressions. Sometimes they are still literal or even irrelevant in a funny, unpredictable way. For example, at first glance, I was utterly positive that the word 'rotten' which occurs only once in the tag A1.1.2

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[8] I am well aware that the word 'church' has a potential figurative meaning because it is usually used as a metonymy for the ministers of the Christian religion through PLACE FOR INSTITUTION and INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE conceptual metonymies. However, as this study focuses on merely metaphors in the US-LSM corpus, the word 'church' which conveys just a metonymic reading cannot be marked as a potential metaphorical pointer.

(Damaging and destroying) was a definitive metaphorical pointer leading me to a metaphorical expression with some negative ideological messages. When looked at its concordance line, however, the word 'rotten' is part of the name of the website Rotten Tomatoes instead. This reveals that the research methodologies utilized in this study is still subjective and by no means error-free. Yet, as at present there is no tool which can automatically identify both conventional and novel metaphorical expressions, using the semantic tagger to look for potential metaphorical pointers is, in my view, the most effective and time-saving means.

3.3 Identifying metaphors

After gathering a list of potential metaphorical pointers, the next step is to determine whether those pointers are metaphorical. To perform such a task, I employed the well-established Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007)[9]. The procedure is as follows:

1. Read the entire text to establish an overall understanding of the text

2. Determine the unit of analysis

3. For each unit of analysis, establish its contextual meaning and then consider if it has more basic meaning which is more concrete, related to bodily action, and historically older

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[9] The name Pragglejaz is formed by the initials of the first names of ten metaphor scholars: **P**eter Crisp, **R**aymond Gibbs, **A**lan Cienki, **G**erard Steen, **G**raham Low, **L**ynne Cameron, **E**lena Semino, **J**oseph Grady, **A**lice Deignan, and **Z**oltan Kövecses.

4. If the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it, mark that unit of analysis as metaphorical.

Consider, for instance, the use of the word 'flourish' in the following example from the US-LSM corpus.

Example 3.1

As the gay rights movement began to <u>flourish</u> in the years after the Stonewall riots of 1969, states started decriminalizing same-sex intimate relations. (3393116)

The contextual meaning of 'flourish' in Example 3.1 could be expressed as 'to increase in number'. This meaning is different from the more basic meaning of the word, which is described in the *Macmillan Online Dictionary* as 'to grow well and be healthy' (Macmillan Dictionary Online, 2018). Following the MIP, this meaning must be considered more basic since it is historically older, related to bodily action and, in a way, more concrete. Importantly, the contextual meaning can be understood via a comparison with the basic meaning. When a plant grows well and becomes healthy, it of course must be bigger in terms of height, or perhaps weight as well. Thus, when we conceptualize something abstract – in this case the gay rights movement – as a living organism by providing it an ontological status along with transferring the viewpoint of growing up to it, we can metaphorically understand its increased popularity and acceptance as flourishing as a consequence.

Obviously, the MIP is not a ready-to-use method: it requires the researchers to add some explicit components to their analyses. For example, what is considered the

unit of analysis, what is the point of reference when deciding what counts as a more basic meaning, what are *a priori* exclusions (if any) in determining what should be treated as metaphorical, and so forth. In this study, the additional components are as follows:

1. The unit of analysis in this study is at the level of individual words since the nodes of the concordance lines are words and multi-word expressions that the program reads as single words. Nevertheless, I am well aware that metaphorically used words can be part of metaphorical phrases and some particular constructions such as the Comparison Construction. In such cases, however, the unit of analysis will be at the level of the whole construction (I will explain this point later on in this chapter when I discuss the identification of similes).

2. I used the *Macmillan Online Dictionary* as my reference for basic meanings since it is recent and corpus-based.

3. For the purpose of this analysis, I excluded all conventionalized metaphorically used words and expressions (e.g. 'fall in love', 'waste of time', etc.). The rationale behind this exclusion is that conventionalized metaphorical expressions hardly reveal any ideological functions, which are one of the things this study aims to explore.

It should also be noted that I did not follow the MIP without any adjustment. One of the major changes is the denial of the criterion concerning the concreteness of basic meanings. According to Dancygier and Sweetser (2014: 72), "concrete and

abstract are fuzzy and complex terms…it is often more helpful to think about asymmetries in intersubjective accessibility than asymmetries in concreteness." To make this point clearer, consider again the word 'flourish' in Example 3.1. It is, in my view, hard to confidently say that 'to grow well' is really more concrete than 'to increase in number'. However, I can claim that 'to grow well' is related to bodily action more than 'to increase in number'. And since it is more bodily related, it is more intersubjectively accessible. From this perspective, I decided to downgrade the criterion of concreteness and instead look at the basic meanings through the lens of intersubjective accessibility, which is less problematic and more congruent with another criterion – relatedness to bodily action.

Also, I followed Steen *et al.* (2010)'s MIPVU (VU is an abbreviation for the name of the university in Amsterdam called the Vrije Universiteit) and refined the procedure in two aspects. First, I omitted the criterion that the basic meanings must be historically older. In practice, it is sufficient to make decisions on the basic meanings based on simply the relatedness to bodily action and the degree of intersubjective accessibility. Furthermore, I do not have access to the *Oxford English Dictionary* which is a source providing that kind of information. Based on these two reasons, I decided not to apply this criterion as a result.

Another refinement is the inclusion of similes which are beyond the scope of the original MIP. Although some scholars (see for instance Chiappe *et al.*, 2003 and Gentner and Bowdel, 2005) suggest several differences between metaphors and similes, I believe similes are one of the linguistic realizations of metaphorical mappings discussed in CMT. Dancygier and Sweetser (2014: 137-148) predict that when a simile becomes conventionalized, explicit comparison markers such as 'like',

'as', 'as if' are no longer needed since the mapping can be treated as a conceptual metaphor. For example, one can explicitly express noise in the Classroom frame in terms of a noisy beehive by saying 'The classroom was buzzing like a beehive'. However, the mapping of the noise element from the Beehive frame to the targets is so conventional that we can increase the productivity of the linguistic realization of this mapping without using any markers and say something such as 'The campus is a (buzzing) beehive today'. Viewed in this light, similes and metaphorical expressions are similar in that they are both ways of talking about one thing in terms of another, so there is no need for me to exclude similes from the scope of this study.

Having decided to include similes, it is mandatory for me to shed light on how to identify similes since they have not been discussed in the original MIP. It is of course impossible for a comparison marker to appear as a node of the concordance lines. Thus, I had to consider the whole Comparison Construction as the unit of analysis when identifying similes. Even more importantly, I also had to drop the criterion concerning the contrast between the contextual and the basic meanings. Consider the Comparison Construction 'like a sport team' in Example 3.2 to illustrate my points here.

Example 3.2

If defenders of marriage are consumed and preoccupied in fighting against same-sex marriage, they are <u>like a sports team</u> that tries to shut down the opposing team but does not score any points for itself. (3449696)

The node term for the above sentence is the word 'fighting' which belongs to the tag S8- (Hindering). Since the first step of the MIP is to read the whole concordance line, a simile 'like a sports team' in the node's linguistic environment was noticed. However, if I had followed the original MIP, I could not have marked this simile statement as metaphor as there is no contrast between the contextual meanings and the basic meanings of 'like', 'sports' and 'team'. Due to this problem, I decided to consider the whole simile statement as the unit of analysis and ignore the criterion regarding the contrast between the contextual and the basic meanings.

Identifying similes using the above procedure is of course problematic. The similes found are just random occurrences that happen to appear in the nodes' linguistic environment. They are not a representative sample of all similes in the US-LSM corpus. One possible way to extract all similes from the corpus is to look at the tag Z 'names and grammar' under which simile (or comparison) markers are subsumed. However, that method would render a number of names and grammatical items which do not tell us anything about the shape and texture of the discourse in the corpus. Viewed in this light, although searching for similes from the nodes' linguistic environment is far from being a perfect means, it was the best I could do given the limitations of Wmatrix and the corpus-assisted approaches to metaphor research.

3.4 Classifying metaphors

Following the metaphor identification processes discussed in section 3.4, it is observed that there are 1,909 instances of metaphors in the US-LSM corpus. As most studies on metaphors typically categorize metaphors based on the frames or domains

of the source concepts (see for example Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2004; Semino et al., 2018; etc.), the identified metaphorical expressions were thus classified in a similar fashion and broken down into ten groups, namely War/Combat, Building/Construction, Force, Object/Person/Living Organism/Location/Container, Religion and the Supernatural, Journey, Sports and Games, Crime, Light and Darkness, and Disease/Illness. Table 3.5 illustrates raw frequencies and percentages of the ten types of metaphors found in the corpus.

Table 3.5   Frequencies and percentages of the ten types of metaphors in the corpus

Types of metaphors	Frequencies	Percent
War/Combat	700	36.67
Building/Construction	468	24.52
Force	306	16.03
Object/Person/Living Organism/Location/Container	176	9.22
Religion and the Supernatural	90	4.71
Journey	80	4.20
Sports and Games	47	2.46
Crime	34	1.78
Light and Darkness	7	0.36
Disease/Illness	1	0.05
Total	**1,909**	**100**

Looking at the types of metaphors in Table 3.5 raises one important question: is frame-based classification of metaphors operationalizable? Let us first discuss cognitive proximity between War/Combat, Sports, and Games. Shields and Bredemeier (2011: 31-35) suggest that there are two ways of conceptualizing

COMPETITION domain[10]: either as Partnership or as War. The first way provides a cooperative viewpoint toward COMPETITION and "highlights how all participants can gain through the mutual challenge that the contest provides." On the other hand, construing COMPETITION using military contexts is a means to add antagonistic viewpoints, "highlights how contests entail a battle for supremacy, and…primes for oppositional, hindering behavior". Koth (2020: 158-160) further develops the ways of approaching COMPETITION and claims that viewing COMPETITION as partnership is actually the default option since the original meaning of the word 'competition' means 'to strive with' or 'to seek with', which "implies an enjoyable and mutual quest for excellence as the primary purpose of holding a contest". WARLIKE COMPETITION, however, is a subdomain of COMPETITION. Its conceptual structures derive from the COMPETITION domain, but they are construed with "an Us versus Them mentality, which makes the quality of competitions less playful". The conceptual elements of the COMPETITION domain and the WARLIKE COMPETITION subdomain are presented in Table 3.6.

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[10] Note that the name of a domain is written in small capitals, whereas the first letter of the name of a frame is capitalized.

Table 3.6   Elements of COMPETITION and WARLIKE COMPETITION (Koth, 2020: 159)

Conceptual elements	Competition domain	Warlike Competition subdomain
Event	Players striving with each other for excellence	Players striving against each other, thus fighting in a warlike sense
Competitor 1	Self, home team	Us
Competitor 2	(Friendly) rival	Them, the enemy
Location	Stadium, playing field	Battlefield
Means	Sporting equipment	Weapon-like instruments
Goal	Winning, fun, improving skills	Victory at all costs

Based on Shields and Bredemeier (2011) and Koth (2020), it seems that Sports and Games belong to the COMPETITION domain. If a sports or gaming competition is portrayed in a positive, playful, and cooperative manner, it will be regarded as a partnership competition. On the contrary, if a sports or gaming competition is negative, aggressive, and violent, it is considered a warlike competition. Nevertheless, this leads to another important issue: how can we distinguish Warlike Sports and Games metaphors from actual War/Combat metaphors? Consider Example 3.3.

Example 3.3

He and Foley <u>had won the argument</u> in court, but they were <u>no match</u> for the power of the right-wing lobby groups that clobbered them in Congress.

Originally, 'had won the argument' was marked as a War/Combat metaphor since it is a vivid example of the ARGUMENT IS WAR conceptual metaphor introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). As discourse unfolds, however, the expression 'were on match for' evokes the COMPETITION domain. Accepting that the WARLIKE COMPETITION

subdomain exists, it is also possible to interpret 'the argument in court' as a linguistic realization of the WARLIKE COMPETITION subdomain.

To avoid fuzziness, I could combine War/Combat and Sports and Games metaphors, and refer to them as the COMPETITION metaphor. Still, considering all War/Combat metaphors as the COMPETITION metaphor may cause a theoretical issue since in the COMPETITION domain War/Combat frame has simply a subsidiary status – it functions only as a means to construe WARLIKE (SPORTS AND GAMING) COMPETITION subdomain. Previous studies (For instance Desmond, 1997; Koller, 2004; etc.) show that when War, Sports, and Games metaphors are in the same discourse the War metaphor would be the dominant and cognitively salient one while the other two only "serve to support rather than to attenuate the [War metaphor]" (Koller, 2004: 73).[11] In addition, in terms of productivity, War/Combat metaphors appear to be considerably greater than (Warlike) Sports and Games metaphors. In this regard, reducing the importance of War/Combat frames to just a part of the conceptualization process of the WARLIKE COMPETITION subdomain seems unreasonable. To classify metaphors and at the same time avoid the trap of fuzziness, we need a framework that treats War, Sports, and Games equally.

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[11] Although Koller (2004) finds that there are tight conceptual links between War, Sports, and Games, she distinguishes these three types of metaphors by working through thesaurus entries to identify lexical items from each concept and concordancing each word to see if they are metaphorical. Nonetheless, I cannot follow Koller and classify War, Sports, and Games as three distinct types as her method is problematic. Koller marks words such as 'to punch', 'to shoot', 'to guard', 'to kick', etc. as words belonging to the lexical field of sports, while 'to combat', to defeat', 'to surrender', etc. belong to the lexical field of war. Identifying the types of metaphors this way makes us fall into the same trap of fuzziness. For example, it is arguable that "to surrender' belongs to the lexical field of sports and 'to shoot' belongs to the lexical field of war.

Morgan (2008) develops the concepts of *metaphor families* (MF) to describe cases where crossover mappings among a group of domains are possible when the group shares the same schematic structures. Morgan studies metaphors from various sources such as newspapers, radio, and television, and occasionally conversation, and finds that War, Combat, Argument, Business, Politics, Sports, Games, and Predation are united by the COMPETITION schema – and thus form the COMPETITION MF.[12] The COMPETITION MF "focuses on an external struggle between two or more adversaries for a single goal that only one can have" (Morgan, 2008: 485). The shared underlying schema of the COMPETITION MF is presented in Table 3.7. Having the same schematic structures, the domains in the competition MF could map back and forth, resulting in a complete set of symmetrical and bidirectional conceptual metaphors as in Table 3.8. Note that in Table 3.8 I only select metaphors related to War, Sports, and Games as the other metaphors in the COMPETITION MF are not relevant to this research.

Table 3.7   The schema of the COMPETITION MF (Morgan, 2008: 489)

Participants:	prototypically 2 competitors
	prototypically 1 goal
Relationship between participants:	only one of the competitors can attain the goal
Some entailment:	one competitor will be superior to the other in some measure relevant to attaining the goal
Some source domain language:	win, lose, victory, defeat

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[12] Despite being labelled with the same name, Morgan (2008)'s COMPETITION MF is broader than and has different meanings from Shields and Bredemeier (2011)'s and Koth (2020)'s COMPETITION domain.

Table 3.8   Metaphors of the COMPETITION MF (Adapted from Morgan, 2008: 492)

War metaphors	
WAR IS SPORTS	- The troops made an *end run* around the enemy.
WAR IS A GAME	- The *rules* of war forbid tortures.
Sports metaphors	
SPORTS ARE WAR	- the *offensive/defensive* line (e.g. football)
	- sports team: *Warriors*, *Raiders*
	- The Lakers blew the Celtics off the court.
SPORTS ARE GAMES	- The Raiders were *dealt a bad hand* last Sunday.
Games metaphors	
GAMES ARE WAR	- That's good *strategy* (e.g. chess, bridge).
GAMES ARE SPORTS	- *end run* (applied to a chess match)

Using the concept of metaphor families to help us classify metaphors seems to be an appropriate option for War/Combat, Sports, and Games. The fuzzy boundaries between domains and frames are no longer an issue since War/Combat, Sports, and Games all belong to the COMPETITION MF. The unclear cases such as 'had won the argument in court' in Example 3.3 can be marked as a linguistic realization of the COMPETITION MF. Furthermore, in the COMPETITION MF War/Combat is not less important than Sports and Games because all of them are domains of equal status, which map back and forth to generate several related conceptual metaphors. However, this is not of course to say that Bredemeier (2011) and Koth (2020) are wrong. The WARLIKE COMPETITION subdomain is actually the same metaphor as SPORTS ARE WAR and GAMES ARE WAR. In other words, both COMPETITION domain and WARLIKE COMPETITION subdomain are part of the COMPETITION MF. Viewed in this light, I decided to combine War/Combat metaphors and Sports and Games metaphors into a category called the COMPETITION MF.

Another group of metaphors which has a fuzzy boundary is Journey and Force. Journey metaphors involve PURPOSIVE ACTION IS GOAL-DIRECTED MOTION, PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOTION, MEANS ARE PATHS, and STATES ARE LOCATIONS conceptual metaphors. These conceptual metaphors derive from the schema called Directed Motion along a Path towards a Destination, which assumes a path leading to a destination, possible obstacles along the way, and participants moving along the path to reach the destination. Force metaphors such as CAUSES ARE FORCES, CAUSATION IS FORCED MOVEMENT and ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS, on the other hand, come from the Force schema which is based heavily on our understanding of physics concepts of force such as somesthesia and kinesthesia, and the dialectical relation between that understanding of force and our conceptual and language structures. Talmy (2000) developed force dynamic theory as an elaboration of the Force schema, saying that this semantic category concerns "the ways that objects are conceived to interrelate with respect to the exertion of force, resistance to force, the overcoming of such resistance, barriers to the exertion of force, and the removal of such barriers" (p. 219).

The major difference between Journey metaphors and Force metaphors is their focal points. Journey metaphors highlight the purposeful nature of the endeavor and the stages of progress, whereas Force metaphors foregrounds barriers and obstacles along with attempts to overcome or maintain the barriers and obstacles. Distinguishing these two metaphors at the level of individual words or multi-word expressions does not cause any problems. It is clear that 'go forward' is a Journey metaphorical expression, and 'resist' is a Force metaphorical expression. However,

when these two words are utilized in the same discourse, the boundary between the two become hopelessly vague.

Example 3.4

So the basic question is, the federal law should rule and it says to the attorney general of your state, allow the marriages to <u>go forward</u>. Why are you <u>resisting</u> that?

'To go forward' reflects the PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOTION and the STATES ARE LOCATIONS metaphors, hence being a linguistic realization of the Journey metaphor. 'Resisting' emphasizes attempts to maintain a barrier and prevent the marriages between people of the same sex from happening. Therefore, 'resisting' is unarguably a case of the Force metaphor. Looking at the whole discourse, nevertheless, casts doubt over the category of 'to go forward'. Apart from reading it as a linguistic realization of the Journey metaphor, it is possible to interpret this phrase as a Force metaphorical expression which helps to elaborate and complete the force interaction evoked by the other Force metaphorical expression, or 'resisting'. In this regard, when researching on metaphors in discourse, the difference between Journey and Force at the level of frames is not very helpful. We need to combine the two frames to eliminate the unclear boundary.

Despite having different origins, Journey and Force frames are usually used in combination as a source called Location/Motion to map onto Event Structure and form the *Location Event Structure Metaphor* (Location ESM). Selected mappings of the Location ESM are illustrated in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9   Mappings of the Location ESM (Dancygier and Sweetser, 2014: 45)

Location/Motion	Event Structure
Locations	States
Motion (change of location)	Change of state
Self-propelled motion	Action
Destination	Purpose
Forward motion	Progress in purposeful action
Inability to move	Inability to act
Impediments	Difficulties
Crossroads	Choices about action

Using the Location ESM, 'go forward' in Example 3.4 is thus a linguistic realization of a mapping from forward motion to progress in purposeful action, and 'resisting' is an impediment or difficulty causing inability to move and act. It should be obvious at this point that the Location ESM is a suitable tool to help solve the problem of fuzziness since it is "a complex metaphoric schema…that is built out of the ingredients of the two schemas defined above [or the Force and the Directed Motion along a Path towards a Destination schemas]" (Dancygier and Sweetser, 2014: 45).

Crucially, I am well aware that the Location ESM and the COMPETITION MF are at different levels of analysis. However, it is impossible to make metaphor classification in this research at the same (conceptual) level. Force and Journey metaphors could not form a MF since there is no crossover between these two metaphors – we do not have JOURNEY IS FORCE or FORCE IS JOURNEY conceptual metaphors. Also, War, Sports, and Games from the COMPETITION MF are not used in combination as a source concept and as a result do not become a complex schema. In this regard, I have to accept the fact that metaphor classification in this research is

based on different levels of analysis as this way of classifying metaphors is, in my view, the best method to acquire clear and quantifiable types of metaphors.

Since metaphor classification in this research is no longer restricted to just frame-based criteria, another type of metaphor thus needs to be renamed. Initially, I labelled the Object/Person/Living Organism/Location/Container metaphor using the names of all relevant frames to avoid inconsistency. However, this label is not concise and does not tell us anything more about the nature of this metaphor than the term *ontological metaphor* which is widely used in metaphor literature. Thus, I decided to change the name of the Object/Person/Living Organism/Location/Container metaphor to ontological metaphors.

The other types of metaphors, which are Building/Construction, Religion and the Supernatural, Crime, Light and Darkness, and Disease/Illness, do not have fuzzy boundaries. Therefore, there is no need to combine or redefine them. Viewed in this light, there are eight types of metaphors in the US-LSM corpus, which are the COMPETITION MF, the Location ESM, ontological, Building/Construction, Religion and the Supernatural, Crime, Light and Darkness, and Disease/Illness metaphors. The revised types of metaphors along with their raw frequencies and percentages are illustrated in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10   Revised classification of metaphors in the US-LSM corpus

Types of metaphors	Frequencies	Percent
The COMPETITION MF	747	39.13
Building/Construction	468	24.52
The Location ESM	386	20.23
Ontological	176	9.22
Religion and the Supernatural	90	4.71
Crime	34	1.78
Light and Darkness	7	0.36
Disease/Illness	1	0.05
Total	**1,909**	**100**

In summary, the classification of metaphors in this study is not governed entirely by the analyses of the corpus tool. Rather, the types of metaphors gained from utilizing the USAS semantic tagger were redefined through the lens of a discourse-oriented perspective. Since this study uses discourse data as a source of metaphorical expressions, I believe that the classification of metaphors should therefore take the nature of discourse into consideration. Discourse occurs in short-term memory against knowledge stored in long-term memory (van Dijk, 2002). In other words, discourse takes place only in the minds of interacting individuals by using knowledge that we have to construct language use at the time of utterance. Viewed in this light, relying on simply the USAS semantic tagger, which was generated based on McArthur's Longman Lexicon of Contemporary English (McArthur, 1981), seems to be an appropriate way of accounting for metaphor in discourse since it analyzes the meanings of words out of their contexts. Hence, a discourse-oriented perspective was employed to help classify metaphors in a more accurate manner.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYZING METAPHORS IN THE US-LSM CORPUS

Having described the composition of the US-LSM corpus, the research methodology, and all of the types of metaphors, in this chapter I move on to discuss the functions of those metaphors in conceptualizing same-sex marriage controversies. The discussion includes qualitative analyses, illustrative examples, and ideological messages delivered by the metaphors. For the purpose of structuring this Master's Thesis, the identified metaphors mentioned in section 3.4 are further classified into three groups: the COMPETITION MF, the Location ESM, and the other metaphors. The COMPETITION MF and the Location ESM deserve their own section since they are the prevalent types of metaphors in the corpus – around 39.13 and 20.23 percent respectively. The Building/Construction metaphor, though comprising approximately 24.52 percent of all metaphorical expressions, is mostly an extension of ontological metaphors. It will thus be discussed with the other metaphors.

4.1 The COMPETITION MF

The COMPETITION MF comprises 39.13 percent of all metaphorical expressions in the US-LSM corpus, and is thus ranked number one in terms of frequency. This is not surprising as the COMPETITION MF is a broad schema for various metaphors including War/Combat, Sports, and Games. In addition, the legalization of same-sex marriage is closely intertwined with politics. And in political discourse aggressive and violent competitions are conventionally used to construe conflicts between individuals,

groups, parties, and governments (Semino, 2008: 100). In this light, the number of metaphors related to the COMPETITION MF is considerably high.

Prior to the discussion on how discourse producers employ the COMPETITION MF to construct same-sex marriage controversies, it is very helpful to review the schematic structures of the COMPETITION MF. Basically, the COMPETITION MF schema concerns prototypically two competitors striving against each other to attain prototypically one goal. The seriousness of a competition in the schema varies from a friendly rivalry to a fierce, aggressive, and violent battle. What determines the degree of seriousness is the profiled elements from the COMPETITION MF schema and its related frames. Possible elements are illustrated in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1   Elements from the COMPETITION MF schema and its related frames

As discourse develops, a text producer could decide how they would like to conceptualize a competition in a specific scenario and select elements that suit their communicative intent. Crucially, since crossover mappings are possible in a MF, the selected elements do not necessarily come from a single frame. Elements from related frames in a MF – or even from the MF schema itself – could be used in combination to elaborate on, extend, or negate one another. Consider Examples 4.1 and 4.2.

Example 4.1

And that has Perry and Stier, one of two California couples to make history in the summer of 2013, realizing their <u>fight</u> in the Supreme Court was not the last word. (3370699)

Example 4.2

If <u>defenders</u> of marriage are consumed and preoccupied in <u>fighting</u> against same-sex marriage, they are <u>like a sports team</u> that tries to <u>shut down</u> the <u>opposing team</u> but does not <u>score</u> any points for itself. (3449696)

The word 'fight' in its literal sense tends to evoke the War/Combat frame in which two opposing participants use violence and, sometimes, weapons to cause physical harm to each other in order to achieve their own purpose. Nevertheless, in the discourse situation of Example 4.1, the setting where this fight occurs is neither in a battlefield nor in a place involving any physical combat. Instead, this so-called 'fight' occurs in the Supreme Court where Perry and Stier had a verbal disagreement with their opposition. Thus, it can be observed that the argument in the Supreme

Court here is metaphorically viewed as a physical fight. This metaphorical instance is a linguistic realization of one of the conceptual metaphors in the COMPETITION MF, or the ARGUMENT IS WAR/COMBAT conceptual metaphor. By their very nature, the events concerning the Argument frame are oppositional and have their own event structures and participant roles. Yet, these events are metaphorically construed as War/Combat to describe the process of arguing beyond simply saying 'X says something and then Y disagrees'. This is because the War/Combat source frame transfers its viewpoints and event structures to the Argument target frame, resulting in the two participants in the debate being seen as two combatants fighting against each other to attain victory. By selecting the elements from the War/Combat frame, the text producer could portray the argument in the Supreme Court as a fierce, aggressive, and violent battle.

Unlike Example 4.1 which concerns a case where the text producer employs elements from merely one frame to highlight the seriousness of the debate in court, Example 4.2 is a scenario in which elements from more than one frame are utilized in combination to suggest an emergent ideological message. Initially, an attempt to prevent same-sex marriage from being legalized is construed as a fight; and those trying to preserve the notion of marriage to include just heterosexual marriage are viewed as defenders. Hence, it can be said that the War/Combat frame is used to conceptualize conflicts between the advocates and the opponents of same-sex marriage. As discourse unfolds, however, the text producer shifts the choice of metaphorical framing to the Sports frame. The 'defenders of marriage' are reconceptualized to be 'a sports team'. Their fight is construed as a sports competition. And fighting is viewed as scoring for points. The shift to Sports

metaphors has an important role in structuring an emergent ideological message. Typically, the War/Combat metaphor functions as a means to "dramatize the opposition between different participants who are construed as enemies, and to emphasize the aggressiveness and seriousness of political debates, conflicts or elections" (Semino, 2008: 100). The Sports metaphor, on the contrary, is used to simplify issues since in the Sports frame "the complexities of ideological and ethical issues are backgrounded and [a competition] is presented as a relatively simple domain with clear participants (the opposing teams), unproblematic goals (winning), and unambiguous outcomes (victory or defeat)" (Semino and Masci, 1996: 250). In this regard, by reconceptualizing War/Combat to Sports the text producer could attenuate the opponents of same-sex marriage's course of action and create an emergent ideological message, suggesting that what the opponents are doing is in fact trivial and not important.

Overall, it can be observed that the COMPETITION MF schema is used to add negative viewpoints towards the target concepts. However, those observations are just a broad picture of the COMPETITION MF schema used in the discourse on the US legalization of same-sex marriage. What we need to discuss further is the difference in the use of the COMPETITION MF schema by the supporters and the opponents of same-sex marriage. By considering different uses of the COMPETITION MF schema from different stances toward the legalization of same-sex marriage, we can have better insight into the conceptualization of same-sex marriage controversies.

Table 4.1 illustrates the most frequent lexical groups[13] of COMPETITION MF schema metaphors employed by the supporters and the opponents of same-sex marriage. Looking at Table 4.1, we can make a superficial observation that the supporters of same-sex marriage use the COMPETITION MF schema to highlight hostility and violence, while the opponents use this schema to construe themselves as a protector of something. To have an in-depth understanding of how COMPETITION MF schema metaphors are employed to conceptualize the controversy, however, we need to investigate these words in their context of use. Let us begin with the COMPETITION MF schema in the discourse of the supporters of same-sex marriage.

Table 4.1   The most frequent lexical groups of War/Combat metaphors

Supporters		Opponents	
Lexical groups	Raw frequencies	Lexical groups	Raw frequencies
FIGHT	64	PROTECT	127
DESTROY	21	DEFEND	94
VICTORY	21	FIGHT	26
HARM	17	DESTROY	6
ALLY	9	SHIELD	3

Considering simply the most frequent lexical groups of the COMPETITION MF schema used by the supporters of same-sex marriage suggests that the COMPETITION MF schema has a function to highlight hostility and violence. Nevertheless, having closely examined words from COMPETITION MF schema in their context, it appears that the COMPETITION MF schema is not used to express or re-enact violence. Rather, the COMPETITION MF schema is a communicative tool utilized by the LGBT community to discuss and emphasize social inequity and struggles they are facing.

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[13] A lexical group is a set of words that are grouped together as they are related either grammatically via inflection (e.g. 'fight', 'fighting', 'fought') or derivationally (i.e. they share a common root-word; e.g. 'fight', 'fighter').

Examples 4.3 to 4.5 are lucid examples of this function of the COMPETITION MF schema in the discourse of the supporters of same-sex marriage.

Example 4.3

Organizers said the festival's theme was timely because the LGBT rights movement would now focus on <u>fighting discrimination</u> in housing and employment. (3390141)

Example 4.4

But Equality Utah, an advocacy group for lesbian, gay and transgender people, said Thursday's announcements were directly aimed at <u>destroying</u> same-sex couples. (3751472)

Example 4.5

Sarah Warbelow, legal director at the nation's largest LGBT group, said Texas has "the largest number of bills we've seen in a single state intended to <u>harm</u> the LGBT community at least in a very long time." (3118438)

In Example 4.3, the discourse producer uses the word 'fighting' to conceptualize discrimination and inequity in housing and employment as an enemy of the LGBT community. The use of 'fighting' in this context is not pro-violent as the meaning of 'discrimination' is inherently negative, and housing and employment are theoretically basic rights that every single human should have regardless of their sexual orientation. Thus, construing discrimination as an enemy here is not a means to

add any negative evaluations to the target concept, but to uncover and denaturalize what seems to be commonsensical by foregrounding negative aspects of discrimination against LGBT people which may be something that people outside the LGBT community are not aware of. Examples 4.4 and 4.5 also reflect the use of the COMPETITION MF schema to highlight social inequity and struggles the LGBT community has been through. Again, these uses of the COMPETITION MF schema are not to demonize the opponents of same-sex marriage, but to accentuate how non-binary people are treated unfairly in the society. Same-sex couples and the LGBT community are construed as the PATIENT in the COMPETITION MF schema event structures evoked by 'destroying' and 'harm'. Interestingly, the actual AGENTS, which are those who made the announcements and those who passed the bills, are mystified and backgrounded by the INSTRUMENT FOR AGENT metonymy, so the action chains of both event structures concern merely the interactions between the THEMES (the announcements and the bills) and the PATIENTS (same-sex couples and the LGBT community) as illustrated in Figure 4.2. In the diagram, the heavier lines indicate the profiled elements, the arrows represent the interactions between participants, and their orientation indicates the direction of energy flow.

- The announcements
- The bills

- Same-sex couples
- The LGBT community

AGENT → THEME → PATIENT

Subject

Object
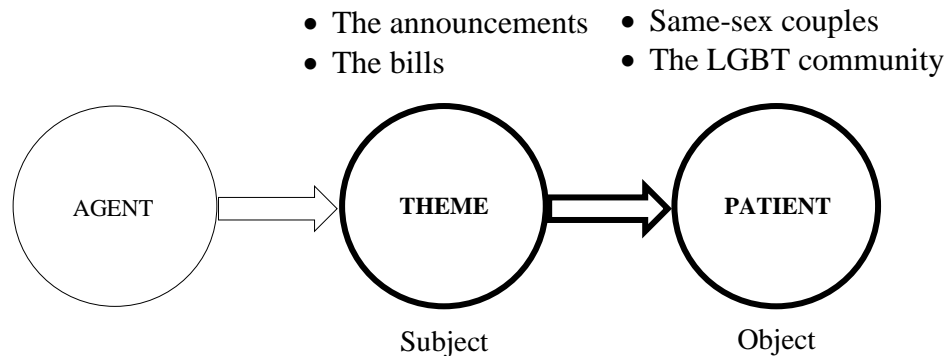
Figure 4.2   Action chain schema for the INSTRUMENT FOR AGENT metonymy

By using the COMPETITION MF schema along with the INSTRUMENT FOR AGENT metonymy, the text producers can dramatize the struggles LGBT people are experiencing and at the same time avoid making direct and blatant criticism over the opponents of same-sex marriage by operating a conceptual shift of reference from the AGENT onto some other associated entity. Viewed in this light, the function of the COMPETITION MF schema in Examples 4.4 and 4.5 is therefore to highlight the struggles of LGBT people, not to circulate violence and hostility.

        Another function of the COMPETITION MF schema observed in the discourse of the supporters of same-sex marriage is to create empowerment. It is true that the COMPETITION MF schema is a construal operation which has a potential to amplify the antagonistic nature of the issue. However, it does not mean that the COMPETITION MF schema inherently comes with negative effects. The COMPETITION MF schema has a number of frames and scenarios in it, and not all frames and scenarios are negative and violent. For instance, a War/Combat frame in the COMPETITION MF schema has two possible resulting states that can be profiled: winning or losing a war. And

profiling a scenario in which the protagonist wins a victory can be pleasant, positive, and, empowering. Consider Example 4.6.

Example 4.6

The Supreme Court ruling on gay marriage is wonderful news, a <u>victory</u> for equality and civil rights. (3389109)

The scenario of same-sex couples having the right to marry in Example 4.6 is construed as winning a victory. Although this metaphorical scenario comes from the War/Combat frame, it by no means conveys any negative or violent meanings. The winning scenario is evoked to highlight cheerful, pleasant, and empowering feelings in being able to marry after several attempts of calling for marriage equality. In addition, the discourse producer employs the ATTRIBUTE FOR ENTITY metonymy to shift the focus from the supporters of same-sex marriage to their attributes which are the things they are calling for, or 'equality' and 'civil rights'. By doing this, the discourse producer can imply that the victory is on the side of a good cause (since the opposition in this metaphorical war should be inequality which is a notion and practice that has negative consequences for the society), and thus add positive viewpoints to the supporters of same-sex marriage to further reinforce empowerment.

Apart from the resulting states, the supporters of same-sex marriage tend to also exploit the cooperative aspect of the COMPETITION MF schema for positive and empowering effects. The contextual meanings of the words 'allies', 'fight', and 'win' in the excerpt below are vivid examples.

Example 4.7

That was bitter and that was upsetting, but it also fueled our passion for the movement. That upset prompted me and so many other LGBT Americans and our straight <u>allies</u> to engage in this <u>fight</u> and ultimately today to <u>win</u> it. (3385732)

In Example 4.7 the word 'fight' helps to construe calling for marriage equality as going to war. Heterosexuals who favor the legalization of same-sex marriage is viewed as allies of the LGBT community. Reaching the ultimate goal of the movement, or having an equal right to marry, is conceptualized as winning the war. Interestingly, the War/Combat scenario of the COMPETITION MF schema evoked in Example 4.7 is not a kind of scenarios that concerns violence and hostility. Rather, it is a scenario in which the LGBT community and straight people who are advocates of same-sex marriage help and support each other to reach the same goal. Even more importantly, the opposing side (the opponents of same-sex marriage) is backgrounded in this discourse situation. Viewed in this light, the text producer of Example 4.7 does not employ the COMPETITION MF schema to emphasize the seriousness of the issue or add negative, antagonistic viewpoints towards the target concept, but to highlight the cooperative aspect of the COMPETITION MF schema and create empowerment.

Having discussed the functions of the COMPETITION MF schema in the discourse of the supporters of same-sex marriage, let us now move on to investigate how the opponents of same-sex marriage normally use the COMPETITION MF schema. Unlike the supporters of same-sex marriage who use the COMPETITION MF schema

primarily to either highlight social inequity and struggles the LGBT people are experiencing or empower one another, the opponents of same-sex marriage are likely to utilize the COMPETITION MF schema to construe themselves as a protector of righteousness and construct the opposing side as a violent, harmful group of people.

Example 4.8

Religious liberty is <u>under attack</u> in America and the next five years will serve as <u>a battleground</u> to <u>protect</u> or <u>destroy</u> it. (3391378)

Example 4.9

GOD is the One that you are really <u>fighting</u> and just <u>like Hitler's Nazi regime – they won a number of battles but LOST the WAR</u>. (3210615)

In Example 4.8, the metaphorically used word 'attack' occurs alongside with other War/Combat metaphors from the COMPETITION MF schema – i.e. 'battleground', 'protect', and 'destroy' – which characterize the idea of legalizing same-sex marriage in a similarly oppositional way. Through the use of extended metaphors, the text-producer is able to intensify the War/Combat framing and highlight the negative consequences of the legalization same-sex marriage by elaborating it as an enemy who aims to 'destroy' the country's religious liberty. The use of extended metaphor is taken even further in Example 4.9. The word 'fighting' is metaphorically used to construe Social Movement as War/Combat. However, this movement for marriage equality is not only War/Combat-viewpointed, but it is also added with negative judgments since the enemy of this group of activists is not any mundane mortals, but

God Himself. By placing God, who is an embodiment of goodness, righteousness, and truth, as an enemy of this social movement, the idea of legalizing same-sex marriage is therefore viewpointed as something evil. Even more importantly, this War/Combat metaphor is elaborated further by a War/Combat-related simile statement in a form of the *like* Comparison Construction: the call for marriage equality (which is now conceptualized as War/Combat) is compared to 'Hitler's Nazi regime'. During the Second World War, Adolf Hitler initiated a number of battles; however, in the end he was defeated. Profiling this scenario as a source of the Comparison Construction, the text-producer can deliver a message, suggesting that even though the activists for same-sex marriage may cause a great deal of troubles and damages to the country, they will eventually fail and meet their doom in the same way as Hitler did. Apart from extending the War/Combat metaphorical senses in the context, the 'like Hitler's Nazi regime…' simile statement also results in another transfer of negative viewpoints toward those who support the legalization of same-sex marriage. In WWII history, Hitler was highly involved in the perpetration upon the Holocaust and portrayed as the main antagonist. Thus, by comparing the activists for marriage equality to Adolf Hitler, those activists are metaphorically construed as the villain in this discourse situation.

Since the opponents of same-sex marriage usually use the COMPETITION MF schema to construct the opposing side as a violent, harmful group of people, they tend to employ the COMPETITION MF in a creative way and construe novel metaphors to add extra negative viewpoints towards the advocates of same-sex marriage. Consider Example 4.10 as our example.

Example 4.10

There is <u>a battle to fight</u>. It's not against flesh and blood. This is <u>a spiritual battle</u>. We are <u>fighting Satan and his demons</u> and let me tell you something: They have gotten their way into government; they have gotten their way into every level of our government and we've got to speak up. We've still got our voice. (3118352)

Even a cursory glance at the excerpt above would suffice to notice that a series of War/Combat metaphors from the COMPETITION MF is used to construct negative perspectives toward same-sex marriage and its supporters. Superficially, based on the setting of this discourse context, a noun phrase 'a battle to fight' should be interpreted as a linguistic realization of the ARGUMENT IS WAR/COMBAT or the POLITICS IS WAR/COMBAT conceptual metaphors. As discourse develops, however, that interpretation is negated by 'It's not against flesh and blood'. This indicates that this 'battle' is something beyond simply worldly matters. It is a 'battle' against something wicked and immoral – so the Religion and the Supernatural frame is indirectly evoked. The evocation of the Religion and the Supernatural frame is later made explicit by the word 'spiritual' in 'spiritual battle'. The noun phrase 'spiritual battle' is something worth discussing as it plays a crucial role in providing an overall understanding of the 'battle' in this context, and it functions as a stepping-stone to a meaning construction of the upcoming novel metaphorical expression – i.e. 'fighting Satan and his demon' – which requires some adjustment of the frame structure of 'spiritual battle'.

'Spiritual battle' is in a form of the Domain Construction which can be clearly understood by applying the Langackerian concepts of *conceptual autonomy* and *conceptual dependence* (Langacker, 1987). The Domain Construction consists of two elements: the syntactic head ('battle') which is the conceptually dependent element and the modifying adjective ('spiritual') which is the conceptually autonomous element[14]. The autonomous element functions as a filler to fill in and elaborate the trajector (TR) of the dependent element. TR is a substructure of the dependent element which is understood relative to the landmark (LM). In 'spiritual battle', the one specific type of battle in focus is the TR and all kinds of battles are the LM. The available role of TR is filled and elaborated by 'spiritual', resulting in a shift of attention from every single type of battles to only those related to religious aspects. The meaning construction of 'spiritual battle' can be illustrated in the Langackerian Cognitive Grammar (CG) diagram as in Figure 4.3.

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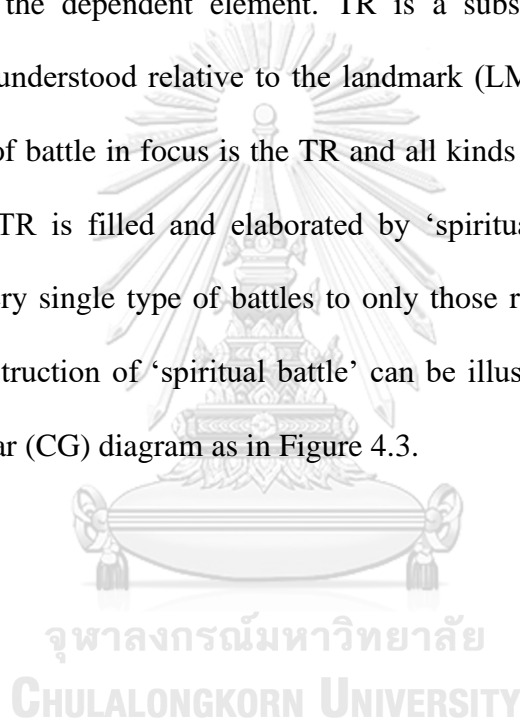
[14] Note that conceptual autonomy and conceptual dependence are semantic concepts, and not tied to syntactic dependency. According to Langacker (1987), there are two criteria for classifying an element as either conceptually autonomous or dependent. However, I believe that simply the *elaboration criterion* would suffice to indicate the autonomous and the dependent elements. Thus, in this study, I will base my analyses mainly on this criterion. The elaboration criterion states that the autonomous element is the element that elaborates the substructure (also known as a *trajector*) within the dependent element. Consider Langacker (2002: 175-176)'s classic example: 'tall man'. The word 'tall' profiles a relation between a person or a thing and a scalar range of height. The word 'man' elaborates the TALL concept by specifying that it is a man – one particular substructure of everything tall – that is really tall, not a mountain or a building, etc. In line with the elaboration criterion, 'tall' is a dependent element and 'man' is an autonomous element accordingly.
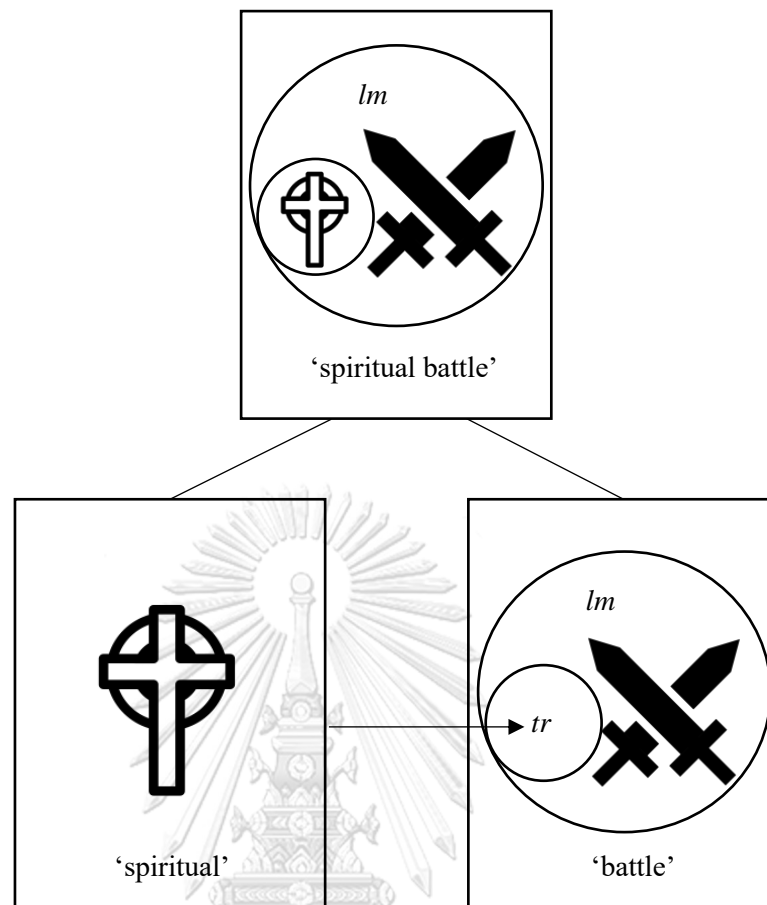
Figure 4.3   CG representation of 'spiritual battle'

Moving from the structure to the metaphorical meaning of 'spiritual battle'. The autonomy-dependence relation discussed earlier can help us identify the source and the target in the Domain Construction. Sullivan (2013: 9) observes that 'a conceptually dependent element in the construction communicates the metaphoric source domain and a conceptually autonomous element indicates the target domain'. This observation is in line with metaphor literature in the realm of CMT. In CMT, 'metaphors highlight some aspects of the target domain and hide others' (Semino, 2008: 32-33). Similarly, only some aspects of the autonomous element are selected to be filled in the role of TR in the dependent element. The selected aspects must share

some similarities with the frame elements in the frame of the dependent element, so that they can be understood relative to the LM of the dependent element. The CG diagram in Figure 4.3 can help simplify this point. In the lower right-hand rectangle in Figure 4.3, we can see that part (TR) of the structure of 'battle' (LM) is available to be filled and elaborated. The arrow can be read as "fills in", and an arrow from 'spiritual' to the TR of 'battle' can be read as "spiritual fills in the TR of battle". The upper rectangle illustrates the end result of the role-value fillings of this Domain Construction. We can see that 'battle' provides the organizing frame for the whole construction, whereas 'spiritual' becomes a substructure of the frame evoked by 'battle'. The upper rectangle in Figure 4.3 can be restated in accordance with the CMT tradition as follows: the frame structure of 'spiritual' which functions as a target frame is conceptualized in terms of the War/Combat source frame evoked by the word 'battle'. By construing an action for religious course against same-sex marriage as a 'battle', supporters of gay marriage become the enemies to be fought and an act of supporting and opposing gay marriage becomes an act of battling. These mappings can be represented in a frame-based model as in Figure 4.4.
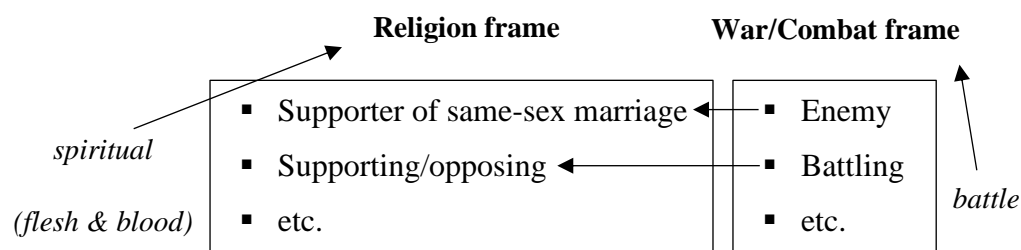
Figure 4.4   Metaphorical structures evoked by 'spiritual battle'

'Spiritual battle' and its mappings illustrated in Figure 4.4 reflect the RELIGIOUS DEBATE/ACTION IS WAR/COMBAT metaphor. As discourse unfolds, this metaphor is creatively elaborated by a novel metaphorical expression 'fighting Satan and his demon'. With this elaboration, the supporter of same-sex marriage is conceptualized further to be demons who aim to do harm to the country. More importantly, these demons are the followers of God's arch enemy or Satan. Thus, an ideological message that same-sex marriage and its supporters are against God and should be eradicated is delivered. The elaboration of RELIGIOUS DEBATE/ACTION IS WAR/COMBAT metaphor's frame structure evoked by 'fighting Satan and his demons' can be represented as in Figure 4.5.
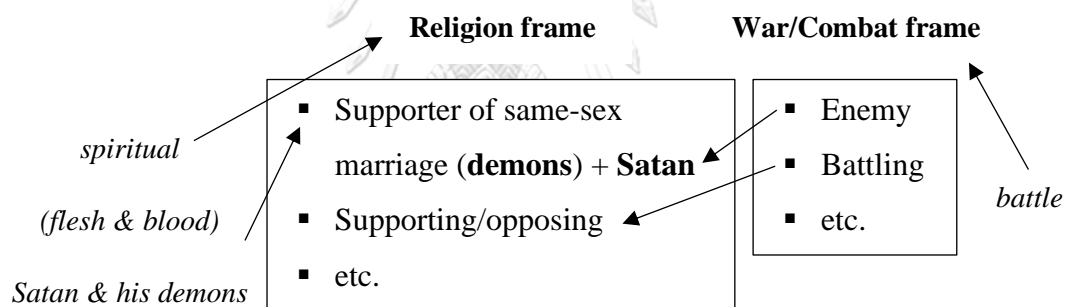
Figure 4.5   Metaphorical structures elaborated by 'fighting Satan and his demon'

In summary, unlike claims in metaphor in discourse literature, the COMPETITION MF do not necessarily convey negative and violent meanings. The meanings of metaphors from the COMPETITION MF depends on how a discourse producer elaborates those metaphors as discourse develops. While the supporters of same-sex marriage use the COMPETITION MF primarily to either highlight social inequity and struggles the LGBT people are experiencing or empower one another, the opponents of same-sex marriage are likely to utilize this type of metaphors to

construe themselves as a protector of righteousness and construct the opposing side as a violent, harmful group of people.

4.2 The Location ESM

The Location ESM comprises 20.23 percent of all metaphorical expressions in the US-LSM corpus. The Location ESM is a complex metaphorical schema which has a mapping between States and Locations, and Change or Action and Motion. The specific subcases of the Location ESM which comes under discussion in this research are the Journey and the Force metaphors. By nature, the Journey metaphor often comes with a positive orientation since it implies ' social efforts toward achieving worthwhile goals…[and] also highlight[s] the need for patience since it will take time and effort to reach a destination' (Charteris-Black, 2004: 93). The Force metaphor, on the other hand, often highlights difficulties and resistance. Crucially, both metaphors of the Location ESM are based heavily on our understanding of physics concepts of force and movement such as somesthesia and kinesthesia, and the dialectical relation between that understanding of force and movement and our conceptual and language structures. A semantic category which is drawn from this kind of understanding is referred to as *force dynamics*. Force dynamics concerns "the ways that objects are conceived to interrelate with respect to the exertion of force, resistance to force, the overcoming of such resistance, barriers to the exertion of force, and the removal of such barriers" Talmy (2000: 219).

In Talmy's force dynamics theory, there are two force-exerting entities that interact. The salient or focal force-exerting entity whose circumstance is at issue is

called the *Agonist* (Ago), while the force entity that opposes the Agonist is called the *Antagonist* (Ant). These force entities also come with intrinsic force tendencies which are either toward action or toward inaction. In our understanding of an interaction of force in general, one force-exerting entity is supposed to be the stronger one, while the other is the weaker one. Due to the relative strengths of the two entities, a resultant of the force interaction is yielded as either realizing the Agonist's intrinsic force tendency or not. Talmy uses diagrammatic notation as in Figure 4.6 to represent the above concepts in force dynamics theory.

Force entities

Agonist (Ago):

Antagonist (Ant):

Intrinsic force tendency

toward action:

toward inaction:

Resultant of the force interaction

action:

inaction:

Balance of strengths

stronger entity: +

weaker entity: -
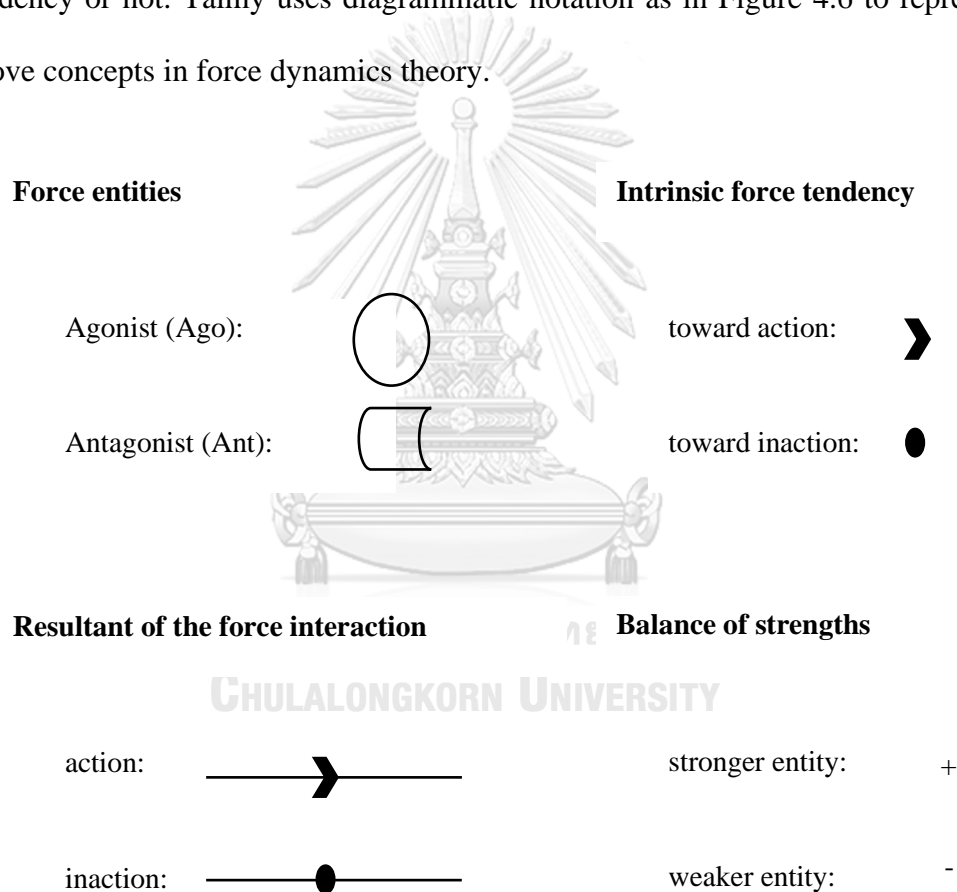
Figure 4.6   Elements of force dynamics

It should be noted that force dynamics presented in this study are all part of metaphors from the Location ESM schema, which are PURPOSIVE ACTION IS GOAL-

DIRECTED MOTION, PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOTION, MEANS ARE PATHS, and STATES ARE LOCATIONS conceptual metaphors. In other words, the discussion of the Location ESM is still under CMT tradition. Force dynamics are only utilized to help elaborate the Location ESM beyond simply saying about mappings between States and Locations, and Change or Action and Motion.

Having outlined the structure of the Location ESM along with its theoretical framework, let us now discuss some of the illustrative examples of the Location ESM in the US-LSM corpus using force dynamics theory to observe the meaning construction process and the function of the Location ESM in same-sex marriage discourse.

Example 4.11

He [Scott Walker] was openly in favor of a 2006 constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage, and opposed a law allowing gay couples to get certain county benefits. (2941772)

The two force entities in Example 4.11 are Scott Walker and a law allowing gay couples to get benefits. Metaphorical conceptual operation is required to help construe this force dynamic as a law is not an animate being that can act against another force entity. In other words, the law is metaphorically portrayed as either a moving object or a being trying to overcome a barrier and move forward to reach their goal, whereas Scott Walker is the Antagonist whose major objective is to prevent the law from being enacted. Seeing that same-sex marriage has been legalized in Wisconsin in 2014, the Antagonist is thus the stronger of the two entities and the

resultant of force interaction is inaction. This force interaction is schematically illustrated in Figure 4.7.

Ago:

law

Ant:
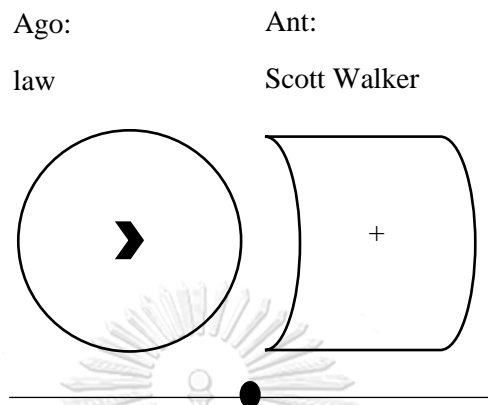
Scott Walker

Figure 4.7   Force interaction between Scott Walker and the law

Importantly, this use of force dynamics concerns not only the process of metaphorical reframing (reconceptualizing an act of not approving an idea, plan, or policy as a physical interaction between entities) but also a viewpoint phenomenon. In actuality, law is an abstract system of rules which does not have agency except when it is activated by evoking a metonymic link to the lawmaker through the INSTRUMENT FOR AGENT metonymy. However, with force dynamics the law in question is viewpointedly portrayed as a troublesome and persistent being trying to enter and become dominant in American society. Further, since force dynamic entails that the Agonist and the Antagonist are in opposition, it is a discursive device used to form polarization which associates the Agonist with the negative-Other and the Antagonist with the positive-Self as van Dijk (1995: 280) asserts "group position and conflict…control attitudes that involve propositions that favorably compare Us to Them, or that unfavorably compare Them to US". Hence, this force dynamic pattern

projects positive viewpoints to Scott Walker suggesting that his action is righteous, and conceptualizes the law which allows gay couples to get benefits as a malicious plan.

So far, we have seen that the structural configuration strategy of force dynamics in same-sex marriage discourse entails that (a) the legalization of same-sex marriage is metaphorically framed as a physical, and potentially violent, interaction, and that (b) the discourse participants encoded as the Agonist and the Antagonist are in opposition to one another. In addition, force dynamics is a means to generate polarization and add positive and negative evaluations to discourse participants. In what follows, we will move on to observe how the advocates employ metaphorical force dynamic patterns as their discursive device for construing their ideas and opinions toward same-sex marriage. Notably, the Location ESM appears mostly in the discourse of the supporters of same-sex marriage. The only occurrence of the Location ESM force pattern that seems to belong to the opponents of same-sex marriage is the one about Scott Walker in Example 4.11. Still, the discourse in Example 4.11 is a news report which only captures Scott Walker's points of view. In this light, it is unclear whether we should count that metaphor as an instance of the Location ESM of the opponents of same-sex marriage. One possible explanation for the absence of the Location ESM from the discourse of the opponents of same-sex marriage is that the Location ESM force patterns often highlight the struggle or efforts toward achieving worthwhile goals. Thus, this type of metaphors is more suitable for the advocates of same-sex marriage to discuss the process and the outcome of legalizing same-sex marriage.

One of the prevalent metaphorical force dynamic patterns utilized in the discourse of the advocates of same-sex marriage is the shift-in-state of opposition schema which portrays the opponents of same-sex marriage as the initially weaker Agonist who has intrinsic force tendency toward action and some unspecified – mostly metaphorical – entity as the stronger Antagonist that leaves its state of impingement and thus allows the weaker Agonist to realize its intrinsic force tendency. The function of this force dynamic pattern is to highlight unfairness or difficulties the LGBT community is facing. Consider Examples 4.12 and 4.13.

Example 4.12

Its bill [Michigan's Religious Freedom Restoration Act] <u>allows</u> a person to cite their religious beliefs as a claim or defense in court. (3131537)

Example 4.13

Critics said the Indiana law would go further and could in theory <u>allow</u> a restaurant owner to refuse to seat a gay couple if they were <u>opposed</u> to homosexuality. (3156372)

Interestingly, in Example 4.12 there are two major force exerting entities – the Agonist and the Antagonist – and another force entity engaging in the interaction between the major forces. A person using religious beliefs as their justification in court is a weaker Agonist whose intrinsic force tendency was initially blocked by a metaphorical stronger Antagonist, or the law. However, another force entity is left implicit. That implicit force entity could be a law maker or the court that passes the

bill. With the interference of this implicit force entity, there is a change in a force interaction. The stronger Antagonist (the law) is forced to leave the stage of impingement, so the Agonist (a person citing religious beliefs) can do as they want. Figure 4.8 illustrates the force pattern mentioned above
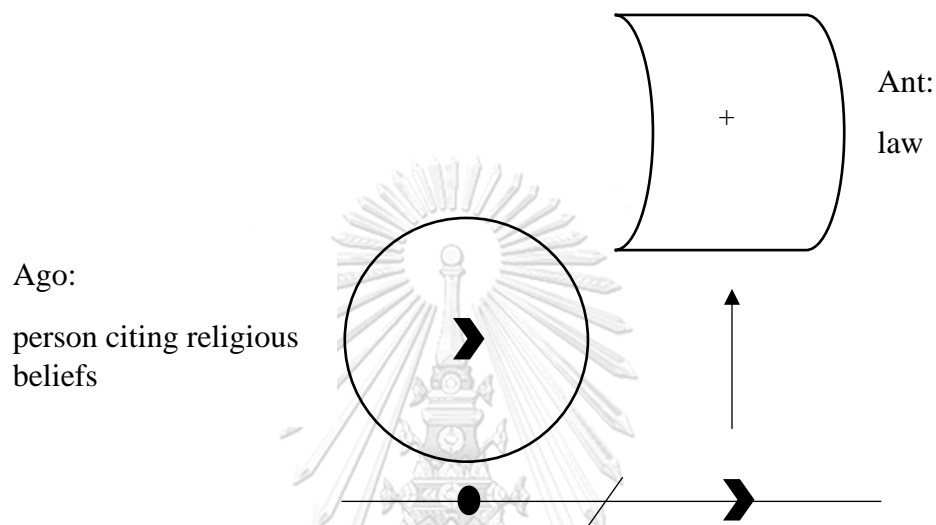
Figure 4.8   Shifting force dynamics with the Ant leaving the state of impingement

Similar to Example 4.12, the discourse scenario in Example 4.13 also concerns an interaction between the Agonist and the Antagonist along with the interference of another force entity. Nonetheless, both the interaction and interference in Example 4.13 happen inside a Hypothetical mental space. Hence, it is reasonable to look at force dynamics in the Reality space prior to discussing the force interactive pattern in the Hypothetical space as the Reality space is a stepping stone to meaning conceptualization processes of the overall discourse. In the Reality space, a restaurant owner is the weaker Agonist who fails to refuse to seat a gay couple because there is a legal obligation, which is the stronger metaphorical Antagonist, preventing him or her from doing so. The Indiana law is simply a subsidiary entity that does not interact

with either the Agonist or the Antagonist. As discourse develops, the information from the Reality space is projected onto the Discourse (hypothetical) space and reconceptualized to make it fit in with the discourse context. In the Hypothetical space, the Indiana law has been reconceptualized to be the strongest force entity. Even more importantly, the Indiana law is no longer a subsidiary entity, but an important factor that causes the Antagonist to leave its state of impingement. The Indiana law interferes with the original force dynamic pattern by acting against a legal obligation, or the Antagonist. And since the Indiana law is the strongest entity, it causes the Antagonist to disengage and allows the Agonist to manifest its force tendency. This force interaction is presented in Figure 4.9.
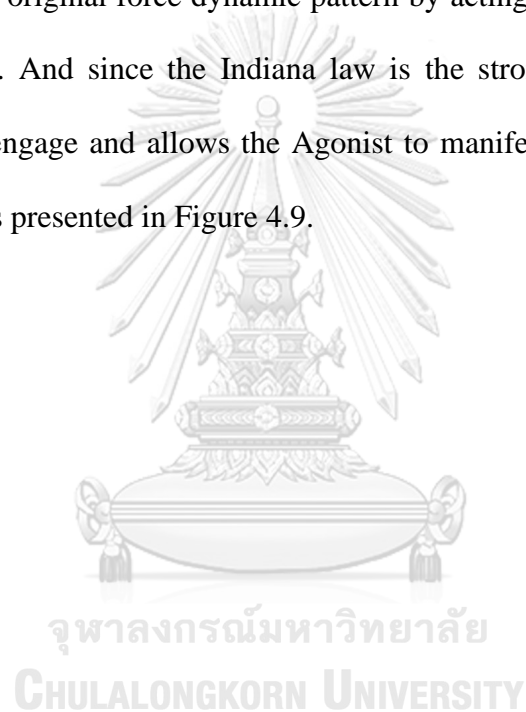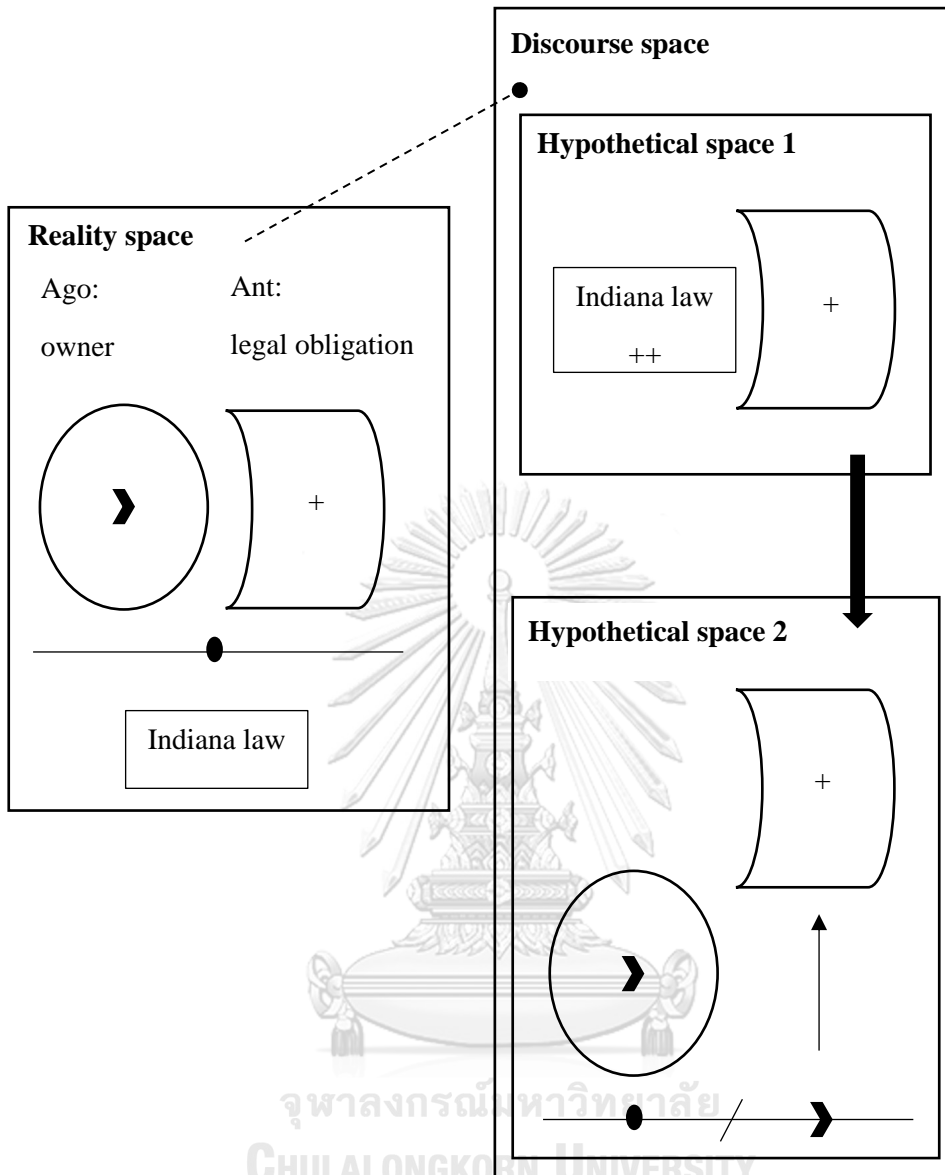
Figure 4.9   Force dynamics for law allowing owner to refuse to seat a gay couple

The other ubiquitous use of force dynamics in the discourse of the advocates of same-sex marriage is to emphasize progress and achievement in a positive manner. Consider Examples 4.14 and 4.15.

Example 4.14

In December 2013, a federal judge overturned the state's same-sex marriage ban, among the first of a string of similar rulings across the United States that eventually paved the way for the U.S. Supreme Court to declare gay marriages legal across the nation. (3745343)

Example 4.15

"Congratulations America for finally catching up to the modern era with this landmark step forward for gay and lesbian rights." (3389491)

In both examples, the pleasant resulting states are highlighted by profiling stronger Agonists (attempts to legalize same-sex marriage) who can successfully realize their intrinsic force tendencies toward action. The Antagonists, or same-sex marriage bans, are construed as weaker entities. The force interaction in both examples are portrayed in Figure 4.10. By using the Location ESM force dynamics which imply efforts to reach a destination, the text producers can put more emphasis on pleasantness of making progress and achieving goals.

Ago:

attempts to legalize
same-sex marriage

Ant:

same-sex marriage
bans
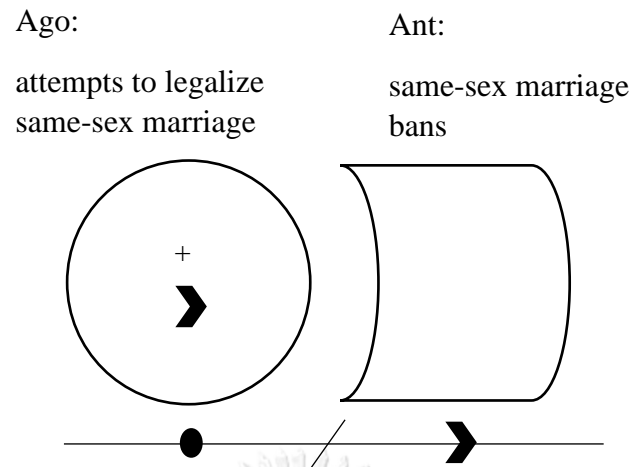
Figure 4.10   Force interaction between attempts to legalize same-sex marriage and
same-sex marriage bans

In summary, while the Location ESM is absent from the discourse of the
opponents of same-sex marriage, it is a discursive tool for the advocates of same-sex
marriage to discuss unfairness or difficulties the LGBT community is facing and to
profile progress and achievement in a positive manner.

4.3 The other metaphors

4.3.1 Ontological, Building/Construction, and Religion and the Supernatural

The ontological metaphor is a basic construal which is ubiquitous in every discourse.
It is normally used to a 'make the abstract concrete – they are making things human
scale, for example by seeing a nation or an abstract quality as a person' (Dancygier
and Sweetser, 2014: 71) and by seeing an idea or an abstract concept as an object that
a person can possess.

Example 4.16

A new poll released this week found that the majority of most major religious groups now fully <u>embrace</u> marriage equality, and that even groups who oppose the right to marry are abandoning anti-LGBT views at a surprising rate. (3212637)

The word 'embrace' in Example 4.16 is a vivid instance of ontological metaphors. Marriage equality which is merely an abstract concept is conceptualized as an object that groups of people can physically touch and embrace. This case of ontological metaphor does not reflect any ideological messages since the source concept (Object) does not transfer viewpoints onto the target. Instead, the mapping from Object to Marriage Equality functions to help us describe mental processes of accepting an abstract concept rather than the abstraction itself. From this perspective, some readers might find that ontological are simply trivial matters. However, ontological metaphors are actually building blocks of novel and complex metaphorical expressions. Consider Example 4.17

Example 4.17

Kim Davis is being treated as a criminal because <u>she cannot violate her conscience</u>. While she may remain behind bars for now, Kim Davis is a free woman. <u>Her conscience remains unshackled</u>. (3563241)

Example 4.17 is about Kim Davis's refusal to comply with *Obergefell v. Hodges* after the legalization of same-sex marriage. Davis refused to issue marriage

licenses to same-sex couples due to her religious belief that same-sex marriage is against God's will. As a result of her refusal, Davis was jailed for contempt of court. In the context of 4.17, it appears that Kim Davis's physical body and conscience are conceptualized as two different entities since her conscience is reframed as a person. In reality, it is impossible for a human being to split or be split into two entities. Further, it is contradictory to our real-world knowledge to say that someone is a free person when they are imprisoned. Thus, in the context of Example 4.17, we have two knowledge structures that interact. On the one hand, we have our real-world knowledge which is contained in *the Reality space* or *the Base space*. On the other hand, we have some sets of knowledge which are in direct contradiction to our real-world knowledge in the *Hypothetical space* which is constructed online in this discourse situation. In the Hypothetical space, Kim Davis is construed by *the Divided Self metaphor* which allows us to split *the Subject*, the locus of subjectivity, rationality, and consciousness, from *the Self*, our bodies, emotions, and part of us that acts in the world (Lakoff 1996: 98-103). The conceptualization of the Hypothetical space and the Divided Self in can be partly represented as in Figure 4.11.
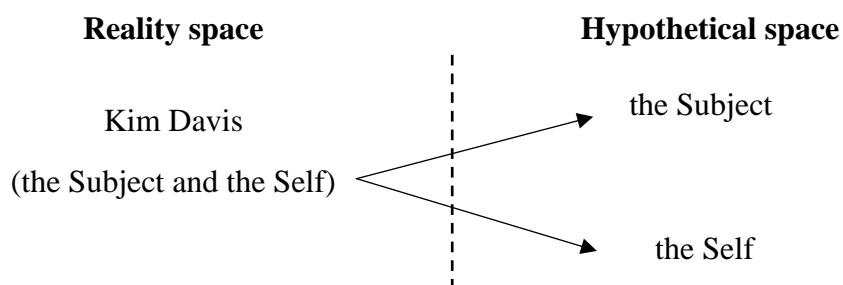
Figure 4.11   The Divided Self construal of Kim Davis

With the Divided Self construal in the Hypothetical space, we can now account for the metaphor in Example 4.17 and easily decipher the ideological messages hidden behind them. In this discourse situation, it is simply the Self, or Davis's body, that is behind bars. Her conscience, or Subject, however remains "unshackled". Crucially, the unshackled Subject is viewpointed. Since Davis is a Christian conservative who used her religious beliefs as a justification for her action, it can be assumed that "her conscience" refers to her awareness of Christian ideology that homosexuality and same-sex marriage are sinful. In this regard, her conscience is viewpointed with this Christian ideology and thus becomes a figurative "person" who is more righteous than the supporters of same-sex marriage. Furthermore, with this viewpoint phenomenon in the Divided Self construal, the text-producer can convey at least two more ideological messages. First is that no matter what the supporters of same-sex marriage do to Davis and other Christians, they will always hold on to God's teachings because it is the righteous path that they cannot "violate". The other potential ideological message is concerned with how the supporters of same-sex marriage are indirectly portrayed. As a result of Davis's viewpointed conscience, the supporters of same-sex marriage and those who imprisoned her inherently become the villains in this context.

Apart from the Divided Self, ontological metaphors can also be used to construct other kinds of novel metaphors.

Example 4.18

Around a million people were expected in <u>San Francisco, a crucible of the gay</u> <u>rights movement</u>, following equally ebullient Pride marches in London, New York, Dublin, Paris and other cities. (3390141)

San Francisco is known as "the gay capital of America" or "the gay Mecca" due to its gay nightlife, culture, and politics. It also has a long history of LGBTQ rights and activism. More importantly, in 2004 San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom defied the law of California by issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples. In response to this defiance, President George W. Bush announced support for a federal constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage. Eventually, San Francisco could not resist the tension and had to stop issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples in accordance with the CA Supreme Court's ruling. In this regard, San Francisco can also be metaphorically referred to as "a crucible of the gay rights movement". The word "crucible" literally means "a container used for heating substances or melting metals at very high temperatures" (Macmillan Dictionary Online 2018). However, it can also be used figuratively in the context of Example 4.18 as a place or situation in which people or ideas are tested severely. From the historical background, we can see that there was a political conflict between San Francisco and the CA Supreme Court on the idea of issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples. And this Conflict is metaphorically construed as Heat (in a crucible). In other words, the metaphorical expression in Example 4.18 is a linguistic realization of the CONFLICT IS HEAT/FIRE conceptual metaphor, and the mappings of this conceptual metaphor can be shown as in Table 4.3. Note that the CONFLICT IS

HEAT/FIRE metaphor is also based on the ABSTRACT CONCEPTS ARE OBJECTS ontological metaphor and the LEVEL OF TEMPERATURE FOR INTENSITY OF EMOTION metonymy since there is a correlation in experience between hostile emotions in conflicts and high temperature.

Table 4.3   Mappings for CONFLICTS IS HEAT/FIRE

Conflict (Target)		Heat/Fire (Source)
the entity involved in the conflict	←	the thing burning
the conflict	←	the fire
the intensity of conflict	←	the intensity of heat
the cause of the conflict	←	the cause of the fire

Based on the CONFLICT IS HEAT/FIRE conceptual metaphor and the LEVEL OF TEMPERATURE FOR INTENSITY OF EMOTION conceptual metonymy, the text-producer can conceptualize San Francisco as "a crucible for the gay rights movement" to express the tension and conflicts between San Francisco and the CA Supreme Court. To account for the meaning construction of San Francisco as a crucible, a blending operation is required. For this blend, there are two mental spaces involved: the San Francisco space (input 1; the target) and the Crucible space (input 2; the source). The elements from these two inputs are projected onto the blend and fused together. San Francisco becomes a crucible which has its support for the gay rights movement as the substance inside. Also, issuing marriage licenses in defiance of the CA Supreme Court's ruling is viewed as an act of heating the substance inside the Crucible. And since San Francisco was the losing side in the historical context, its support for same-sex marriage is conceptualized as a melting substance accordingly. The conceptualization processes described above can be illustrated as in Figure 4.12. By using blending theory, we can decipher the text-producer's major communicative

intent: Similar to how strong and solid metals are melted in the crucible, San Francisco's firm support for gay rights was criticized and attacked so severely that it had to eventually capitulate to the CA Supreme Court's ruling.

Generic space

- Container
- Contents
- Action
- Intensity
- Result

Input space 1: San Francisco

- San Francisco
- Gay rights movement
- Defying the CA Supreme Court's ruling
- Intensity of political tensions
- Losing

Input space 2: Crucible

- Crucible
- Substance inside the crucible
- Heating the substance
- Intensity of heat
- Melting

- San Francisco as Crucible
- Gay rights movement as Substance
- Defying as Heating
- Intensity of political tensions as Intensity of heat
- Losing as Melting

Blended space: San Francisco as Crucible

Figure 4.12   The San Francisco-as-Crucible blend

Moving on to the Building/Construction and the Religion and the Supernatural metaphors, most of these two metaphors are cases of how more complex metaphors are constructed as a further elaboration of the ontological metaphors. Whereas all Building/Construction metaphors are further elaboration of ontological metaphors,

there are some rare cases of the Religion and the Supernatural that are not relevant to ontological metaphors. Let us first discuss the Building/Construction metaphor.

The text-producer often elaborate ontological metaphors, which concerns objectification, and construct Building/Construction metaphors to highlight the firmness and the qualities of being well-organized and well-formed of the target concepts.

Example 4.19

A key component of the shifting attitudes on this issue [legalizing same-sex marriage] is the strong support for gay rights among younger American. (3335382)

Example 4.20

Reverend Glenroy Clarke…emphasized that homosexual unions are against the blueprint for marriage as outlined in the Bible. (4692881)

In the context of Example 4.19, the text-producer aims to convey that gay rights are built and supported firmly among the American youth. To this end, "gay rights" are reified and further construed in terms of the Building/Construction frame. With this Building/Construction metaphorical reframing, "gay rights" are positively viewpointed as something firm and well-planned. Example 4.20, on the other hand, reflects the use of the Building/Construction metaphor to express negative judgment toward same-sex marriage. Here, based on Christian ideology, heterosexual marriage is conceptualized as "the blueprint for marriage". Same-sex marriage, which is against

this blueprint for a correct and well-established kind of marriage, is thus negatively viewpointed as a wrong practice.

Unlike the Building/Construction metaphor which is based primarily on objectification, the Religion and the Supernatural metaphor is built mainly upon personification. Consider Example 2.21

Example 2.21

We can rally together and talk about a flag all we want, but the devil is taking control of this land and we're not stopping him. If the state's got to get out of the marriage business, then let's out of the business of marriage because we cannot succumb to what's been done to the future of this nation. (3423275)

In Example 2.21, legalizing same-sex marriage is construed as a devil. An abstract concept of legalizing same-sex marriage becomes an AGENT with volitional behavior, or taking control of the United States. The discourse producer goes beyond personification and elaborates the personified legalizing same-sex marriage as a devil to add extra negative viewpoints by transferring Christian ideology concerning devils onto the concept of legalizing same-sex marriage.

Interestingly, the Religion and the Supernatural metaphor also has some rare cases of metaphors that do not develop from ontological metaphors. Those cases are restricted to Generic is Specific construal and the megablending process. Let us first consider the Generic is Specific construal operation.

Generic is Specific is a metaphor that "maps a single specific-schema onto an indefinitely large number of parallel specific-level schemas that all have the same generic-level structure as the source-domain schema" (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 162). Example 4.22 is a brilliant example of the Generic is Specific in the US-LSM corpus.

Example 4.22

The majority opinion acknowledged the rights of those who disapprove of same-sex marriage to continue to <u>believe that homosexuality is a sin</u>. (3393116)

"Homosexuality is a sin" is where we can find the Generic is Specific construal. Before I present my analysis, it should be noted that this construal occurs in the Belief Hypothetical space constructed as a result of the word "believe" which is a *space builder* – an expression that "may establish a new space or refer back to one already introduced in the discourse" (Fauconnier 1994: 17). Since this construal resides in the Belief Hypothetical space, it suggests that the meaning of the Generic is Specific construal is not based on the reality, but on the mentality of the believer or "those who disapprove of same-sex marriage".

Returning to the Generic is Specific construal in Example 4.22, it is obvious that we are now facing an interaction of two concepts: Homosexuality and Sin. However, it is very unlikely to say that Homosexuality here is metaphorically conceptualized in terms of Sin. What can be seen instead is an evocation of a concept's non-prototypical frame which occurs when that concept is juxtaposed with a prototypical member of the very same frame. Although, the concept Homosexuality

by itself concerns the Religion frame, it is simply a peripheral member of the Religion frame in *prototype theory* (see for example Rosch 1975, 1977). In other words, we can say that the Religion frame is a non-prototypical frame of the concept Homosexuality. In this discourse context, the text-producer aims to evoke this non-prototypical frame in order to evoke as well the religious viewpoints toward Homosexuality. Therefore, the concept Sin which is a prototypical member of something wicked and immoral in the Religion frame is used to help evoke the Religion frame in the Homosexuality concept and transfer the negative viewpoint to it. This meaning construction process can be briefly illustrated as in Figure 4.13.
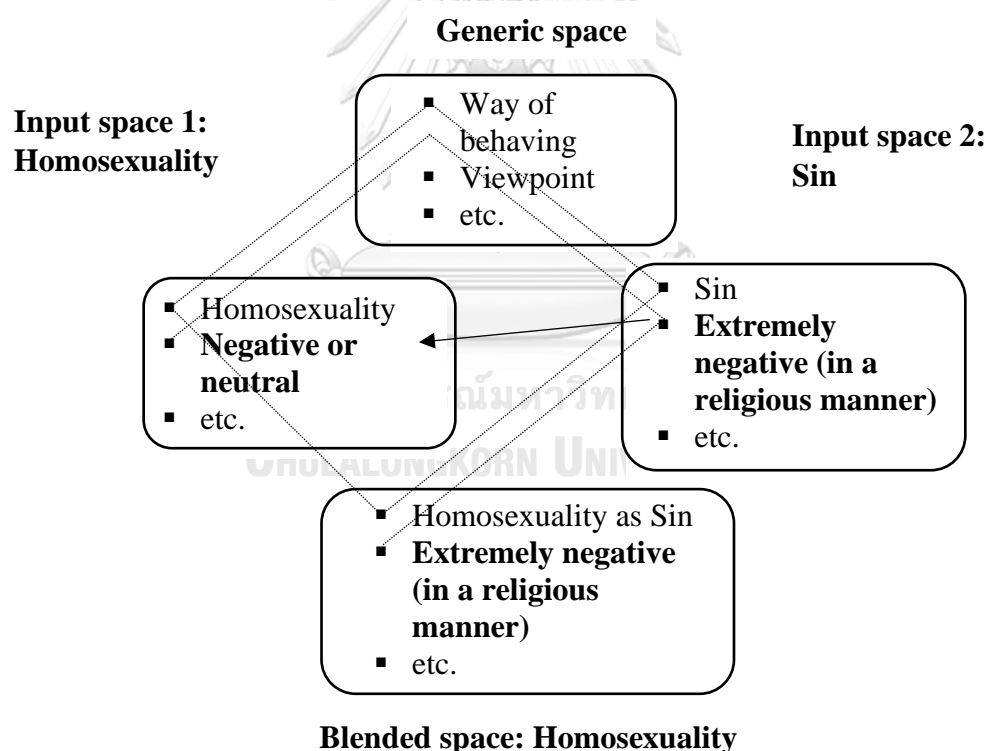
Figure 4.13   The Homosexuality-as-Sin blend

Note that the blend in Figure 4.13 maps the viewpoint from Sin to Homosexuality (as indicated by the arrow). This mapping is, in my view, not a metaphorical mapping but

a transfer of viewpoints from a paragon prototype in the category of something immoral to a non-prototypical member in the same category. Viewed in this light, the concept Homosexuality is therefore ideological and viewpointed as something extremely negative and immoral in a religious manner.

Let us now move on to the megablend of the Religion and the Supernatural metaphor.

Example 4.23

Bryan Fischer accuses Obama of being a Muslim for supporting gay marriage… "Nobody can support and promote and celebrate homosexual behavior who is a sincerely devoted follower of Christ. It's impossible, because Christ and his apostles made it very clear that's a sin". Fischer went further still; suggesting that Obama is actually a follower of Islam. "He walks like a Muslim. He talks like a Muslim. He sounds like a Muslim. He acts like a Muslim." (2979393)

Even a cursory glance at the excerpt above can make the reader stunned by Fischer's irony since Fischer's arguments are in direct contradiction to Islamic ideology. According to the Quran (7: 81-84)[15], for those who "practice lusts on men instead of women…we rain down on them a rain of stones". In other words, homosexual behaviors are considered a vile form of sexual behaviors; those who practice them must be sentenced to death in accordance with the Sharia, or Islamic law. At this

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[15] Based on the English translation of the Noble Quran by Dr. Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din Al-Hilali, Ph.D. and Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan. Available online at: https://www.noblequran.com/translation/

point, one important question must be raised: If Islamic teachings are totally against homosexuality, how can Obama be called a Muslim for supporting same-sex marriage? One possible explanation is that the knowledge structure of the concept Islam is reconceptualized in this discourse context. This explanation in turn leads to another question: How can this reconceptualization be accounted for? Note that the conceptualization of Obama as a Muslim in Example 4.23 does not occur in the Reality space. Rather, it resides in a Hypothetical space evoked by the space builder "accuses". In this regard, the knowledge structure of Islam here must be interpreted based on Fischer's perspective (which is clearly negatively viewpointed), and that is the very first step of our meaning deciphering procedures.

To reconceptualize the concept Islam, we need two input spaces: the Islam space and the Social Institution Allowing Gay Marriage space. The elements from these inputs project into the blend to construct an emergent blend structure in which gay marriage is not considered sinful or contradictory to Islamic teachings. Crucially, not all elements from both inputs are chosen for projection. Only the element needed for the blend is selected and projected into the blend – and this kind of projection is referred to as *selective projection*. From the Islam input, the blend selects only one element – i.e. the followers of Islam or Muslims. From the Social Institution Allowing Gay Marriage input, an idea of supporting gay marriage is selected. The selected elements from both inputs are fused together in the blend, yielding an emergent structure being specific to the blend which is Muslims supporting same-sex marriage. This blend (or the Islam Supporting Gay Marriage blend) then becomes an

input for another blend called a Sinful Muslim blend. To construct the Sinful Muslim blend, another input is required: the Christianity input. Again, only elements needed are projected into the blend. From the Islam Supporting Gay Marriage blend/input, Muslims and the emergent blend element (Islam supporting gay marriage) constructed earlier are selected. From the Christianity space, the element that following Christ is the right and virtuous way of life is chosen. In the blend, these selected elements are combined and result in a figurative emergent meaning, which is Islam or being a Muslim is wrong. This emergent meaning arises as a result of the juxtaposition between two contradictory elements in the blends: supporting gay marriage and following Christ is the right path. Since in this Hypothetical space the way of life that Christ paved for us is considered a moral standard ("Christ and his apostles made it very clear that's a sin"), Islam and Muslims which do not follow Christ and support gay marriage in this context are therefore viewpointed as morally wrong. The blending diagram illustrating the online meaning construction of the Sinful Muslim megablend – a blend consisting of multiple layers – can be partly presented as in Figure 4.14. Note that the emergent meaning is presented in a box inside the blend, and the generic spaces are omitted to simplify the diagram.

The megablend in Figure 4.14 has not yet covered all shades of the meaning of Obama is a Muslim – we still need another layer of blending network to complete the conceptualization of Obama as a Muslim or the Obama-as-Muslim blend. To construct this blend, a *simplex blend* is required. For this type of blend, role-value mappings are the essence as "the relevant part of the frame in one input is projected

with its roles, and the elements are projected from the other input as values of those roles within the blend" (Fauconnier & Turner 2002: 120). In other words, simplex blends profile specific roles from one input and map these roles onto specifics values in the other input. Returning to the construction of the blend in question, the Sinful Muslim megablend constructed earlier now functions as an input providing roles for the blend. These roles are then projected onto specific values – Obama (an individual), Obama's position on gay marriage, and a viewpoint toward Obama – in the other input, or the Obama input. The simplex blend for the construction of the Obama-as-Muslim blend can be illustrated as in Figure 4.15. Importantly, Figure 4.15 (or the third layer of our megablend) is where the online meaning construction of Obama as a Muslim is complete.

Input space 2:

Input space 1:
Muslim

Social Institution Allowing Gay Marriage

- Muslim
- Opposing gay marriage

- Follower/member
- Supporting gay marriage

Input space 4:

Blended space/Input space 3:

- Christian
- Opposing gay marriage
- Following Christ is the right way

- Muslim
- Supporting gay marriage

- Muslim (an individual)
- Supporting gay marriage

- Sinful individual
- Islam is wrong

Blended space: Sinful Muslim

Figure 4.14   The Sinful Muslim megablend

Input
space 6:

Blended space/Input
space 5: Sinful Muslim

- Obama (an individual)
- Obama's position
- Viewpoint toward Obama

- Muslim (an individual)
- Supporting gay marriage

- Sinful individual
- Islam is wrong

- Obama as a Muslim
- Obama supports gay marriage
- Obama is sinful

Blended space: Obama as a Muslim
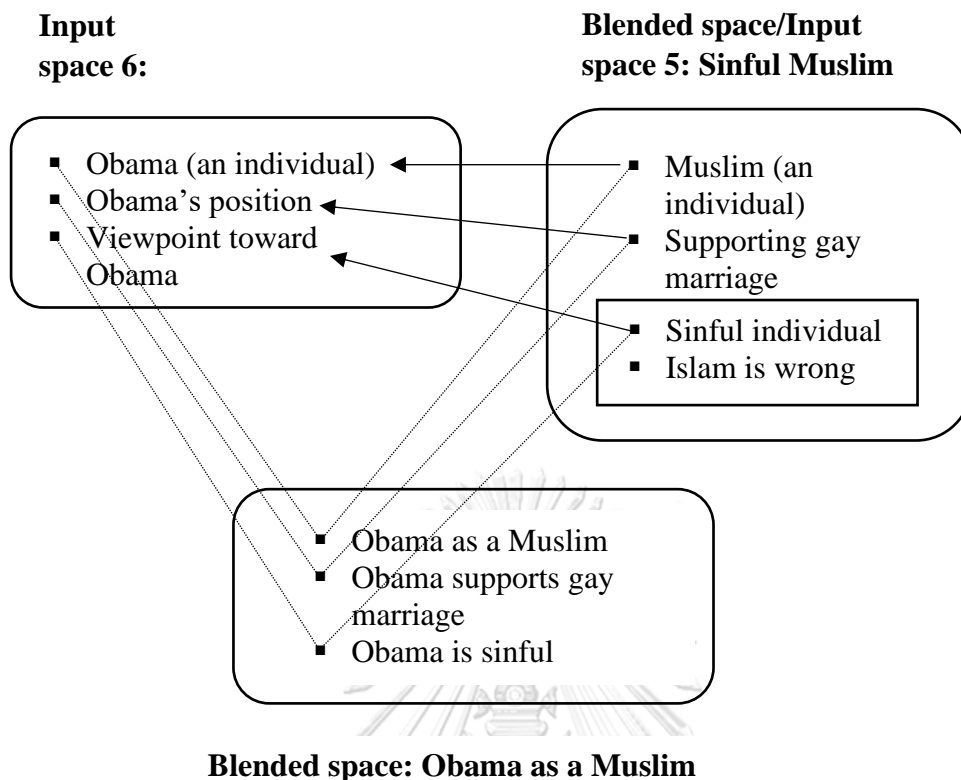
Figure 4.15   The Obama-as-Muslim blend

In summary, ontological metaphors are also prevalent in the US-LSM corpus. The most prominent function of ontological metaphors in this discourse data is not to describe the abstractions themselves. Rather, ontological metaphors serve as building blocks for more complex metaphorical expressions which are non-neutral and convey ideological messages.

4.3.2 Crime, Light and Darkness, and Disease/Illness

Crime, Light and Darkness, and Disease/Illness metaphors occur very few that we do not have enough evidence to claim their systematic functions. Based on the small

amount of data that we have, however, it is only possible to say that these three metaphors are used to add negative viewpoints towards the topic being discussed.

Example 4.24

The United States is moving toward "criminalization of Christianity" as a result of legalizing same-sex marriage, Mike Huckabee told a group of conservative pastors in a conference call organized by the Family Research Council. (3219131)

Example 4.25

In a time where people are more and more obsessed with religious laws and racial divides, a decision like this stands out like a beacon in these dark and trying times. (4692208)

Example 4.26

And there are still health care providers who offer ways to "treat" homosexuality as if it were an illness. (3225496)

In the above excerpts, not allowing a person to cite their religious beliefs as a claim to discriminate the LGBT people is viewed as a crime. The time when there is discrimination is construed as darkness. And homosexuality is conceptualized as an illness. What we can see from these examples is that Crime, Light and Darkness, and Disease/Illness metaphors are employed to transfer negative viewpoints towards the source concept.

4.4 Summary

Overall, the COMPETITION MF is the most prevalent type of metaphors in the US-LSM corpus. The supporters of same-sex marriage tend to utilize the COMPETITION MF to either highlight social inequity and struggles the LGBT people are experiencing or empower one another. On the contrary, the opponents of same-sex marriage are likely to utilize this type of metaphor to construe themselves as a protector of righteousness and construct the opposing side as a violent, harmful group of people. The Location ESM is absent from the discourse of the opponents of same-sex marriage. A possible explanation is that the Location ESM highlights the struggle or efforts toward achieving worthwhile goals – and the discourse on the legalization same-sex marriage is mainly about reaching the goal of having same-sex marriage legalized. Hence, the Location ESM seems not to be an appropriate choice of metaphors for the opponents of same-sex marriage. Ontological metaphors function mostly as building blocks for more complex metaphorical expressions which are non-neutral and convey ideological messages. They are a rich source of novel metaphorical expression. The Building/Construction and the Religion and the Supernatural metaphors are mainly an extension of ontological metaphors. There are only a few cases of Religion and the Supernatural metaphors that do not derive from any ontological roots. Lastly, the Crime, Light and Darkness, and Disease/Illness metaphors hardly occur in the US-LSM corpus. In consequence, it is impossible to establish their systematic generalizations. Still, most of Crime, Light and Darkness, and Disease/Illness metaphors are used to add negative viewpoints toward the target concepts.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Revisiting research hypotheses

The results of this study confirm the first hypothesis. The War/Combat metaphor is the most prevalent type of metaphors in the US-LSM corpus (approximately 36.67 percent). In addition, the War/Combat metaphor has conceptual links to other types of metaphors, which are the Sports and Games metaphors. This conceptual link is referred to in this research as the COMPETITION MF (see sections 3.4 and 4.1).

The second hypothesis is also confirmed since we see all the construction, reinforcement, and attenuation of same-sex marriage controversies by means of metaphorical strategies. Admittedly, I conjectured this research hypothesis when I looked at the results of pilot study, which cover only very limited amount of data. I thought that only three functions metaphors would suffice to explain all metaphors in the US-LSM corpus. However, these three functions, along with the second research hypothesis, turned out to be too narrow and somehow meaningless. Hypothesizing that metaphor would contribute to the construction of same-sex marriage controversies is flawed. A good and meaningful research hypothesis should have two sides to the answer to the research question: the answer that the researcher expects and the answer that the researcher does not expect. Since metaphor is a phenomenon which creates a viewpointed reality of the target concept, all metaphorical expressions thus contribute to the construction of same-sex marriage controversies. Viewed in this

light, the second hypothesis definitely leads to only the answer that the researcher expects – there is no other alternative.

For the reinforcement and the attenuation functions of metaphors, I formed these functions based on previous studies on metaphor (e.g. Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2004; and Semino, 2008) which claim that War/Combat metaphors are used to intensify the seriousness of the issue (reinforcement function), while the Sports and Games metaphors are used to trivialize to topic being discussed (attenuation function). Nevertheless, when I looked my corpus data, I found that, unlike other studies, War/Combat, Sports, and Games a conceptual and discourse link that make them inseparable. In this regard, when these metaphors are used to elaborate one another as discourse unfolds, it becomes impossible for us to say that there is a specific function belonging to a specific type of metaphors.

In addition, there is another function of metaphors which is beyond the scope of the functions mentioned in the hypothesis: empowerment. The advocates of same-sex marriage also utilize the COMPETITION MF to empower one another. And empowerment is not either reinforcement or attenuation. Some might argue that empowerment is in fact part of the construction of same-sex marriage controversies. That is true; however, again, every metaphorical strategy contributes to the construction of same-sex marriage. Hence, it is not helpful to say that empowerment is construction.

5.2 Methodological contribution: metaphor classification

Most corpus-assisted metaphor research classifies types of metaphors by looking at the level of frames or domains (Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2004; Semino *et al*., 2018; etc.). However, as mentioned in Chapter 3, frame-based classification of metaphors is problematic since the boundaries between types of metaphors in discourse are unclear, especially when more than one type of metaphors is employed in one sentence. It is true that the Pragglejaz's MIP guides us to first establish the unit of analysis, and the unit of analysis for corpus-assisted metaphor research is usually at the level of individual words since the nodes of the concordance lines are words and multi-word expressions (which most corpus programs count as single words). Nevertheless, neglecting how metaphors elaborate one another when classifying metaphors seems not to be a good practice. The underlined expressions in 'If defenders of marriage are consumed and preoccupied in fighting against same-sex marriage, they are like a sports team that tries to shut down the opposing team but does not score any points for itself.' reflects the flaw in frame-based classification when using the Pragglejaz's MIP. Although the words 'defenders' and 'fighting' are War/Combat metaphorical expressions, the other metaphors in the same sentence reconceptualize the War/Combat kind of fight as a sport competition. In this regard, counting 'defenders' and 'fighting' as War/Combat metaphors appear to be problematic since it completely ignores discourse meanings of those expressions. And marking 'defenders' and 'fighting' as Sports metaphors is also problematic since it backgrounds the War/Combat nature of these metaphorical expression. As a result, this research proposes that metaphor classification should be fluid and based on

several sets of criteria gained from considering discourse meanings of metaphors to avoid fuzziness.

The COMPETITION MF and the Location ESM are the two broad types of metaphors that do not follow the frame-based criteria. The Location ESM is clear in itself as it is a well-established schema that gives rise to several metaphors such as Journey and Force metaphors. The COMPETITION MF, on the other hand, may seem problematic to some readers. The COMPETITION MF discussed in this study is based heavily on the War/Combat metaphor, while the Sports and Games metaphors almost disappear from our discussion. Still, I do not believe that the COMPETITION MF is not an appropriate way of coping with the War/Combat, Sports, and Games metaphors. The reason why Sports and Games are overwhelmed by the War/Combat is because the use of the War/Combat metaphor in the US-LSM is substantially greater than other types of metaphors. If we examine the COMPETITION MF in other discourse, it may be possible that other metaphors in the COMPETITION MF will have some significant roles.

5.3 Theoretical contribution: analyzing novel metaphors in discourse

Conceptual metaphors, or conventional metaphors that are entrenched in our conceptual system, have long been a central focus of corpus-assisted metaphor research, while novel metaphorical expressions have been ignored. This research claims and shows that novel metaphors are also present in naturally-occurring discourse. As a consequence, we need theories for online meaning construction such as mental spaces theory and conceptual blending theory to help analyze this type of

metaphors. Conceptual blending theory 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' (Dancygier, 2016, p. 35). But why is conceptual blending a natural choice for novel metaphors? Amarinthnukrowh (2019) applied Kövecses (2017)'s *levels of metaphor* to shed light on this matter.

In the cognitive approach to figurative language research, the basic-tool is comprised of image schemas, domains, frames, and mental spaces. These four concepts are arranged in order from the most schematic to the least schematic as in Figure 5.1.
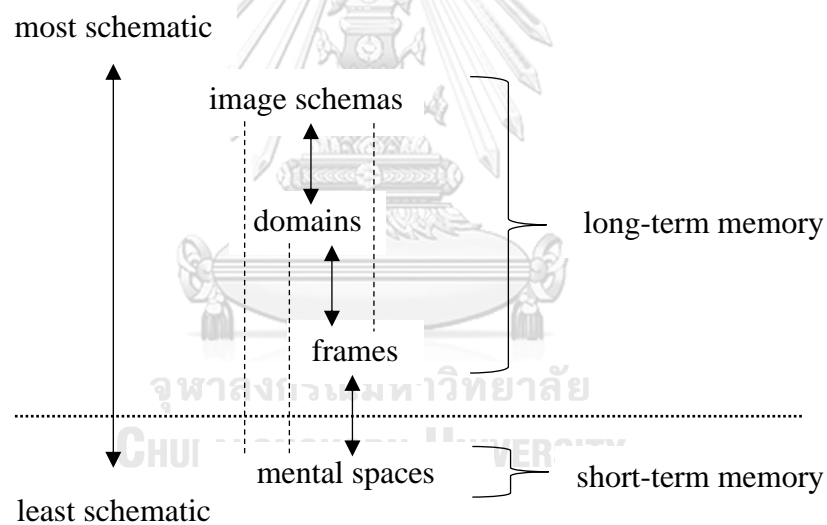
Figure 5.1   The basic tool-kit (Adapted from Kövecses, 2017)

While the first three concepts – i.e. image schemas, domains, and frames – belong to our long-term memory, mental spaces function online in our working memory. Importantly, these four concepts are not distinct from one another. Rather, they are linked together and form a unified system of conceptual knowledge. In this light, the use of a mental space in a particular context will activate the frame to which it is

linked, and in turn this frame will activate the domain of which the frame is a part, and the domain activation, then, will evoke the schematic structure of image schema. Since mental spaces and blends are 'constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action' (Fauconnier 2007, p. 351) and belong to our short-term memory, they are therefore dynamic and can be manipulated or modified in ongoing discourse. In other words, it is at this level or the level of mental spaces that we can create novel figurative expressions, perform conceptual blending operations, add viewpoints, modify conceptual structures in long-term memory to suit our communicative intent, and so forth. Even more importantly, figurative language in discourse can be more or less conventional as sometimes the text-producer may have to work at the level of short-term memory and create novel expressions to convey some particular messages which cannot be successfully expressed by using conventional figurative patterns entrenched in our long-term memory. Viewed in this light, it seems that both blends and novel figurative expressions belong to the very same level of analysis: the level of short-term memory. And since the two work at the same level, they are a match for each other as a consequence.

However, this is not of course to say that conceptual metaphor theory should not be employed to analyze metaphors in discourse since when metaphors in discourse are frequently use, they become conventionalized and belong to our long-term memory. The purpose of this discussion is simply to show that there are available apparatuses for novel metaphors in discourse. In this light, metaphor researchers should not ignore novel metaphors when doing discourse analysis.

Importantly, although conceptual blending theory is a more suitable apparatus for analyzing novel metaphors in discourse, there is one major drawback in using blending theory. Blending theory accounts for online meaning construction processes. Therefore, we cannot draw any generalizations from blending theory. One might argue that we can count the types of blends and summarize which type is the most ubiquitous one in the discourse in question. However, since a single-scope blend is actually the same as a unidirectional mapping of conceptual metaphor (see Chapters 1 and 2 for a detailed explanation), do we have to count all conceptual metaphors as single-scope blends? Theoretically, the answer would be yes. Still, it is pointless to count all conceptual metaphors as single-scope blends and then decide which type of blend is the most prevalent one. Conventional metaphors are of course greater in number than novel metaphors in all kinds of discourse. In the light of this, if we count all conceptual metaphors as single-scope blends, single-scope blends will always be the most frequent type of blend – and this kind of analysis still does not give us any generalizations and does not help us to avoid the drawback of using blends.

5.4 Limitations

Recently, there is a new trend in cognitive science which puts an emphasis on the experimental approaches to the framing effects of metaphors to examine how people actually thinks when they are primed with metaphors (see for instance Thibodeau and Boroditsky, 2011; Steen *et al.*, 2014; Hart, 2017; etc.). The interpretations of the meanings, functions, and effects of metaphors in this study, however, are based primarily on previous studies' analyses of the functions of metaphors in discourse

(especially Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2004; Semino, 2008) and on the researcher's interpretations of the texts. I am well aware that some experiments are needed in order to solidify the results of this study. Nevertheless, it is impossible for this research to conduct an experiment since this research was done after the time of the legalization of same-sex marriage in the United States. We could not travel back in time to do an experiment and observe how metaphors in the discourse on the U.S. legalization of same-sex marriage actually shaped the way people who read the articles in the US-LSM corpus thought back then. In addition, to have reliable results, participants must be native speakers of English language. Therefore, it is implausible to do an experiment in Thailand as it would be difficult to find sufficient number of native speakers of English language. From this perspective, I had to accept lack of experimental results as a limitation of this research.

5.5 Future research

There is still room for a number of future research projects which arise from this study. Most scholars focus primarily on simply conceptual metaphors, while conceptual blending theory has received only little attention in cognitive, discourse, and corpus-assisted approaches to metaphor research. Hopefully, this research has done its job, however small, to show how to apply available theories in cognitive linguistics such as mental spaces, conceptual blending, and force dynamics to account for creative, novel metaphors in discourse. If more researchers utilize blending theory to analyze metaphors in discourse, perhaps one day we can find a way to draw generalization from blends in discourse – a task which I failed to perform.

Apart from the cognitive aspect, a discourse-oriented perspective to metaphor classification is an interesting method which should be applied to other discourse to confirm its validity. By using this method to analyze War/Combat, Sports, and Games metaphors as the COMPETITION MF in the discourse on the legalization of same-sex marriage, the Sports and Games metaphors are backgrounded in the qualitative analyses of the COMPETITION MF since they are small in number compared to the War/Combat in the COMPETITION MF. If we look at other discourse, the results may be different and may reflect some insight into the Sports and Games aspects of the COMPETITION MF. And if we look at many types of discourse and still find that the Sports and Games are backgrounded in the COMPETITION MF, maybe that will lead a search of a better way to classify metaphors in discourse, which may require a collaboration of many scholars in the community.

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APPENDIX A

THE US-LSM CORPUS

<2937186>   15-01-05   CA   CBC.ca

http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/florida-cities-begin-issuing-marriage-licences-to-same-sex-couples-1.2890767   Florida cities begin issuing marriage licences to same-sex couples

<2953273>   15-01-12   GB   The Guardian
http://www.theguardian.com/law/2015/jan/12/us-supreme-court-declines-review-louisiana-same-sex-marriage US supreme court declines review of Louisiana same-sex marriage case

<2964632>   15-01-16   GB   Telegraph.co.uk
http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/11352195/US-Supreme-Court-to-settle-question-of-gay-marriage-once-and-for-all.html   US Supreme Court to settle question of gay marriage once and for all

<2979393>   15-01-22   GB   ChristianToday
http://www.christiantoday.com/article/bryan.fischer.accuses.obama.of.being.a.muslim.for.supporting.gay.marriage/46528.htm   Bryan Fischer accuses Obama of being a Muslim for supporting gay marriage

<2979447>   15-01-22   GB   ChristianToday
http://www.christiantoday.com/article/us.evangelicals.and.catholics.join.forces.to.warn.of.grave.threat.of.gay.marriage/46535.htm US Evangelicals and Catholics join forces to warn of 'grave threat' of gay marriage

<2982269>   15-01-23   GB   The Guardian
http://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/jan/23/-sp-secret-history-same-sex-marriage   The secret history of same-sex marriage

<2943028>   15-01-07   IE   IrishCentral
http://www.irishcentral.com/opinion/cahirodoherty/Florida-Archdiocese-issues-gag-order-over-gays-VIDEO.html   Florida Archdiocese issues gag order over gays (VIDEO)

<2948338>   15-01-09   IE   Irish Independent
http://www.independent.ie/world-news/americas/samesex-couples-await-historic-us-supreme-court-ruling-30893978.html   Same-sex couples await historic US Supreme court ruling

<2965232>   15-01-16   IE   thejournal.ie   http://www.thejournal.ie/gay-marriage-us-supreme-court-1887310-Jan2015/   In three months, gay marriage could be legal in all 50 US states

<2966960>   15-01-17   IE   Irish Times
http://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/us/us-supreme-court-to-rule-on-same-sex-marriage-in-all-states-1.2070047 US Supreme Court to rule on same-sex marriage in all states

<2968725>   15-01-18   NZ   Stuff.co.nz
http://www.stuff.co.nz/world/americas/65172730/us-supreme-court-to-rule-on-gay-marriage   US Supreme Court to rule on gay marriage

<2941101>   15-01-06   SG   AsiaOne
http://news.asiaone.com/news/world/same-sex-couples-wed-florida-gay-marriage-ban-ends   Same-sex couples wed in Florida as gay marriage ban ends

<2936610>   15-01-05   US   Human Rights Campaign
http://www.hrc.org/blog/with-florida-70-percent-of-americans-live-in-marriage-equality-states   With Florida, 70 Percent of Americans Live in Marriage Equality States

<2941612>   15-01-07   US   ThinkProgress
http://thinkprogress.org/lgbt/2015/01/07/3608824/archbishop-of-miami-threatens-to-fire-employees-who-support-marriage-equality/   Archbishop Of Miami Threatens To Fire Employees Who Support Marriage Equality

<2941772>   15-01-07   US   TIME http://time.com/3656219/2016-candidates-gay-marriage/   Here's Where 16 Potential Presidential Candidates Stand On Gay Marriage

<2944355>   15-01-08   US   Washington Times
    http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/jan/8/gay-couples-children-oppose-same-sex-marriage-tell/?page=all   Gay couples' children oppose same-sex marriage, tell of unpleasant upbringings

<2946987>   15-01-09   US   Newsmax.com
    http://www.newsmax.com/US/kids-of-gay-couples-5th-Circuit/2015/01/09/id/617535/   Kids of Gay Couples Describe Difficult Upbringings

<2947031>   15-01-09   US   ThinkProgress
    http://thinkprogress.org/lgbt/2015/01/09/3609858/texas-marriage-license-bill/
    One Lawmaker's Sneaky Attempt To Keep Marriage Equality Out Of Texas

<2963807>   15-01-16   US   Daily Beast
    http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/01/16/gay-marriage-likely-back-in-the-hands-of-one-supreme-court-justice.html   Gay Marriage Likely Back in the Hands of One Supreme Court Justice

<2967734>   15-01-18   US   The New Yorker
    http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/year-marriage-equality   The Year of Marriage Equality

<2972206>   15-01-20   US   Sun Sentinel   http://www.sun-sentinel.com/local/broward/fl-gay-marriage-delmay-to-dc-20150119-story.html
    Newlywed gay couple to attend State of the Union speech

<2990020>   15-01-27   US   NBCNews.com
    http://www.nbcnews.com/news/religion/mormon-leaders-appeal-balance-gay-religious-rights-n294716   Mormon Leaders Appeal for Balance of Gay and Religious Rights

<2990266>   15-01-27   US   Pew Research Center
    http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/01/27/what-lgbt-americans-think-of-same-sex-marriage/   What LGBT Americans think of same-sex marriage

<3052101>   15-02-20   CA   CBC.ca
        http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/texas-ag-moves-to-overturn-marriage-of-lesbian-couple-1.2965770   Texas AG moves to overturn marriage of lesbian couple

<3006363>   15-02-02   GB   ChristianToday
        http://www.christiantoday.com/article/evangelical.church.gracepoint.comes.out.in.support.of.gay.marriage/47183.htm   Evangelical church GracePoint comes out in support of gay marriage

<3022100>   15-02-08   GB   PinkNews
        http://www.pinknews.co.uk/2015/02/08/former-republican-same-sex-marriage-will-lead-to-the-dissolution-of-the-us/   Former Republican: Same-sex marriage will lead to the dissolution of the US

<3024186>   15-02-09   GB   Telegraph.co.uk
        http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/11402056/Gay-marriages-begin-in-some-parts-of-Alabama.html   Gay marriages begin in some parts of Alabama

<3068069>   15-02-26   GB   Daily Mail
        http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2970433/Christian-fundamentalists-create-Bigotry-Map-America-mark-people-intolerant-faith-live-include-category-homosexual-agenda.html   Christian fundamentalists create 'Bigotry Map' of people intolerant of their faith - including those with a 'homosexual agenda'

<3071519>   15-02-27   GB   ChristianToday
        http://www.christiantoday.com/article/magistrates.to.opt.out.of.gay.marriage.ceremonies.in.nc/48934.htm   Magistrates to opt out of gay marriage ceremonies in NC

<3011246>   15-02-04   US   ThinkProgress
        http://thinkprogress.org/lgbt/2015/02/04/3618907/four-kids-gay-parent-oppose-equality/   The Full Story Of The 'Poster Children' Conservatives Are Using To Oppose Gay Marriage

<3020273>   15-02-07   US   ThinkProgress
http://thinkprogress.org/lgbt/2015/02/07/3620595/san-francisco-archbishop-introduces-catholic-version-dont-ask-dont-tell-local-school-employees/   San Francisco's New Version Of 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell'

<3029377>   15-02-11   US   Reuters Blogs http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2015/02/12/gay-marriage-one-judge-fights-the-weight-of-history/   Gay marriage: One judge fights the weight of history

<3034074>   15-02-13   US   Daily Caller
http://dailycaller.com/2015/02/13/kids-of-gay-couples-find-their-voice-will-scotus-listen/   Kids Of Gay Couples Find Their Voice -- Will SCOTUS Listen?

<3034098>   15-02-13   US   Politico
http://www.politico.com/story/2015/02/gay-marriage-voters-poll-115171
Poll: 60 percent of likely voters back gay marriage

<3051855>   15-02-20   US   Christian Science Monitor
http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/2015/0220/Millennial-Evangelicals-push-for-full-inclusion-of-LGBT-Christians   Millennial Evangelicals push for full inclusion of LGBT Christians

<3054256>   15-02-21   US   Salon
http://www.salon.com/2015/02/21/the_souths_true_face_of_hate_oozing_nonsense_from_demented_and_influential_corners_of_religious_right/ The South's true face of hate: Oozing nonsense from demented and influential corners of religious right

<3054368>   15-02-21   US   Lincoln Journal Star
http://journalstar.com/news/local/native-american-yearns-for-old-views-of-gays-lesbians/article_7c70f55e-ca26-5c28-be12-1ae334bd2c8a.html   Native American yearns for old views of gays, lesbians

<3063775>   15-02-25   US   Los Angeles Times
http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-sf-archbishop-morality-clauses-20150225-story.html   SF archbishop stands firm in face of pressure on morality clauses

<3070280>   15-02-27   US   USA TODAY
http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2015/02/27/supreme-court-gay-marriage/24113163/   Gay marriage proponents claim 'right side of history'

<3157285>   15-03-31   AU   ABC Online
http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-04-01/us-corporations-pressure-states-accused-of-curbing-gay-rights/6364840   Arkansas passes religious freedom act following Indiana; US companies say bill curbs gay rights

<3143822>   15-03-26   CA   Toronto Star
http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2015/03/26/wave-of-religious-freedom-bills-raises-fears-of-anti-gay-discrimination.html   Wave of 'religious freedom' bills raises fears of anti-gay discrimination

<3147069>   15-03-27   CA   CBC.ca
http://www.cbc.ca/news/business/salesforce-com-cancels-all-events-in-indiana-after-anti-gay-law-sb-101-passed-1.3011890   Salesforce.com cancels all events in Indiana after anti-gay law SB 101 passed

<3087261>   15-03-05   GB   The Guardian http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/mar/05/alabama-republicans-bill-deny-marriages-services-religious-beliefs   Alabama Republicans push bill to allow denial of marriages on basis of beliefs

<3096551>   15-03-09   GB   Catholic Herald Online
http://www.catholicherald.co.uk/news/2015/03/09/us-bishops-call-for-day-of-prayer-in-support-of-traditional-marriage/   US bishops call for day of prayer in support of traditional marriage

<3106530>   15-03-12   GB   The Guardian
http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/12/utah-passes-mormon-backed-lgbt-anti-discrimination-bill   Utah's LGBT anti-discrimination bill passes with blessing of Mormon church

<3135208>   15-03-23   GB   PinkNews
http://www.pinknews.co.uk/2015/03/23/anti-gay-republican-ted-cruz-confirms-presidential-bid/   Anti-gay Republican Ted Cruz pledges to 'uphold the sacrament of sacrament of marriage' while launching Presidential bid

<3151300>   15-03-29   GB   PinkNews
        http://www.pinknews.co.uk/2015/03/29/republican-rand-paul-same-sex-marriage-is-the-result-of-a-moral-crisis/   Republican Rand Paul: Same-sex marriage is the result of a 'moral crisis'

<3156372>   15-03-31   GB   Telegraph.co.uk
        http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/republicans/11507161/Indiana-governor-to-revise-anti-gay-law-after-storm-of-criticism.html   Indiana governor to revise 'anti-gay' law after storm of criticism

<3156597>   15-03-31   GB   The Guardian
        http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/31/lgbt-rights-protect-marriage-equality-anti-gay-bills Equality groups ready for counterattack against wave of anti-gay bills across US

<1909796>   15-03-18   GH   Ghana Broadcasting Corporation
        http://www.gbcghana.com/1.2180035   US Presbyterian church backs same-sex marriage

<3124236>   15-03-18   SG   TODAYonline
        http://www.todayonline.com/world/americas/presbyterians-approve-gay-marriage-church-constitution Presbyterians approve gay marriage in church constitution

<3086284>   15-03-05   US   Fortune
        http://fortune.com/2015/03/05/hundreds-of-companies-urge-the-supreme-court-to-back-gay-marriage/   Hundreds of companies urge the Supreme Court to back gay marriage

<3089836>   15-03-06   US   Dallas Morning News
        http://www.dallasnews.com/news/politics/local-politics/20150306-dallas-mayor-shifts-course-makes-support-of-same-sex-marriage-official.ece   Dallas mayor shifts course, makes support of same-sex marriage official

<3092461>	15-03-07	US	ThinkProgress
http://thinkprogress.org/lgbt/2015/03/07/3631154/huckabee-cant-provide-examples-negative-impacts-marriage-equality/	Huckabee Asked To Provide Example Of Negative Impact Of Marriage Equality, Draws A Blank

<3098908>	15-03-10	US	Breitbart News
http://www.breitbart.com/big-government/2015/03/10/black-pastors-coalition-leader-obamas-comparison-of-civil-rights-and-gay-marriage-struggles-a-disgrace-to-the-black-community/Black Pastors Coalition Leader: Obama's Comparison of Civil Rights and Gay Marriage Struggles a 'Disgrace to the Black Community'

<3108862>	15-03-13	US	Jezebelhttp://jezebel.com/ok-hates-gay-marriage-so-much-it-wants-to-get-rid-of-st-1691312813	OK Hates Gay Marriage So Much It Wants to Get Rid of Straight Marriage

<3113345>	15-03-15	US	AL.com
http://www.al.com/news/index.ssf/2015/03/alums_wont_leave_millions_to_u.html	Alumni won't leave millions to University of Alabama because of state's war on same-sex marriage

<3118352>	15-03-17	US	Charisma News
http://www.charismanews.com/us/48764-could-high-court-s-gay-marriage-decision-spell-the-beginning-of-the-end-of-western-civilization	Could High Court's Gay Marriage Decision Spell 'The Beginning of the End of Western Civilization'?

<3118382>	15-03-17	US	ThinkProgress
http://thinkprogress.org/lgbt/2015/03/17/3634382/can-religious-conservatives-survive-rise-lgbt-rights/	The Rise Of LGBT Rights Is An Existential Threat To Conservative Religious Groups

<3118438>	15-03-17	US	The Texas Observer
http://www.texasobserver.org/texas-lawmakers-file-record-number-of-anti-lgbt-bills/	Texas Lawmakers File Record Number of Anti-LGBT Bills

<3118741> 15-03-17 US NPR http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2015/03/17/393705311/largest-group-of-u-s-presbyterian-churches-allows-same-sex-marriages Largest Group Of US Presbyterian Churches Allows Same-Sex Marriages

<3121750> 15-03-18 US Daily Beast http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/03/18/the-godmother-of-gay-marriage-edie-windsor-s-passionate-life.html The Godmother of Gay Marriage: Edie Windsor's Passionate Life

<3128728> 15-03-20 US fox13now.com http://fox13now.com/2015/03/20/governor-signs-bill-letting-clerks-opt-out-of-same-sex-marriages-on-religious-grounds/ Governor signs bill letting clerks opt out of same-sex marriages on religious grounds

<3131537> 15-03-21 US New York Daily News http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/religious-freedoms-heart-same-sex-marriage-battle-article-1.2157526 Religious freedom at heart of same-sex marriage political battle

<3146753> 15-03-27 US Washington Times http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/mar/27/adult-children-of-gays-say-gay-marriage-isnt-good-/?page=all Adults with gay parents say same-sex marriage isn't good for kids

<3146870> 15-03-27 US OneNewsNow http://www.onenewsnow.com/culture/2015/03/27/daughter-of-lesbians-i-needed-a-dad Daughter of lesbians: I needed a dad

<3155448> 15-03-31 US CNN http://www.cnn.com/2015/03/31/politics/pence-will-fix-religious-freedom-legislation/ Mike Pence: 'Was I expecting this kind of backlash? Heavens no.'

<3198648> 15-04-16 AU Business Insider Australia http://www.businessinsider.com.au/hillary-clinton-gay-marriage-and-immigration-flip-flops-2015-4 It looks like Hillary Clinton has already flip-flopped on two major issues

<3222810>   15-04-25   AU   Business Insider Australia
        http://www.businessinsider.com.au/this-surprise-could-come-out-of-the-supreme-courts-big-gay-marriage-case-2015-4   This surprise could come out of the Supreme Court's huge gay marriage case

<3159069>   15-04-01   CA   CBC.ca
        http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/indiana-s-religious-freedom-law-how-it-came-to-be-1.3017164   Indiana's 'religious freedom' law: How it came to be

<3162260>   15-04-02   CA   National Post
        http://news.nationalpost.com/news/corporate-america-takes-a-stand-indiana-latest-to-feel-sting-of-ceo-activism   Corporate America takes a stand: Indiana latest to feel sting of new CEO activism

<3206799>   15-04-20   CA   Winnipeg Free Press
        http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/opinion/analysis/legal-creep-of-moralism-intolerance-300622281.html   Legal creep of moralism, intolerance

<3216344>   15-04-23   CA   National Post
        http://news.nationalpost.com/life/sunny-with-a-chance-of-rainbows-is-fort-lauderdale-the-new-gay-capital-of-the-u-s   Sunny with a chance of rainbows - is Fort Lauderdale the new gay capital of the U.S.?

<3228898>   15-04-28   CA   National Post
        http://news.nationalpost.com/news/u-s-supreme-court-justice-says-marriage-has-been-between-man-and-woman-for-millennia-plus-time   US Supreme Court justice says marriage has been between man and woman for 'millennia-plus time'

<3162872>   15-04-02   GB   PinkNews
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<3412098>	15-07-06	PH	Rappler	http://www.rappler.com/move-ph/balikbayan/voices/98542-love-wins-intolerance-gay-marriage-usa	Same-sex marriage: #LoveWins when intolerance loses

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<3397575>	15-07-01	US	PRI	http://www.pri.org/stories/2015-07-01/how-traditional-couples-changed-definition-marriage-and-opened-doors-same-sex	How traditional couples changed the definition of marriage and opened the doors for same-sex weddings

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APPENDIX B

KEY DOMAINS OF THE US-LSM

Item	LL	LogRatio	Semtag
S3.2	8223.14	5.81	Relationship: Intimacy and sex
S4	6988.7	3.03	Kin
G2.1	5257.8	2.8	Law and order
S9	2875.53	2.17	Religion and the supernatural
G1.1	2014.02	1.71	Government
Q2.1	1996.85	1.63	Speech: Communicative
S7.4+	1193.58	2.15	Allowed
A5.1+++	818.89	2.25	Evaluation: Good
S2	805.23	1.4	People
G2.1+	600.84	3.8	Lawful
S7.4-	580.39	2.66	Not allowed
X6+	516.85	1.75	Decided
G1.2	405.43	0.85	Politics
X2.1	385.44	0.99	Thought, belief
Q2.2	353.95	0.6	Speech acts
A1.7-	325.06	1.68	No constraint
A13	315.93	9.58	Degree
S8+	265.55	0.72	Helping
L1+	234.22	3.28	Alive
X2.2+	220.93	1.05	Knowledgeable
S8-	191.33	1.22	Hindering
W2	168.92	8.67	Light
S5+	154.28	0.48	Belonging to a group
A6.1-	131.58	0.53	Comparing: Different
S6-	125.88	2.02	No obligation or necessity

Item	LL	LogRatio	Semtag
S7.2+	119.79	1.56	Respected
A5.2+	119.05	1.16	Evaluation: True
S3.1	113.49	1.01	Personal relationship: General
A6.1+++	111.52	1.11	Comparing: Similar
X4.1	93.71	0.66	Mental object: Conceptual object
S7.2-	89.45	3.32	No respect
E6+	87.3	1.67	Confident
X6	64.61	2.57	Deciding
A6.1+	60.05	0.53	Comparing: Similar
X2.6-	59.41	1.92	Unexpected
S7.1	58.03	1.54	Power, organizing
S2.1	56.83	0.73	People: Female
S7.3	52.14	1.63	Competition
S1.1.3+++	50.05	6.92	Participating
N5+++	48.65	0.78	Quantities: many/much
A6.1	48.43	2.39	Comparing:Similar/different
E2-	47.06	0.97	Dislike
S1.1.4+	46.86	2.19	Deserving
X2.5+	43.25	0.9	Understanding
S9-	42.84	3.5	Non-religious
G2.2+	41.87	0.91	Ethical
X2.6+	37.16	0.67	Expected
A13.1	36.64	0.75	Degree: Non-specific
A4.2--	35.69	3.21	General
A9	35.28	3.31	Getting and giving; possession
I3.2	34.57	1.88	Work and employment: Professionalism
Q1.2	33.66	0.31	Paper documents and writing

Item	LL	LogRatio	Semtag
S1.1.1	33.16	0.39	Social Actions, States and Processes
N5.1+++	27.99	5.38	Entire; maximum
N5---	25.28	1.54	Quantities: little
W2-	25.02	5.92	Darkness
X9.2-	23.7	0.75	Failure
G2.2-	23.63	0.7	Unethical
S1.1.3	21.9	5.72	Participation
T1.1	20.86	1.58	Time: General
G2.1-	19.94	0.63	Crime
S7.4	19.82	2.26	Permission
X5.1-	19.74	1.69	Inattentive
E4.2+	18.77	0.77	Content
E2--	18.77	5.5	Dislike
A3	18.77	5.5	Being
A2.1--	18.77	5.5	No change
G2.2	18.42	0.95	General ethics
A1.1.2	18.1	0.49	Damaging and destroying
E4.1+++	18.05	2.81	Happy
B5-	17.88	2.18	Without clothes
A7+++	16.55	0.99	Likely
E4.1+	15.82	0.49	Happy
I2	15.64	5.24	Business
A2.2-	15.46	2.24	Unconnected
S1.2.6-	15.14	1.14	Foolish

VITA

NAME   Pongbodin Amarinthnukrowh

DATE OF BIRTH   24 May 1995

PLACE OF BIRTH Bangkok

**INSTITUTIONS
ATTENDED**   Chulalongkorn University

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