UDC 82–92.08:81'373.612.2

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On some aspects of blending theory – metaphorical structures in selected press texts

Овај рад има за циљ да представи основна питања у вези са теоријом интеграције (сливања) на материјалу чланака из штампе објављених током изборне кампање у Пољској 2005. године. Као што ће се показати, проучавање менталне архитектуре метафоричких структура омогућује приступ многим изазовним видовима когнитивне семантике. У овом раду ће се анализирати значење специфичне метафоре на темељима теорије интеграције (сливања) *Fauconniera* и *Turnera*, као и семиотичке теорије менталног простора (мреже) коју су формулисали Лине Брандт (*Line Brandt*) и Пер Аге Брандт (*Per Aage Brandt*)..

Кључне речи:
cognitive linguistics, blending theory, mental spaces, conceptual integration, semiotics, metaphorical structures, cognitive semantics, press language.

Introduction

In Fauconnier and Turner (1996), it was introduced the theory of online meaning construction known alternately as conceptual blending, conceptual integration, the many space model and the network theory (compare: Coulson & Oakley 2000: 175). Originally it was recognised as 'a general cognitive process (…) that operates over mental spaces as inputs. In blending, structure from two input spaces is projected to a separate space, the „blend". The blend inherits partial structure from the input spaces, and has emergent structure of its own.' Mental spaces, in turn, are understood as 'small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action.

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They are interconnected, and can be modified as thought and discourse unfold' (Fauconnier & Turnet 1996: 1).

Hence, blending can be described as a development of mental space theory and construes a theoretical framework for exploring human information integration. It involves a set of operations for combining dynamic cognitive models in a network of mental spaces or partitions of speakers' referential representations (see: Coulson & Oakley 2000: 176).

Fauconnier and Turner suggest that a small set of partially compositional processes operate in the creative construction of meaning in analogy, counterfactuals, concept combination, and even the comprehension of grammatical constructions. What is, however, most interesting from the point of view of the following analysis, metaphor is named as 'one of the phenomena that give rise to blends' since 'it has the appropriate features: partial projection from input spaces; emergent structure in the blend; counterpart structure between input spaces; projection of integration of events from the source, the unconscious status of the blend until it is highlighted; cognitive work specific to the blend' (Fauconnier & Turner 1996: 4; see also: Pawelec 2005: 84–85).

Taking into consideration all the above assumptions, we can suppose that blending theory may occur useful while describing the mechanism of meaning emergence in those metaphorical constructions which analyses involve something more than mappings between two domains. Examples of such constructions are frequent in press articles – especially those referred to political situation. In 2005, during the electoral campaign, there were thousands of occasional metaphorical structures, such as given below, construed and used in Polish press in order to inform Polish society about new candidates, their personalities, families and political programmes, as well as to criticise politicians and evaluate the outgoing government:

To Jarosław jest mózgiem akcji prowadzącej do stworzenia jesienią 1989 roku rządu Mazowieckiego (N 11.09.2005: 15).

W 1997 roku rozstał się z AWS*, co odbierano jako skok w przepaść* (N 11.09.2005: 16).

Zwróciła się też jego najważniejsza inwestycja – we własnego brata (N 11.09.2005: 18).

Lider PiS, który zawsze, w latach chudych i tłustych, uwielbiał jeździć po Polsce, wiele już słyszał (N 11.09.2005: 18).

Tyle, że polscy wyborcy nauczyli się posyłać polityków na zieloną trawkę w najróżniejszych okolicznościach (N 11.09.2005: 18).

Co może być powodem klęski Kaczyńskiego? Wszystko – od podsycanego przez media rozłamu w koalicji po ryzykowny manewr wejścia PiS w buty radykalnej antysystemowej opozycji spod znaku LPR i Samoobrony (N 11.09.2005:18).

Nie będę rzucał kłód pod nogi własnemu rządowi (N 11.09.2005: 20).

Mamy boom edukacyjny, ale równocześnie szkoły wiejskie są w stanie zapaści i produkują analfabetów (N 11.09.2005: 20).

PO znakomicie nauczyła się gry na wielu fortepianach (N 25.09.2005: 19).

Dziura budżetowa ujawniona przez ministra Bauca była jak kij bejsbolowy, który przetrącił cieniutki partyjny kręgosłup (P. 24.09.2005: 4).

Wiara, że piekła nie ma, uwolniła demony pazerności (P 24.09.2005: 5).

Ale wiadomo, że to on uruchomił wielką katastrofę znaną pod nazwą afery Rywina. (P 24.09.2005: 5)

władza pozbawiona politycznego sacrum i nie umiejąca posługiwać się językiem wartości prowadzi do katastrofy, bo siłą rzeczy wytwarza ideologiczną i polityczną próżnię, którą wcześniej czy później coś musi zapełnić (P 24.09.2005: 6).

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Kibice, którzy przez wyrwy komisji śledczych nieoczekiwanie wlali się do publicznej przestrzeni, to rok temu byli głównie pałkarze Giertycha, lustracyjni, antyrynkowi, antykomunistyczni fundamentaliści i integryści rozmaitej maści (P 24.09.2005: 6).

Gdyby Roman Giertych był nieco mniej operetkową figurą, być może wybrano by jego (P 24.09.2005: 6).

Nie jest to łatwe zadanie, ponieważ w wielu przypadkach trzeba głosować w ciemno. Jaka Polska wysypie się z urny? (P 24.09.2005: 11).

Ci wszyscy, którzy dzisiaj przytulają się do Platformy, muszą mieć świadomość, że obok siedzi groźna przyzwoitka (P 24.09.2005: 12).

Okrutny Jan Maria Rokita, kandydat na kapo nowego ustroju, ściga bezwzględnie najlepszych demokratów.pl. – Frasyniuka, Lityńskiego i Hausnera – pozwami sądowymi, choć sam jest prześladowany przez własną żonę wywiadami (W 25.09.2005: 15).

Do boju ruszyli nienawistnicy, aby utopić Polskę w rynsztoku. (W 25.09.2005: 15)

Z drugiej, dostawszy strefę stabilizacyjną w Iraku, jak dziad proszalny biegaliśmy po salonach, by się jej co prędzej pozbyć (W 25.09.2005: 91).

Przywódcy państwa polskiego, podejmując słuszną decyzję, zachowali się jak chłopcy w piaskownicy, którzy czekają na pochwały i hojne datki, zamiast negocjować konkretne umowy. (W 25.09.2005: 91)

The above selected examples from Polish press show that understanding and interpretation of their meaning result from integration of at least two related events into a complex event. This phenomenon is analysed and being explained by blending theory.

Blending theory

As it has been already mentioned, blending theory is a development of mental space theory that locates meaning in speakers' mental representations and construes linguistic structures as cues that prompt speakers to set up elements in referential structure. Elements in mental spaces refer to objects in the world only indirectly, as objects in speakers' mental representations, real or otherwise (Coulson & Oakley 2000: 176). What is important for the further discussion, mental spaces contain partial representations of entities and relations of any given scenario as perceived, imagined, remembered, or otherwise understood by a speaker. Elements represent each of the discourse entities, and simple frames represent the relationships existing between them. (Coulson & Oakley 2000: 177)

Correspondingly to mental space theory, blending theory posits an elaborate system of backstage cognition to fill in details not specified by the grammar. This operation makes meaning construction successful since speakers 'utilize background knowledge, general cognitive abilities and information from the immediate discourse context to help them decide when to partition incoming information and how to establish mappings among elements in different spaces'. Hence, backstage cognition includes partitioning, mapping, structure projection, and dynamic mental simulation (Coulson & Oakley 2000: 178).

Central to conceptual blending theory is the notion of the *conceptual integration network*, an array of mental spaces in which the processes of conceptual blending unfold. Described by Seana Coulson and Todd Oakley, 'these networks consist of two or more *input* spaces structured by information from discrete cognitive domains, a *generic* space that contains structure common to all spaces in the network, and a *blended* space that contains selected aspects of structure from each input space, and frequently, emergent structure of its own. Blending

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involves the establishment of partial mappings between cognitive models in different spaces in the network, and the projection of conceptual structure from space to space' (2000: 178).

According to Coulson and Oakley, who observed blending discussions in many works referred to cognitive semantics, and tried to describe a typical process of blending analyses, most often it begins 'with the introduction of an example hypothesized to involve blending, and proceed with a description of conceptual structure in each of the spaces in the integration network. These descriptions usually begin with the structure in the input and generic spaces, and include a list of the mappings between elements and relations in each of the spaces. (…) Next the analyst describes the structure in the blended space, focusing on which aspects of its structure come from each of the inputs. (…) In such descriptions, it is important to characterize the differences between the structure evoked in the blended space and each of the inputs.' The characterization of these differences 'is how the analyst justifies the claim that conceptual blending gives rise to the emergent structure that frequently sustains reasoning' (Coulson & Oakley 2000: 179–180).

Emergent structure arises out of three blending processes (compare: Coulson & Oakley 2000: 181):

- composition – involves attributing a relation from one space to an element or elements from the other input spaces.
- completion – pattern completion that occurs when structure in the blend matches information in long-term memory.
- elaboration – a process that often involves mental or physical simulation of the event in the blend. It can be either coupled or decoupled.

As Fauconnier and Turner argue, conceptual integration is a fundamental aspect of all human experience. They claim that integration 'is involved in everything from perceptual processing, to the experience of pain, to knowledge of cause and effect' (qt after: Coulson & Oakley 2000: 182). As an illustrative example they consider the perceptual phenomenon of apparent motion which is the illusion of motion that occurs when two lights flash in quick succession. According to Fauconnier and Turner, the experience of motion is the result of the visual system's integration of two separate events into the unified percept of motion. And consequently, in a conceptual integration network, one input space represents light 1 flashing in place p1 at time t1, while the other input space represents light 2 flashing in place p2 at time t2. In the blend, a single light (3) maps onto light 1 and light 2. By composing the events in two inputs, light 3's transition from p1 at t1 to p2 at t2 is understood and experienced as the result of motion (see: Coulson & Oakley 2000: 182).

In response to the charge that blending theory is too powerful, accounts for everything and explains nothing, and to the argument that blending processes are unconstrained, Fauconnier and Turner suggest several 'optimality principles – constraints under which 'blends work more effectively' (Fauconnier, Turner, *Conceptual Integration Networks*; qt after: Coulson & Turner 2000: 186–187). Satisfaction of these principles is selective, so satisfying one constraint is often inconsistent with satisfying another. However, among all of interpretations of a given blend, the interpretation that best observes the constraints is the one most likely to be adopted. Constraints include (Coulson & Oakley 2000: 186; Turner & Fauconnier 1998: 7–8):

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- the *integration principle* – that representations in the blended space must constitute a tightly integrated scene that can be manipulated as a single unit. More generally, every space in the network should have integration.
- the *topology principle* – for any input space and any element in that space projected into the blend, it is optimal for the relations of the element in the blend to match the relations of its counterparts.
- the *web principle* – that the representation in the blended space should maintain mappings to the input spaces. In other words, manipulating the blend as a unit must maintain the web of appropriate connections in the input spaces easily and without additional surveillance or computation.
- the *unpacking principle* – it is optimal for the blend alone to allow reconstruction of the inputs, the cross-space mapping, the generic space, and the network of connections between all these spaces.
- the *good reason principle* – all things being equal, if an element appears in the blend, there will be pressure to find significance for this element. Significance will include relevant links to other spaces and relevant functions in running the blend.
- *metonymic tightening* – that when metonymically related elements are projected into the blended space, there is pressure to compress the 'distance' between them.

It is worth mentioning here, that phenomena of compression and decompression are regarded by Fauconnier and Turner as central to blending theory (compare: Coulson & Turner 2000: 187). One place where compression is frequent is in news headlines, such as the given below:

Narodowy Fundusz Zdzierców (W 18.09.2005: 77)

Narodowy Fundusz Załatwiaczy (W 20.11 2005: 9)

Wymiar niesprawiedliwości (W 18.09.2005: 26)

Dr Kaczyński i Mr Rokita (W 18.09.2005: 44)

Czas pojedynków (W 18.09.2005: 106)

Opoka rynsztoka (W 25.09.2005: 15)

Wylew (W 20.11.2005: 24)

Janek wydaje rozkazy (P 17.09.2005: 22)

Kibice i zderzaki (P 17.09.2005: 22)

As Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner maintain (1996: 3), blending has many effects that include the conceptual integration of related events into one complex event, the use and evolution in the blend of frames not obligatory for its inputs, and the development of novel conceptual structure. Blended spaces are sites for central cognitive work: reasoning, drawing inferences, and developing emotions. It is also worth mentioning that blending is usually not consciously perceived, but it can be highlighted, as in jokes, cartoons, puzzles, poetry, and, as it is going to be shown, press articles.

Emergent meaning

The sentences quoted below, taken from articles published in *Wprost*, *Polityka* and *Newsweek Polska* during and after the electoral campaign in 2005, illustrate the common conceptualisation of a nation, society or government as a vehicle (car, ship, train or cart):

CAR:

Zapewniam, że nie jestem przez nikogo kierowany z tylnego siedzenia (W 20.11.2005: 18)

Można przewidzieć, że będzie pan kierował rządem z tylnego siedzenia. (N 11.09.2005: 19)

Ja na pewno nie będę kierował z tylnego siedzenia. (N 11.09.2005: 19)

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w PiS są politycy, którzy mogą kierować rządem. (N 11.09.2005: 19)

Mną nikt nie będzie sterował z tylnego siedzenia. (N 18.09.2005: 18)

Rokita, który używał w swojej karierze wielu „zderzaków" (partii i ludzi), niedługo sam może zostać takim zderzakiem do wymiany w swoim czasie. (P 17.09.2005: 22)

SHIP:

Panuje opinia, że kiedy jeszcze mało kto orientuje się, że statek nabiera wody, to Rokita już spakowany siedzi w szalupie z kapokiem na szyi. (P 17.09.2005: 21)

Znalezienie się poza burtą Partii Demokratycznej, SDPL czy PSL może oznaczać, że wyborcy nie znajdują u nich propozycji, która byłaby zarówno atrakcyjna, jak i skuteczna. (P 24.09.2005: 12)

W efekcie niekwestionowany sukces, jakim jest zakotwiczenie Polski w świecie Zachodu, wygląda niczym elegancki frak w szafie kogoś, kto nie chodzi na przyjęcia. Wkłada go czasem przed kolacją, popatrzy w lustro, czy dobrze wygląda, i zdejmuje, bo szkoda zaplamić frak kaszanką. (W 25.09.2005: 89)

TRAIN:

Nie, to typowa sytuacja, gdy lider jest lokomotywą ciągnącą cały pociąg. (N 18.09.2005: 26)

CART:

Sam Donald Tusk dał celną metaforę tych odmienności, kiedy powiedział, że Polska jest teraz jak wóz, który ugrzązł pośrodku rzeki. SLD, zdaniem szefa Platformy, chce go zawrócić z powrotem, Platforma – pchać do przodu, a PiS żąda wstrzymania wszystkich działań i powołania komisji badającej, kto odpowiada za zatrzymanie wozu. (P 24.09.2005: 11)

The metaphors *Nation is Vehicle* or *Government is Vehicle* include at least the following cross-domain correspondences (compare: Grady 1999: 6–7):

Nation/Government	Vehicle
National policies/actions	Vehicle's course
Determining national policies/actions	Steering/driving the vehicle
National success/improvement	Forward motion of the vehicle
National failures/problems	Sailing/driving mishaps
Circumstances affecting the nation	Sea/road conditions
Government/Politician/President	Sailor/driver

However, the examples such as:

Buzek zrobił wiele, ale nie potrafił się uwolnić od zewnętrznej kontroli Mariana Krzaklewskiego. Mną nikt nie będzie sterował z tylnego siedzenia. (N 18.09.2005: 18)

and:

Zapewniam, że nie jestem przez nikogo kierowany z tylnego siedzenia. (W 20.11.2005: 18),

evoke a richer scenario. Here we have the image of being controlled by a passenger from a back seat, in addition to the more standard implication of driving a car. The above analysis of the mappings cannot by itself explain a crucial element of the statements' meaning: 'the driver is incompetent'. A passenger, though in a less 'prestigious' position, seems much more competent, since he determines the car's course. In other words, the notion of incompetence is not being mapped from source to target.

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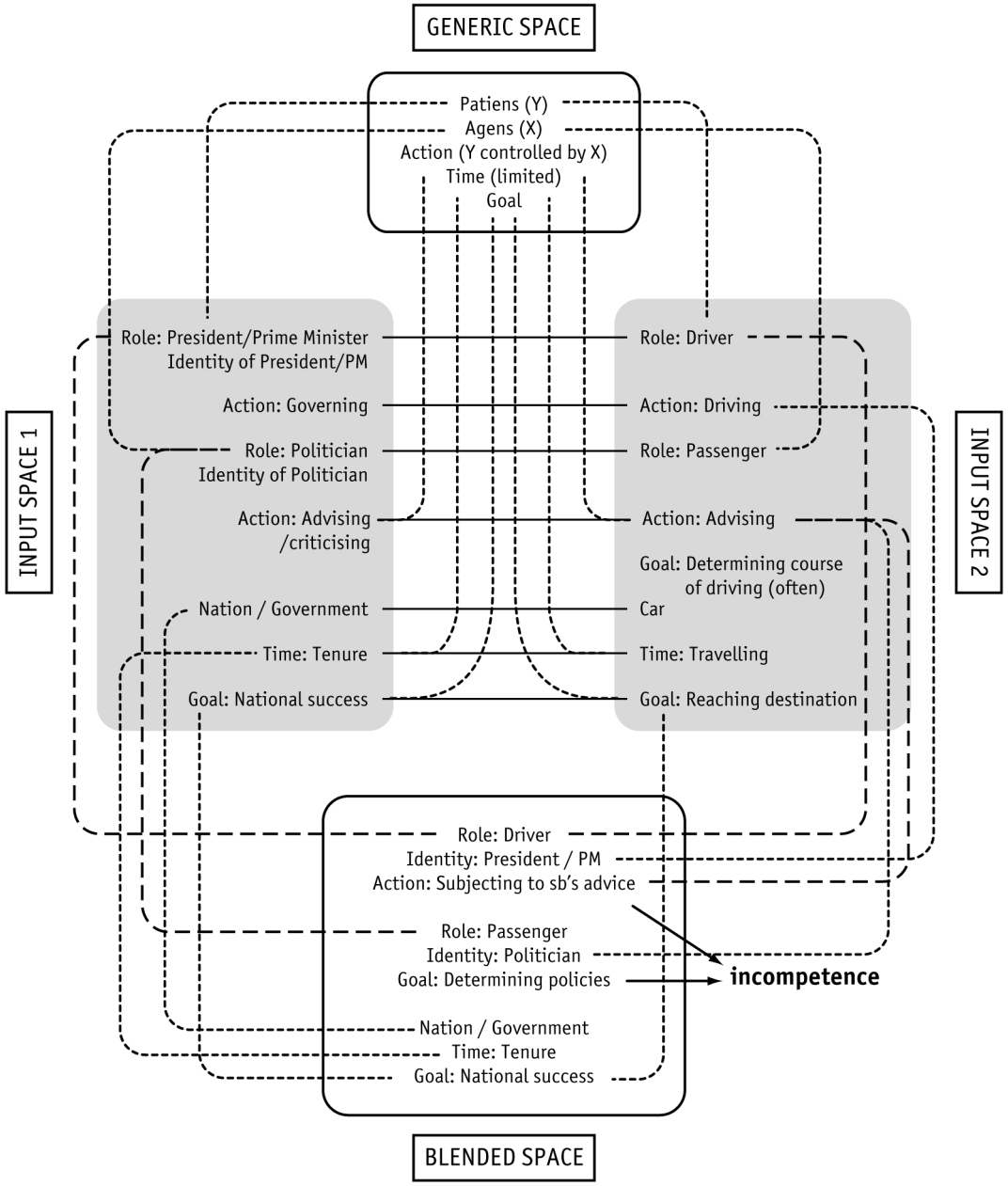
Figure 1



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The blending theory model accounts for the inference of incompetence as follows. First, the blend inherits some structure from each of the inputs. From the target input space, structured by the domain of Nation / Government, it inherits such elements as the identity of a particular person being a President or a Prime Minister (the speaker), the identity of another individual, who is a politician, and perhaps some details of the circumstances affecting the nation. From the source input space, which draws on the domain of a car, it inherits the role 'driver' and associated activities. The two input spaces share some structure, represented in the generic space, in which a person is subject to another being while performing actions that come within his (and no-one else's) duties (see: Grady 1999: 3–4).

In Figure 1, solid lines represent the cross-space correspondences that constitute the mappings between the input spaces, dotted lines represent projections between spaces, and the dashed lines between the President / Prime Minister role in Input 1 and the Driver role in the blend as well as between the Politician role in Input 1 and the Passenger role in the blend represent the fact that the driver and the passenger in the blend are associated with the President (or Prime Minister) and Politician in the target space.

Apart from the inheriting partial structure from each input space, the blend develops 'emergent' content of its own, which results from juxtaposition of elements from the inputs (compare: Grady 1999: 4). In particular, the driving space projects the action relationships incompatible with the action relationships in the Nation / Government space. In driving, the goal of all activities is national success or at least improvement of a national situation and position among other countries. The goal in driving seems different, since it means reaching destination. In both spaces, however, the goal involves avoiding and solving problems, security and success.

In Input space 2, the passenger from a back seat tries to determine the course of driving, aiming at not only influencing the driver but also (or mainly) at controlling all his activities. By contrast, the goal of the politician in Nation / Government space is to offer advice. In the blended space, the actions and ends of driving (Input 2) have been combined with the individuals and the political context of the Nation / Government space. The incongruity of the passenger's goal and the politician's ends leads to the central inference that the President / Prime Minister is incompetent if he is unable to take decisions himself.

Normative evaluation – *ethical schema*

However, the above analysis, based on the mental space framework proposed by Grady, Oakley and Coulson (1999), fails to show that it is not appropriate to be 'controlled from the back seat'. As a matter of fact, the discussed sentence sounds like the speaker is being blamed for being incompetent and irresponsible. This aspect of meaning was taken into consideration by Line Brandt i Per Aage Brandt (2004). Their analysis implies an additional input: an *ethical schema*, 'in order to achieve the relevant framing which grounds the normative evaluation' (Brandt & Brandt 2004: 5). While discussing the problem of semantic value of a metaphor, they come to conclusion that 'what the metaphor means is what it is intended to mean in a particular situation where it is uttered by someone (…) the utterer, the „sense maker", intends to share some content for thought with an addressee in a semiotic exchange. This semantic content, which is inherently intersubjective, borne of the speaker's

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intention to have the addressee recognise his utterance as an attempt to engage in a semiotic event of shared attention, as well as its pragmatic implications (its status as a communicative act), constitute the meaning of the metaphor.' (5–6)

The pragmatic effect of the utterance *Zapewniam, że nie jestem przez nikogo kierowany z tylnego siedzenia* is undeniably a response to the reproach: the Prime Minister (Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz) is being criticised for being controlled by someone and, consequently, for being incompetent. The negative evaluation is part of the meaning of the metaphor, and as such it is part of its semantics. The evaluation is a crucial part of the semantics of the utterance, and its social implication is that of reproach. The reproach, then, is a pragmatic effect of the evaluative metaphor (see: Brandt & Brandt 2004: 6).

Line Brandt and Per Aage Brandt assume (2004: 7) that the process of understanding the semantic content of a metaphor involves:

psychological dimensions – knowledge and application of the norms by which we judge one another;

social dimensions – the criticism functions as a reproach.

It is not possible to understand the meaning of the metaphor without applying a normative schema of some sort. The evaluation does not follow from the predicative semio-syntax of the utterance. That is, one will not arrive at a criticism by accounting for the meaning of the words *nikt* ('no-one'), *kierować* ('control') or the phrase *z tylnego siedzenia* ('from the back seat'). A satisfactory analysis, according to Line Brandt and Per Aage Brandt, is 'an analysis that accurately accounts for the cognition involved in understanding the expression as meaningful in this particular way' (2004: 7). As a result of their research, the authors introduced a diagram of six and then even more interrelated semiotically precategorised mental spaces forming a figurative and dynamic semantic network that designed to derive the critical meaning of the utterance *This surgeon is a butcher*. Adapted to the example being discussed in the present article, the model with its ethical schema may present the mental spaces shown in Figure 2 (next page).

The Semiotic space is the space in which utterances are uttered and come to mean whatever it is they are supposed to mean. It is a space of expressive *signification* as such, and is the base of all further space building (compare: Pawelec 2005: 176). However, it should be stressed that the Semiotic space cannot be confused with Fauconnier's Base space. A semiotic (base) space is a mental space in which the cogniser represents the present situation of cognising. It is either a scene of communication, involving the persons participating in shared meaning construction through the semantic network considered, or a scene of reflection involving the reflecting subject and the situation in which the reflection takes place, as represented by the subject. It is thus assumed to be the case that when people communicate, they represent the situation of communication, and this shared representation is a prerequisite for meaning construction (Brandt & Brandt 2004: 13–14).

From the Semiotic space, where the utterance is produced, a topical space is set up – the Reference space. Reference space related to actuality, in contrast to the content in the predicating space. The space-building process is deictic; the referent of the expression is predicted by the specific circumstances of the enunciation. (Brandt & Brandt 2004: 16)

The Presentation space in the proposed diagram is highly figurative, though it also contains force-dynamic structure, most of

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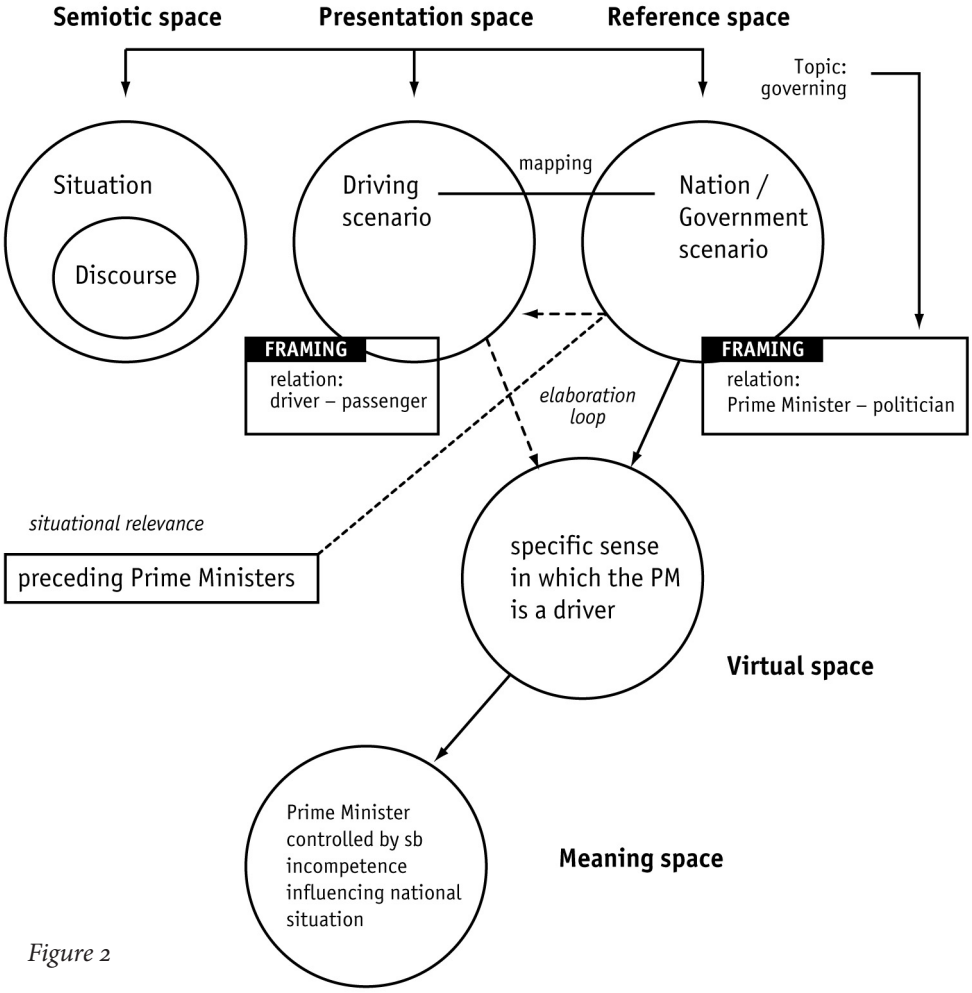

Figure 2

which does not become salient until later in the process. In the blended space, the referent (A) is presented as if it were identical with the content in Presentation space (B). This identity link is virtual by definition: if it were actual there would be only one space, a Reference space. It is in this virtual sense that A can be said to be B: in the blend A is B. Virtually, suggest Line Brandt and Per Aage Brandt, is what makes a blend a blend. The blend (of the Reference space and the Presentation space) is treated as if it was real, and it yields real inferences, even though it is not vested with belief. Virtual spaces are momentary fictions that yield lasting inferences. (Brandt & Brandt 2004: 17)

The process of framing the inputs has been described by the authors as an elabora-

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tion loop: „elaboration" because 'the topical focus (in Semiotic space) determines how the content of the input spaces is structured and elaborated in the process of comprehension (running the blend) or in ongoing discourse (…), and "loop" because this framing process is open-ended and reciprocal'. The concept of an elaboration loop offers an alternative explanation to 'selective projection' meant as partial representation of encyclopaedic knowledge of domains (Brandt & Brandt 2004: 23)

Taking into consideration the discussed example and suggested diagram, the salient part of the scenario in Reference space is the passenger, who is deictically given ('nikt'), and so the Prime Minister is a driver controlled by a passenger from the back seat with respect to what degree he is influenced by other politicians. The selective framing, in turn, motivates a relevant schema, which makes the evaluative meaning emerge. What the speaker – a new Prime Minister – tries to convey is that as a competent politician he is going not to be controlled by anyone.

The Reference space has temporal depth, extending from the past (the previous Prime Minister), to the present (the post-electoral situation), to the future (improvement of situation in Poland). The virtual scenario, which represents an actual past event in the blend, carries over into the present where the agens and the patiens are evaluated. The metaphoric import is projected back to Reference space, by virtue of having been recognised as an argument in the communication between speaker and addressee in Semiotic space. That is, the emergent meaning of the blend is projected back to the semiotic base, where it influences the participants' shared conception of the topic of conversation and the further development of the dialogue taking place. (see: Brandt & Brandt 2004: 25–26)

Hence, the content of the Meaning space is the blend structured by the ethical schema. It is a properly framed Virtual space: a post-emergent-meaning space. The emergent meaning – the evaluation of the potential situation referred to the Prime Minister – motivates certain inferences which project back to the speaker-addressee interaction: the addressee interprets the use of the metaphor *as something*, namely as a request for reassurance and infers what he should do and say next, in response. (Brandt & Brandt 2004: 32)

Conclusion

As it has been observed, studying the mental architecture of metaphor offers access to many challenging aspects of cognitive semantics. In the case discussed in the article, a blending analysis can help account for ways in which the metaphor is more than a simple mapping between two domains. First, while the Nation-as-Vehicle (Government-as-Car) is indeed a conventional conceptualisation, it is related to more fundamental metaphorical mappings, such as action is self-propelled motion, courses of action are paths, time is motion, circumstances are weather, states are locations and so forth. All these conventional metaphors make it possible to motivate the framing of a nation and its history as a vehicle. However, the blending framework is particularly well-equipped to capture this complex interaction of concepts and links, since it explicitly allows for multiple spaces and iterations of the integration process. One blend may be the input for another. (compare: Grady 1999: 7)

In turn, the model proposed by Line Brandt and Per Aage Brandt makes it possible to analyse all aspects of meaning of a metaphor, including its understanding and effect, such as reproach in the analysed

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example. It is worth noting, in this context, that knowledge of psychological and other 'lifeworld' phenomena as well as social norms (for communication-related behaviour) are relevant for understanding, and analysing, metaphor, at least in cases where metaphor is used to express an evaluation of the topic (target) (Brandt & Brandt 2004: 7).

Abbreviations:

N – *Newsweek Polska*
P – *Polityka*
W – *Wprost*

Σ резюме

К вопросу о теории амальгамов – метафорические конструкции в избранных текстах польских журналов

Одной из актуальных задач лингвистики можно считать изучение отношений между различными языковыми средствами при порождении и восприятии коммуникативных единиц. Настоящая статья представляет собой попытку анализа процесса интерпретации значения метафорических конструкций, учитывая психологические и социальные аспекты как факторы их адекватного восприятия. Материалом для проведения исследования были выбраны тексты избранных польских журналов во время избирательной кампании в 2005 году. В статье избранные проблемы интерпретации метафоры рассматриваются с точки зрения когнитивной лингвистики и семантики, а особенно теории амальгамов, в контексте результатов исследований выдающихся теоретиков когнитивной грамматики: Марка Тернера, Джайлса Факонера, Лайн Брандт и Пера Брандта.

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