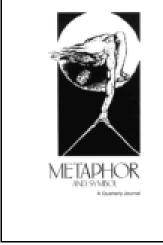
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Metaphorizing Violence in the UK and Brazil: A Contrastive Discourse Dynamics Study

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Metaphorizing Violence in the UK and Brazil: A Contrastive Discourse Dynamics Study

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A cross-linguistic/cultural study of verbal metaphor compares responses to terrorism in the UK (N=96) and to urban violence in Brazil (N=11). Focus groups discussed how violence changes perceptions of risk, decisions of daily life, and attitudes to others. Metaphor vehicles were identified in transcribed data, then grouped together semantically; 15 vehicle groupings were used with similar frequencies, 16 groupings more in UK data, 14 more in Brazil data. Systematic and framing metaphors were found inside vehicle groupings. A small set of frequent verbal metaphors work as predicted by conceptual metaphor theory. Other verbal metaphor vehicles work much more specifically, as posited by discourse dynamics theory, metaphorizing contextually distinct aspects of living with violence. Major differences were found in responses to violence: UK participants demonstrate feelings of powerlessness and lack of agency through metaphor vehicles relating to *GAMES OF CHANCE*, the *CONCEALED* nature of terrorist activity, and *BODY POSTURES* negatively evaluating response from the authorities; Brazilian participants use metaphor vehicles of *VIOLENCE* to emphasize how the threat of urban violence itself becomes a powerful social force that constrains daily activities.

This article compares the use of metaphor in talk about violence in people's everyday lives in the very different urban contexts of Brazil and the UK. The work is part of a larger international project, "Living with Uncertainty: Metaphor and the discourse dynamics of empathy" investigating responses to uncertainty produced by violence and conflict. The data come from two studies. The first study was carried out in the UK in 2006, following the London bombings in July 2005. It asked focus groups a series of questions about how terrorism had changed their perceptions of risk, the decisions they made in their daily lives and their attitudes to other social groups. The second study was carried out in 2010 in the northeastern Brazilian city of Fortaleza which,

like many Brazilian cities, has a high level of urban violence, such as muggings, kidnappings and street robberies. It was a small scale, quasi-replication study, using focus groups and a very similar question schedule. In both cases, metaphor-led discourse analysis¹ was carried out to investigate the impact of living with violence on people's empathy with others in a range of contexts. The metaphor-led discourse analysis (described in detail in Cameron & Maslen, 2010) combined analysis of metaphors with analysis of their discourse context, using positioning analysis, narrative analysis and analysis of the labeling of people. Metaphor analysis identifies verbal metaphors used in discussing issues around violence. In this article, we report the findings of the two metaphor analyses to explore how the different contexts, cultures and types of violence are reflected in, and constructed through, people's metaphorical use of language.

BACKGROUND

Metaphor and Researching Violence

Metaphor offers a useful research tool to explore the intra- and interpersonal effects of living with the uncertainty caused by violence. The discourse dynamics approach to metaphor (Cameron, 2003; Cameron & Maslen, 2010; Cameron et al., 2009) views metaphor as a process, combining language and thinking within the flow of discourse activity. Because verbal metaphors often carry an evaluative sense, examining how they are used in the flow of discourse activity is particularly fruitful in investigating speakers' attitudes and feelings, and how they shift as talk proceeds. Further, metaphorical framings that participants use and/or construct as they talk can be indicated by identifying trajectories of connected verbal metaphors across a specific discourse event, called "systematic metaphors." An extract from the Brazil data illustrates verbal metaphors in action as participants discuss their responses to urban violence:

Extract 1: Focus group in Fortaleza (original Brazilian Portuguese, followed by English translation) Era mais ou menos isso que eu ia falar,

- ... você estar em cárcere privado,
- .. você se tranca,
- .. e você se priva de tudo que você poderia fazer,

It was what more or less this that I was going to say,

- ... you are in private prison,
- .. you lock yourself
- .. and you <u>deprive</u> yourself of all that you could do

Extract 1 features an individual participant describing how increased urban violence makes him act and feel. The words *prison*, *lock*, *deprive* are used metaphorically in the flow of his talk (and underlined as metaphor vehicle terms), each building up a scenario of metaphorical self-incarceration, in which the fear of violence leads people to stay inside their homes and restrict their daily activities. As indicated in the first line of the extract, this stretch of talk is not the

¹Metaphor-led discourse analysis is described in detail in Cameron & Maslen (2010). It combines analysis of metaphors with analysis of their discourse context. In the investigation of empathy, metaphor analysis was combined with positioning analysis, narrative analysis and analysis of the labeling of people.

first mention of self-incarceration metaphors. The participant is adding his view to that of the previous speaker, who had described how people she knows keep their teenage children at home for fear of violence if they were to go out. The extract is not the last mention of self-incarceration metaphors either; other participants comment on the metaphor and extend it further, using words like *curfew*. This chain or trajectory of connected metaphors is a systematic metaphor, formulated as "RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE IS PUTTING ONESELF IN PRISON." The systematic metaphor emerges from this focus group discussion, and indicates a metaphorical framing that both comments on agency and evaluates negatively (discussed further in Pelosi, Feltes, & Cameron, in press). Similar metaphors also occurred in the other Brazilian focus group. However, no such systematic metaphor was found in the UK data when participants spoke about their personal responses to violence in the form of terrorism. This metaphorical framing of a response to violence in society thus can be said to be specific to the Brazilian situation.

The discourse dynamics approach of working inductively from data provides insights into the specific experiences and feelings of individuals and particular sociocultural groups, while opening up further questions about larger-scale social forces, such as the influence of the media or politicians on people's metaphorical framings.

Terrorism in UK and Urban Violence in Brazil

The first suicide bombings experienced in Britain took place on July 7, 2005, when four young Muslim men exploded bombs on an Underground train and on the upper deck of a bus. Fifty-two people were killed and more than 700 were injured. The nation was shocked by the violence and by the apparent spread of terrorism from the United States, but also by the fact that three of the four perpetrators of violence had been born and brought up in Britain; these were "home grown" terrorists. The three British-born perpetrators came from Leeds, a city in the north of England that experienced changing demographics as a result of invited immigration in the 1960s and 70s of workers from the West Indies, Pakistan and Bangladesh, and later of people looking for work from eastern European countries that joined the European Community, along with smaller numbers of people given asylum from conflict situations globally. The first immigration produced Muslim communities congregated in particular areas of the city with their own places of worship, shops, doctors and other facilities. A national policy of multiculturalism from the 1970s onward accepted such parallel communities as preferable to assimilationism, and only very recently have the knock-on effects on nationhood, social identity and belonging been discussed. When British manufacturing industries declined in the 1980s and 1990s, unemployment in urban areas rose and life expectations for younger people became less positive. Underlying currents of racism, UK participation in global conflicts such as the war in Iraq, and changes in the spread of information through the internet, all contributed to increasing dissatisfaction and rifts between communities. However, that young men would be willing to kill themselves in the act of killing others was still extremely shocking to British people.

While terrorist activity is characterized by punctuated attacks that may take hundreds of lives in one event, violence in Brazilian cities is characterized by its continual and ubiquitous presence. Of the world's 50 most violent cities, as measured by homicide rates, 14 are in Brazil (Ortega, 2012). The average Brazilian citizen has to contend with a real risk of violent assault on a daily basis, in any public place, at any time of the day or night. Urban violence in Brazil takes the form

of armed robbery, mugging, car-jacking, and kidnapping, and appears to be increasing. Among the suggested causes are unemployment, drug addiction and dealing, poverty and hunger, and lack of government protection of and/or concern with the poor. Crimes are not just committed by poor people, but also by organized groups or gangs not driven by poverty.

According to a recent survey carried out by a Mexican non-governmental organization, the Citizens' Council for Public Security and Penal Justice (Ortega, 2012), the city of Fortaleza, located in the northeastern state of Ceará, Brazil, ranks in 37th place in the 50 most violent cities in the world, with a rate of 42.90 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants. A study called The Violence Map (Waiselfisz, 2012) reveals that in the first decade of this century there has been an increase of 18% in the ratio of homicides in Fortaleza and its metropolitan regions, from 24.9 murders per 100,000 inhabitants in the year 2000 (Souza & Pontes, 2010), to 42.9 in the year 2011. As a comparison, the California Department of Justice reported a homicide rate of 6.7 per 100,000 inhabitants in Los Angeles for 2009 (Los Angeles Almanac, n.d.).

A number of factors may have contributed to such an increase. Fortaleza is a fast growing city, with development greatly intensified in the last 20 years. One of the contributing factors is internal migration by people trying to escape from the stress, violence, pollution of big centers such as Rio and Sao Paulo; other factors include job opportunities and climate. Additionally, improved communication brought about by the Internet has helped promote tourism, bringing in hundreds of nationals and foreigners who come to the place attracted by its climate and beaches. Tourism and migration contribute to urban development and expansion, while bringing with them a number of negative consequences.

Over the years, real estate speculation has targeted privileged areas of Fortaleza, such as the seaside and adjacent areas, resulting in a rather irregular distribution of the population with a few who can pay large sums to live in such areas and the poor population confined to peripheral sections of the town. Such an imbalance generates a number of social problems, which are aggravated by the sexual exploitation of minors by foreign tourists as well by drug trafficking and prostitution in general. Such an unsavory environment is fertile soil for social unrest and disrespect for life, especially on the part of the underprivileged, leading to the increase of all sorts of unlawful behavior. Police officers fail to contribute as they should to the maintenance of a tolerable level of security. Due to factors such as very poor pay and lack of professional perspectives, they fall prey to corruption and end up entering into agreements with drug dealers and thieves. They not only fail to fulfill their duty properly but also facilitate the carrying out of unlawful deeds.

Such are the types of violence in the two contexts. The UK study avoided recruiting any participants with personal experience of terrorism. In Brazil, it was not possible to do this since most people have encountered urban violence or have someone in their family who has.

RESEARCH QUESTION

In this article, we report, as a section of the larger study of the impact of living with violence on people's empathy, on the analysis of metaphors used in the talk of UK and Brazilian focus groups as they discussed violence in their everyday lives.

The research question for the work reported in this article is:

What similarities and differences in metaphorical use of language are found when focus group participants in UK and Brazil discuss the effects of terrorism and urban violence on their everyday life?

While we expected differences in the types of violence to prompt different verbal metaphors, we were interested to find out which factors in the two situations would influence metaphor choice. We also wanted to find out whether some consistency would emerge in metaphors across languages, cultures and contexts, and at what level this would be found. The discourse dynamics model of metaphor in use (Cameron, 2010; Gibbs & Cameron, 2008) predicts that the embodied nature of human experience will constrain and support the emergence of some metaphors that work across cultures, although these may appear differently in talk because of the affordances of the particular languages involved (Slobin, 1996). Studies of verbal and conceptual metaphors across cultures (e.g., Deignan, 2003; Kövecses, 2003) find variation resulting from differences in the evaluative connotations attached to metaphor vehicles and/or cultural contextual factors.

In comparing verbal metaphors across cultures, contexts and languages, this study attempts something new in the discourse dynamics approach. The various methodological issues encountered in this venture are described and discussed.

The next section explains the method. We then present the comparative findings, and finally discuss implications, limitations, and further issues for research.

METHOD

The full method of the UK study, and its theoretical background, are described in Cameron et al (2009), and summarized here along with adaptations made for the Brazilian context.

Participants

In the UK, Muslim and non-Muslim participants were recruited for focus groups held in Leeds and London. A total of 96 people participated in 12 groups, with equal numbers of men and women, Muslim and non-Muslim, in separate groups in each city. Participants ranged in age from 18 to over 70 years.

The UK study was carried out in 2006, following the July 7, 2005, bombings in London. The UK question schedule was adapted for the type of urban violence under analysis in Brazil and translated into Brazilian Portuguese for use in the Brazil study in 2010. Two focus groups of students were recruited: the first had 5 participants, 3 men and 2 women aged between

²It is at this broadest level and scale that the discourse dynamics theory and conceptual metaphor theory are compatible (Cameron, 2007). Grady (1999) suggests that there are "primary (conceptual) metaphors" draw on very basic physical experience and so would be expected to work across languages and cultures (Boers, 2003). The two approaches differ fundamentally in explaining the relationship between this and other levels and scales. Where CMT posits a "downward" force in which individuals somehow possess these large scale conceptual metaphors and produce metaphorical expressions as a consequence, DDT argues for feedback and feedforward loops across levels, for the individual as also social, and for the emergence of verbal metaphors in the process of interaction. See Gibbs (2013) for a recent attempt to combine the two into one model

16 and 43 years, from the public University of Ceará and the private higher education institution Faculdade Integrada do Ceará (FIC). The second comprised 6 participants, three men and three women, aged between 21 and 25 years, from the private higher education institution, FA7.

Data Collection

The focus groups were moderated by members of the respective research teams, with a female Muslim moderator employed for Muslim groups in the UK. The moderators posed the questions from the schedules and encouraged responses from the full group without intervening in terms of content, moving on to the next question when discussion seemed to be exhausted. In UK, the discussions were in British English; in Brazil, they were in Brazilian Portuguese. The discussions were recorded.

Data Analysis

Metaphor analysis (Cameron & Maslen, 2010) was carried out on the transcribed talk, involving verbal metaphor identification, vehicle grouping, and finding systematic verbal metaphors.

The datasets were compared on two levels: for the use of particular metaphor vehicle types in talking about the effects of violence on people's lives, and for systematic framing metaphors that emerged from the metaphor-led discourse analyses.

Transcription and translation. The first step was transcription into intonation units, i.e. utterances produced under a single breath/intonation contour (details in Stelma & Cameron, 2007). An English translation was added to the Brazilian Portuguese transcriptions to help the first author. To help spot potential verbal metaphor vehicles, the English translation was kept as close as possible to the original Brazilian Portuguese, rather than being rendered idiomatic, and maintained the syntactic order of the original.

Metaphor identification. Two criteria must be met to identify a verbal metaphor: (a) a word or phrase must be found in the talk that has some other contrasting sense—called its basic meaning, usually more physical or more concrete than its contextual meaning, and (b) the basic meaning of the word or phrase must contribute to the meaning in context (Cameron, 2003; Pragglejaz Group, 2007). The word or phrase identified as metaphorically used is called a metaphor vehicle. In the phrase the government should open bridges (UK data), the word open is identified as a metaphor vehicle because it has the more physical and concrete meaning of opening something closed or blocked, such as a blocked path, which is different from its contextual meaning, something like talking, listening and trying to understand each other (criterion a). Bridges is also identified as a metaphor vehicle since the contextual meaning of a means of communication contrasts with a more basic meaning of a structure crossing a gap, road, or river. The basic meaning contributes to the contextual meaning in highlighting the change process that will be involved (criterion b). In identifying metaphorically used words or phrases, no assumption is made as to how these words or phrases are intended by speakers or how they are processed by listeners, since evidence is seldom available from discourse data.

Identified metaphor vehicles were coded using Atlas.ti software in the Brazil study, and Microsoft Excel in the UK study (as described in Cameron & Maslen, 2010). The two sets of metaphor vehicles provided raw data for comparison across contexts.

Metaphor topics. The absence of explicit metaphor topics in the flow of talk is a well-documented phenomenon (Cameron, 2003, 2007, 2008; Kittay, 1987). While a vehicle term is a spoken word or phrase, the topic of a metaphor very often remains unspoken. In extract 1 for example, when the speaker says você se tranca (English: you lock yourself in), we can identify the term tranca/lock in as having a basic meaning of physically imprisoning. However, there is no explicit expression of the contextual meaning in the flow of the talk. It is the discourse context—how this turn fits with previous turns and is responded to in following turns—that allows the analyst to infer a contextual meaning that concerns emotional responses to high levels of violence, and to justify the presence of both the contrast and the transfer of meaning required for metaphor identification.

The most practical solution to the absent topic problem is to produce a small set of "key discourse topics" and to code metaphor vehicles as relating to one of these (Cameron et al., 2009). The key discourse topics (KDT) here relate to the research question:

KDT1 violence: terrorism/urban violence

KDT2 responses to violence.

It is important to note that, throughout the analysis, verbal metaphor vehicles remain attached to their full discourse context, providing access to the contextual meaning in the flow of talk. The chosen software supports this methodological principle; in particular, Atlas.ti allows the researcher to move between coded and categorized metaphor to that same metaphor in the transcript with a click of the computer mouse.

Because of the characteristic shape of metaphors in talk (implicit /absent topics; often in the verb phrase rather than nominal), metaphor vehicles, rather than "metaphors," are the most important and reliable source of information available to the analyst. The UK data produced 12,362 metaphor vehicles; the Brazil data produced 1,181 metaphor vehicles.

Comparison of metaphor densities. The numbers of metaphors in each set were normed by calculating the number of metaphor vehicles per 1000 words of transcript, as "metaphor density" (Cameron, 2003). Comparison of metaphor densities was a valid move here because the two languages have similar morphological rules. (It would not be valid across German and English, for example, since German constructs much longer "words" through compounding.)

Metaphor densities in the two studies emerged as very similar at 58 (UK) and 57 (Brazil) metaphors per 1,000 words. Table 1 shows the comparison of metaphor densities.

Metaphor vehicle grouping. In order to compare metaphor vehicles in a more efficient way and to move from metaphor vehicles to systematic or framing metaphors, the next stage of the analysis requires a grouping of vehicles in terms of their basic meaning semantics. For example, open bridges was grouped with open the door, and with shut down, as metaphors of OPEN/CLOSE. The operating principle at this step is to stay as close to the language used by participants as possible, generalizing a label from the talk only as far as is needed to include related vehicles. The analyst, bearing in mind the aims of the research, must judge how general to make the grouping

TABLE 1
Overall Comparison of Metaphor Densities

	UK Data	Brazil Data
Number of metaphor vehicles	12362	1181
Total number of words in transcripts	213271	20789
Metaphor density	57.96	56.81

and where to place boundaries between groupings. For example, the Brazilian data prompted a new grouping *PRISON* which was incorporated with other vehicles in the *CONSTRAINT* grouping. The labels given to groupings are not intended to reflect assumptions about levels of cognitive processing or the nature of mappings.

The vehicle grouping analysis was bi-lingual, in the sense that English labels were used for groupings in both studies, while vehicles were listed in the language of production, e.g., *acho* (English: *find*) in the Brazilian data was placed in the vehicle grouping *FIND*. In a few cases, metaphor vehicles were placed in two groupings; for example, the phrase *cárcere privado* (English: *private prison* = *house arrest*), used metaphorically to describe how people stay at home because fear of urban violence makes them frightened to go out, was placed in the groupings *HOME* and *CONSTRAINT* to reflect the two senses that are highlighted by the metaphor.

The UK groupings were brought to the analysis of the Brazilian data, some new groupings were added (e.g., PRISON), and some found not to be relevant (e.g., LABEL). Trustworthiness of this step in the analysis was ensured by the first author participating in both contexts, and by repeated cross-checking of lexical items included in groupings. Table 2 shows the lexical items included in the CONSTRAINT grouping. It shows clearly how the vehicles in the two contexts can vary, even though they relate to the same overall concept (and the inferred topics also vary).

In a first comparative step, numbers of metaphor vehicles in each grouping were compared across the two data sets. Comparisons were not done statistically because of the very different sizes of the two studies. Instead, we looked for "large" differences in metaphor frequencies, considering only those that differed by a factor of 2 or more. Account was taken of the raw numbers too, since not much can be claimed about differences in a particular grouping where very few metaphors are used, apart from suggesting further investigation in larger corpora. The full list of vehicle groupings and the frequency of each type in the two datasets is shown in the Appendix.

Comparison of metaphor vehicle groupings produced three sets: those used at least twice as frequently in the UK data (N = 16); those used at least twice as frequently in the Brazil data (N = 14), and the remainder, whose frequencies were similar (N = 15). The three sets were explored qualitatively to see how the metaphor vehicles were used in relation to the key discourse topics.

Identifying systematic metaphors. By examining the metaphor vehicles used to talk about key discourse topics, we find out how participants use metaphor systematically throughout the talk and to frame ideas. For example, the metaphor vehicles of extract 1 were grouped with others

TABLE 2 Lexical Items Included in the Vehicle Grouping "CONSTRAINT"

"CONSTRAINT"	UK	Brazil
allow, allows, allowed	4	
boss	1	
bound	5	
capture		1
catch	6	4
clampdown	2	
control/s/ed/ing, in control of	15	1
curfew		2
deprive		2
dominate	1	1
entrapped	1	
frame		1
free	6	
freedom (of speech)	10	
grab	1	2
grasp	-	1
held	5	1
house arrest	3	1
jammed	1	1
keep/ing, keep out, kept	15	
lax	3	
	17	
let in/out/off	1	
letting go		2
limit	7	2
lock	1	4
masters .	1	
oppression	1	2
overflow .		3
passive		1
pressed	2	
pressure	5	8
prison, prisoner		7
put in a corner	1	
red tape	2	
regulated	1	
release	2	
restricted	1	
rule, rules	7	
secure	4	
shackles	1	
slacked	1	
stress, stressed out	6	
strict	3	
submit		1
suppressed	1	
tension	4	
tied in/with/up	2	
tight	1	
trapped	1	
total	150	19

relating to KDT2 to produce the systematic metaphor "RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE IS PUTTING ONESELF IN PRISON."³

Formulation of a systematic metaphor requires careful inspection of the vehicles in the groupings in their context of use, and selection of the most appropriate level of generality at which to label the systematic topic and vehicle terms.⁴

We need to reiterate here that systematic metaphors are trajectories of connected verbal metaphors across a specific discourse event.⁵ The discourse dynamics approach does not assume pre-existing conceptual metaphors underlie the talk waiting to be revealed. Instead, systematic metaphors are constructed by the analyst as an approximation from the raw data of metaphor vehicles in order to refine and summarize findings. To reach systematic metaphors requires the analyst to group vehicles, to infer topics, to notice patterns, and to select labels; each of these steps is a moving away from the data that requires a delicate combination of judgment, creativity and caution.

Framing metaphors are those systematic metaphors that relate to key ideas in the talk. For example, the *constraint* metaphor vehicles included several instances of *catch* in phrases like *catch a bus/airplane*. We could identify a systematic metaphor *using public transport is constraint* but would not consider this as a framing metaphor for this study since it does not relate to the key idea of violence.

Framing metaphors are important because they often reveal how people feel about the topics through the explicit or implied affect of their vehicles. The *PRISON* metaphor for example potentially activates negative embodied emotions of being physically trapped. The metaphor of *facilitating understanding* as *opening bridges* connects into embodied perceptual simulations (Gibbs, 2006), in which being blocked feels negative and the new *open* state of understanding feels free and positive.

Systematic metaphors extracted from the talk in each context were compared, showing similarities and differences in how participants metaphorically framed their experiences of terrorism and urban violence.

FINDINGS

Comparison of Metaphor Vehicle Groupings

The overall comparison of vehicle groupings (Appendix) showed three sets of metaphor vehicle groupings: those used with similar frequencies in the two contexts and languages; those used

³Systematic metaphors—sets of connected metaphors used across a discourse event—are written in SMALL ITALIC CAPITALS.

⁴The use of the traditional *A IS B* format perhaps creates a misleading parallel with conceptual metaphors at this step. Since many verbal metaphors are also in the verb phrase grammatically, there may be more appropriate formats to be developed.

⁵Furthermore, systematic metaphors are not the same as "discourse metaphors" (Zinken, Hellsten, & Nerlich, 2008). Systematic metaphors relate to a particular group of people and their situated discourse activity; discourse metaphors are collected across a large corpus of discourse data from multiple, unconnected discourse events, thus losing the importance of the situatedness of the discourse activity.

more in the UK data; and those used more in the Brazil data. We report the findings of qualitative exploration within each grouping.

Vehicle groupings with similar frequencies. Table 3 shows those metaphor vehicle groupings used with similar frequencies in the two datasets, presented in order of their frequency in the UK data.

Examination of the key discourse topics relating to the metaphor vehicles in each dataset showed that some of the vehicles in Table 3 work in similar ways across both languages and contexts. These include *MOVEMENT* and *JOURNEY* metaphors used to talk about changes in life events, as in *EVENT STRUCTURE* metaphors (Lakoff, 1993); and culturally widespread metaphors of "UNDERSTANDING/KNOWING IS SEEING"; "SIGNIFICANT IS BIG"; "IMPORTANT/POWERFUL/HAPPY IS UP."

In both studies, BODY POSTURE metaphors were used to describe attitudes in response to violence but with different evaluations: in the UK, BODY POSTURE metaphors often expressed participants' disdain for those in authority and their responses to terrorism: spineless, cringe, bending over backwards (to help US). In Brazil, a striking BODY POSTURE metaphor described the effect of urban violence on young people, but with more empathy: Os nossos adolescentes já andam de cabeça baixa (English: Our teenagers walk with their heads down).

Despite the predicted similarities in large scale, cross-cultural metaphors that derive from human embodied experience, and despite similarities in frequency, when we look at framing metaphors important differences in metaphorical constructions of violence and responses to violence are found inside some groupings. For example, *HOME* metaphors for both groups carried a sense of the place where one should feel most safe from violence, but were used differently. For UK speakers, using metaphors such as *close to home* or *on the doorstep* to talk about the

TABLE 3
Metaphor Vehicle Groupings With Similar Frequencies in the Two Datasets

		UK	Brazil		
Vehicle Grouping	Total Metaphors	Frequency (per 1,000 Words)	Total Metaphors	Frequency (per 1,000 Words)	
MOVEMENT	1734	8.14	153	7.36	
THING	1354	6.36	73	3.50	
LOCATION	1140	5.35	132	6.37	
SEEING	641	3.01	106	5.10	
UP/DOWN	386	1.81	23	1.11	
CONNECT/SEPARATE	345	1.62	62	2.98	
GIVE/TAKE	329	1.54	43	2.07	
DIMENSION	283	1.32	14	0.68	
HORIZONTAL	142	0.67	11	0.53	
BODY	144	0.67	14	0.67	
WATER	78	0.37	6	0.29	
POINT	63	0.30	7	0.33	
CLEAN/DIRTY	36	0.17	4	0.19	
MACHINE	34	0.16	4	0.19	
HOME	23	0.11	4	0.19	

Vehicle Grouping	UK		į	Brazil	
	Raw No. of Metaphors	Frequency (per 1,000 Words)	Raw No. of Metaphors	Frequency (per 1000 Words)	Ratio of UK to Brazil Frequencies
CONTAINER	1940	9.11	23	1.11	8.2
SUPPORT	113	0.53	2	0.09	5.9
FEELING	381	1.79	9	0.43	4.2
GAME	154	0.72	4	0.19	3.79
ACTING, STORIES	96	0.45	4	0.19	2.4
HOT/COLD	25	0.12	1	0.05	2.4
BALANCE	88	0.41	4	0.19	2.2

TABLE 4

Metaphor Vehicle Groupings Used at Least Twice as Frequently in the UK Data

threat of terrorism emphasized it as particularly strong. As seen above, Brazilian participants used metaphors about being confined to the *HOME*, such as *toque de recolher* (English: *curfew*) or *cárcere privado* (English: *private prison* = *house arrest*), to highlight how fear of violence can limit people's freedom and being at home becomes the only place where one feels safe.

Sometimes similar metaphor vehicles were used, but in relation to quite different topics and with different evaluative senses. In the UK data, *CONNECT/SEPARATE* metaphor vehicles were used to highlight relations between social groups, contrasting mixed and integrated groups, as *CONNECTED*, with those *SEPARATED* by ethnic or religious differences. Terrorism was held to increase *SEPARATION* between social groups. Social division did not develop as a topic in the Brazil discussions, instead *CONNECT/SEPARATE* vehicles were used with a range of metaphor topics, mostly peripheral to urban violence.

The differences found within similar frequencies of use highlight the importance of the affective meanings contributed by metaphor, and how people talking together adopt and adapt metaphors not just to mean but also to communicate their feelings.

Metaphor vehicles used more in UK data than in Brazil data. Table 4 shows metaphor vehicle groupings used with a frequency in the UK data at least double that in the Brazil data. The rows are ordered by the ratio of frequencies in the two datasets, shown in the far right column. Table 5 contains metaphor vehicle groupings only found in the UK data.⁶

Systemic language differences accounted for several of the differences observed in Tables 4 and 5. The frequency of phrasal and prepositional verbs in British English accounted for the much higher number of *container* metaphors such as *in, inside, into, out of.* The high number of *concretizing* metaphors came mainly from idiomatic quantifiers of nouns in British English, such as *a bit, loads of.* Repetitions of the phrase *decision-making circles* accounted for most of the *circles* metaphors in the UK data.

Those differences not arising from inside the two languages point to different types and constructions of the violence in the two situations and/or to different ways to talking in a group. The

⁶Ideally, the two studies would have used the same number of focus groups to reduce the effect of quantity: more data probably always produce a wider range of vehicles.

Vehicle Grouping	Raw No. of Metaphors	Frequency (per 1,000 Words)	
CONCRETIZING	219	1.03	
BLOW	99	0.46	
MIND	74	0.38	
FOLLOW/LEAD	70	0.32	
INCLINE	36	0.17	
RELIGION	28	0.13	
CONCEALMENT	26	0.12	
LABEL	21	0.10	
CIRCLES	16	0.08	

TABLE 5
Metaphor Vehicle Groupings Found Only in the UK Data

BLOW metaphor vehicles in the UK data all resulted from the terrorist bombs that were a key topic of the talk, blow up. Follow/LEAD metaphors reflect participants' explanations of how 9/11 and 7/7 terrorism was motivated by religious affiliations, as well as the need for leaders in Muslim communities to consider responses. Metaphors grouped under RELIGION were not particularly significant in the talk; they included responses to terrorism spoken of as diabolical and people's lack of faith in political leaders. SUPPORT metaphors included support (for a cause, or for terrorists), backing of one country by another (UK and US) and the adverb basically, used by participants describing a strong position or stating their own. The urban violence discussed by Brazilian participants is not open to such "support" because it is not driven by political or religious motivations that can be seen as right or wrong.

GAME metaphors are used to speak of the risk of being involved in a terrorist attack, with vehicles such as bluff, poker, lottery highlighting the lack of agency and control felt by UK participants. The systematic metaphor in that data was formulated as "THE RISK OF TERRORISM IS A GAME OF CHANCE" with a key affective sense of people having no control over outcomes. In the Brazil data, in contrast, the few GAME metaphor vehicles came from football. The frequency of violence as a topic of conversation in people's everyday lives was described through the metaphor of bola da vez (ball of the time/in play). The metaphorically used verb driblar (to dribble) highlighted action as movement and skill rather than chance: "AVOIDING A VIOLENT SITUATION IS A GAME OF SKILL." The sense of agency is very different in the two metaphors, perhaps reflecting the sense of control that participants in the two contexts feel in the face of violence. However, there were only two instances of this verb so it is not appropriate to hypothesize further.

CONCEALMENT metaphors were interesting because they highlighted the most threatening aspect of terrorist action in the UK, and were also used in relation to police and government responses to the attacks. In both cases, CONCEALMENT metaphors concerned intentions and actions that were hidden away. They work with the "KNOWLEDGE IS SEEING" metaphor to construct an affectively negative scenario in which what is not visible is unknowable and therefore threatening. Terrorism was described as a sneaky kind of violence; authorities were suspected of hiding information and covering up. Combining CONCEALMENT metaphors with MOVEMENT metaphors gave the systematic

metaphor of *TERRORISM IS CONCEALED MOVEMENT* (Cameron, Low, & Maslen, 2010). The only parallel in the Brazilian groups was discussion by participants of responding to the threat of urban violence through deception, such as hiding valuables from potential thieves or having a dummy credit card. However, this action was not described with metaphor but narrated with examples and scenarios of actual practice.

Two particular types of response to terrorist violence described by Muslim participants in the UK data are reflected in *MENTAL ILLNESS* and *LABELING* metaphors. Muslim women in particular used words like *paranoia*, *hysteria*, and *crazy* to describe their feelings relating to the risk of terrorism, producing the systematic metaphor: *RESPONSE TO TERRORISM IS MENTAL ILLNESS*, as in the following extract.

Extract 2		
1686	Laila	I think you feel like,
1687		you're being watched,
1688		as well,
1689		all the time.
1690		you're being kept an eye on.
1691		you <@> feel like,
1692		I mean
1693	Widad	well,
1694		specially the women that work.
1695	Laila	paranoia

All Muslim groups described how, following the terrorist attacks, they are being lumped and stereotyped under the label "Muslim" by non-Muslims. Their descriptions of this process and its effect used strongly negative metaphors such as *labeling*, *trademark*, *branded*.

BALANCE metaphors reflect an interesting explanatory metaphor for social justice that appeared in the UK focus group discussions: THE NORM FOR SOCIETY IS BALANCE—TERRORISM DISTURBS THAT BALANCE. In Brazil, the phrase dieta equilibrada (English: balanced diet) was used once to talk about how society operates, suggesting that BALANCE metaphors are available. However, the effect of violence is not spoken of as disrupting social equilibrium.

The grouping of ACTING – STORIES metaphors includes cultural referents, and in the UK data took two main forms. One was the use of theatre-related metaphors, such as behind the scenes, roles, farce, to describe action in response to violence, most often the action of politicians, police or security officials. ACTING – STORIES metaphors also included characters from story, film, and television whose names were applied to politicians and other public figures, bringing with them particular characteristics, again often negative: Billy the Kid, Alf Garnet, Captain Hook. Where vehicles had evaluative content, this was often disrespectful. ACTING – STORIES metaphors create a scenario in which experts and authority figures are acting on a stage, watched by an audience of "ordinary" people, who feel distanced and less powerful, and who have little faith in the efficacy of what they see done. We can note that BODY POSTURE metaphors fit into this scenario by tying the attitude conveyed into our visual experience of seeing people in that condition. This "watching actors from a distance" metaphor is literalized on the television screens in homes that many people mentioned.

Differences in discourse style between UK and Brazil show in several metaphors. *INCLINE* metaphors reflect how British English describes agreeing with a view or opinion as physical

leaning towards, out of the vertical, as in *bias* or *inclination*; participants made much use of the verb *tend to*, as in *we tend to exaggerate*. This metaphor mitigates assertiveness when expressing an opinion, which explains its frequency in group discussions. Brazilian Portuguese uses the equivalent *tendar*, but this did not appear in the data. The finding suggest that participants in Brazil felt less need to mitigate or hedge their statements, perhaps because of the greater shared personal experience of violence and/or perhaps because of cultural stylistic differences.

HOT/COLD metaphors were mostly used in the UK data to talk about talk: reasoning in talk and urgent or emotional talk: "it boils down to," "sparks a conversation," "heated debates," "burning question." The Brazilian data did not feature these metaphors, although there was talk of becoming a "cold person" in response to violence.

Metaphor vehicles used more in Brazil data than in UK data. Table 6 shows metaphor vehicle groupings that were used with at least twice the frequency in Brazil data as compared with UK data. The right hand column shows the ratio of frequencies for each vehicle type in the two datasets.

Once again, systemic differences between British English and Brazilian Portuguese languages account for some of the differences in metaphor use seen in Table 6. FINDING/LOSING metaphors are accounted for by 54 instances of the idiomatic phrase eu acho (English: I find) at the start of utterances where participants express their experience or beliefs. SPEAKING/LISTENING metaphors are mainly accounted for by the decision to mark as metaphorical the word questão (English: question = issue) as used in essa questão da violência urbana (English: this question of urban violence).

A larger grouping of metaphor vehicles relating to *VIOLENCE* from Table 6 (comprising *VIOLENT ACTION, VIOLATE LIMITS, MILITARY, STRENGTH, CONSTRAINT*) work together to express participants' ideas

TABLE 6
Metaphor Vehicle Groupings Used at Least Twice as Frequently in the Brazil Data

	UK		Brazil			
Vehicle Grouping	Raw No. of Metaphors	Frequency (per 1,000 Words)	Raw No. of Metaphors	Frequency (per 1,000 Words)	Ratio of Brazil to UK Frequencies	
COMMERCE-MONEY	62	0.29	45	2.16	7.5	
MILITARY	96	0.45	60	2.88	6.4	
FOOD-EATING	18	0.08	8	0.38	4.8	
DISEASE	25	0.18	18	0.86	4.8	
FINDING/LOSING	150	0.74	66	3.18	4.2	
SPEAKING/LISTENING	224	1.05	76	3.65	3.5	
CONSTRAINT	131	0.62	43	2.04	3.3	
NATURAL WORLD	138	0.65	36	1.73	2.7	
VIOLENT ACTION	186	0.87	48	2.31	2.7	
VIOLATE LIMITS	44	0.21	11	0.51	2.4	
STRENGTH	90	0.42	21	1.00	2.4	
BUILDING	9	0.04	2	0.09	2.3	
PHYSICAL ACTION	647	3.04	138	6.49	2.1	
OPEN/CLOSE	39	0.18	8	0.38	2.1	

that the threat of urban violence in Brazil is itself a powerful, violent force in society that constrains people's actions and lives. Pro rata, Brazilian participants make more than three times as much use of *violence* metaphors, with a frequency across the data of 8.79 *violence* metaphor vehicles per 1,000 words, compared with UK frequency of 2.57 per 1,000 words (ratio 3.4:1).

An explanation for this contrast appears to come from different experiences of violence in the two contexts, and from a desire to avoid potential ambiguity around metaphors. A response to 9/11 and to the UK terrorism of 7/7 was joining the USA in the "war on terror," a war made literal by attacking Iraq and Afghanistan. Once war becomes a reality, VIOLENCE metaphors seem to be ruled out to describe active responses and are restricted to more background aspects, including the backlash on Muslim minority ethnic groups, the emotional impact of terrorism, and responses by the media, who are said to whip up frenzy.

Because Brazilians, on the other hand, are not actually at war, they seem to be more free to describe their experience using *violence* metaphors: *é como se nós fossemos cidadãos em guerra civil* (English: *it is like as if we were citizens in a civil war*); and to talk about fighting against urban violence and for human rights: *a luta assim de cobrar seus direitos* (English: *to fight to protect their rights*). One of the Brazil focus groups discusses whether the urban violence will lead to a war but decide not. They describe how people come to accept increasing levels of urban violence, adjusting their behavior and finding other ways to respond than fighting back (e.g., by buying a cheap phone for the robber to take). There is also recognition that living with high levels of crime and violence leads to more violent feelings and emotions in the self, and that this personal violence becomes a force that itself needs to be constrained.

VIOLENCE metaphors continue when Brazilian participants use CLOSE and CONSTRAINT metaphors to talk about a common response to violence as fear that leads to hiding away in one's safe house or flat and not venturing out on the streets. This was described as locking oneself in prison, putting oneself under house arrest, or making one's children live in a box, and as imposing a curfew on oneself:

Extract 3
Brazilian Portuguese:

English:

você meio que faz com que seu filho viva dentro de uma caixa, pelo medo you make like that your son lives in a box, through fear

CLOSE and CONSTRAINT metaphors yielded the systematic metaphors "URBAN VIOLENCE IS A CONSTRAINING FORCE"; "FEAR IS A RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE IS PUTTING ONESELF IN PRISON."

COMMERCE-MONEY metaphors occurred in discussion of how recent changes in societal *values* in Brazil both cause, and are affected by, urban violence.

Both studies used NATURAL WORLD metaphors such as *propagating violence* in systematic metaphors that describe the *GROWTH OF VIOLENCE* as *ORGANIC*. The difference in numbers is partly the result of an extended metaphorical scenario in the Brazilian data, in which human rights were described as a little plant that has to be nourished and fertilized in order to flourish and blossom.⁷

The Brazil dataset has many more metaphors pro rata relating to disease and sickness, that together form the systematic metaphor *URBAN VIOLENCE IS DISEASE*, with vehicles including *sick*, *pain*, *disease*, *suffer*, *band-aid*, *weak*.

⁷Extended metaphors produced by only one participant are a limiting case of systematic metaphor, with a short trajectory.

Extract 4

Brazilian Portuguese: pessoas que já sofreram a custa de violência English: people who suffer from the cost of violence

A response to sickness is passivity, which seems to characterize some responses to urban violence in Brazil, and to fit with the idea of *PUTTING ONESELF IN PRISON*.

Comparison of Systematic Metaphors

Table 7 summarizes the systematic framing metaphors found in the two contexts. Both kinds of violence bring deep social changes, but the external (terrorism, UK) and internal (urban violence, Brazil) sources of violence prompt different metaphors: in the UK data, terrorism upsets society by disrupting its equilibrium, whereas in Brazil, participants speak more of changes to, inversions of, social values.

TABLE 7
Comparison of Systematic Metaphors Used to Talk About Urban Violence in Brazil and Terrorism in UK

Key Discourse Topic	Brazil	UK
Urban violence/terrorism	URBAN VIOLENCE AS A CONSTRAINING FORCE URBAN VIOLENCE IS A DISEASE	TERRORISM AS CONCEALED MOVEMENT
	URBAN VIOLENCE GROWS ORGANICALLY	TERRORISM GROWS ORGANICALLY
Responses to, and outcomes of, (the threat of) terrorism/urban violence by various actors	URBAN VIOLENCE CHANGES SOCIAL VALUE S	TERRORISM DISTURBS THE BALANCE OF SOCIETY
	TRYING TO STOP URBAN VIOLENCE IS A WAR	THE RISK OF TERRORISM IS A GAME OF CHANCE – PEOPLE HAVE NO CONTROL OVER OUTCOMES
	FEAR AS A RESPONSE TO URBAN VIOLENCE IS PUTTING YOURSELF IN PRISON	THE EMOTIONAL EFFECT OF TERRORISM IS VIOLENT ACTION
	AVOIDING URBAN VIOLENCE IS A GAME OF SKILL	RESPONSE TO TERRORISM AS MENTAL ILLNESS
	PERSONAL VIOLENCE IN RESPONSE TO URBAN VIOLENCE IS A FORCE THAT NEEDS TO BE CONTROLLED	MEDIA RESPONSE IS VIOLENT ACTION
		RESPONSE TO TERRORISM FOR UK MUSLIMS IS VIOLENT ACTION
		RESPONSE TO TERRORISM FOR UK MUSLIMS IS LABELING
		ORDINARY PEOPLE WATCH FROM A DISTANCE AS AUTHORITIES ACT AS ON A STAGE

Both urban violence and terrorism create a sense of lack of agency for participants, highlighted by the metaphors of self-driven organic growth. Some people in both contexts respond to the threat of violence with passivity. Brazilian participants present a more constrained response to urban violence, with a strong sense of metaphorically putting oneself in a kind of prison by not leaving the house; in contrast, Muslim women in the UK describe their response in terms of incapacitating mental illness metaphors. Some Brazilian participants also report a somewhat more active response, taking steps to avoid urban violence or fool criminals. In contrast, UK participants present a more widespread sense of lack of control, feeling like pawns in a game or distant observers of government responses.

In both contexts violence breeds violence, as well as passivity. In the UK, the external violence of terrorism impacted on social equilibrium, on the lives of ethnic communities, and on people's mental equilibrium. In Brazil, continuous experience of, or hearing stories about, urban violence creates strong emotions and attitudes that people describe as a kind of internalized violence.

CONCLUSIONS

We set out to compare metaphors about violence in people's everyday lives in two distinct settings. Methodologically, efforts to replicate data collection processes were important for minimizing irrelevant sources of variability in talk that might have an effect on metaphor production. For example, in both settings people met as strangers in the focus group setting where they responded to moderator questions. The difference in the number of participants was unavoidable but remains a limitation of the study. Further research may be able to show whether/how such difference affects the number of vehicle types found.

Researching metaphor in discourse data across languages and cultures presented real methodological challenges. While Brazilian researchers brought good skills in English, the first author's limited skills in Brazilian Portuguese increased the importance of accurate translation of the transcripts for analysis. Similarity in word formation rules in the two languages made comparison easier but, even so, identifying and grouping verbal metaphors was a long and difficult task requiring high levels of cross-linguistic knowledge. Differences in metaphor use had to be checked for language, stylistic, and cultural influences before conclusions about differences in attitudes towards violence could be drawn.

Theoretically, findings that (a) a small set of metaphors, working at a high level of generality, are used with similar, often high, frequencies in the two languages, and (b) most metaphors work much more specifically, are important for the discourse dynamics approach. The first finding supports the idea that large-scale, generalized metaphors can emerge from human embodied experience and social interaction, and overlap with "conceptual metaphors" (Cameron & Deignan, 2006; Gibbs, 2013; Gibbs & Cameron, 2008).

The second finding supports the discourse dynamics claim that many, if not most, verbal metaphors used in the flow of interaction have a context-specificity that results from more complex production processes than a simple instantiation of pre-existing conceptual metaphors. Such metaphors may highlight particular aspects of a topic under discussion, such as personal sense of powerless or awareness of social change, and/or they may reflect cultural preferences in interaction, such as the need to mitigate the strength of statements made in a group. To understand and interpret how metaphor contributes to discourse activity it is not sufficient to only examine

metaphorically used words and phrases; the flow of discourse activity needs to be examined more holistically. For example, a participant may use a metaphor to emphasize a point but when we look more closely, we see that the point is made first through a narrated personal experience then emphasized through a summarizing metaphor, as in Extract 2.

The comparative metaphor analysis has revealed a degree of similarity in words and phrases used metaphorically in both contexts to talk about the same discourse topic but with contextual differences. The strongest example of this "difference in similarity" was *HOME* metaphors that seemed to key into participants' strongest sense of safety, security, and comfort in both contexts but are used in one case to highlight how urban violence constrains people's freedom of movement and in the other to emphasize the power of the threat of terrorism.

Differences in metaphor choice reflect and reveal major differences in participants' responses to violence. For UK participants, feelings of powerlessness and lack of agency in the face of terrorism were demonstrated through metaphor vehicles relating to *GAMES OF CHANCE*, through metaphors highlighting the *CONCEALED* nature of terrorist activity, and through *BODY POSTURE* metaphors that emphasize their negative evaluations of the response of the authorities. For Brazilian participants, continual exposure to urban violence through personal and close experience results in a build up of internal violence and resistance, shown through metaphor vehicles of *VIOLENT ACTION, VIOLATE LIMITS, MILITARY, STRENGTH, CONSTRAINT*. The threat of urban violence in Brazil is itself a powerful and violent social force that constrains participants' actions and lives.

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APPENDIX
Comparison of Metaphor Vehicle Groupings in the Two Datasets

		UK	Brazil	
Metaphor Vehicle Grouping	Total No.	Frequency (per 1,000 Words)	Total No.	Frequency (per 1,000 Words)
ACTING/STORIES#	96	0.45	4	0.19
BALANCE#	88	0.41	4	0.19
BLOW #	99	0.46	0	0
BODY (including PART, POSTURE, STATE, SENSE, CLOTHES)	144	0.67	14	0.67
BUILDING ^{##}	9	0.04	2	0.09
CIRCLES#	16	0.08	0	0
CLEAN/DIRTY	36	0.17	4	0.19
COMMERCE/MONEY##	62	0.29	45	2.16
CONCEALMENT#	26	0.12	0	0
CONCRETIZING [#]	219	1.03	0	0
CONNECT/SEPARATE	345	1.62	62	2.98
CONSTRAINT ^{##}	131	0.62	43	2.04
CONTAINER#	1940	9.11	23	1.11
DIMENSION	283	1.32	14	0.68
DISEASE##	25	0.18	18	0.86
FEELING [#]	381	1.79	9	0.43
FINDING/LOSING ^{##}	150	0.74	83	3.99
FOLLOW/LEAD#	70	0.32	0	0
FOOD/EATING##	18	0.08	8	0.38
GAME#	154	0.72	4	0.19
GIVE/TAKE	329	1.54	43	2.07
HOME	23	0.11	4	0.19
HORIZONTAL	142	0.67	11	0.53
HOT/COLD#	25	0.07	1	0.05
INCLINE#	36	0.12	0	0.03
LABEL#	21	0.17	0	0
	1140	5.35	132	6.37
LOCATION			4	
MACHINE MILITARY ^{##}	34 96	0.16	60	0.19 2.88
	96 74	0.45		
MIND (including crazy, etc.) MOVEMENT	1734	0.38 8.14	0 153	0 7.36
NATURAL WORLD##				
	138	0.65	36	1.73
OPEN/CLOSE##	39	0.18	8	0.38
PHYSICAL ACTION ^{##} (excluding MOVEMENT, VIOLENT ACTION)	647	3.04	138	6.49
POINT	63	0.30	7	0.33
RELIGION [#]	28	0.13	0	0
SEEING	641	3.01	106	5.10
SPEAKING/LISTENING##	224	1.05	76	3.65
STRENGTH ^{##}	90	0.42	21	1.00
SUPPORT#	113	0.53	2	0.09
THING	1354	6.36	73	3.50
UP/DOWN	386	1.81	23	1.11
VIOLATE LIMITS##	44	0.21	11	0.51
VIOLENT ACTION##	185	0.87	48	2.31
WATER	78	0.37	6	0.29

Note. Totals differ from the overall totals because of those vehicles in the "other" groupings excluded from the table. #indicates vehicle groupings used at least twice as frequently in the UK data. ##indicates vechicle groupings used at least twice as frequently in the Brazil data.