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**Metaphor, economy and persuasion:
A socio-cognitive approach to metaphor in
times of elections**

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Lights will guide you home.

- Coldplay.

To my parents.

Thank you for being those lights.

ABSTRACT

The study presented in this dissertation contributes to the research field of Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2008, 2010; among many others) from a socio-cognitive, discourse-analysis and corpus-based approach. This combination of approaches is in line with recent claims on the changing and adapting nature of metaphor as part of a changing society (Bernárdez 2008; Romano 2013; Romano & Porto 2016; Soares da Silva 2016), as it aims at observing its pervasiveness in a socioculturally and politically framed background. It also pursues to offer further insight into the use of this device in the economic discourse found in the media that can be accessed by all human beings. In other words, it contributes to studies on Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Metaphor Analysis as well (Fairclough 1995; Charteris-Black 2004; Hart 2008, 2010; Wodak & Meyer 2009; Musolff 2004, 2016; Soares et al. 2017), since it analyses not only the typology of metaphors used in discourse, but also their potential effect on the public through persuasive strategies. Finally, it also consists in a contrastive study, since it compares two different languages (English and Spanish) and three different ideological sides.

The data under analysis consists of economic reports published by three Spanish and three English newspapers. Moreover, each newspaper belongs to one ideological side of the political sphere of each country, more specifically: right-wing, left-wing and centre. By means of computational tools, economic reports are retrieved from the following sources: *ABC*, *El País* and *Público* in Spanish, and *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Telegraph*, in English. All of them were retrieved during a similar time frame, that of the pre-electoral week to the general elections of each country in 2015, hence the aforementioned socio-political frame. The final corpus under study can be sub-divided into (1) two different linguistic sub corpora on the one hand, and (2) three different ideological ones, on the other. The study follows a corpus-based, target-oriented approach, and it uses *#Lancsbox* corpus tool to identify metaphorical expressions taking a set of targets related to the economy as the searching node. Additionally, two different identification methods are applied: Stefanowistch's Metaphorical Pattern Analysis (2006), first, and Steen's et al.'s MIPVU (2010), second. This combination of methods supposes an innovative approach to metaphor in discourse, since there is no record of them being combined, yet the aim is to acquire the broadest, most comprehensive identification of metaphors in the corpus. The

central analysis focuses in four classifying scales, including (1) metaphorical cultural schemas, (2) metaphor novelty and conventionality, (3) metaphor internationality and domesticity and (4) persuasion in metaphor, which is observed through two different strategies: polarity and euphemism and dysphemism. The different levels of analysis aim at analysing the retrieved and identified metaphors in the most detailed, informing and combined form.

The results obtained from the analysis show that metaphor is a pervasive element of economic discourse in the general press of both countries under study and that it is used as a pervasive tool in a highly ideologically loaded frame as it is the national elections. More specifically, findings reveal that metaphor frequency varies across languages, showing the English corpus a significantly larger number of metaphorical expressions than Spanish. Moreover, the different levels of analysis offer interesting insights into the study of cultural schemas (Sharifian 2015), as well as the levels of metaphor conventionality and metaphor novelty or creativity in the discourse of the economy, and the levels of metaphor internationality or domesticity. However, the most revealing findings concern the last level of analysis observing persuasion, as it shows that metaphor is in fact used as a powerful persuasive tool in the discourse of the economy in both languages and in all three ideologies, yet significant differences are found at all levels. Therefore, this serves to shed some light and advocate for further attention on this element of discourse and society. Finally, the design of the study, combining different tools and procedures proves to be reliable and applicable to further studies on this field

Key words: metaphor, conceptual metaphor, socio-cognitive approach, corpus studies, target-based studies, metaphor identification, cultural schemas, metaphor novelty and conventionality, metaphor internationality and domesticity, persuasion through metaphor, polarity, euphemism and dysphemism, economic discourse, media discourse, national elections, ideology, critical metaphor analysis.

RESUMEN

El estudio presentado en esta tesis contribuye al campo de investigación de la Teoría de la Metáfora (Lakoff y Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2008, 2010; entre muchos otros) desde una perspectiva sociocognitiva, basada en el análisis del discurso y de corpus. Esta combinación de enfoques coincide con proyecciones recientes hacia la naturaleza cambiante y adaptable de la metáfora como parte de una sociedad cambiante (Bernárdez 2008; Romano 2013; Soares da Silva 2016), ya que pretende observar su presencia en un contexto sociocultural y políticamente enmarcado. Asimismo, busca ofrecer una visión más amplia en cuanto al uso de este elemento en el discurso de economía publicado por los medios de comunicación a los que todo el público tiene acceso. En otras palabras, contribuye a estudios en el Análisis Crítico del Discurso y el Análisis Crítico de la Metáfora (Fairclough 1995; Charteris-Black 2004; Hart 2008, 2010; Wodak y Meyer 2009; Musolff 2004, 2016; Soares et al. 2017), puesto que analiza no solo la tipología de las metáforas usadas en el discurso, sino también su efecto potencial en el público a través de estrategias persuasivas. Finalmente, también consiste en un estudio contrastivo, ya que compara dos idiomas diferentes (inglés y español) y tres ideologías diferentes.

Los datos del análisis están formados por noticias y artículos de economía publicados por tres periódicos españoles y tres ingleses. Además, cada periódico pertenece a un lado ideológico de la esfera política de cada país, más específicamente: izquierda, derecha y centro. Usando herramientas de corpus, los textos económicos se han extraído de las siguientes fuentes: *ABC*, *El País* y *Público* en español, y *The Guardian*, *The Independent* y *The Telegraph*, en inglés. Todos ellos fueron extraídos durante un marco temporal similar, la semana preelectoral a las elecciones generales de cada país en 2015, de ahí el marco sociopolítico mencionado. El corpus final del estudio puede ser subdividido en (1) dos diferentes sub-corpus lingüísticos, por un lado, y (2), tres ideológicos, por otro. El estudio sigue un enfoque basado en corpus y orientado en el dominio meta, y usa la herramienta de corpus *#Lancsbox* para identificar expresiones metafóricas partiendo de una lista de dominios relacionados con la economía. Además, se han aplicado dos métodos diferentes de identificación de la metáfora: el ‘Metaphorical Pattern Analysis’ (o ‘Análisis de Patrones Metafóricos’) de Stefanowistch (2006), primero, y el MIPVU de Steen et al. (2010), segundo. Esta combinación de métodos supone una aproximación innovadora a la metáfora en el discurso, ya que no existen estudios que los combinen, si bien el

objetivo era adquirir una identificación lo más amplia y completa posible de las metáforas en el corpus. El análisis central se focaliza en cuatro escalas clasificatorias, incluyendo (2) esquemas culturales metafóricos, (2) creatividad y convencionalidad metafórica, (3) internacionalidad y domesticidad metafórica y (4) persuasión en la metáfora, a través de dos estrategias diferentes: polaridad y eufemismo y disfemismo. Los diferentes niveles de análisis pretenden analizar las metáforas extraídas e identificadas de la manera más detallada e informativa.

Los resultados muestran que la metáfora es un elemento muy presente en el discurso de la economía en la prensa general de ambos países bajo estudio y que es usada como herramienta persuasiva en un contexto muy ideológicamente cargado como las elecciones generales. Más específicamente, las conclusiones revelan que la frecuencia metafórica varía entre idiomas, mostrando una proporción significativamente mayor en el corpus inglés que en el español. Además, los diferentes niveles de análisis ofrecen una visión interesante en cuanto al estudio de los esquemas culturales (Sharifian 2015), así como los niveles de convencionalidad y creatividad metafórica en el discurso de economía y los niveles de internacionalidad y domesticidad. Sin embargo, los resultados más reveladores conciernen el último paso del análisis que observa la persuasión, ya que muestra que las metáforas sí son usadas como una poderosa herramienta persuasiva en el discurso de economía en ambos idiomas y en las tres ideologías, si bien se han encontrado diferencias importantes en todos los niveles. Por tanto, esto sirve para ampliar el conocimiento y abogar por una mayor atención hacia este elemento del discurso y de la sociedad. Finalmente, el diseño del estudio, que combina diferentes herramientas y procedimientos, ha demostrado ser fiable y aplicable a futuros estudios en este campo.

Palabras clave: metáfora, metáfora conceptual, enfoque sociocognitivo, estudios de corpus, estudios basados en dominios meta, identificación de la metáfora, esquemas culturales, creatividad y convencionalidad metafórica, internacionalidad y domesticidad metafórica, persuasión en la metáfora, polaridad, eufemismo y disfemismo, discurso de economía, discurso en prensa, elecciones generales, ideología, análisis crítico de la metáfora.

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“Gratitude is not only the greatest of virtues, but the parent of all others.”

-Cicero

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The first chapter of the dissertation may serve as the introductory approach to what is about to be presented. First, Section 1 will provide the necessary background information to locate the core elements of the study, alongside the motivations and reasons to doing it. Next, the objectives pursued will be presented, followed by the research questions and hypotheses. Finally, the general structure of the complete dissertation will be detailed.

1. MOTIVATIONS AND JUSTIFICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Economic discourse has been studied over the last decades from many different fields and perspectives, which have aimed at explaining its inner nature and objectives of having an effect on the audience in a more or less conscious way. Considering its pervasiveness in everyday life and discourse, since economy and finance are present in every citizen's life and affect all humans, it is understandable that there is a crescent interest among linguists. Actually, since the last decades of the XX century, linguists, economists and philosophers, among other research field specialists, started to study the concrete language used in this area (Tadros 1985; Samuels 1990; Valero-Garcés 1996; Henderson 2000; Charteris-Black 2000; among many others).

I shall refer to the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (Dictionary of the Spanish Language) and its definition of the concept of economy: “*conjunto de bienes y actividades que integran la riqueza de una colectividad o un individuo*” (Spanish for “all the goods and activities that integrate a community's or an individual's wealth as a whole”). One of the main tenets of Cognitive Linguistics (one of the cores of this dissertation) is the principle of ‘embodiment’, according to which language is motivated, in a more or less direct way, by our human condition and the interaction of our body with our physical, social and cultural background (Johnson 1987). Consequently, the language that we create and process is influenced by our concrete experiences, the environment around us and, primarily, by our human body. Taking into consideration this condition of human language and relating it to the definition of economy, according to which it affects society and humans, it is very interesting to observe and study this interaction or mutual relation between the language created in a specific field that affects humans, and the social, cultural and physical reasons that have an effect on this discourse at the

same time. In other words, it is necessary to closely analyse this triangle-shaped relation of “embodiment (discourse creator) → language → embodiment (discourse receptors)”.

The need for studying this triangle lies in the existing inverse relation between language and human actions. *Id est*, if our human condition shapes the language that we use every day, it is debatable that the language that we use will also have consequences on the acts and thoughts of the individuals receiving such discourse; this is actually one of the first motivations behind this dissertation: to observe the potential influence of the use of the central discursive device (metaphor) within a specific type of discourse (economic and finance) on the receptor (audience of the target newspapers). As will be explained now, the language used in the corpus under study does have a finality: informing and, mainly, having a consequence or effect on the receptor.

To be more precise, the approach and questions that are embedded within this triangle-shaped relation are: “If the language that we use is affected by our human condition and the economy of a country affects all individuals and, consequently, their actions, the language used in the discourse of economy will necessarily affect all individuals as well. Which conditions, thus, affect the creator of economic discourse (journalist, tv anchor, politician, etc.) to use the language one way or another? Which conditions will the language created from certain physical, social and cultural conditions have on another individual with different conditions? Moreover, is the background that affects the language used or is the finality pursued with it the main motivator? Or, is it a combination of all these factors?” These are some of the main questions that originally motivated the research presented in this dissertation.

From a socio-cognitive view, I believe that this strong power of language is shared by all its sociolinguistic components, and that all of them also share this goal of not only communicating but also influencing the receptor. Among such components, there is lexis, syntax, semantics, pragmatics and many other linguistic elements among which we have elements such as metaphor and metonymy, which are present not only in our everyday language and discourse but also in more specific and specialized discourses as the one under study.

Focusing on metaphor in the last decades, George Lakoff & Mark Johnson published a pioneer book that meant a change in the metaphor trend, the well-known *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), in which they discussed the ubiquity of metaphor in language and introduced what we

refer to as Conceptual Metaphors. As is well known, this book meant a beginning of a new field of study among linguists that is still very fructiferous nowadays. Metaphor as an inherent component of language is an element that deserves attention from many different research branches, not only linguistics but also pedagogy or philosophy, even fields that are mistakenly taken as having no relation with language, such as medicine, science, politics or the economy. It is precisely this ubiquity of metaphor in the field of the economy that entails another core motivator behind this dissertation.

As will be seen in the theoretical foundations of this study, the presence and use of metaphor in the field of economy have been largely studied over the last decades (Henderson 1982, McCloskey 1983, Charteris-Black and Ennis 2001, White 2003, Herrera-Soler and White 2012) and it has been gaining momentum over the last years and there is in fact extensive literature on it nowadays (further references will be given in Chapter II). This, however, does not mean that further research from different points of view is not needed. In fact, it is not only necessary to know the most common metaphors used in economy or if a given language prefers a specific type of metaphor; in an era when all the information can be accessed by all individuals and can consequently affect all, it is essential to pay attention to why those metaphors are being used instead of others, or whether they have changed over time and why, or whether this change occurs not only cross-linguistically but also within a language and community and what is promoting the changes and why.

In addition to this, money may be material and concrete, but economy itself is an abstract system which is difficult to understand and conceptualize, not only to the expert economist, but especially to the common reader that does not have a background in economy. For this reason, the discourse that is deployed to inform the reader about such an abstract situation should try to transform it into something simple and easily understandable, something concrete. It is precisely for such finality that linguistic devices like metaphor are required. This is in line with Richardt's claim (2003): "the economy, being an abstract entity, relies heavily on metaphors to make economic facts and processes easier to grasp". *Id est*, the economy, being an abstract entity, relies on metaphor so that economic and financial issues and procedures can be more easily processed by all. This dissertation then is focused on how economic language, which can be accessed by common citizens (not only specialists), is full of metaphors that help them

understand the abstract by transporting the message to a closer, more familiar and concrete domain.

However, there is another fact that needs to be considered: how the information is accessed. Nowadays, any individual that wants to be informed about the economic situation of a country has a wide variety of communication media to use, such as the television, the internet or the press. Therefore, analysing the language used in these media can help us understand the affecting aforementioned relationship between “context→ discourse creation→ context→ reception→ consequence”. Within information technologies, this dissertation focuses on the digital press, and more concretely, on the digital or online version of certain Spanish and English newspapers. The justification for this lies not only in a major facility to retrieve the information, but also in the deduction that, if I can access them more easily, so can all individuals. In fact, according to the results published by the Libro Blanco de la Prensa and the National Readership Survey in 2015 (which inform about the state and readership of the Spanish and British press, respectively), the number of readers of online press has increased notably over the last years, due to several factors including their accessibility, the fact that most of them can be read free of charge and the evolution of digital devices. In consequence, there is a necessity to analyse not only printed, but also digital discourse. This constitutes another motivation of this study.

Once the format of the discourse was narrowed down, the subsequent factors to determine were the temporal and physical contexts of the corpus. The economic situation of a country does not only affect that particular country, but can also have an effect on others, even more if we are analysing countries that are linked by institutions, as it occurs with the European Economic Community, of which both Spain and the United Kingdom are members. Thus, economic affairs occurring in the former may be of interest for the latter, and vice versa, or there may be economic affairs affecting both at the same time. Moreover, with an undeniable expansion of the English language in Spain, interested readers do not only access translated reports or texts, but they also read original news published in other countries such as the United Kingdom. It is precisely this continuous and close relation between European countries and the global economic situation that motivated this study to specifically focus on the economic situation of Spain and the United Kingdom.

A fundamental basis of metaphor presented by Lakoff & Johnson in their 1980 book was that this device is used to represent a concept in terms of another one that is more familiar to the language user; that is to say, a metaphor transforms reality and changes it into another one that, even if it is more easily understood, is still different from the original one. This principle is one more motivation of this dissertation, in combination with another one: how ideology is represented and transmitted through language. I shall use the Dictionary of the Spanish Language again as a reference to understand how the term “ideology” is defined: “*conjunto de ideas fundamentales que caracteriza el pensamiento de una persona, colectividad o época, de un movimiento cultural, religioso o político, etc.*” (Sp. for “a collective of fundamental ideas that characterize the thoughts and beliefs of a person, a community, an era or a cultural, religious or political movement, etc.”). The principle of embodiment in language has been already introduced, according to which all the messages that an individual processes and produces are influenced by their human condition (MacWhinney 1999; Rohrer 2007; Scorolli 2014). In view of its definition, ideology is precisely what a person thinks or believes, which means it is a part of such human condition. Consequently, the language that this individual creates will be influenced by their ideology, which will be an inherent part of it and will have a function or goal as well (to be discussed in detail later). For now, we shall contemplate that individuals have an ideology (thoughts and beliefs) and so do communities or groups of individuals, as it is the case of a newspaper, where there is a team of humans working together to publish certain information that will be later accessed by the public. Therefore, the language that the newspaper as a collective processes and produces is influenced by their human condition, or by all their fundamental thoughts or ideology, as well as by the political and economic powers behind the paper; in this way, the same as the ideology of one individual is reflected on the language he or she creates in a more or less conscious way, the language used by a newspaper as a collective of individuals will also reflect their thoughts or ideology, both at a printed and at a digital sphere, which is what concerns us in this study (Wodak 1989; Fowler 1991). Considering that there is a crescent number of readers of digital press nowadays, it is necessary to pay further attention to the factors that may influence the language used by the media, since they will have an unavoidable impact on readers and consumers. Following such a justification, this thesis aims at observing how the ideology of a newspaper as a collective of humans can influence (and actually influences) the production of the discourse that is published and accessed online daily.

In relation to what has just been specified, it is also necessary to inform about the corpus of this study in detail. Its origin (the countries and the language) has already been introduced, but there is another important element: the time frame. Ideology and metaphor have been previously studied in combination (Dirven 1990; Goatly 2007; Silaski 2012; Díaz-Peralta 2018; among others), but not many have located the analysis in a very specific or delimited time frame. For this dissertation, I considered that, given that ideology influences the language used and that language influences the receptor, a key moment in time to understand whether this is true or not is the times of general elections and pre-elections in a country. This precisely motivated this study to narrow down the time frame to the previous weeks of the general elections celebrated on May 7th in the United Kingdom and December 20th in Spain, both held in 2015, when this dissertation was started.

To continue, regardless of the time frame, it is of common sense that all media sources have an ideology, whether they confess it or not and whether they openly say who they support. Nevertheless, a detailed analysis is needed so as to decipher the linguistic elements that reflect such ideology, its origins and its finality. With this aim, another principal tenet of this thesis is Critical Discourse Analysis, or, more specifically, Critical Metaphor Analysis, originally postulated by Charteris-Black (2004), who argued that metaphor, as a set of semantic, cognitive and pragmatic components, has the objective of influencing on people's opinions and judgements through persuasion (see Silaski 2012). I have already commented on the transformation of reality through metaphor by using a more concrete and familiar concept. If we apply the principles of Critical Metaphor Analysis to our corpus, we observe that if metaphor is used in an economic text, it evidently transforms the economic reality. In view of this, and thanks to a critical approach not only towards discourse but mainly towards metaphor, this study aims at observing how they are manipulated so that they affect the public's opinions and judgements; in other words, whether it is true that metaphor is used as a persuasive tool in economic discourse, and, if so, how and which are the implications it can have on the public.

To conclude, this section has introduced, in brief, the principal motivations that originally encouraged the study presented in this dissertation and the main justifications to doing it. Forthcoming sections and chapters will provide much more detailed information and review the main principles, theories and aspects that have just been presented.

2. OBJECTIVES

This section will briefly describe the main objectives pursued with this study as well as further details on the data that is analysed.

To start with, the core elements of the study, as introduced in Section 1, are as follows: Economic and Finance Discourse, Spanish and English Digital Newspapers, Pre-Election Time frame, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Typology of Metaphors across and within corpus, Corpus Studies, Metaphor Identification Methods, Metaphor and Ideology, and Persuasion through Metaphor, among others. Although this list encompasses the most relevant elements of the study, they are not exclusive and others may interact. However, they have been included here to present the main objectives of this dissertation. It has to be noted that no references are included in this section and that all these components will be detailed in Chapter II (Literature Review).

First, as already stated, the dissertation analyses the discourse deployed by the economy and finance in Spanish and English; however, it is not the specialized discourse that this study is interested in, but the discourse that can be accessed by all readers. In other words, I wish to observe how the language of a complicated and abstract domain as the economy is used in a context where non-experts are involved.

Second, since discourse is being analysed, this study follows a corpus approach as it collects the data and organizes it via corpus tools that facilitate its analysis and interpretation. Thus, it also aims at extending existing studies on corpus linguistics. Moreover, two different methods, MPA (Stefanowistch, 2006) and MIPVU (Steen et al. 2010), have been used to identify metaphors in the corpus tool; it is another aim to compare these two methods and justify their combined use in metaphor studies.

As detailed in section XX, in order to contrast the two languages studied (Spanish and English), the following sources were analysed: *ABC*, *Público* and *El País* for Spanish, and *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Telegraph* for English. Thus, another objective is to contrast these six newspapers.

In close relation with this, ideology has been presented as another main component of the thesis. It was also determining to choose the six newspapers that have just been presented, since

there is one per language that represents, in a more or less overt way, one ideological sphere (left, centre and right). Another objective then is to contrast the results obtained in ideological terms. Most importantly, one of the focuses of attention is to observe how and why ideology is hidden in the economic discourse and the potential implications it may have on the public in times of elections.

Last, but not least, the core element of study is metaphor. Thus, all the aforementioned objectives are tackled within the more embracing and general approach of metaphor studies. This work analyses metaphor as a pervasive element of economic and financial discourse in Spanish and English digital newspapers and studies whether it is used to persuasively affect the public through ideological shades in a time frame where political views can still be shaped. However, before analysing persuasion, this study also aims at observing three more aspects of metaphor in discourse which will be later commented in detail: metaphor typology, metaphor creativity and metaphor internationality.

This section has presented the main objectives of the study, but this is not the strict order followed during the analysis. In any case, they are to be addressed by the following research questions.

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Since the present study has several objectives, the Research Questions are going to be numerated and separated in three different sections, each one corresponding to a different step of the analysis.

- METAPHOR FREQUENCY AND IDENTIFICATION

The first step of the analysis deals with the objective of observing whether metaphor is in fact a pervasive element in the economic discourse. To this aim, and as will be explained in Chapters III and IV, two different metaphor identification methods were applied: Metaphorical Pattern Analysis (Stefanowitsch 2006) and Metaphor Identification Procedure and MIPVU (Pragglejaz Group 2007; Steen et al. 2010). Although the second method is more widely used nowadays among the metaphor community, the design and purpose of this study justified the use of the first one as the main method of identification, which is later complemented by the second (again, justification for this methodology will be detailed in forthcoming chapters). Thanks to the metaphor identification procedures in combination, the metaphorical density or pervasiveness of metaphor in the corpus can be analysed and contrasted. This leads us to the first set of research questions of the study:

1. Is there a difference in metaphor density across languages? In other words, is the Spanish corpus more metaphorical (in terms of frequency) than the English corpus?
2. Can MPA be used as a reliable metaphor identification tool in combination with MIPVU? Is it justified to use MIPVU as a complementary method instead of as the central one? Do they provide very different results?

- METAPHOR CLASSIFICATION

Once the metaphors are identified, they need to be annotated and classified. As introduced above, and apart from persuasion, there are three more levels of analysis of metaphor: (1) metaphor typology, focused on the different metaphorical schemas (propositional, image and event schemas); (2) metaphor creativity versus metaphor conventionality in economic discourse; and (3) metaphor internationality versus domestic metaphors in economic discourse. These three levels of analysis are addressed in the next list of research questions:

3. Are metaphorical schemas used differently across languages? *Id est*, does any of the two languages of the study show a preference for one of the three schemas?
4. Are metaphorical schemas used differently across ideologies? *Id est*, does any of the three ideologies of the study show preference for one of the three schemas?
5. If creative metaphors are found in the corpus, can they be considered to be representative enough? In other words, is there a high proportion of novel or creative metaphors at the specific level in our corpus, in contrast with conventional ones?
6. Is metaphor creativity dependent on language? For example, does the Spanish corpus show a more frequent use of creative metaphors than English, or is it vice versa?
7. In addition, is metaphor creativity dependent on ideology? For example, does the right-wing corpus show a more frequent use of creative metaphors than left-wing and centre newspapers?
8. It is understood that, as well as there are metaphors that will be found in both languages ('international' metaphors), some will be found only in one of them ('domestic' metaphors). Is this dependent on the language? In other words, does any of the two languages involved show preference for more domestic metaphors?
9. Moreover, does ideology play a role in the choice of domestic versus international metaphors?

- METAPHOR AND PERSUASION

The last step of the analysis concerns the more qualitative approach and englobes the components of ideology and persuasion through metaphor that have been presented. There are two different persuasive strategies that are analysed in this research study: positive and negative polarity, on the one hand, and euphemism and dysphemism (explained in Chapter II), on the other. Thus, this step observes whether persuasion is present in metaphor and, if so, which type of strategy is deployed and whether its presence and typology is motivated by a given variable. This produces the last set of research questions to be answered in the analysis:

10. Is there a dependent relation between the presence of persuasion hidden in metaphors and language? In other words, are Spanish newspapers more persuasive (regardless of the strategy used) than English newspapers, for example?
11. Is there a dependent relation between the presence of persuasion hidden in metaphors and ideology? In other words, are left-wing newspapers more persuasive (also regardless of the strategy used) than the other newspapers? Do they use persuasive strategies as a whole more frequently?
12. Considering persuasion is found, is there a dependent relation between the variable polarity and language? For example, does the Spanish language use positive polarity more frequently and English negative polarity, or is it the inverse way?
13. Is there a dependent relation between the variable polarity and ideology? *Id est*, does the ideology of the newspaper affect the choice of negative or positive polarity?
14. On the other hand, is there a justified relation between the use of euphemism and dysphemism as persuasive tools and language?
15. In addition, is there a justified relation between the use of euphemism and dysphemism as persuasive tools and ideology? In other words, does a given ideological side deploy euphemism more frequently than dysphemism, and vice versa?
16. Finally, can these two strategies be found in combination in the corpus in a productive way?

All the research questions will be addressed throughout this dissertation and principally answered in Chapter IV (Results and Discussion). In addition, the forthcoming subsection is about to hypothesize on the outcomes of the study, taking this list as reference.

4. HYPOTHESES

For practical reasons, the hypotheses are going to be presented in a similar, organized way as the research questions. In consequence, they are to be divided into three sections, corresponding to each part of the analysis.

- METAPHOR FREQUENCY AND IDENTIFICATION

1. Although there is not much research on this aspect, the frequency of metaphor across different registers have been addressed (Gibbs and Franks 2002; Cameron 2003; Deignan & Potter 2004), as well as the difference between specialized and general language (Berber Sardinha 2011), but there is very little research on differences (in terms of frequency) across languages. These previous works have claimed that metaphor is pervasive in all genres and this could be extrapolated to all languages. However, in view of the lack of strong evidence, the results and answers to this question may better serve as an insight into this supposed cross-linguistic difference. It can be expected, though, that metaphor frequency will be different in each language but it will be shaped by the size of the corpus in all cases.
2. Finally, it has been justified that MPA is the main method used for metaphor identification in this study, instead of the more widely applied across the metaphor community, MIPVU. The reason lies in the design and objective of this study; in fact, it is such design and objectives what leads to hypothesize that MPA can be a reliable identifying tool and retrieve as many metaphors as possible, even if there is a chance for error (as there is with all existing methods). In addition, I decided to complement it with MIPVU, being aware of the limitations; I expect that the second method will serve as a final filter to double-identify metaphors and that it will agree at a general level with the original outcomes of MPA.

- METAPHOR CLASSIFICATION

3. Metaphor Schemas refer to the different structures that are used to project metaphors in the world around us, which is shaped by our culture (see Chapters II and III). Therefore, since two different cultures are being analysed, it is logical to expect that different schemas will be found in the two linguistic corpora.

4. The culturally shaped aspect of metaphor schemas also leads to hypothesize that ideology will as well play a role in choosing one schema or another. Ideologies are also shaped by the cultural, physical and social background, and they at the same time aim at influencing the immediate background where they project their discourse; in consequence, different ideological backgrounds are expected to produce different metaphor schemas or, at least, show preference for one or another.
5. Concerning metaphor creativity and metaphor conventionality, most previous studies claim that while there is a much higher proportion of conventional metaphors than novel at the most generic level (see Chapter II for references and further explanation of this concept), some creativity can be expected at more specific levels. It is for this reason that this thesis observes those specific metaphors (at this stage of the analysis) and due to the prolific time frame where the corpus is embedded, we can expect to find creativity in our corpus. However, whether findings are significant or not will be answered once the analysis is performed.
6. I believe that the background also influences on the metaphorical resources deployed by the discourse creator; in other words, that it can be expected to observe a different degree of creativity in different backgrounds. In relation with the first hypothesis of this thesis, it is expected to find a relation between metaphor frequency and metaphor creativity. *Id est*, that the language with the highest metaphor density will also have the highest degree of creativity. The reason to believe so is that if a language has shown tendency for a higher metaphor density, depicting a higher use of figuration, it can also be hypothesized to make use of creative figuration more often.
7. On the other hand, I do not expect to find a great difference across ideologies in terms of metaphor creativity. Considering all three ideologies, especially the more defined ones, have a clear objective (convincing the public) they can be expected to make use of a similar degree creativity. This is also justified by the fact that the time frame is, if not exactly the same in dates, at least the same in terms of ideological and political ambience.
8. The last step of metaphor classification concerns the level of internationality of metaphors. Previous studies have also hypothesized that most of the metaphors found are shared by different cultures and languages (again, see Chapters II and III), especially at the more generic level; moreover, particularities of a corpus, if found, occur at more

specific levels, which is again what concerns this study. Based on these previous claims, domestic (particular or ‘culture-specific’) metaphors can be expected to appear but not as frequently as international (‘near-universal’) ones. Since the time frame and the objective is the same in both corpora, as well as the physical background is very close in space, I believe that the difference played by linguistic aspects in terms of metaphor universality will not be very significant and that a larger corpus or other languages should be included to analyse this aspect in detail. This, however, does not mean that domestic metaphors are not going to be deployed by both languages.

9. Finally, and justified by the same reasons than the previous hypothesis, ideology is not expected to be a significant determinant for metaphor domesticity or internationality. That is to say, even if domestic metaphors can be found in all three ideologies, the difference in proportions does not need to be significant, especially considering that only two newspapers for each ideology have been included.

- METAPHOR AND PERSUASION

10. The last factor analysed by this thesis is whether metaphor is used as a persuasive tool to portray the ideology of the discourse participants and have an effect at the same time. Based on previous studies on metaphor, ideology and persuasion (see Chapters II and III), it is expected to find a high number of metaphors that have a persuasive load, regardless of which ideological side they represent. In addition, I believe that while differences may be found in this corpus in terms of persuasive metaphor frequency across languages, the linguistic variable is not a necessary determinant factor of persuasion at its more general level (without observing concrete strategies).
11. Concerning ideology, I expect to find similar proportions across ideologies, especially between left-wing and right-wing newspapers. This is justified by their more clear-cut or radical ideology and their more overt support of one political party or another. Since both sides have a persuasive aim, the frequency of persuasive strategies through metaphor is not expected to differ significantly.
12. Within persuasion, metaphor polarity (derived from metaphor highlighting and hiding properties) is the first strategy analysed. Concerning the linguistic role played in the use of polarity, I believe that a balanced outcome will be found, since both languages contain

newspapers from the three ideological sides. This is not to say that the values will be exact, but that no significant difference between proportions is to be expected.

13. However, I do expect to find a dependent relationship between the variable ideology and polarity, finding considerably higher values of positive polarity in right-wing newspapers (since they are supposed to support the Government at the time of the study) and higher values of negative polarity in left-wing newspapers (since they are supposed to advocate for a change). It is the two centre newspapers that may provide more revealing outcomes that can be used to interpret whether they lean towards one ideology or another.
14. Concerning the second persuasive strategy, euphemism and dysphemism are expected to be found as well in both languages but no significant relation is anticipated with this linguistic variable, as it occurs with polarity.
15. Equally, I do believe that ideology, on the other hand, will play a determinant role not only in frequency but mainly in typology concerning euphemistic and dysphemistic uses of metaphors, finding a more negative tone (dysphemism) in left-wing newspapers and a more positive one (euphemism) in right-wing ones, due to the same reasons that would justify negative and positive polarity, respectively.
16. To conclude, the two persuasive strategies observed in this study are expected to be found both isolated and in combination, and the design of the study will allow to categorize both options. Moreover, they are expected to be found combined according to the ideological objective they have: on the one hand, left-wing newspapers, which pursue a political change, will probably make use of negative polarity and dysphemism; on the contrary, right-wing newspapers will logically use the opposite strategies, *id est*, positive polarity and euphemism. Again, observations on what centre newspapers do are expected to reveal interesting outcomes concerning their real political or ideological stance.

5. STRUCTURE OF THIS DISSERTATION

In order to pursue the objectives settled on this dissertation and find the answers to the research questions and hypotheses that have just been presented, this dissertation has been divided into different sections.

Chapter I has just presented the Introduction to the dissertation, including the main motivations and main concepts of the study, followed by the general goals of this project. Next, all the research questions, divided into three different sections, have been specified as well as the hypotheses derived from them.

The main theoretical underpinnings are presented in Chapter II. Since this dissertation is composed by many different aspects (Cognitive Linguistics, Discourse Analysis, Critical Analysis, Corpus Studies, etc.), the chapter will present them in different sections, from the more generic to the more specific ones. Starting with a review on Metaphor and Cognitive Linguistics and Metaphor in Discourse, it then includes the variables of Metaphor and the Press, Critical Metaphor Analysis and Metaphor and the Economy, which are more concrete for this study. Finally, it presents the main theoretical tenets of the more practical part of the dissertation, including: Corpus Studies, Metaphor Identification Methods and Metaphor Classification. The Literature Review aims at covering, as brief but informative as possible, the main theories, models and principles on which this thesis is founded.

Chapter III includes details concerning the Data and the Methodology of the study. It first presents the corpus that is to be analysed, including information about the criteria followed for the selection of newspapers and the time frame and format and about how the data is retrieved. It also explains how it is then processed by means of a corpus tool and how the two different metaphor identification methods are applied in order to obtain the final dataset of metaphors on which the metaphor classification part is applied. Finally, it also refers to the different statistical tests run in the analysis.

Chapter IV is the most extensive one, as it comprehends three parts in one: Analysis, Results and Discussion. It has been decided to include them together with the objective of avoiding repetition and because of the multiple levels of analysis of the study, which would be confusing if presented separately and repeatedly. Therefore, it follows the chronological order of

the process of analysis, starting by metaphor identification within the targets used for the analysis, followed by their different levels of classification according to the metaphor schema they present, the level of creativity versus conventionality and the level of internationality versus domesticity. Finally, findings of the evaluative analysis observing the different strategies of persuasion are presented in a different section. In addition, all the results are explained through examples from the corpus, graphs, tables and the statistical results for each level of analysis.

Conclusions are included in Chapter V, which encompasses the response to the original hypotheses given in Chapter I, the main implications of the study, the limitations met and how they are addressed, and the future lines of research motivated by this research.

To conclude, Chapter VI gathers all the references used in this study, and it is followed by the Appendix. It has to be noted that a digital Appendix is also required in this dissertation in order to inform about the complete corpus, which would otherwise be too extensive to be included here. In any case, the different components of the Appendix will be numbered and explained in turn.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter consists of a review of the most relevant theoretical underpinnings of this study; the project covers many domains which are interwoven for the final purpose. Therefore, the chapter will begin by commenting on the most general perspectives (Cognitive Linguistics and Discourse Analysis) and will then continue to provide comment and a review of the most specific ones (metaphor in discourse, economic and media discourse, metaphor and corpus studies and metaphor identification and classification).

Chapter II thus focuses on the most recent and relevant contributions in the field. However, there are three concrete sections that are briefly presented here from the theoretical viewpoint but, since they constitute the practical part of the analysis (metaphor identification and classification), will be developed further in the Methodology Section of this thesis (Chapter III).

1. METAPHOR AND COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

The first grounding of this work, common to all the fields that it concerns, is Cognitive Linguistics. Basing their study on what they consider as the most influential definition of the term (Neisser 1967), Brandimonte et al. define cognition as the mental process “in which external or internal input is transformed, reduced, elaborated, stored, recovered, and used. As such, it involves a variety of functions such as perception, attention, memory coding, retention, and recall, decision making, reasoning, problem-solving, imaging, planning and executing actions” (2006: 12). Language is understood as one of our mental processes, and Cognitive Linguistics is the branch of linguistic studies that focuses on the way humans organize, process and produce information in linguistic terms. It therefore seemed essential to start this section by referring to Cognitive Linguistics, albeit briefly, since metaphor, the core element of the study, has long been proved to be part of language and of our cognitive processes, and it deserves most of the theoretical attention.

Metaphor *per se* has been applied and studied for centuries and is not only an element of recent trend. In fact, centuries ago, Aristotle already referred to and viewed metaphor as more than just a linguistic trope; in his renowned work, *Rhetoric* (dating back to the 4th Century B.C.) he defined metaphor as “the movement of an alien name from one location to another” (*Rhetoric*, Word Choice 295). In this masterful work, still read and applied nowadays, he devoted several pages to this figure, seeing it not as a mere decorative tool of language but as a powerful resource of speech.

It is generally agreed that the turning point of recent metaphor studies would not occur until George Lakoff & Mark Johnson published their pioneer and well-known book, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), which supposed a revolutionary change in Cognitive Linguistics and served as a starting point for most of the studies on metaphor since then. They developed the theory of Conceptual Metaphor, whose central insight is that figurative language (metaphor and metonymy, among other figures) reflect inner associations or mappings between at least two domains in our conceptual system. In other words, when we use a metaphor, we are mentally linking or mapping the underlying structure of the chosen, more tangible domain (known as the source domain) to that of the target domain we refer to, which is more abstract and processed with more difficulty (Kövecses 2010). For example, the way we talk about and refer to love and

relationships is highly metaphorically loaded, as illustrated by the following expressions which we use (more or less commonly and more or less consciously) to talk about them or about situations in which they are involved (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 44-45):

- a. Look how far we've come.*
- b. We're at a crossroads.*
- c. We'll just have to go our separate ways.*
- d. We can't turn back now.*
- e. I don't think this relationship is going anywhere.*
- f. This relationship is a dead-end street.*
- g. Our marriage is on the rocks.*
- h. This relationship is foundering.*

Even if some of these expressions are used more frequently than others or may no longer be used so often, all of them are instantiations of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, in which the referred concept here (love) or target domain, is expressed and understood by means of another conceptual element of common knowledge and understanding (a journey), or source domain. The abstract domain is therefore explained through the concrete domain. Moreover, it is not only the concepts of *love* and *journey* that are linked, but mainly the conceptual systems they are included in, which are mapped due to their similarities: in a relationship, there are good and bad moments, there are moments in which we need to make a decision (or choose one way or another), we have to decide whether we want to advance in the relationship or stop it (as we do in journeys), we have to fight obstacles that might jeopardize the relationship (as we have to avoid obstacles on the road), etc.; these representations are therefore mapped and all together convey the more general conceptual metaphor mentioned above.

According to Lakoff & Johnson (ibid), this mapping process is not only an element of language, but also and most essentially, is an element of thought and action, embedded and influenced by factors such as culture and context, which are equally represented by language and, therefore, by metaphors. Thus, we do not only use metaphors when we talk, but also when we think and when we act: we talk, we think and we act metaphorically. In his book *Metaphor: A*

Practical Introduction (2010), Kövecses refers to another example that justifies why and how important and persistent metaphors are; he recalls the myth of Oedipus, who managed to solve the Sphinx riddle and consequently avoid being killed by means of his metaphorical knowledge and metaphorical perception of the world that surrounded him: it was by conceptualizing the life of human beings and their ageing as the passing of a day, from morning to night, that he managed to give the right answer.

Before moving on to more specific branches within cognitive linguistics and metaphor studies, and having introduced the first bases of metaphor theory and conceptual metaphors, I would like to comment on this changing or evolving view towards metaphor. This subsection has commented on the presence of metaphor in our cognitive thinking as a pervasive element which shapes and is shaped by our thoughts and actions. However, our thoughts, actions and utterances are also influenced and shaped by the context around us (another basic tenet of Cognitive Linguistics) and, within context, by culture, which will be examined in depth in subsequent sections.

In close relation to this last point, metaphor and culture, there have been recent additions or developments within metaphor studies which embrace the social aspect, integrating language, cognition and society. In the last decade, studies into cognitive linguistics and natural discourse have turned towards more empirical, experimental and corpus-based supported evidence, which can be tested and proved statistically (Kristiansen et al. 2006; Kristiansen & Dirven 2008; Glynn & Fischer 2010, in Romano & Porto 2016). Focusing on metaphor, it is now considered as a discourse device that is an intrinsic part of the socio-cultural situation, cognitively integrated in society (Bernárdez 2008; Romano 2013, 2015; Soares da Silva 2016; among others). These and other socio-cognitive studies offer a collective, wide approach to metaphor as an embedded part of society and not just a unique element of individual thought or action.

2. METAPHOR AND DISCOURSE

Lakoff & Johnson (1980), as aforementioned, brought about change and a new starting point for studies in the field during the last decades. However, this pioneer work had some limitations that have been covered since its publication. They saw metaphor as a persistent part of our everyday life and everyday language; however, more recent studies stopped seeing it as a unique element of isolated language and started studying it as part of a context or as part of an entire, larger entity: discourse.

In her book, *Metaphor in Discourse*, Semino defines discourse as: “naturally occurring language use: real instances of writing or speech which are produced and interpreted in particular circumstances and for particular purposes” (2008: 01). This work explores the tendency towards the interaction of conventionality and creativity in metaphor use in different genres or types of discourse, namely literature, politics, science, education, advertising and medicine. To justify how metaphor is exhibited through all kinds of discourse, she resorts to previous studies observing common patterns that explain how this discursive element functions across texts types. These common patterns are now summarized in turn (ibid. 22-30):

- *Repetition*, which, as the word indicates, refers to how a conceptual metaphor and the mappings within such system are repeated in the course of a text.
- *Recurrence* is understood as the phenomenon by which different expressions relating to the same broad source domain are resorted to in different parts of a text.
- *Clusters* of metaphors refer to those occasions where several different metaphorical expressions drawing from different source domains are used in close proximity to one another (Koller 2003; Cameron & Low 2004; Cameron and Stelma 2004).
- *Extension* occurs when several metaphorical expressions (or different instantiations of the same conceptual metaphor and evocations of the same source domain) are found close to one another all referring to the same topic or to different evocations of the same target domain. In line with this, Cameron & Low (2004) claim that “once textually established, a metaphor can ‘attract’ other metaphorical expressions that are only loosely connected with it”.
- *Combination and Mixing* can be related to the previous phenomenon, since it refers to different metaphorical expressions occurring in proximity. However, in this case they

refer to different source domains and, due to their co-occurrence and combination, they can give place to a single and more complex metaphorical scenario.

- *Literal-metaphorical oppositions* are common in media discourse; more specifically and to serve as example, in newspaper headlines, when the basic and the metaphorical meanings of a given expression appear simultaneously in a short fragment of text or sentence.
- *Signalling* phenomena in discourse occur when a metaphorical expression is accompanied by signalling elements in the discourse, or linguistic markers that draw the reader's attention to a metaphor in the immediate co-text, therefore leading to a previous, influenced interpretation of the expression in question. Some of these markers are, among others: *metaphorically speaking*, *literally*, *as it were*, *so to speak*, *sort of* and *imagine* (Goatly 1997; Cameron & Deignan 2003: 168).
- Finally, Musolff (2004) refers to *Intertextual relations* as another potential discursive instantiation of a conceptual metaphor or of its metaphorical expressions. Such relations do not occur within the same text but across different texts or even different genres; more specifically, he argues that sometimes a particular use of metaphor in a text may be somehow salient or controversial and it may be subsequently exploited and extended in another text, showing its relation to the original one by agreement or disagreement.

Some years later, Semino, Deignan and Littlemore (2013) would publish an article which needs to be mentioned as it presents a further potential and powerful function of metaphor in discourse: re-contextualization. In this case, it refers to the changes or adaptations of a previously introduced metaphor when it is found in a completely different type of discourse; to exemplify, they refer to three different metaphors which had been originally used in one sense and are re-adapted in a new discourse type and carry important discursive functions as well. These include the 'gate' metaphor (originally found in a scientific paper and then re-contextualized in a self-help book); the 'vaccine' metaphor (re-contextualized from a broadcast interview to a political blog); and the 'holiday' metaphor (from a self-standing piece of writing on parenting special needs children to a blog post). Moreover, they are not adapted randomly, but have a function instead, namely, that of explaining, evaluating or expressing emotions and empathy, respectively, which were not the original functions of the metaphors in question. In the same year, Porto and

Romano (2013) published another study supporting and illustrating this re-contextualizing nature of metaphor; they observe how two metaphors (the ‘ash cloud’ metaphor in the British press and the ‘green shots’ metaphor in the Spanish press), change within the same genre, as, for instance the first one disappears as it stops having an effect on the country and the second one is used negatively or positively depending on who utters it, but is still present in the Spanish political discourse. In any case, they also support the idea that the change in discourse situation and the sociocultural context influence their development or evolution as well.

All these textual phenomena are instantiations of how a conceptual metaphor can be exploited through its many metaphorical expressions within one text, across different texts of the same genre and topic or even across texts of different types. Thus, a conceptual metaphor could also be found in texts coming from different cultures and languages, uttered in different metaphorical expressions which can then be repeated, extended, mixed, combined, etc.

Having commented on the different ways in which metaphors are found through discourse, it is essential to refer to the function they serve within it since, as aforementioned and agreed upon by the entire metaphor research community, metaphor is not to be seen as a decorative figure of language. Instead, it serves different objectives or functions and the use of one metaphorical expression or another will inherently carry different results. Its primary function and reason to being so widely used and studied over the last decades is that of trying to refer to an abstract, difficult-to-understand domain by means of a more concrete and easily understandable one, or simplifying and facilitating understanding by means of a discourse tool. This function is common to conceptual metaphor in general, but its concrete function or functions within a given discourse are different.

Semino (2008: 31-32) points out two questions that need to be answered when studying the function of CM in discourse: “*Why do particular metaphorical patterns occur in a particular language or languages?*” and “*Why do particular metaphorical choices and patterns occur in particular texts, genres or discourses?*”. The first question refers to the role of bodily experiences, and also the role played by culture (Kövecses 2005). As for the second, it refers to the participants in the discourse, the co-text and context where the metaphors are found, including aspects such as the social, the political or the cultural background, among others.

If conceptual metaphors are influenced by the producer's background and they carry a function within the discourse they are included in, the reality they represent and the mental constructions they involve will change from one person to another, and each one will use them differently depending on why they are using them. In other words, we may use a metaphor to convince someone of our point of view by referring to the issue in question with an appealing metaphor; we can persuade them to do something if the action is metaphorically presented in a positive way; our ideology can be more or less neatly hidden in the shape of a metaphor, and therefore influence others; we can build up relationships with the addressee through metaphors; we can use them to reinforce an idea previously mentioned in our text and thus extend it and make it more prominent. In sum, metaphors can be used as a very powerful bearer of what is known as the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of metaphors, which are directly linked to the three functions of language proposed by Halliday (1978) and Halliday & Hasan (1985).

To conclude, metaphor and its discursive importance have been analyzed within a wide range of discourse types over the last decades; some examples of this wide variety include: Science (Goatly 1996; Hallyn 2000), Mathematics (Lakoff & Núñez 2000; Schlimm 2013), Medicine and Health (Semino et al. 2015; López-Rodríguez & Tercedor-Sánchez 2017), Architecture (Caballero 2003a, 2013; Ayiran 2012), Law and Order (Makela 2011; Lloyd 2016), Education (Aubusson et al. 2006; Nacey 2013, 2017), Translation (Schäffner 2004; Shuttleworth 2011, Schäffner & Shuttleworth 2013), Advertising (Zhang & Gao 2009; Hidalgo-Downing et al. 2016) Culture and Social Movements (Kövecses 2005, 2015; Soares da Silva et al. 2017; Romano 2013, 2015) and Politics (Charteris-Black 2004; Musolff 2004, 2016; Díez-Prados 2016), which is very close in many aspects to the field this thesis analyzes, Economics. While I may refer back to some of these fields occasionally, this thesis mainly focuses on the discourse of Economics and, more specifically, the discourse used by newspaper reports to refer to and comment on economic and financial issues.

3. METAPHOR AND THE PRESS: IDEOLOGY AND PERSUASION

As stated in the previous section, this dissertation focuses on a specific type of discourse: it is not only the use of the metaphors in the discourse of Economics that is being analysed here, but more specifically, the use of metaphors in the discourse of the press commenting on the Economy of the country during the national elections. Therefore, there are three variables to account for in the discourse analysed here: the discourse of Economy, the discourse of the press and the discourse found during the elections, or, in other words, electoral discourse (even if the texts under analysis are not uttered by the politicians themselves), which is entirely loaded with ideological tones.

I will refer in detail to the discourse of Economy in forthcoming sections and throughout this work; for now, I will focus on the other two variants: the discourse of the press and, inherently linked to it, the ideology within the discourse of the press and the elections.

3.1. THE DISCOURSE OF THE PRESS: PRINT MEDIA DISCOURSE

Anne O’Keeffe refers to media discourse as the “interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer. [...] media discourse is a public, manufactured, on-record, form of interaction. It is not ad hoc or spontaneous (in the same way as casual speaking or writing is); it is neither private nor off the record” (2011). Nowadays, media discourse is familiar to the majority of the public and its characteristics may seem obvious; however, all these features are crucial to all investigations analysing this complex discourse.

The fact that print media discourse is public is relevant because of the social nature of its interactors, the producer and the receptor, since it is not a private conversation between two parts but an open interaction between one producer (sometimes more) and an infinite readership; its manufactured nature means that it is not natural language, but that the producer will have time to think and plan what they want to say and the receiver will have time to process and respond to the information received; the fact that printed media discourse is on-record makes it really appealing to all discourse analysts since not only what is produced today can be studied, but also

what was produced decades ago (especially with the introduction of new technologies and all the available online data which all the public can access now).

One of the main differences among the different participants in this type of discourse is best summarized by Koller (2004) when she states that

While business journalists at least have access to the version provided for them, readers see corporate discourse through the additional lens of the media. Reception of such indirectly produced texts is obviously less easy to control by corporations. Yet, pre-selected information presented in a collaborative way may to some extent anticipate the reception of media texts. In any case, readers are positioned mainly as consumers and their power is restricted to meaning construction in reading”. (25)

This somehow unidirectional communicative sphere can be summarized in Figure 1:

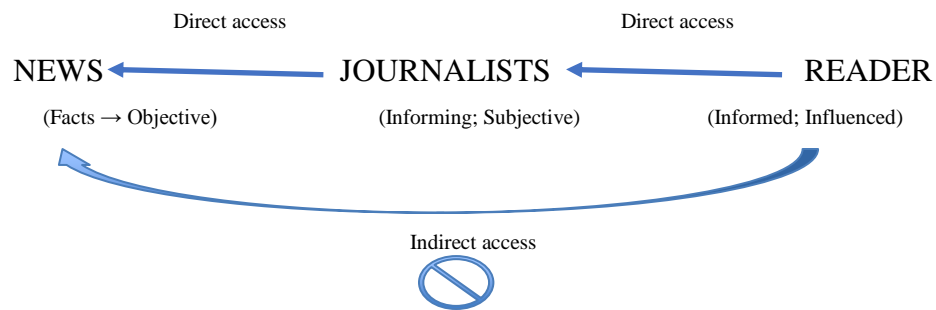


Figure 1: Unidirectional media-discourse communication process

Some of the first relevant studies analysing this different discourse type include: Biber et al. (1999), who see print media discourse as one of the most relevant discursive registers; Swales (1990), who focuses on this specific genre compared to other better-known ones; Toolan (1988), on the language used in advertisements in print media; and, coming to more recent studies, Reah (2002) describes in detail the characteristics of newspapers from a linguistic perspective; and Bednarek (2006a, b), who performed a corpus based analysis of newspapers headlines. Concerning recent studies on the discourse of Economics in online print media, they will be commented in detail next.

Having briefly introduced the characteristics of print media and this specific type of discourse, I shall now focus on the concrete element of discourse I am analysing within print media: metaphor.

3.1.1. METAPHOR AND ONLINE PRINT MEDIA

As aforementioned, the language used in the discourse of the press, both spoken and written, is not the natural language of daily conversations; it is not the language found in literature either, nor the language used in the educational context, to serve as examples. Because of the nature that surrounds the media, the language and the discourse found in it have proved to be different and unique. Thus, the metaphors used and found in print media will be different and unique to those found in other genres as well.

Figure 1 above summarized the communication process in print media and all the factors surrounding it that make this discourse so particular. However, there is still a major factor to consider: the platform where we read the news, which is the internet. The possibility of accessing the news whenever and wherever wished is another element to consider, since the direction is not straight and specific to the public. Moreover, in newspaper reports, where the journalists present and comment on national or international events (economic events in this case), they are not creating the information but commenting on it, transferring it to the reader; this is yet another sphere to consider.

One of the main natural properties of the discourse of media, as mentioned before, is the ideological load that it has; all newspapers and media companies stand for their ideals and support, more or less openly, a given ideology and/or political party or movement. Thus, the journalists that write a report on the press will be portraying their ideals. Moreover, they do not only have to comment on current affairs, but also make them accessible and understandable for the public. Being more specific, the language used in some scopes, such as the Economy and the Market, might be too abstract for a general public. It is true, though, that the expert reader might be familiar with the concrete language of Economics; however, if analysing economic reports on general newspapers (not only focused on Economics), and of public access, the journalist has to consider that any person can read it and therefore needs to make it readable for all. As Koller summarizes it, “there is an imperious necessity for newspaper language to display clarity and facilitate...the readability of its text’ (White 1997: 242) and metaphor is indeed instrumental in achieving that end” (2004/2008: 2). In relation to Haliday’s three functions of language

mentioned above, there are as well the functions of metaphors in online economic media discourse; in fact, the ideational is crucial since it is one of this work's focuses of interest:

- Textual: this function is achieved through metaphors since they give the clarity and readability which have just been mentioned. It is thanks to the metaphors that the text can be understood not only by the expert eye but also by non-expert readers who wish to understand economic reports. The economy, as will be commented later, is a very abstract domain, and so is economic discourse; therefore, it needs to be transported to a more tangible sphere which can be grasped by all, and it is through metaphor that this is achieved.

- Interpersonal: in reference to the relation between the parts in the interaction (which in this case are the journalist[s] and the readers), metaphors serve as an attention grabber that the journalist uses to get and to keep the reader's attention. This function is interrelated with the textual one since, by making the text more graspable and understandable but also more appealing, the author succeeds in informing the audience and keeping them attentive at the same time. A closer relationship will be established between the two parts if both of them are familiar with the discourse in between, and they serve as the attention-grabbing and explanatory tool which is needed in such process (Prince & Ferrari 1996). Moreover, Herrera-Soler adds that it is not only the metaphor that triggers the comprehension of the discourse, but that this relationship also works in reverse, since "the knowledge shared between journalists and readers facilitates the understanding of linguistics metaphors" (2008).

- Ideational: even if commenting on apparently objective economic affairs, all reports and news portray an idea and the discourse will be shaped by such idea or, in other words, ideology. By choosing to use one metaphor or another, the journalist can try to persuade the reader, argue or stand for a point (Henderson 1994), among many other ideational strategies, creating at the same time a closer relationship between them (which makes this function inherently related to the interpersonal one). As Koller puts it, "by favouring particular metaphors in discourse, journalists can reinforce, or even create, particular mental models in their readers' cognition" (2004/2008:2). In other words, they

have the power of delicately manipulating the cognitive constructions of their readers and their interpretations and reactions by means of a concrete metaphorical choice.

As commented, the three functions of metaphors inspired by Halliday's model can be connected or interrelated and one metaphor can serve the three functions at the same time. In line with this, Resche claimed that "journalists take their inspiration from the core metaphorical terms stemming from the root metaphors and extend the metaphors by choosing elements from everyone's experience of everyday life. Obviously, surface metaphors as developed by the press need to find an echo in every reader" (2012: 93).

Focusing on the third macro-function of metaphor in discourse, the ideational one, direct reference needs to be made to one of the major tenets of this study, which has already been mentioned several times: ideology. Although many definitions have been given to describe what ideology is, this work starts from Van Dijk's definition of the concept. Viewing it as a socio-cognitive phenomenon, he referred to it, as "the interface between the cognitive representations and processes underlying discourse and action, on the one hand, and the societal position and interests of social groups, on the other hand" (1995:18). In other words, ideology in discourse comes shaped by the purpose we have, our final objective and our view and representation of what we are transmitting, together with the relationship with the receptor and the desired impact or influence on them. Throughout this section I have made constant reference to the choice of one given metaphor or another; such choice will come influenced by these factors, *id est*, by the ideology, and it will influence the ideological representation of the readers. As Wolf and Polzenhagen claim, "ideological patterns may arise from the application of a particular metaphor and the neglect of alternative ones" (2003: 268). Cubo de Severino et al. also refer to this inherent relation between metaphors and strategic ideological purposes by claiming that "the use of metaphors in journalistic discourse is an ideological strategy that masks underlying intentions" (2001: 220).

Kress (1989) had already supported this idea decades ago. As he defended, since metaphor is a vehicle that naturalizes an abstract, intangible and difficult-to-grasp domain via a more familiar or natural one, if it is a carrier of ideology, it will therefore naturalize the ideology behind the metaphor, the ideology behind the discourse. In other words, if the readers are presented a constant metaphorical construction stating that 'A is B', where B (source domain) is

something good, then A (target domain) will be naturally related to something positive (to serve as example). Following this view, Semino points out that “when particular uses of metaphor become the dominant way of talking about a particular aspect of reality within a particular discourse, they may be extremely difficult to perceive and challenge, since they come to represent the ‘commonsense’ or ‘natural’ view of things. In such cases, conventional conceptual metaphor can be seen as an important part of the shared sets of beliefs, or ‘ideology’ that characterize a particular social group” (2008: 33-34).

In line with Semino’s claim of such inner nature of metaphors carrying ideology when they are predominantly used in a given discourse, Silaski (2012) also refers to the discrete yet powerful ideological function of metaphors:

The connection between ideology and metaphors most frequently functions unconsciously—ideologies are neatly hidden behind the metaphorical veil, since metaphors structure concepts and phenomena in a simple and artificially simplified manner. The most effective metaphors are those that are built into the language and mind unconsciously by means of established conventions and serve as perspectivization and attention-grabbing devices—they highlight certain attitudes, views and opinions, while downplaying some other irrelevant and undesirable aspects of a phenomenon. Thus, apparently harmless metaphors may be an ideologically charged weapon, relying on simple explanations and strong emotional effects.

Considering metaphor as a weapon of discourse inherently means it has to be analysed deeply and critically. In fact, Critical Metaphor Analysis is another of the main tenets of this thesis. The readership of a general newspaper (not specialized in business) might not be that familiar with the conventional metaphors of this field (this will be discussed later); therefore, if they are unconsciously receiving the same metaphorical image of economic issues in an ideologically manipulated way, their conceptual system will eventually create an image that will be shaped by this. This is where the somehow dangerous power of metaphors lies.

According to Van Dijk, this powerful ideological load will have even more serious consequences in mass mediated discourse than in any other type of discourse, mainly because of the target audience (much more numerous than daily dialogues or conversations), since it is not the same to address the discourse to a reduced group of readers or listeners than to an entire online community which, as already mentioned, can access the discourse anytime, anywhere

(1995: 265). This is just another reason of interest for the present work. Moreover, its study is of relevant importance because the metaphor choice is not entirely arbitrary in the end. As O'Mara-Shimek Guillén-Parra & Ortega-Larrea point out, “while it is difficult to determine to what degree reporters themselves are consciously choosing (to use metaphors) [...], at some point responsibility has to be assumed by either the reporter or the editor who approves the work for publication” (2015).

Let us now turn to more specific strategies of ideological persuasion in discourse, focusing on those that will be applied in this study. I shall focus on two different dichotomies which do not exclude each other when analysing ideology and persuasion through of metaphors in discourse: highlighting vs. hiding on the one hand and dysphemism vs. euphemism on the other.

3.2. PERSUASIVE STRATEGIES IN THE MEDIA

3.2.1. HIGHLIGHTING AND HIDING

The principle of metaphorical highlighting and hiding is said to have been first introduced in academic studies by Lakoff & Johnson in 1980. When the metaphorical source domain is manipulated in such a way that it focuses on one aspect of the mapping, emphasizing some aspects or features in contrast to others that may also be present in the target domain, what the metaphor is doing is highlighting them; this will inevitably cause a shift of attention by the reader/listener, who will therefore focus on the highlighted features. Parallel to this, if some aspects are highlighted, this means that others are hidden, concealed or made smaller, with a consequent loss of attention, even ignorance of them by the receptive part. This is another example of how metaphors can serve as ideological and manipulative tools, since they present “a particular interpretation of situations and events” (Deignan 2005: 23).

A somehow similar interpretation of these strategies is given by Van Dijk (1998), who refers to “presence” or “absence” of information in the metaphorical relation between two domains or mapping. According to him, it is the suppression or expression of certain features that leads the attention of the receptor, influencing their interpretation towards one end or another. He distinguishes four different moves in this strategic use of metaphors. Even if he

focuses on the “Us vs. Them” dichotomy, I believe these moves can also be taken into consideration when referring to a broader or wider range of concepts, not necessarily two opponent parts (1998: 267):

- Express/emphasize information that is positive about Us.
- Express/emphasize information that is negative about Them.
- Suppress/de-emphasize information that is positive about Them.
- Suppress/de-emphasize information that is negative about Us.

These movements are adapted for the purpose of this work and, instead of focusing on the “us vs. them” dichotomy, it focuses on highlighting or hiding the positive versus the negative aspects of the economy through metaphor. This will be detailed in Chapter III and exemplified in Chapter IV.

3.2.2. DYSPHEMISM AND EUPHEMISM

Apart from highlighting and hiding the positive or the negative aspects of the economy through metaphor, this work also takes another approach of metaphorical manipulation via two opponent discursive and persuasive strategies: euphemism and dysphemism. Crespo-Fernández (2014: 6) defines *euphemism* as “the process whereby a distasteful concept is stripped of its most inappropriate or offensive overtones, providing thus a ‘safe’ way to deal with certain embarrassing topics without being politically incorrect or breaking a social convention”. In other words, the metaphor chosen by the author is used euphemistically when it tries to conceal the negative aspects of the target domain by making them appear less harmful or pessimistic; it is somehow embellishing the features that would otherwise be perceived by the reader/listener as negative and would cause a repulsion by them.

The opposite strategy is called *dysphemism*, which Allan and Burridge define as “a word or phrase with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum and/or to people addressed or overhearing the utterance” (2006: 31). Thus, a metaphor or metaphorical expression is dysphemistic when it emphasizes the negative aspects or features of the target in

question, therefore causing a negative reaction and consecutive rejection on the reader/listener's mind.

In print media, as well as in other types of discourse, one can expect to find these two strategies combined: the journalist may use metaphors euphemistically when talking about the party or interest their newspaper or editorial support, while they will make a dysphemistic use of them when referring to opponent parties or interests. Equally, they will highlight or hide the convenient aspects to cause the desired effect on the readers. This proves one more time how important the ideological load and its critical analysis within discourse are, and most importantly in discourse types which are accessible to all readers and therefore have bigger and more impacting consequences.

4. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

This analysis does not focus on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA henceforth) *per se*, but this approach is essential for this research study and for the extensions it has had over the last decades; thus, I will briefly refer to its most relevant remarks.

CDA and all approaches that study language and discourse from a critical perspective, independently from their nomenclature (for instance, Van Dijk prefers to call this approach *Critical Discourse Studies*, 2009) find their roots in a broader scope of schools including rhetoric, text linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, socio-psychology, cognitive science, literary studies, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and pragmatics (Wodak & Meyer 2009). Many scholars started to study this critical approach decades ago, yet Fairclough can be considered one of its main instigators with his work *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1995). Figure 2 below summarizes CDA structural distribution. In brief, CDA sees discourse as a social practice (discourse) where there is an interaction between at least two parts, and such interaction is framed by factors such as the context and the goal of the speech. Such goal can be of different nature, such as persuading, convincing, criticizing, praising, etc. Therefore, it has a social impact on all the parts directly and indirectly involved in it. To serve as an example, a discourse given by a politician in a political debate, apparently addressed to another politician in the debate, will not only have the goal of affecting the present participants, but also the rest of listeners/observers of the debate. Moreover, it is important to note that the aforementioned influence of context-discourse is bi-directional, meaning that cultural or social background will influence discourse, but discourse itself will affect the context as well.

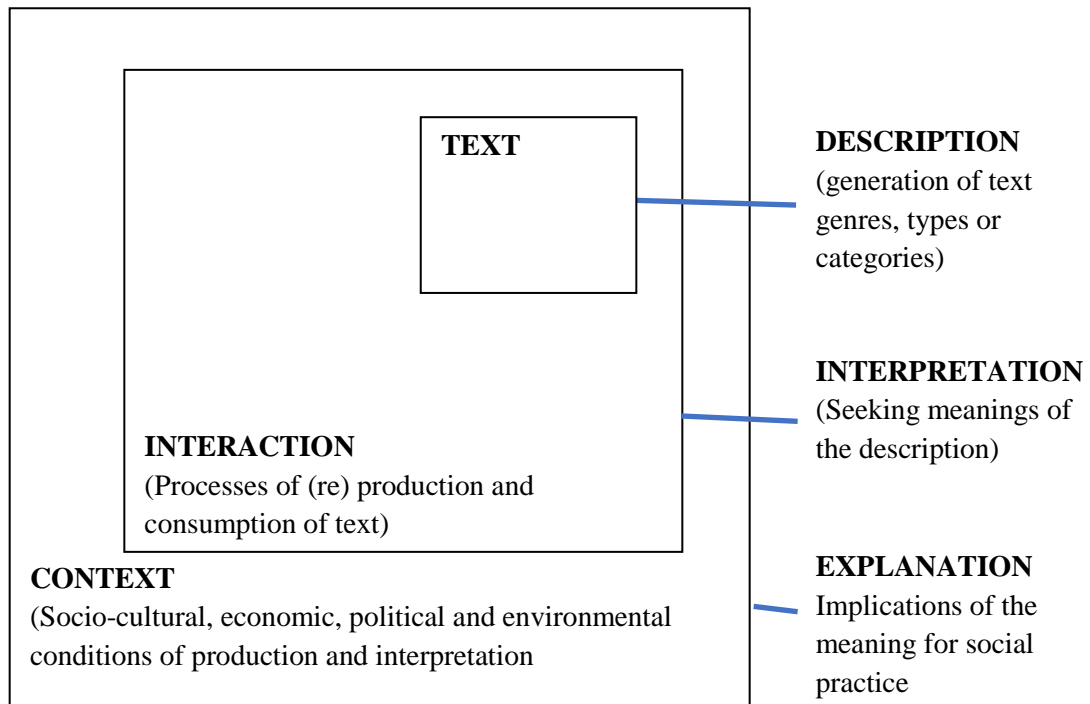


Figure 2: Fairclough's three-level framework of CDA (1995)

This is where the word 'critical' comes into play, as it is necessary in any type of discourse where social power, dominance, inequality, ideology or manipulation, among other social strategies, are involved. It refers to the type of analysis from an outside position (even an observer position) which aims at critiquing these social discourse practices and all the strategies involved and their potential power of changing society or the context in which they are embedded (Fairclough 1995).

Another key notion within CDA is 'ideology', which has already been mentioned in previous sections. In sum, ideology in discourse can be hidden and at the same time shown by all the strategies just mentioned (criticizing, praising, convincing, etc.), and it will be inherently present in all discourses where social power is involved, as, evidently, politics, or the discourse of print media where political stands are present. All journalists have an ideology, commonly shared by the newspapers that publish their reports, and this needs to be critically analysed to observe their potential power on the readers.

However, this study needs to go deeper in what CDA is concerned. It critically analyses a discursive event in a specific type of context and the ideology behind it; yet, as already explained, metaphor serves as a very powerful tool which carries ideology and therefore needs to be critically analysed as well.

4.1. CRITICAL METAPHOR ANALYSIS

Charteris-Black was the originator of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA henceforth), with his work *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, in which he argues that metaphor, seen as a blend of semantic, cognitive and pragmatic dimensions, has the goal of “influencing opinions and judgements by persuasion” (2004). Persuasion and ideology are two terms innately linked, as one of the direct goals of ideologically shaped discourse is to persuade the listener/reader or the opponent to adapt or at least understand the speaker’s views, *id est*, to persuade them.

As it occurs with CDA, CMA is also needed in any type of discourse where social power is involved, as metaphors are one of the discourse strategies that can be used, isolated or in combination with others, to criticize, praise, convince others, etc. It has to be critically analysed from an outsider perspective considering the context where it is framed, since it is this context that will make the speaker/writer choose one metaphorical expression against another and manipulate it in such a way that the final goal is achieved. Moreover, the type of discourse (in this case, economic discourse and media discourse) will be a key factor when critically analysing discourse and metaphors, as well as the ultimate interest it represents. As Silaski points out, the metaphors that are chosen “will come determined by, and constitutive of, which metaphors are anchored in the related discourse and in social cognition. The overarching aim of critical metaphor research is, then, to disclose the vested interests influencing the choice of metaphor in text” (2012). Metaphors can be considered as powerful negotiating tools which are present in all types of discourse with a given social power.

In his work, Charteris-Black adopts a three-step method: identification, interpretation and explanation of conceptual metaphors. By metaphor identification (which I will comment on later), he observes “the presence of incongruity or semantic tension—either at linguistic,

pragmatic or cognitive levels—resulting from a shift in domain use” (2004: 35). If there is incongruity, then the metaphorical expressions are considered to be of potential critical importance in the discourse, and such potentiality is confirmed in the interpretative step. Metaphor interpretation refers to the analysis of the relationships between the potential metaphors identified in the previous step and the cognitive elements they are embedded in. Once metaphors are identified and interpreted, an analytical approach needs to explain why a given metaphor is preferred against another one in that discourse type. In order to solve this, “the analysts need to identify the social agency that is involved in the production of metaphoric expressions and their social role in persuasion, that is to say, the ideological and rhetorical motivation of a metaphorical expression” (Wei 2016). The explanations obtained should then reveal “understanding or thought patterns which construct people’s beliefs and actions” (Cameron & Low 1999: 88).

Finally, not only does the speaker/writer know when and how to use metaphors as ideological tools and it is not only for this that metaphors are relevant in discursive events. It also needs to be critically analysed from the perspective of the listener/reader, as, according to Charteris-Black, metaphors enable us to challenge existing ways of thinking and feeling about human behaviour and its relation to language, and they also help us to present “alternative ways of thinking and feeling about the world” (2004: 252).

Some recent studies and applications of CMA include Koller (2006), Hart (2008, 2010), Rojo-López and Orts-Llopis (2010), Mohamed (2014) or Lee (2015), among others; these scholars applied CMA to different discourse types, yet all shared a tenet, the fact that they all involved power and ideology: business magazine texts, financial articles on the Systemic Financial Crisis, discourses used during the Holy Quran and Singapore speeches on the national education system given by government leaders. More recently, Wei (2016) presented a review of CMA, commenting on some theoretical inconsistencies and potential solutions to them. She argues that since a comprehensive analysis of metaphors can help us figure the intentions of any type of discourse, more experimental studies need to be carried out; moreover, she advocates for a better established or more coherent theoretical framework. Finally, further studies that will be commented in detail in the corresponding section of this chapter include Soares da Silva (2016) and Soares da Silva et al. (2017)

5. METAPHOR AND ECONOMY

5.1. THE DISCOURSE OF ECONOMY AND FINANCE

In his article, ‘The Container Schema in Economics and its Discourse’ (2011), Alejo summarizes some of the key features of economic discourse: a tendency towards nominalization, the use of the passive voice, an extensive use of hypotheticality (from Tadros 1985), the importance of conditionals (Henderson 1993), the fluctuation between countable and uncountable uses of nouns, a high degree of abstraction (Mason 1990), the use of personification, and last, but not least, the pervasiveness of metaphor, which is, to my understanding, a direct consequence and necessity of the aforementioned high degree of abstraction.

When commenting on the discourse of economy and its inherent relation to metaphor, such relation was firstly proved by Adam Smith’s famous term of the ‘Invisible Hand’, which he used in the 18th century in reference to the status of the economy (see *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 1759). More concretely, it refers to the market’s unintended capacity of self-regulation; in other words, he is assumed to have created the first metaphor of the economy in the written discourse, as he was claiming that the market was a human body with human parts (*hand*) with capacity to solve its own problems or irregularities in an unintended, *invisible* way.

The economy is then seen as an abstract and complex entity and the discourse it involves will therefore have these characteristics too. However, if abstract and complex facts need to be explained to the not-necessarily-expert eye, the writer will need devices or tools that allow him to transport such abstractionism into graspable terms; *id est*, discursive elements as metaphors. It could be assumed then that this powerful explanatory tool plays a very important role in discourse and it is not only the discursive factor that makes it so relevant for scholars, but also others such as the ideological and persuasive power it carries, as it has already been mentioned and will be further discussed below. This is in line with McCloskey’s view, who claimed the discourse of economics to be “heavily metaphorical” and argued that economists use metaphors to violate the rules of reality, presenting, instead, their own models and hypotheses (1983). Also in that decade and even if much more recent studies have been performed and taken for this study, it is worth mentioning the three types of metaphor which are widespread in economics discourse, pointed out by Henderson (1982):

- Metaphors used for mere textual decoration or illustration (image metaphors)
- Metaphors which occur in the language itself (generic-level metaphor)
- Metaphors that aid in exploring more specifically economic issues and at the same time extending economic ideas (specific-level metaphors).

Having taken these examples as an illustration of the common agreement on the ubiquity of metaphor in this type of discourse, I shall now refer to the last two decades; before focusing on metaphors specifically, one more reference needs to be made to the economics discourse to identify or locate the present analyses. Mata and Lemecier (2011) differentiated between two types of discourse within the discourse of the economy, which are summarized by Herrera-Soler and White's edited book on figurative language and economics (2012:2):

Economics discourse thus ranges from the highly specialised journal through academic books and into journalism and broadcasting. Within the latter two, distinctions may equally be drawn between the more specifically focused at one extreme to the most highly disseminative at the other.

Thus, the work presented here would be placed within the second category, journalism and broadcasting, and in between the second subcategory, as the discourse is specialised in economy, yet it is not retrieved from specialized newspapers on business or economy, but from more generalist ones, addressed to all types of public. This distinction shall be considered to understand the data under study.

Focusing again on traditional metaphors in economic discourse, centuries have passed since Smith's *Invisible Hand*, and many other metaphorical relations have been created in this type of discourse, until the last decades. For instance, White referred to the economy's natural or human properties again, when he claimed that it was precisely the notion of growth or life cycle that constituted one of the most fundamental components of economic activity and economic discourse (2003). In fact, for each generation of economists, the metaphors deployed by the sector have been constantly changing and evolving and different scholars have studied them from several perspectives; I shall comment more deeply on these different studies and references to the metaphors of the economy in the following subsection.

5.2. RECENT STUDIES ON METAPHOR AND ECONOMY

That metaphor is widespread in economic discourse has already been stated and agreed throughout this chapter. However, before referring to recent studies, there is a question that has not been entirely answered by them yet, which was also raised by Herrera-Soler & White (2012). These scholars questioned whether the use of metaphor in this specific discourse is due to a mere communicative goal, meaning it only serves the purpose of getting the message across or if, on the contrary, it can directly be considered a systemic element of economics discourse, an inherent characteristic. It is my belief that one shall not exclude the other; in other words, that the fact that metaphor is used in economics discourse as a means to get the message across and make it easier to understand by the reader does not rule out the fact that it is also a constructing characteristic of the discourse. In fact, many scholars have studied it from different perspectives and it can be agreed that in spite of the variety of final purposes and of the different metaphoric nature and meanings found over the years and studies, they all have in common that metaphor is seen as an intrinsic part of economic discourse and as an explanatory, communicative element at the same time. Whether it is used more or less consciously and whether or not the journalist is aware of the ideological weapon it supposes is another question that is proving to be a very productive research field for metaphor scholars.

Another factor that can be agreed upon is the fact that metaphors are not static and those which were found in economic discourse decades ago may not be found in the same type of discourse nowadays. This is due to the fact that same as discourse and languages evolve, so do their components; moreover, even within the same culture or country, society also evolves, and since the society in which a discourse is created will directly influence it, the metaphors within it will also be influenced as time passes and societies and cultures evolve. This is in line with Mouton (2012), who even claims that a given generation of economists can be identified by the metaphors it uses, as if metaphor was not only an inherent but also an identifying component of economic discourse. He points that this occurs because “different generations understand and unpack the same source domain in quite different ways (and) [...] the state of knowledge in a given era shapes the ways in which metaphor can be extended and elaborated” (2012: 55).

Another study on metaphor and the economic journalism was presented by Richardt, who claims that “the economic journalism does not only serve the purpose of informing about

ongoing economic process but also that of selling a particular worldview [...] thus serving as a means of manipulation” (2003: 281). It has been aforementioned that there is an apparently unanswered question concerning the real nature of metaphor in the economic discourse; Richardt gave a more specific answer as he was directly referring to the journalistic discourse. This answer is in line with and further exemplifies Figure 1 in Section 3.

In her book, Koller observes and analyses the perceived dominance of the WAR metaphor in the business media discourse, in line with Eubanks’s previous work (2000) and hypothesizing that such dominant metaphor implied a masculinization of that discourse and its related practices. Apart from this dominant domain, she also comments on two other conventional source domains in this discourse, COMPETITION and GAME (2004/2008). These three domains are also observed as conventional by other scholars, such as Negro (2011), who, in her contrastive corpus of Spanish and English business reports, found the very same domains, or very similar ones (WAR, SPORT and GAME) but also two different ones, LOVE and COURTSHIP.

These last two domains can be related to the human nature of the discourse of economics which has already been mentioned in this dissertation. In fact, other studies have found and focused on these embodied domains, such as Charteris-Black (2000) who, in his article on the relation of metaphor and the teaching of economic vocabulary to ESP business students, found THE ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM and ECONOMIC ORGANISATIONS ARE PEOPLE as the most conventional metaphors, and he also referred to the role played by animals when metaphorically speaking about the economy and the market. In more recent years, Soares da Silva (2013a, 2013b), has analysed a corpus of articles and opinion reports on national Portuguese newspapers on the economic recession in 2008 and 2009; he also claims that the most productive conceptual metaphors in the corpus have their source domain in the human body in general (THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IS PAIN) atmospheric phenomena (THE CRISIS IS A TEMPEST) and, as occurred in most studies, warlike events (THE CRISIS IS THE ENEMY). Embodiment is seen as the centre of his study as an unavoidably ideological factor, since it assumes that social, cognitive and physical embodiment are inherent to our conceptual and linguistic systems (Rohrer 2007). Soares da Silva’s classification of metaphors is in line with previous studies, like the one performed by Negro in 2009, in which she analyses French press

and finds three main metaphorical concepts: THE ECONOMY IS A PATIENT, ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AR BAD WEATHER CONDITIONS and ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE CATASTROPHES. Other studies on metaphor and economic discourse during the last two decades include: Charteris-Black & Ennis 2001, Cortés de los Ríos 2010, Fuertes Olivera & Pizarro Sánchez 2002, Charteris Black & Musolff 2003, Charteris Black 2004, Herrera Soler 2009 or Muelas-Gil 2016, among many others.

In sum, most studies agree on the dominant metaphors in the field of economic discourse in general and business press in particular. To finish this section, I shall refer to an article published by BBC news in 2014, written by Lucy Hooker, who summarized the eight best metaphors for the economy, which perfectly exemplify those I have been referring to in this last section and which must be taken into account for the present study: (i) the breakdown metaphor; (ii) the natural forces metaphor (usually bad, catastrophic forces); (iii) the medical metaphor (she specifically refers to it as “a patient on a trolley”); (iv) the battlefield metaphor (“going over the top”); (v) the sports metaphor (“giving medals to the best”); (vi) the housekeeper’s purse metaphor (which means that you can’t spend more than you earn); (vii) the pie’s limit metaphor (compared to the belt tightening metaphor); and (viii) the bee garden metaphor (considered to be one of the first metaphors ever used in economy and is based in the nature or the ecosystem). These selections and those referred to in previous paragraphs need to be taken as a basis for this study as one of the variables it analyses is the novelty and conventionality of metaphors during the general election period.

5.2.1. METAPHORS THE MARKET LIVES BY: CONTRASTIVE STUDIES

There seems to be a common agreement on which are the most common source domains in economic discourse (game, war, competition, human body and its properties and weaknesses, etc.). However, within the field of economics there is another domain which, to my belief, is even more abstract: the Stock Market, where money is not even palpable, it is an entirely abstract entity with which investors and brokers deal. Considering metaphor is a pervasive element in abstract domains, it can be assumed that, the more abstract a field is, the more it can be expected to find metaphors in its discourse.

In fact, there has also been an increase in the number of studies analysing metaphors in the more specific field of the Stock Market. I shall mention here that some of the references may overlap in two or three sections of this chapter, but this is justified by the fact that the Stock Market can be perfectly analysed within the broader field of economics and as a part of a contrastive analysis between different languages or cultures. Some recent studies include Charteris-Black & Ennis (2001), who compare metaphors in Spanish and English newspapers in 1997; Schmidt (2002), contrasting universal metaphorical construct in Stock Market exchanges in a corpus made of three different languages (German, Finnish and Swedish) and Charteris-Black & Ennis (2004), who extracted conceptual metaphors which were specific of the Market from conceptual keys of the more generic language of economics, such as THE MARKET IS A PERSON (from the ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM metaphor) or DOWNWARD MARKET CHANGES ARE DISASTERS (from ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE NATURAL DISASTERS). Another study observing agent and object metaphors in the Stock Market was carried out by Morris et al. in 2007.

As for the last ten years, Bielenia-Grajewska (2009) studied the investment banking lexicon, comparing four different languages (English, German, Spanish and Polish) and commenting on similarities and differences. She observes that investment banking lexicon varies from language to language, depending on linguistic, social, historical, political and economic factors; however, as a similarity, her study shows that market users and customers are already used to the metaphors in the Market and to the metaphorical terminology in all languages, so they claim that it is predictable to expect a constant presence of metaphors in this field.

One year later, Rojo-López & Orts-Llopis (2010) observed different metaphors in financial reports in *The Economist* and *El Economista* published in 2007 and 2008, comparing them in terms of typology and frequency of metaphorical expressions; they also observe their polarity, considering negative and positive metaphorical language varying depending on socio-political factors.

Finally, O'Mara et al. (2015) have recently published an article studying online news reports on the Stock Market crash of 2008; they observe how pre-established conceptual frameworks influence the consumer's behaviour and the financial decisions they make, exploring the relationship between editorial positioning and ideology. They compare liberal and

conservative newspapers, as this thesis does, in their use of animate-biological and inanimate-mechanistic conceptual metaphors, looking at their consistency with the ideological underpinning or editorial positioning of the news sources. Their study concludes that “ideologies exist and precede metaphor use; however, the metaphors that are used to communicate specific ideological positions may not prove to be static over time and may demonstrate metaphor cycles” (2014). Such metaphor cycles are of great interest to this study, as it observes potential changes that may have occurred in the field over the last years and considering the cultural and political momentum of the discourse in question.

6. METAPHOR AND CORPUS STUDIES

Meyer defines ‘corpus’ as “a relatively large collection of naturally-occurring texts, which have been stored in machine-readable form” (2002). In more recent years, McEnery & Hardie (2012) have extended the idea and they define it as:

[a] set of machine-readable texts which is deemed an appropriate basis on which to study a specific set of research questions. The set of texts [...] is usually of a size which defies analysis by hand and eye alone within any reasonable time frame. (1-2)

In other words, it is a large compendium of texts in digital format which have been produced in natural, real contexts (such as real conversations, monologues or speeches, news and reports from newspapers or news channels, etc.) and which are investigated through software tools (McEnery & Hardie, 2012), facilitating and improving the analyst’s work to a great extent. Corpus studies began decades ago, in the 1950s (Leech 1991) and they have been applied to all kinds of linguistic studies due to their practical, efficient and much-facilitating design. In fact, many scholars have argued that corpus studies allow researchers to obtain and analyse information about language that would escape their attention otherwise, such as Sinclair (1991), who advocated for the extension of corpus studies in linguistics, as he argued that the reliability of studies based on discourse analyses which need to analyse texts is incomparable in terms of human-based versus computer-based scrutiny for:

[...] the contrast exposed between the impressions of language detail noted by people, and the evidence compiled objectively from texts is huge and systematic. It leads one to suppose that human intuition about language is highly specific, and not at all a good guide to what actually happens when the same people actually use the language. (ibid.:4)

Therefore, one of the main advantages of using corpus tools in linguistic studies is that it prevents researchers from ignoring data which they would probably miss if they were analysing the same texts manually or by intuition instead of digitally. Moreover, a large amount of data about a given type of discourse will provide much more information about the tendencies within that discourse, such as what is normal or typical of real-life language, information which would not be that representative if the texts were collected manually as the limitations are evidently more noticeable. In other words, the larger a corpus is, the more representative it will be of the

target discourse of analysis. Finally, humans make mistakes and are naturally slower than machines, and intuition itself cannot be taken as a completely reliable source of analysis; therefore, computer-based studies will be much faster and accurate.

6.1. CORPORA TYPOLOGIES

Having defined what a corpus is and discussed its main advantages, I shall make a distinction between two different types of corpora that can be of interest to different scholars depending on the scope of their study: general corpora and specialized corpora:

- A general corpus, as its name indicates, collects texts from a language in particular and analyses them from a broad, general scope; an example would be the British National Corpus, which collects texts in English from the latest years of the 20th century and contains about 100 million words of mainly written but also spoken English. These corpora do not focus on any particular item of language or any particular topic, register or genre.
- On the other hand, a specialized corpus focuses on one type of discourse in particular, such as the discourse of the print media in England from 2005 to the present day, or a corpus containing pieces of writing by students of English aged 14-16 in secondary schools of Spain (to mention some examples). These corpora do not need to be as large as general corpora (usually, they are smaller, although there might be exceptions), and researchers use them “to identify and describe typical features of that register, with aims such as specialized language teaching or literary analysis” (Deignan 2005: 76). *Id est*, analysts will use a specialized corpus when they only need to analyse a particular genre or register instead of the whole representation of the language in particular.

Apart from this excluding dichotomy (a corpus can be either general or specialized), there is a broader one which includes: multilingual corpora, parallel corpora, learner corpora, historical or diachronic corpora and monitor corpora. General and specialized corpora can fit one or more of these subtypes at the same time:

- A multilingual corpus analyses naturally-occurring texts from two or more different languages, such as English and Spanish (like the present case), or American English and Indian English. An example of this would be the Oslo Multilingual Corpus (developed by the University of Oslo), which comprises original texts and translations from different languages, mainly Norwegian, English, French and German.
- A parallel corpus also takes two or more languages, but it contains the same texts exactly translated into both languages (which makes this type of corpora very useful for translators), such as the CRATER corpus (a collaborative work between Lancaster University and the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid), which contains a corpus of 1,000,000 tokens per language for English, French and, recently added, Spanish, in the field of International Telecommunications.
- A learner corpus analyses language created by people learning a particular language, such as the International Corpus of Learner English (Université Catholique de Louvain), a corpus of pieces of writings by intermediate to advanced learners of English from 16 different mother tongues, with a total of 3.7 million words of English as a Foreign Language.
- Historical or diachronic corpora analyse a particular language throughout a concrete period of time, observing its evolution and potential changes over time, such as the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts (University of Helsinki), which contains 1.5 million words of texts of different genres written in Old, Middle and Early Modern English and ranging from 700 AD to 1700 AD.
- Finally, a monitor corpus is one which is continually updated, or one in which texts are continually being added, such as the Bank of English (University of Birmingham), which comprises 4.5 billion words of written and spoken English mainly from the United Kingdom but also from North America, New Zealand, South Africa and other English-speaking countries from many different genres.

6.2. CORPUS STUDY APPROACHES

Apart from these distinctions concerning the typology of corpus the analysts can work with, they must also make another choice or distinction concerning and reciprocally affecting the type of study in question. More concretely, the following dichotomy distinguishes between two different approaches to corpus studies which may be selected depending on the study's necessities and goals: corpus-based and corpus-driven studies.

- Corpus-based studies imply a deductive approach from an inventory of linguistic data which is analysed to confirm or refute a hypothesis or previously-elaborated assumption on any linguistic aspect. As Storjohann explains, it is “a method where the corpus is interrogated and data is used to confirm linguistic pre-set explanations and assumptions. It acts, therefore, as additional supporting material” (2005). The corpus is therefore seen as a supporting (yet vital) element of the analysis which, even if it is not expected to result in unseen outcomes, it somehow refines the contrast of the given paradigms by reaffirming or refuting them (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 66). An example of a corpus-based study of metaphors in the discourse of the economy was carried out by Orts-Llopis & Rojo-López (2009).
- On the other hand, corpus-driven studies are inductive since they observe a concrete, chosen corpus and meticulously analyse and interpret it to obtain or set out a hypothesis or even a theory. They do not start from any previous assumption, so they do not try to reaffirm or refute any paradigm as corpus-based studies do, but allow for new ones to emerge; in other words, “any conclusions or claims are made exclusively on the basis of corpus observations” (Storjohann 2005). An example, provided in Tognini-Bonelli, “would be one where the researcher uses concordances to find out which lexical verbs most commonly realize a grammatical structure that has been identified in advance” (2001). A positive aspect of the corpus-driven approach is that it allows the researcher to focus on one aspect of language and meticulously analyse. This, as time-demanding as it may be, is usually a more accurate study of the paradigm in question than using a more generalist approach as corpus-based studies do. However, it also presents limitations, such as the degree of representativeness that the chosen corpus has regarding the linguistic aspect or component it observes; in other words, a researcher must observe

when and if the corpus is representative enough. As Deignan points out, the researcher's work is "not one that could ever be regarded as complete" (2005: 92). However, she adds that, as long as it is a large compendium including texts from different sources, it is still "a good deal better than introspective data, and the ongoing problem of representativeness should not be allowed to overshadow the value of corpus work" (ibid.: 92).

Finally, it must be pointed out that, even if these two methods approach language from a very different perspective, there may be cases when the researcher finds that both deduction and induction are needed and therefore a hybridization of the two methods is feasible and most desirable for the study. In other words, corpus-based and corpus-driven studies are not excluding in any case.

In relation to Deignan's aforementioned words, the potential of corpus studies is unquestionable and they have helped analysts in great terms since they started to be used in linguistics decades ago. However, they also present some limitations that need to be considered when applying them. Even if computers are machines and therefore work and process information faster than the human eye, they do not have the ability to interpret or explain the stored and processed information (for example, a corpus may result in the affirmation that men swear more frequently than women, but, why do they do so? How can I explain this numerical outcome?), which is necessarily a cognitive function that only humans can perform. Corpora also provide real uses of language, but they cannot be taken as correct or incorrect uses of the same, since acceptability of a highly used expression is not decided by them, not even by the analyst using corpora tools. In other words, a study can prove that a given expression is very common among youngsters in the United Kingdom, but this does not make it valid or reliable enough to the academic eye. Moreover, corpora usually lack context and important information about the real-life discourse situations, such as information about the participants, the body language accompanying the discourse, the immediate context of the situation, etc.; this is another limitation and can only be supplied by the analysts. Focusing on this study's concern (metaphor), computers can accurately organize the language, as already pointed out, but they cannot identify a concrete cognitive aspect; for example, by means of a corpus tool, a target domain can be

easily found in discourse, even the source domain, but the program itself cannot inform about whether such source domain is being used metaphorically in relation to the target or not; again, this can only be observed by a human eye, yet the researcher can only obtain deductions about the metaphoricity of such expression, but not facts. These limitations notwithstanding, and in agreement with Deignan's claim on the utility of corpus (2005), they have proved to be a much useful and reliable tool in linguistic studies, including metaphor studies. As Semino claims, "corpora enable researchers to study linguistic patterns on a large scale, and can therefore provide the basis for more reliable hypotheses about possible underlying conceptual metaphors" (2006).

6.3. CORPUS APPROACHES TO METAPHOR

It can be agreed then that corpus tools have much facilitated linguistic studies through the last decades as they help researchers to easily scrutinize a corpus by, for example, observing the real use of a given expression in a language and providing an accurate quantitative analysis. However, in relation to the aforementioned limitations and in spite of how useful they are to locate metaphors in a corpus, this linguistic component deserves special attention as it is a cognitive process and its interpretation cannot be simply made through the use of a computer program or a quantitative approach. It demands the analyst to meticulously design a research process that involves decisions such as (1) whether they need to look for a general or concrete list of domains; (2) whether these will be target domains, source domains or both; (3) whether a concordance tool needs to be applied and if so (4) when can it be considered that a source and a target are close enough to be analysed together; and many others, including the interpretation of the obtained metaphors once they have been found and retrieved from the corpus. So, why and how are corpus studies relevant to metaphor analysis? Semino (2017) recently published an article which provides an answer to this question:

In principle, the understanding of any linguistic phenomenon can benefit from being systematically analysed in large quantities of naturally-occurring data, i.e. from the kind of analysis that corpus methods make possible. This applies particularly to any phenomenon that is claimed to be frequent in language, and that is given centre stage in theory-making at least in part because of its

frequency. Metaphor is such a phenomenon, particularly as it is viewed within Cognitive Linguistics.

This chapter has already commented on some metaphor studies using corpus tools in the field of economics. However, I shall now comment on some of the most relevant works in the last years that serve as one of the bases of this thesis.

Some of the studies joining metaphor and corpus studies in the last decades include Steen (1999), Charteris-Black (2004, 2005), Deignan (2005), Stefanowitsch & Gries (2006), Pragglejaz Group (2007), Kövecses (2008), Rojo-López & Orts-Llopis (2008, 2010), Orts-Llopis & Rojo-López (2009), Soares da Silva (2013a, 2013b), L'Hôte (2014), Demjén (2015) or Kövecses (2017), among others. As Veronika Koller points out, most studies on corpus and metaphor try “to establish the syntactic patterns of metaphorical expressions (Deignan 1999), to identify those expressions as a stylistic device in fictional texts (Heywood, Semino & Short, 2002) or to ascertain pragmatic phenomena accompanying metaphor usage in spoken discourse (Cameron & Deignan, 2003)” (2006). In short, they need to observe the contextual factors and implications, and she defends that corpus approaches serve as a meaningful and reliable tool for studying metaphor in real discourse as they are more representative than other studies of isolated samples of metaphorical language. This opinion is in line with Steens’ arguments, who claimed that

“corpus research can yield realistic materials for rating studies of metaphors, offering an opportunity to establish the desirable connection between analytic metaphor properties produced in linguistic research on the one hand, and informants’ judgment of metaphor on the other”. (1999)

I will focus on one the aforementioned works for their complexity in terms of the different and exhaustive chapters they bring together dealing with metaphor and corpus studies. In the edited book, ‘Corpus Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy’ (Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2006), Stefanowitsch starts by commenting on how challenging corpus approaches are when working with metaphor because the conceptual mappings are not linked to any particular linguistic form, as I introduced in the previous paragraph, and aims at pointing at the most immediate problems concerning metaphor annotation and corpus. In fact, the different papers of the volume combine corpus methods with a cognitive-linguistic view of metaphor (and metonymy) by analysing real uses of metaphor in context with the help of computerized

programs, such as the annotation of semantic categories, source-domain concordance patterns or concordances of target-domains.

In order to face the limitation of metaphor extraction and annotation, Stefanowitsch first summarizes some of the existing methods or strategies for metaphor extraction from annotated corpora. One of the common problems to all of them, he argues, is that their approach “has led to a certain neglect of detailed, bottom-up analysis and, in consequence, to a disregard of many aspects of the linguistic nature of metaphor” (2006: 6). They are summarized in turn (2006):

- Manual searching: (for examples of this approach, see Semino & Masci 1996; Jäkel 1995). As its name indicates, it basically consists in carefully going through the corpus extracting all the metaphors that the researcher comes across with. Its main drawback is that the size of the corpus is limited and it is a hazardous and time-consuming process.
- Searching for source domain vocabulary: it refers to investigations that select a source domain in the context of the corpus, such as a semantic field that usually has a lot of metaphorical expressions, and then look for instances of the same in the texts. The search can be more or less exhaustive or reduced and there are different options to choose among in terms of the list of source domains that are going to be searched for. The difficulty here lies in setting a reliable list of source domains to look for, which requires deep previous knowledge of common metaphorical fields in the specific discourse the researcher is working with, and therefore an informed knowledge of the topic itself. Some examples of this approach are found in Stefanowitsch & Gries’s volume (see Koller 2006 or Deignan 2006, among others).
- Searching for target domain vocabulary: suggested by a number of researchers (Koivisto-Alanko 2000; Tissari 2003; Stefanowitsch 2004), this approach starts by selecting and searching expressions or lexical items that refer to the target domain in question, and continues by deciding whether or not these items are part of a metaphorical expression. The main limitation of this approach, according to Stefanowitsch, is that it “will only identify a subset of metaphorical expressions, namely those that contain target-domain vocabulary” (ibid.:3).
- Searching for sentences containing lexical items from both the source domain and the target domain: this approach combines the previous two, as it looks for both the target

and the source domain within the sentences (applied by Martin, 2006). It is very productive and faster than the previous ones, but it also presents limitations, such as the need for an exhaustive list of target and source domain vocabulary and therefore a previous knowledge of the field that is informed enough; however, as deep as the knowledge of the field is, the list of domains will always miss terms (it is not possible to present a finite and complete list), which will affect the reliability of the targeted search.

- Searching for metaphors based on markers of metaphor: (first suggested by Goatly, 1997). By ‘markers of metaphors’ he refers to those expressions that somehow announce a potential metaphorical use of the immediate word(s), such as ‘*metaphorically/figuratively speaking*’, ‘*likely*’, ‘*like*’, etc. Nevertheless, they may not only foreshadow metaphoricity (not necessarily), or metaphoricity may be present without such expressions, which is the main drawback of this approach. Cameron & Deignan (2003) and Veale (2012) are among the studies using this approach.

In addition, the previous methods are all applied to analyses of non-annotated corpora; Stefanowitsch (ibid.) also summarizes two more possible methods which can be applied to studies using semantically annotated corpora and therefore expand the range of analysis possibilities: (i) extraction from a corpus annotated for semantic fields/domains and (ii) extraction from a corpus annotated for conceptual mappings.

Having commented on some of the existing approaches to metaphor in corpora and the limitations they present, the consequent step is to find an accurate approach to metaphor in corpora that is reliable enough. Regarding such step, some important advances have taken place mainly during the last ten years thanks to the extension of extraction and annotation methods, but a whole section will be devoted to such methods in turn. Before turning to that point, it must be re-stated that, in view of the numerous and varied approaches to metaphors in corpus, there is something that must not be denied, and that is the higher productivity and reliability that the fusion of metaphor and corpus result in, as they provide a quantitative outcome which, however, must be complemented with the interpretation and the qualitative observation of the researcher (Eubanks, 2000). In any case, as Koller points out, “corpus research ascertaining the frequencies

of metaphoric expressions can help draw inferences about the productivity and relevance of conceptual metaphors in discourse” (2006: 242).

Finally, the relevance of corpus-based study of metaphors is even higher when it analyses public discourse, such as the discourse of politics or economics, as this work does, for the social impact these discourses have, and corpus studies here are highly important since they “can make a significant contribution to cognitive metaphor analysis by providing empirical evidence...of argumentative trends for their use in a given discourse community” (Musolff 2003: 349).

6.3.1. CONTRIBUTIONS OF CORPUS METHODS TO METAPHOR STUDIES

In sum, the studies carried out over the last years using corpus methods to analyse metaphor in discourse have had different connotations in the field, which are summarized in turn (see Semino 2017):

- They have helped to support CMT claims on the high frequency of metaphor, by quantitatively extracting them from real discourse. Moreover, as the data used is real, this provides more reliability to the study than any other corpus created *ad hoc*.
- They have also revealed several patterns or domains that had escaped previous studies of CMT, such as the plurals or lexical variations of the targeted domains (Stefanowitsch 2006).
- The claimed level of generality of some conceptual metaphors have also been tested in studies such as the one carried out by Musolff (2006), observing the conceptualisation through general versus specific scenarios.
- Studies like Falck & Gibbs’s (2012) have shown that previous isolated analyses missed a complete account for the reason why some expressions were used in a metaphorical sense or another, as it is the case of *path* and *road*, by contrasting corpus results with people’s actual responses concerning such terms.
- Moreover, advances have also taken place concerning diachronic studies of metaphor, thanks to the instant availability of large number of historical corpora. Studies such as Tissari (2001), Allan (2008) or Alexander & Bramwell (2014) have observed the evolution of metaphors representing love and agriculture, intelligence, and wealth

(respectively) and provided evidence supporting either their stability or their change throughout time.

- Corpus studies have also supported previous claims on the relationship between metaphor and culture (Chung 2008; Simó 2011). Once the corpus methods provide quantitative results, they serve to support either the similarities or the differences, which then need to be qualitatively commented and explained.
- They have also served as tools to investigate a wide variety of text-types and revealed that previous generalizations about metaphor were mistaken as they did not take variation into account (Koller 2004; Charteris-Black, 2012).
- The concrete function that a metaphor serves in a corpus has also been closely approached thanks to corpus studies, such as L'Hôte's (2014), Veale's (2012) or Partington et al.'s (2013), who observed how concrete metaphors were used to project an identity, to entertain or as humorous and creative tools, respectively.

All the previous were theoretical implications of corpus studies on the field of metaphor research. However, they have also had practical implications, such as the study of business metaphors by Skorczynska & Deignan (2006), which provided useful guidelines concerning the correct choice of teaching materials for the English for Business Purposes classes in order to prepare foreign students in a more informed way; or studies of metaphors and cancer (Demmen et al. 2015; Semino et al. 2015), which analyse the real use of certain domains by patients and healthcare professionals (such as *fighting*) and result truly relevant for improving and practicing communication techniques in professional healthcare training programs.

To conclude, there has been a rising amount of studies using corpus tools to analyse metaphors in real discourse over the last decades, which has meant a great advance in terms of productivity and reliability of metaphor studies. However, even if there seems to be a general agreement on the validity and necessity of corpus tools, there are several methods which approach metaphor identification differently. In the next section, I will comment on the most relevant ones in general terms, and Chapter III, focused on the methodology followed, will provide more specific, methodological details on those applied in this work.

7. METAPHOR IDENTIFICATION AND ANNOTATION METHODS

The previous section has proved how corpus tools have much facilitated the work for metaphor analysts in the last decades. However, there is still much path to cover in metaphor analyses once the corpus has been chosen, created or extracted. Metaphor identification has been one of the main focuses of the field over the last years, as one of the difficulties when deciding whether a given expression found in the corpus is metaphorically used or not is somehow intuitive, and intuition itself does not seem to be a reliable enough filter; besides, researchers often differ in what they intuitively think is a metaphor or not. Therefore, metaphor identification has constituted an intriguing and fruitful field of research in the last years. Several methods have been proposed, and these sections aim at reviewing the most relevant ones to this study and to recent metaphor studies.

I will start by commenting on some of the main drawbacks of relying on intuition alone when identifying metaphors in a corpus (see Pragglejazz Group, 2007):

- Often, when researchers claim to have found a metaphorically used expression, they do not provide empirical evidence for such claim.
- If there is no empirical evidence, the decision concerning metaphoricity versus non-metaphoricity might be biased by the research's orientation or purpose, which inevitably affects the study's reliability.
- Comparability between studies is not that reliable either, as variability in intuitions makes this a misleading task.
- If there is no feasible agreement among different researchers (which does not have to be a problem in academia, this must be said) it is even more difficult to evaluate theoretical claims concerning the frequency and structure of metaphors in real discourse, which somehow jeopardizes the facilitating part of corpus tools and advances.

In view of these limitations, the Pragglejazz Group attempted to create an “explicit, reliable and flexible method for identifying metaphorically used words in spoken and written language” (Pragglejazz Group, 2007). This group is formed by ten scholars who have deeply studied metaphor, metaphor in discourse and corpus approaches to metaphor, and its name derives from the first letters of the first names of the original components of the group: Peter

Crisp, Ray Gibbs, Alan Cienki, Graham Low, Gerard Steen, Lynne Cameron, Elena Semino, Joe Grady, Alice Deignan, and Zoltan Kövecses. They presented the “metaphor identification procedure” (MIP henceforth), which was later extended into the MIPVU project (2010), as it was developed by the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. I will comment on this method thoroughly in Chapter III, as it is used in this analysis, together with Stefanowitsch’s Metaphorical Pattern Analysis (2006), but let us first briefly review other methods used over the last years and their potential limitations.

The first recorded attempt or method to identify metaphor in discourse (to the best of my knowledge) was presented by Barlow, Kerlin & Pollio (1971), who created a training manual which aimed at being a guide containing different tropes found in discourse for raters, who were the lead to determine whether a certain expression is metaphorical or not (in other words, to rate its metaphoricity). Although it was extensively used over decades since its publication, it presents clear limitations, as the Pragglejaz Groups points out (2007), since it does not offer sufficiently explicit criteria to be followed by the raters in order to determine the metaphoricity of a word and therefore classify it. Cameron (1999) later introduced an approach that attempted to define and conceive metaphors as a sufficient and independent classical category, and applying it brought into light new demands for more explicit reports concerning the decisions made during the process, so as to facilitate replicability afterwards. In the last years, Schmitt proposed a systematic approach which fundamentally consists of a number of conditions that need to be met in order to determine metaphoricity. According to him, a word or phrase can be identified as a metaphor if (from Schmitt 2005):

- a. a word or phrase, strictly speaking, can be understood beyond the literal meaning in the context; and
- b. the literal meaning stems from an area of sensoric or cultural experience (source area),
- c. which, however, is transferred to a second, often abstract, area (target area).

This approach does not strictly differ from MIP’s proposal, although the Pragglejaz Group does point out a misleading nature of the use of “literal” when referring to meanings in contrast to their preference for “basic” meanings, and they restate that intuition is not enough to determine whether the contextual meaning of a word is different to its literal/basic meaning; they also claim that this approach has not been empirically applied to any case as MIP has.

In the same decade, Berber Sardinha designed and developed a metaphor identification system which underwent several changes, including its nomenclature, from Metaphor Tagger, to Metaphor Identifier, to its final version of Metaphor Candidate Identifier (2006, 2007, 2010a, 2010b, 2011). In short, his method suggests using collocation lists (containing a list of selected words and their concordances) to detect or identify metaphors in corpora. He claims that these lists can help the researchers “have a general picture of the patterns in the corpus” and then “make inferences about the possible Vehicles in the data” (2006). By “Vehicle” terms he refers to “metaphorically used language” (2011). In the latest available version (desktop version) the steps to be followed to identify or tag metaphors in discourse by using metaphors lists with concordances are as follows (2011):

- a. For each word token in a corpus, grab its collocates from 5 words to the left to 5 words to the right.
- b. For each of these collocates, determine its part of speech and lemma.
- c. Build list of nodes and collocate pairs, including lemma and part of speech.
- d. Search for each node-collocate pair in a database of metaphor patterns (built during training).
- e. If match is found, consider that word token a potential metaphor; if not, consider it as not being a potential metaphor.

However, this method also presents some limitations as the creator himself recognizes. For instance, the system does not differ polysemy in the corpus, as it does not distinguish, for example, between the different senses of ‘meia’ (Portuguese for ‘shock’) and ‘meia’ (‘half’). Most importantly, it requires the researcher to have “a fairly good idea of the contents and genre of their corpus, having experience in coding linguistic metaphors, and in general being willing to go through the list making careful judgment about which words to pick from the list as possible Vehicle” (2006). Therefore, it is only useful for trained scholars, which makes it inaccessible for many researchers of the field as it is my belief that a reliable method should be applicable and replicable by an entire or the majority of a research field community. Still, he justifies the use of this method by acknowledging that it must be combined with human sampling and analysis as

long as the corpus size allows it. Thus, the Metaphor Candidate Identifier seems to me a suitable pre-processing tool which then needs to be complemented with other methods.

Other works worth mentioning which attempt to solve or meet this gap in the process of metaphor analysis include Martin's Metaphor Interpretation, Denotation, and Acquisition System (MIDAS) (1990), a method that builds on metaphor interpretation and on the idea that novel metaphors derive from conventional ones, stored in a memory system, which inherently conveys the limitation of not recognizing all the novel metaphors in a corpus as they do not necessarily have to come from existing ones; Fass's met* method (1991), which makes a distinction between examples of metonymy and metaphor and also between literalness and anomaly of a given expression in English; or Mason's CorMet (2004), a computational approach used for "semiautomatically finding metaphoric mappings between concepts, which can then be used to infer conventionally metaphoric relationships between domains" (2004).

However necessary and fruitful these approaches have been, their acknowledged limitations caused other scholars to continuously work on building a sufficiently reliable method to identify and extract metaphor from corpora, which led, as aforementioned, to the creation of the Praggeljaz Group and their method MIP (2007), to their consequent extension into MIPVU (2010) and to the development of alternative yet not excluding methods like Stefanowitsch's Metaphorical Pattern Analysis (MPA henceforth, 2006). These methods are the most reliable and adequate for the context of this study, which is why they are going to be reviewed and explained in more detail in the Methodology section (Chapter III).

8. CLASSIFICATION OF METAPHORS

The previous section has presented an overview of the metaphor identification methods which have been most widely used in the last decades and introduced those that are used in the present analysis. Once the metaphors have been identified in a corpus, the subsequent step is their classification. By classification, I refer to the division of the retrieved metaphors into separate categories to allow a better qualitative interpretation of the quantitative results obtained in the previous step. In other words, a complete analysis does not only quantify how many metaphors are found in a given corpus, but also which metaphors and most importantly (although sometimes difficult to address) why these and not others are found and whether there is a justified criterion to explain the potential similarities or differences in relation to previous comparable studies. In fact, the previous section referred to how necessary quantitatively tested results were needed within metaphor studies rather than basing any claim on interpretation alone; in line with this, the empirical turn of the last years (Geeraerts 2006; Kristiansen et al. 2006; Pütz et al. 2014; among others) confirms that “experimental and data-driven, corpus-based analyses are mandatory to corroborate hypothesis and [...] draw cross-cultural conclusions on the incidence and weight of the different conceptual metaphors” (Soares da Silva et al. 2017).

The first classification that needs to be made refers to a dichotomy that is based on the level of genericity of the metaphors found in a corpus: generic-level metaphors and specific-level metaphors. This distinction was introduced by Lakoff & Turner (1989). In short, generic-level metaphors are those that can be filled with many instantiations or metaphorical expressions. For example, the previous section has mentioned the well-known metaphor DISCUSSION IS WAR. This would be a generic metaphor because there are many possibilities or potential metaphorical expressions that could be classified within this conceptual metaphor (to mention some: ARGUMENTS ARE MISSILES, PARTICIPANTS ARE ENEMIES, WORDS ARE WEAPONS, etc.). On the other hand, these last examples are specific metaphors that belong to the same generic one, and cannot be filled with as many metaphorical expressions as the former (for instance, saying that WORDS ARE WEAPONS could be filled by, perhaps, different speech types or different weapons, but finding more specific references is very unlikely for they are specific enough).

Apart from this generic-specific dichotomy, the present work has taken a three-dimensional classification criterion, since there are several factors which are taken into account for the qualitative analysis of the metaphors in my corpus (which are also quantitatively analysed). This section introduces the three different classifications applied here, focusing on the previous literature on which they are based. The most methodological aspects are detailed in Chapter III.

The three classificatory criteria that are followed include:

- (1) the different cultural schemas, which are at the same time divided according to the structure they convey into (a) propositional schemas, (b) image schemas and (c) event schemas;
- (2) the level of conventionality of the conceptual metaphors found within the field of economics (in comparison to previous studies) which divides them into (a) conventional economic metaphors and (b) novel economic metaphors; and
- (3) whether the metaphors found pertain to one culture or to both and potentially other cultures, obtaining (a) culture-dependent metaphors and (b) ‘universal’ metaphors (although caution should be taken when using the word ‘universal’ in this context, as will be justified in the corresponding subsection).

Before commenting on each of these categories individually, it has to be clarified that they might and they will most likely intertwine; in other words, a conceptual metaphor can present a propositional schema, be considered as novel in the field of economics but also occur in both languages and cultures. This will be detailed as well in Chapters III and IV, but for now this section will present a review of the existing literature.

8.1. STRUCTURAL SCHEMAS

The first division or classification criteria that has been taken in this work is based on the structural pattern that the metaphorical expressions instantiate. In other words, they are classified depending on the inner structure they present. In reference to previous studies, it is worth mentioning the taxonomy presented by Moreno Lara in her study of metaphors in political discourse in American newspapers (2008), which was later applied in studies of similar nature

(*id est*, analyses of the discourse of politics or economics) and provided with organized and comparable results, such as Orts-Llopis & Rojo-López (2010), Rojo-López & Orts-Llopis (2009) or Soares da Silva (2013a, 2012b, 2016). This taxonomy divides the metaphors into three generic levels: (1) THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING, firstly introduced by Lakoff & Turner (1989) and later extended by Musolff (2005) and Kövecses (2010); (2) IMAGE SCHEMAS, firstly introduced by Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987) and extended and applied by numerous scholars such as Talmy (1988), Sweetser (1990), Hampe (2005), Moreno Lara (2008) or Kövecses (2010); and (3) ACTIONS ARE EVENTS, firstly introduced by Lakoff (1990, 1993) and applied by Radden (1995) and also Kövecses (2010), among others. This dividing structure has been recently reviewed or re-named by Soares da Silva (in Romano & Porto, 2016) and Soares da Silva et al. (2017), who have divided the metaphors found in their corpus into three different schemas, which resemble Moreno Lara's model and which have been taken for this analysis:

- Propositional Schemas
- Image Schemas
- Event Schemas

These three schemas vary across cultures and they constitute what is known as *cultural schemas*, which Sharifian defines as “a culturally constructed sub-class of schemas or cognitive structures which establish patterns of understanding and reasoning, which are often elaborated by extension from knowledge of our bodies as well as our experience of social interactions” (2015: 474). They are very useful to explain the cultural differences in any cross-cultural study where different communities are involved and also those cases which are not culturally different but, on the other hand, represent common features of different communities and can be treated as ‘universal’ (although, again, this term has to be treated carefully). This is directly related to another division criteria of this study, which is presented in Section 8.3, and reviews culture-dependent metaphors versus ‘universal’ or culture-shared ones. However, before commenting on the ‘universality’ of metaphors, another distinction needs to be presented first, which is also closely related: metaphor conventionality versus metaphor novelty or creativity in discourse.

8.2. METAPHOR CONVENTIONALITY AND METAPHOR NOVELTY

As Deignan summarizes, the most recent studies on metaphor “take into account the need to distinguish between conventional and innovative metaphors, arguing that these are almost certainly processed in different ways” (2005: 108). It is indeed necessary to try to establish the difference and the line between conventional metaphors and innovative or novel ones, regardless of the type of discourse they are found in.

Let us first observe some definitions of this dichotomy. Conventionality refers to “how well-worn or how deeply entrenched a metaphor is in everyday language by ordinary people for everyday purposes” (Kövecses 2010: 33). To give an example, most of the conceptual metaphors and their metaphorical expressions introduced by Lakoff & Johnson (1980), such as such as ARGUMENT IS WAR (“*he fought her arguments*”), LOVE IS A JOURNEY (“*we have come so far in our relationship*”) or TIME IS MONEY (“*don’t waste my time*”), are so intrinsically rooted in society that people do not even realize they are making use of them. In fact, it is not only the fact that there is no necessity of being aware that a metaphor is being used, but there is also a lack of “effort” to do so. As Soares da Silva (2006) points out:

A metáfora convencionalizada é a que os falantes são capazes de utilizar sem terem (ou sem precisarem de ter) consciência da sua natureza metafórica, isto é, sem terem que activamente construir o domínio-alvo em termos do domínio-origem. (152)

Id est, speakers do not need to actively construct any mapping between the source and the target domain as this is automatically activated. Therefore, they can be considered as conventional when they are deeply entrenched in everyday language, even if some may be used less frequently than they did when they were reviewed by Lakoff & Johnson.

‘Entrenchment’ is in fact an important view for this study. It refers to those concepts or constructions that are “(variably) routinized items in long-term memory” (Schmid 2007). In his chapter, which is part of the collective volume *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics* (Geeraerts & Cuykens 2007), Schmid discusses the level of entrenchment of a given linguistic component in a culture. Although it does not focus on metaphor, it can be applied to the present study as it is in direct relation to the degree of conventionality or novelty of metaphorical

expressions and conceptual metaphors. He also refers back to a scale of entrenchment proposed by Langacker (1987: 59), who claimed that there is

a continuous scale of entrenchment in cognitive organization. Every use of a structure has a positive impact on its degree of entrenchment, whereas extended periods of disuse have a negative impact. With repeated use, a novel structure becomes progressively entrenched, to the point of becoming a unit; moreover, units are variably entrenched depending on the frequency of their occurrence.

Therefore, there is a direct link between frequency and entrenchment, since the more usage there is of a linguistic component (metaphors in the present case), the more entrenched it will be in a linguistic community. If, on the other hand, there has been no previous use of such linguistic components, they can be treated as non-entrenched at all and considered as novel or unconventional linguistic components.

Cardini defines novel metaphorical expressions as “creative innovations of some language user”, which are “not (yet) widely known in the linguistic community of that user. Consequently, their metaphorical meaning is not included in dictionaries (in Semino 2008: 19)” (2014). He also argues that, logically enough, the more conventional a metaphorical expression is (in other words, the more often it is used among the members of a linguistic community), the less conscious about its metaphorical sense its producer and its recipient are. Moreover, while the most frequently used metaphorical expressions are “automatic” and “effortless” (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 55), the original, creative or novel ones are the result of a conscious, deliberate creative act.

Semino adds a further point to this unconscious, effortlessly spotted presence of conventional metaphors by arguing that they also imply a bearer of ideology: “when particular uses of metaphor become the dominant way of talking about a particular aspect of reality within a particular discourse, they may be extremely difficult to perceive and challenge, since they come to represent the ‘commonsense’ or ‘natural’ view of things. In such cases, conventional conceptual metaphor can be seen as an important part of the shared sets of beliefs, or ‘ideology’ that characterize a particular social group.” (2008: 33-34). Therefore, from a critical discourse analysis perspective, it is really important to pay attention to this dichotomy.

A further issue that needs to be addressed, and that Kövecses already did, as aforementioned, is the factors that differentiate metaphor conventionality and metaphor novelty and, more concretely, the factors that influence the creation or appearance of novel, creative metaphors. In his 2010 article, he suggests five reasons or sources for creativity in metaphor answering: according to him, (1) the physical setting, (2) our knowledge of the major entities of the discourse, (3) the cultural context, (4) the social setting and (5) the linguistic context itself are the five factors that will have an influence on our choice and creation of more or less conventional expressions. Context, then, plays a vital role in the use of metaphorical language. In fact, he has recently addressed this question again and focused on the “most common contextual factors that play a role in the use and creation of metaphor” (Kövecses 2017), grouping them into four categories or four different types of context this time:

1. **Situational context:** it comprises the physical environment, the social situation and the cultural situation. This point is in immediate relation with the dichotomy of universality and culture-depended metaphors that will be reviewed next.
2. **Discourse context:** it involves the surrounding discourse, the previous discourses on the same topic and the dominant forms of discourse related to a particular subject matter. For example, if a conventional metaphor has been introduced in a conversation by a speaker, another participant might extend such metaphor by creating new expressions from it.
3. **Conceptual-cognitive context:** it includes the metaphorical conceptual system, knowledge about the elements of discourse, ideology, knowledge about past events, interests and concerns. It has already been discussed that our ideology may directly influence (and it most likely does) our choice of metaphors (Goatly 2007).
4. **Bodily context:** as its name indicates, it refers to the form, functioning, and state of the human body. Kövecses believes that individual bodily particularities can influence on which metaphors are used by particular people, and he exemplifies this referring to the preference of left-handers to use the MORAL IS LEFT metaphor (which would be considered as novel) instead of the MORAL IS RIGHT (which is the conventional one), as seen in Casasanto (2009).

Cardini also refers to a further case that may lead to metaphor creativity and the appearance of novel metaphors, which is the process that a given metaphorical expression may

experience when it is originally novel in a discourse but it then “takes hold in a linguistic community and gets used sufficiently often”, and thus “begins to be retrieved from memory in the same way as any permanently stored word or literal expression”. In such cases, a metaphorical expression that was originally new has become conventional as it becomes well-known, entrenched, for the discourse users. Besides, it is most likely that its metaphorical meaning is already included in dictionaries (2014).

Porto and Romano (2013) also address metaphorical creativity by referring to it as metaphor re-contextualization. In their study of metaphors in Spanish and English newspapers, they start from Kövecses principle of ‘context-induced creativity’ (2010) and from the concept of ‘situationally-triggered metaphors’ (Köller 2004; Semino 2008). They find out that, indeed, the context and the situation of the discourse influences the creation of novel metaphors, as it occurred in 2010 in the English press, where the metaphor of the ASH CLOUD appeared to refer to the chaotic economic situation, right after the Icelandic volcano had erupted and provoked a chaos in the European air traffic; or the metaphor of the GREEN SHOTS (*‘brotes verdes’*) which referred to the potential signs of economic recovery after the so-denied crisis that was affecting the country (and the entire world) and was introduced in the Spanish press. These two contextual and situational factors influenced the creation and the extension of these two metaphors, proving that context is a key factor for metaphor novelty and creativity. According to them, “the interaction between the discourse situation and the sociocultural context in which metaphors are created influences their development and degree of entrenchment in a language” (ibid.). Thus, it can be suggested from this that context can make a novel metaphor entrenched in language, and therefore become conventional.

There is a further point that needs to be reviewed here: the status of “metaphor death”, which has also been addressed over the last decades and there is in fact no agreement yet concerning the question of whether a metaphor can be referred to as ‘dead’ or not. Decades ago, Newmark would introduce his distinction between novel and conventional metaphors by using a different nomenclature, as he referred to them as “dead”, “cliché”, “stock”, “recent” and “original” (1980: 93). Another scholar addressing dead metaphors was Goatly, who distinguished between “dead”, “inactive” and “active” metaphors (1997: 31-35). Both classifications seem to agree on the fact that there are ‘dead’ or ‘cliché’ metaphors, metaphors

that are alive yet they are somehow fossilized and therefore stand as ‘inactive’ or ‘stock’ and metaphors that still have their metaphorical sense and can be considered as ‘active’ or ‘recent’ and ‘original’.

There have long been diverse opinions on the state of dead metaphors, and the boundary between fossilized or dead metaphors and living or novel ones was and still is far from clear-cut (Henderson 1982; Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Some scholars seem to be in two minds about this issue, such as Lakoff & Johnson (1980), who believe that most conventionalized metaphors still have some traces of their original metaphorical sense. On the other hand, Gibbs (1999) does not believe in the “death” of metaphors at all as he points out that, if they were truly dead, they would lose their compositional qualities, but these most usually remain (see Vasiloaia et al. 2011). This is in line with Maalej’s view, who claimed that “the whole concept of deadness loses validity when metaphors are seen as cognitive instruments” (1999: 106). Metaphor deadness or aliveness will be discussed more deeply in relation to the discourse of the economy in the forthcoming subsection.

In relation to Maalej’s view on metaphors as cognitive instruments (1999), I shall now briefly comment on yet another reason why the differentiation between novel and conventional metaphors is needed in linguistic studies, mainly from a critical perspective. It has been widely discussed and agreed that metaphors carry a strong persuasive power (Charteris-Black 2005), and the factor of novelty and conventionality also has a role on this power. According to Charteris-Black, the degree of novelty of metaphors is directly related to the power they may exert on discourse participants. As he points out, “conventional expressions may be less powerful than novel expressions for producing a strong emotional response in the audience, but their conventionality allows listeners and readers to tap into an accepted communal system of values” (2004: 12). This expressive, evaluative and persuasive power is also supported by Porto and Romano (2013), who attach another function to conventional metaphors, that of being conceptualizing or categorizing tools, carrying the power of letting discourse participants recognize and easily process the discourse in question by using familiar, entrenched (conventional) domains. Finally, Cardini (2014) also refers to the attention-grabbing power that novel metaphors have as well.

In conclusion, the existing literature has not only provided different opinions concerning metaphor conventionality and metaphor novelty or creativity, but it has mainly supported that, even if the boundaries between both are not neat, a classification is still needed in critical metaphor studies. This stage of the classification of the present study is specifically detailed in the corresponding section of Chapter III. The present section has summarized the theories on which such classification is based, and therefore serves as an introduction and justification for the methodology applied. In addition, the following subsection reviews the published literature on metaphor conventionality and novelty in the specific discourse of the economy.

8.2.1. CONVENTIONALITY AND NOVELTY IN ECONOMIC DISCOURSE

- METAPHORICAL CONVENTIONALITY IN THE ECONOMIC DISCOURSE

Having introduced the different approaches and views on metaphor conventionality or novelty, let us now focus on the scale of metaphor creativity that exists within the discourse of the economy. It is important to note that conventionality does not always mean that a concept is ‘universal’, although it is most likely to happen. As Schmid points out (2007), linguistic components that are deeply entrenched can be considered as conventional in a given linguistic community. However, it does not necessarily mean that all linguistic communities will have the same expression equally rooted or entrenched. This needs to be kept in mind so as not to confuse novelty with culture-dependent and conventionality with ‘universality’ (see section 8.3).

Conventional metaphors in the economic discourse will be those that are so entrenched in this discourse community that they are produced unconsciously and effortlessly. However, there is one more aspect that needs to be addressed. If a given metaphorical expression is deeply entrenched in the linguistic community of economic discourse, but it is not that familiar to the non-expert reader, who has access to the discourse of the economy, as it occurs with the discourse of the press, can such metaphor be considered entirely conventional? The objective of this study is not to find a concrete answer to this question, but it needs to be born in mind when referring to what is considered as conventional or novel in the discourse of the economic press at a national, widely-accessible level.

As already introduced in Section 5, there have been many studies on the use of metaphors in the economy and these have led or produced a set of metaphorical expressions or conceptual metaphors that are claimed to be conventional in this field. Some of these are Koller's study on the dominance (and therefore, conventionality) of the metaphors of WAR (2004, 2008; Eubanks 2000), COMPETITION and GAME (2004, 2008), domains which are also found and considered as conventional by recent studies such as Negro's (2011). Negro also observes one more domain which is not found in Koller's, that of LOVE (ibid.). However, this domain pertains to the domain of LIVING ORGANISM and, more concretely, the HUMAN BEING, being part of what Soares da Silva et al. (2017) consider propositional schemas, a schema that projects human attributes to abstract terms, such as the market or the economy. Therefore, and since this domain has been found in most studies of metaphor and economy (see Table 1 in section 8.3 to see some), it can also be considered conventional. This conventionality of LOVE and LIVING ORGANISM metaphors in the economy is also supported by Charteris-Black (2000) who analyses the conceptual metaphors THE ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM and ECONOMIC ORGANISATIONS ARE PEOPLE as the most conventional ones in his study. Silva's studies of the austerity of the economy in the Portuguese press (2013a, 2013b) also agree with this, and refer to two more conventional domains in the economic discourse, atmospheric conditions and, like Koller, warlike events. French has also been recently analysed by Negro (2009), who finds three main conceptual metaphors: THE ECONOMY IS A PATIENT, ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE BAD WEATHER CONDITIONS and ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE CATASTROPHES. Again, the domain of the living organism, this time linked with those of health and weather conditions (respectively) is treated as conventional.

Although it is not feasible to trace a finite list of conventional metaphors in any type of discourse, it can be agreed that the aforementioned domains, alongside others, are conventional in the domain of economics, as they do not demand a lot of effort from the discourse participants to process the mappings they entail and they are easily used and understood. However, there might be variations in terms of generic and specific metaphors, as it occurs with the 'universal' and culture-dependent division (see section 8.3 below), and even though a generic metaphor can be conventional (such as the ECONOMY IS A GAME), novel situations in a community can lead to new, creative expressions of that conceptual metaphors that have not seen before at all or which have been used very scarcely, leading to novel metaphors at the more specific levels. For

example, nowadays society's games are very innovative and constantly changing, therefore it can be perfectly expected to find novel metaphors which use new games (such as *Pokemon Go*, to mention one) as sources to refer to economic processes, within the generic GAME domain. This, however, is just a suggestion but still should be taken into consideration.

Apart from the LIVING ORGANISM, the WAR, HEALTH and the COMPETITION and GAME domains, other source domains which have been long considered to be conventional in the discourse of the economy are those of BUILDING, MACHINES, PLANTS (although this can be embedded within the LIVING ORGANISM), MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION (propositional and image schemas) and ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR. Further examples of these are expressions such as these included in Kövecses (2002) are, to mention some: “*Germany built a strong economy*” (BUILDING); “*the growth of the economy*” (HUMAN, PLANTS); “*they pruned the budget*” (PLANTS); “*China's economy is galloping ahead*” (ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR).

Concerning the specific field of the Spanish press, and in spite of the scarce analysis of this discourse in this specific language (not compared to English), Arrese (2015), in his study of metaphors of the 2008 Euro crisis, considers as metaphorically conventional the following generic domains: CONTAGION, MEDICINE (health and disease), STORM, EARTHQUAKE (weather), FIRE (natural disasters), TURBULENCES (journey or path schema), BAR (building), PANIC, BATTLE, WAR (warlike state). DOMINO, MATCH (competition & game).

- METAPHOR CREATIVITY IN THE ECONOMIC DISCOURSE

The aforementioned studies have presented several cases of conventional, entrenched domains in the economy; on the other hand, there are the more novel, creative or unconventional ones, which have not been so extensively addressed (Porto & Romano 2013, and Romano & Porto 2018 are some of the few studies analysing novel, creative metaphors in the Spanish press). Another study on novel metaphors in the economy, by Vasiloaia et al. (2011) suggests that, given that novel metaphors appear in the discourse of the economy (in any language), they are very likely to do so influenced by the English language, due to its preponderance in the economy at a worldwide scale. Thus, they claim that “new metaphors often appear in English first and then they are copied or adapted in other languages” (ibid.). Another potential reason for

metaphor novelty in the discourse of the economy can be influenced by the text stylistics; in other words, the type of text where the metaphor is embedded might influence potential degrees of novelty. This is addressed by Heah & Kathpalia (2013), who compare news articles and online forums of economic issues, and argue that the more personal and informal nature of online forums appears to encourage a more creative use of conventional metaphors, on the one hand, and the inclusion of culture-specific metaphors, on the other. In line with their view, it can be argued that the more personal and subjective texts are, the higher degree of metaphor novelty is expected, which, as they suggest, is also related to a higher appearance of culture-dependent metaphors. In fact, there is a very illustrative example in their study, in which they find constant reference to the domain of ANIMALS, more concretely to the bear, which is a well-known, entrenched term in the discourse of the economy and, more concretely, the Stock Market. However, they also find a novel metaphorical reference within the conventional domain of the animal world, and that is the use of *turkey* in the sentence “*Bears were left feeling like turkeys*”; there is only one reference to this animal in their corpus and they claim not to have found any in previous research, therefore it could be considered as novel and the reason they suggest to justify this creativity is the context where it was produced, which was in close dates to Thanksgiving Day, when turkey is traditionally eaten by most Americans.

However, I shall refer back to the blurry line that divides metaphor novelty or creativity and argue that this distinction can be approximately graded but it still remains open to discussion.

- ‘DEAD’ METAPHORS IN THE ECONOMIC DISCOURSE?

One last issue that needs to be addressed is metaphor aliveness and deadness in the economy, as has been introduced in this section. Focusing on this specific domain, Vasiloaia et al. refer to the case of *inflation* in the economy, whose literal, more basic meaning has to do with blowing air into something. However, they claim that “its widespread use to refer to price rises is today hardly noticed as metaphorical (and) it has come to form part and parcel of the business lexicon” (2011). According to them, then, this would be a case of a dead metaphor in the economy. Further cases of potentially dead metaphors are introduced by Heah and Kathpalia (2013), who use Henderson’s (1982) reference to (what he considers) fossilized metaphors such as the *bear* metaphor or the *depression*, among others. Henderson (ibid) claims that these

expressions have gone through a process of conventionalization and have become technical terms of the field and, therefore, contain no longer metaphoricity.

On the contrary, and in line with Gibb's opinion (1999), I shall agree that the use of these expressions still requires some activation of our cognitive system to process the mapping that they involve, and thus claims that such mappings are somehow alive, which immediately cancels any 'deadness' claim. Moreover, it is important to remember that, even though a metaphor can be entrenched for economy experts, the non-expert reader will probably need a reactivation of their metaphorical knowledge to process the use of expressions like the ones given above; thus, this would cancel the view of dead metaphors. As long as the mapping can be reactivated by a discourse user, the metaphor "lives" after all.

To conclude, this subsection has tried to review some of the studies that have addressed metaphor novelty or creativity versus metaphor conventionality in the discourse of the economy. Although there has been and there is a crescent amount of studies of this field, it still remains a difficult task to tag a metaphorical expression as simply novel or conventional, since the line or boundary between them is far from being clear-cut. However, they still need to be classified, and this will be done by grading their degrees of conventionality or novelty in my corpus, as will be explain in Chapter III. For now, it can be agreed that there is at least a starting point from which to mark conventional metaphors, considering the numerous previous studies of metaphor in the economy; however, spotting and marking novel metaphors seems a much more challenging task, and further studies on this issue are needed so as to facilitate the processing of new, creative metaphorical expressions in this field.

8.3. 'UNIVERSAL' VS. CULTURE-DEPENDENT METAPHORS

The last classification criteria that this study follows is the difference between 'universal' (or, as will be explained below, 'near-universal' or 'international') and culture-dependent or culture-specific metaphors (or, following the previous denomination, 'domestic' metaphors), a dichotomy that has been analysed as well over the last years (Kövecses 2005, 2006, 2010, 2017; Maalej 2004; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2013; Ibarretxe-Antuñano & Caballero, 2014). First, and

before explaining my choice of terms, it is important to mark what it is understood by the terms ‘culture’ and ‘universal’.

Kövecses (2017) takes Geertz’s definition of culture, who stated that “man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun. I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretative one in search of meaning” (1973: 5). Ironically, this metaphorical definition is a very explanatory one of how culture has to be understood, that is, as a non-monolithic social construction, as a compound of elements in each one’s inner self which serves as a hint in their search of significance in the world. In other words, culture is what surrounds us, and understanding this surrounding, this context, is what constitutes our own culture, which will always vary, to one extent or another, from other peoples’ context.

Concerning the definition of ‘universal’, leaving metaphor aside, Oxford English Dictionary defines the term as something “relating to or done by all people or things in the world or in a particular group; applicable to all cases”. In other words, claiming that something is ‘universal’ involves that it is shared by all the people in the world, from a socio-cognitive perspective, and that it is applicable to all. Therefore, claiming that there are ‘universal metaphors’ implies the assumption that they are shared by all. Metaphor is understood as a component of the mind, the brain and the body (Kövecses 2008); in other words, it is embodied. Thus, many scholars understood for years, originating from Lakoff & Johnson’s book (1980), that if metaphors are embodied and we, as humans, have a mind, a brain and a body and the metaphors we use are based on that, then most of the conceptual metaphors can be considered as largely ‘universal’. Until the last years, there was in fact a general tendency to “overemphasize the universality” of metaphor (Kövecses 2008) and ignore the numerous variations that can occur from one culture to another and even within cultures. However, claiming that something is ‘universal’ seems an over-estimation of the term, as it is impossible to assure that anything is common to absolutely all members of the universe. For this reason, and in order to be cautious, I have preferred the term ‘international’ instead; it has to be noted, though, that when it comes to other scholars’ studies, their preference towards ‘universal’ has been respected.

Focusing on metaphor, the questions asking “what is ‘universal?’” and “what is ‘not universal?’” have been addressed in several studies. Among his many studies on universality and

variation of metaphor, Kövecses presented a list of questions that try to solve this riddle and he addressed them comparing the conceptual metaphor of HAPPINESS IS UP in English, Chinese and Hungarian (2008):

1. *Which metaphors are universal and why?*
2. *What are the dimensions along which metaphors vary?*
3. *Which aspects of metaphor are affected by metaphor variation?*
4. *What are the main causes of variation?*
5. *How do the causes that produce variation interact with the causes that produce universality?*

In a very recent publication in which he addresses the same issue, he focuses on three of these five original questions, more concretely: (1) *Which metaphors are universal and why?*; (2) *What are the dimensions along which metaphors vary?*; and (3) *What are the main causes of variation?* (2017). Let us focus on these three individually:

1. *Which metaphors are universal and why?*

To explain ‘universal’ metaphors in discourse, he suggests three possibilities: (a) randomly, even “miraculously”, the different languages in question somehow developed the same conceptual metaphors for the targets under analysis; (b) one language may have borrowed the metaphors from the other; or (c) there might be a universal grounding in diverse languages for them to develop the same metaphors (2010a). These three possibilities still seem too general and also take randomness as a potential justification. To contrast this and to give further explanation, I shall take the most recent explanation from a cognitive linguistic view, which justifies the existence of ‘universal’ metaphors on the basis that they are “primary” metaphors (Grady 1997; Kövecses, 2002, 2010a), motivated by universal correlations in bodily experience (Kövecses 2017). In other words, the embodied nature of metaphor shall serve as an explanation for those cases of potential universality. This is in line with Schmidt’s reference to the epistemological grounding of cognition, according to which “there are basic ontological ways of experiencing the world that are the same for all cultures because of physical laws” (2002), *id est*,

our bodily experiences are found within universal laws, such as gravity or our own constitution as human beings. He exemplifies this with a clear example of how we all know universal facts such as that if we pour liquid into an empty glass, the liquid's surface level is parallel to the quantity we add to the glass, which is an instantiation of the 'universal' metaphor MORE IS UP, independently of the culture or context of each person (ibid.).

2. *What are the dimensions along which metaphors vary?*

Kövecses (2005) points at two major dimensions along which metaphor variation can occur: cross-cultural variation and within-culture variation.

Cross-cultural variation refers to differences which are manifested between two or more cultures and it can be found in two different ways: the first type involves "congruence", which includes cases where the generic-level metaphors may be shared by different cultures, but the more specific metaphors differ from one culture to another. In other words, generic metaphors are congruent but they bring different and specific cultural content to the metaphor. This is in line with Lakoff's claim on the most basic metaphors being universal, yet the less central ones being more specific (1993) and with Gibbs's suggestions that even potentially 'universal' categories are somehow culturally filtered (1999) (Deignan 2005: 100).

The second case refers to those cases where the two (or more) cultures have a different range of source domains to refer to the same target domain (Kövecses 2008), or even the opposite (a given culture may use one specific source domain to refer to various target domains which may not be conceptualized similarly in other cultures). Apart from these cases, there may be occasions when the range of source domains might be similar but one culture shows preference for a particular one; finally, there can also be cases of unique conceptual metaphors that only appear in a given culture or language (Kövecses 2017).

In addition to cross-cultural variation, which seems to be the most obvious one when discussing metaphorical differences and similarities, there are also cases in which members of the same culture and language also present differences from a metaphor perspective. These within-culture variations may occur at different levels, such as the social, the regional, the ethnic, the stylistic, the subcultural, the diachronic or even the individual level. For example, the social dimension includes different conceptualizations of men and women, young and old, middle class

and working class and so on. The regional dimension variation occurs when a given language is moved or extended through different parts of the world, or even within the same country (there are differences between, for example, Spanish speakers from the north and the south of the country). The style dimension can cause variation depending on the participants in the conversations or the medium (i.e. we do not use the same language when talking to our friends in an informal atmosphere, where *slang* is allowed, that when talking to our boss or business partners in a meeting). This level of variation is not expected to affect this study in question because all the texts under analysis have been retrieved from newspapers and from the same medium, therefore the style used is supposed to be the same; however, differences could be expected when comparing economic reports found in broadsheets and in tabloids, which are known to have a different style and use more informal and figurative language. Moreover, subcultures emerge within the same culture or language, and even if they may not constitute an entire set of new and different metaphors, there will always be differences; for example, subgroups of patients who suffer or have suffered cancer do not conceptualize this illness in the same way that other people who do not have it can do, as family members or health professionals (see Semino et al. 2015; Semino et al. 2018). Finally, there is an individual dimension, which includes those variations that occur personally and individually within one person's cognitive system due to, for example, past experiences (i.e. a person who has always been lucky in love does not probably conceptualize the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor like another person who has been unlucky would, at least in terms of the positive-negative connotations of each of their "journeys") (Kövecses 2008).

3. *What are the main causes of variation?*

In relation to the different types of variation which have just been reviewed, these variations may be caused mainly due to two types of reasons: (1) differential experiences and (2) differential cognitive processes or styles (Kövecses 2005).

The former refers to variations that occur due to the fact that our experiences as human beings are always different to one another since the context around us is not the same, same as our social or personal history. This differential context, of which one is mostly unconscious,

including the physical environment, the social context or the communicative situation, among other factors, has a direct influence on the language, and therefore on the metaphors used (Kövecses 2017).

On the other hand, differences in our cognitive processes also play an important role in metaphor variation; since we do not all process information or language in the same way, our abstract thought is also particular for each case. By cognitive processes, Kövecses understands language elaboration, focusing, conventionalization, specificity and transparency (2005), which are common to all human beings but applied to different degrees, *id est*, preferred or chosen differently depending on the culture. However, these cognitive processes come shaped by our context as well, which puts this into relation with the previous, more inclusive, cause.

All this can be summarized in Kövecses's words, who said that, after all, "the major driving force behind variation is context" (2005), which can then be divided into *global context* (which affect all members of a language community, including the physical environment, social factors, the cultural context, differential memory and differential concerns and interests, *ibid.*) and *individual context* (the immediate contextual factors that affect particular conceptualizers, including the immediate physical setting, the knowledge about the participants in the discourse, the immediate cultural context, the immediate social setting or the immediate linguistic context) (2010). In short, it can be said that embodiment is what causes metaphor 'universality' and context is what causes metaphor variation.

Having established what potentially causes 'universality' or variation across cultures in metaphorical terms, let us now focus on the specific type of discourse that concerns this study and review previous works: the discourse of economics. During the last decades, there has been a crescent interest mainly in those potential variations occurring in different languages or cultures when referring to economic issues such as financial crisis, money, the stock market or the economy of a country in general. Before commenting on some of these studies more specifically, some researchers who have approached the field from a 'universal' perspective include Boers & Demecheleer (1997), Boers (1999), Richardt (2005) or Skorcynska & Deignan (2006), among others; on the other hand, studies focusing on peculiarities of national economic discourses include Fukuda (2009), Orts-Llopis & Rojo-López (2009) or Arrese (2015). What they have in common is that, alongside most of the studies of the same nature, they analyse the discourse of

the press, especially newspapers and financial magazines, to a more or less specialized extent (Koller 2003, 2006; Herrera-Soler 2008; Greco 2009; Porto & Romano 2013).

8.3.1. 'UNIVERSAL' METAPHORS IN THE ECONOMY

As discussed, one of the main assumptions in Lakoff & Johnson's book and in many studies which started from their perception of metaphor is that it is an ontological phenomenon, *id est*, it is affected and shaped by our embodied experiences and by our condition as human beings, which is what lead to the assumption that conceptual metaphors are 'universal' for all human beings. In line with this, all human beings involved in the discourse of economics would share a 'universal' set of conceptual metaphors and/or metaphorical expressions to discuss economy and finance issues. However, the trend that has studied potential differences has served as proof that this does not have to be like this strictly; still, the wide coverage of metaphors that are commonly used between several cultures and languages seems to justify the existence of this so-called 'universal' structures. Let us bear in mind again that 'universal' is not the preferable term as, to my understanding, claiming that something is 'universal' is somehow pretentious. Instead, another potential nomenclature for this would be 'culturally-shared metaphors' or, as has been preferred here, 'international' metaphors, as they are shared by different countries and cultures (again, measuring and including the entire world is not feasible) and are not just natural of one nation.

Among all those studies comparing the discourse of the economy in several languages and cultures, most of them have based the study in the same language, English, compared to others. Even though some studies have compared other languages and cultures that are not English, there is still much work to cover in this line (not using English in the cross-cultural study but other languages instead) in order to provide further support for the 'universal' nature of the metaphors found in such studies. Table 1 below gathers some of these cross-linguistics studies of metaphor in economic discourse which have compared English. This table was inspired by Wang et al. (2013) but it has been extended as they only covered eight studies dating until 2007. Further studies done in the last year have been included (including Wang and Chen's work, 2016) and they have all been ordered chronologically as well.

Metaphor domain	Languages	Researchers	Year
Path, health and war	English, French and Dutch	Boers & Demecheleer	1997
Living organism, vessel on the ocean, and vehicle or machine	English and Spanish	Ennis	1998
Organism, physical movements, natural disasters	English and Spanish	Charteris-Black & Ennis	2001
Living organism, war, animals, house	English and Russian	Kolotnina	2001
Ocean water	English, Spanish and Chinese	Chung et al.	2003
Weather conditions, earthquakes, gas under pressure	English and German	Charteris-Black & Musolff	2003
Organism, Natural disasters	English and Slovene	Bratoz	2004
Living organism, health, competition, up-down, vehicle, disaster	English and Romanian	Pecican	2007
Health	English and Lithuanian	Urbonait & Seskauskien	2007
Economy is sick person Good/bad economic conditions are health/disease	English and Serbian	Silaski & Durovic	2010
Human being & health Natural force Movement	English and Spanish	Rojo-López & Orts-Llopis	2010
The money is a liquid Container Flowing movement	English, Serbian and Romanian	Silaski & Kilyeni	2011
Economic crisis is a living organism, disaster, water, health, physical movements	English and Russian	Wang, Runtsova & Chen	2013
Disaster, living organism, sick organism, physical movement, water	English and Russian	Wang et al.	2013
Human being, family, illness, natural force, building, path, container, up-down, force, war, game, mission, therapy	English (Ireland), Portuguese and Spanish	Soares da Silva et al.	2017

Table 1: Cross-linguistic studies of metaphor in the economic discourse

Additionally, other recent studies which did not follow the same trend and did not contrast a given language/culture with English include Schmidt (2002), contrasting German,

Finnish and Swedish; Gilarranz (2010), contrasting Italian and Spanish; or Truong (2012), contrasting French and Vietnamese. In the case of Schmidt, the common domains between the three languages that he finds are those of physical movement, sport/game, mechanics, solid/fluid substance, gravity, fighting, sea/ocean, show, physical strength, health (patient) and mountains; concerning the Romance languages that Gilarranz analyses, they share the domains of movement/motion, more is up/less is down, verticality, liquid, health and medicine, war, nautical world, weather, game, theatre (show), human being and vehicles; finally, two very distant languages as French and Vietnamese have also been found to share some domains in the field of economics, such as medicine, war and sports. Since they also share most domains with those found in the studies included in the table, they can be treated, to one extent or another, as ‘near-universal’, ‘international’ or culturally-shared by a large number of languages or cultures. However, it has to be clarified that such similarities have been found, in the majority of the cases, at the generic level of the metaphor analysis, yet some peculiarities have also been encountered, which will be commented in the next sub-section.

The studies carried out so far contrasting two languages/cultures have proved that the notion of ‘near-universality’ or ‘internationality’ in metaphors is justified, and this is mainly due to the well-known human condition that we share in the universe, which will condition our perception of the reality as humanly shaped beings. Although it is impossible to set the limit to say that a given metaphor is entirely ‘universal’, given that it is shared by many cultures, as those included in the table above, it can be considered, at least, as widely culturally-shared.

One interesting point that can be retrieved from previous studies is that such claimed ‘universality’ is almost always linked to English, which is the *lingua franca* and thus it makes sense to take it as a reference. Moreover, considering that most economic events take place using the *lingua franca*, using it to contrast other languages seems logic as well. However, some studies claim that this is mainly due to the powerful influence that English has over the rest of the languages and cultures, including Silaski & Durovic (2010), Wang et al. (2013) or Heah & Kathpalia (2013), who studies the language of financial discourse in Singapore but also takes English as a reference point.

In relation to this, Schmidt summarizes some of the possible reasons why metaphor similarity occurs in economic discourse in his study of metaphors used in Stock Market reports (2002):

- (1) The first reason is presented by Verstraeten (2005), who claims that the terms describing mergers and acquisitions are international as they are rooted in the Anglo-Saxon heritage.
- (2) The second point is connected with the economy: “economically necessary languages are attractive to language users while languages without economic value lose their attraction and may disappear” (Ager, 1997: 34). As Trim claims, “the huge increase in the vocabularies in the field of technology and business since the last war, particularly of English origin, has led to considerable unification in lexical meaning” (2007: 36).
- (3) The next reason for many Anglicisms in economic writing is the language of the press. As has been noted by some authors, the language of the press is abundant in neologisms and Anglicisms (Sorensen 1986, in Gottlieb 2001: 198; Pountain, 2001).
- (4) A fourth reason why the same terms and expressions exist in many languages is the possibility of effective communication. As Canada states, “the lingua franca facilitates sales coordination, customer service efficiency and employee transfers” (2001: 57-58).

Summarizing, the main reasons for ‘universality’ or, as I prefer, ‘internationality’ of metaphors, are due not only to our physiological nature as human beings and our embedded cognitive processes, but also to reasons of practicality or effectiveness, logic, and language expansion. It is very probable that when Latin was the *lingua franca* and it was used in all Europe, the metaphors used in the economic discourse then were probably shaped by this language and they would influence other minor languages, as it occurs now with English.

Metaphor ‘universality’ notwithstanding, and even though all the studies agree on this, they also seem to agree on another important aspect concerning ‘universality’ and variation. The results show that these similarities occur between languages at the most generic level (see the beginning of section 8), *id est*, most languages seem to share generic structures such as the domain of HEALTH, WAR or COMPETITION, for example. However, most of these studies also find certain variation within each of the cultures analysed and this occurs at the specific

instantiations of those generic metaphors, or at the specific level, which leads us to the following subsection.

8.3.2. CULTURE-DEPENDENT METAPHORS IN THE ECONOMY

‘Culture-dependent’ refer to those variations that are unique to one language or culture, in this case in the discourse of economics. As aforementioned, and to the best of my knowledge, there is no study so far that presents a culture-dependent metaphorical domain that is unique to only one language in a generic level. As discussed above, the domains of the LIVING ORGANISM, HEALTH, WAR, COMPETITION, NATURAL FORCES, MOVEMENT, etc., are common in many languages, even if most have been compared individually with English and it would be interesting to have further cross-cultural studies among them. However, these studies also find some variations, to one extent or another, in the specific instantiations of the general structures. As Kövecses claims (2005), when the settings are embedded in specific cultures, the metaphors are “coloured by cultural nuances” and there tends to be specific realizations across different languages (in Heah & Kathpalia, 2013). He also suggests several levels where such culture variations can occur, which have been commented above but shall be briefly mentioned again: a culture may have a set of source domains to refer to a given particular target domain or vice versa (a particular source domain to refer to different target domains); it also may have preference for certain conceptual metaphors; finally, some of the metaphors found may be unique in one particular culture (Kövecses 2005). Again, such uniqueness is most likely to be found at the specific levels.

Some recent studies proving that there is indeed metaphorical variation in the discourse of economics even if it is found mainly in terms of metaphor frequency or level of specificity are: Chung et al. (2003) who, even though they focus their study on THE ECONOMY IS A PERSON metaphor, mainly find differences in the VEHICLE domain; Bratoz (2004), who contrasts English and Slovene and finds mainly differences in terms of frequency more than typology; Pecican (2007), who finds differences both in terms of frequency and lexical realization in his contrast of English and Romanian metaphors; Urbonait & Seskauskien (2007), contrasting English and Lithuanian and finding specific, culture-dependent differences within the

generic, ‘universal’ domain of HEALTH; Bielenia-Grajewska (2009), contrasting four languages (namely English, German, Spanish and Polish); Wang et al. (2013), whose study on THE ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM metaphor reveals high consistency yet some culture-specific features being preserved; or Heah & Kathpalia (2013), who prefer to refer to the ‘universal’ cases as conventional instead in their study of Singapore metaphors.

Let us show these cultural variations across languages with an example taken from this last study by Heah & Kathpalia (2013), who base their study on the purposes of designing teaching material to create metaphorical competence among students of Business English of ESP (see also Kövecses 2002, Charteris-Black & Ennis 2001 or Caballero 2003b). In their analysis, they find that a ‘universal’ domain (or conventional, as they favor to name them) is SPORTS, which, as summarized in Table 1, is shared by many languages or cultures. This domain also implies the competition aspect shared by most as well. However, these would represent the generic domain (THE ECONOMY IS A SPORT, THE ECONOMY IS COMPETITION, THE ECONOMY IS GAMBLING, etc.). In their study, though, they find specific instantiations of these generic metaphors which are related to the field of horse racing and playing cards, which are not that often found in English studies; thus, INVESTING IS HORSE RACING and INVESTING IS PLAYING CARDS are specific metaphors which are culturally-dependent in Singapore economic discourse. The reason for their preferred use in the corpus seems to be a more extended tradition of these games in this culture than in others. Another interesting culture-specific metaphorical expression they find is related to an animal (let us remember that animals and living organisms are among the domains considered as ‘universal’), in this case a tortoise, which, from the Chinese culture, represents longevity and endurance, and its use to refer to the economy of the country implies that it requires a long time span to appreciate its value. Finally, they also mention Kövecses’s (2005) reference to culture-specific metaphors used in Chinese to refer to anger (within the more generic metaphor of EMOTIONS).

Considering that each culture has its own traditions and these traditions are part of our embedded nature, they will naturally influence the metaphors that are used in all languages and cultures. Logically enough then, the more specific a tradition is, the more culture-specific the metaphors it influences will be. This can also be explained in the reverse order, as Vasiloaia et al. point out: “the more specific and individual [conceptual metaphors] are, the more likely it is for

them to acquire cultural connotations, thus representing a certain community” (2011). In fact, Kövecses points out that these variations are “almost as natural and obvious as the variation of metaphors at the level of metaphorical linguistic expressions” (2005: 67).

These natural variations across cultures are due to the different cultural schemas that each culture presents. Cultural schemas have already been introduced and defined in section 8.1. Since they “establish patterns of understanding and reasoning” (Sharifian 2015: 474) and they are elaborated and extended in all our interactions with the world around us, they will inevitably influence our choices of linguistic expressions and devices as metaphors, and they will also influence the interpretation we have of them in our interactions. These differences across cultural schemas are perceived in the more specific levels already discussed: propositional schemas, image schemas and event schemas (Palmer 1996; Johnson 1987; Quinn 1987; Sharifian 2011; Soares da Silva et al. 2017).

Concerning the sphere of Spanish economic discourse, most scholars have focused on other languages, mainly English, or have contrasted Spanish to English. However, to date there are not many studies which have analysed the economic discourse only in Spanish, apart from Orts-Llopis & Rojo-López (2009), Álvarez-Peralta (2014), Ramos-Ruiz (2014, 2015), or Arrese (2015); therefore, there is not much field covered on the potential culture-specific metaphors that may be found in the discourse of the economy in the Spanish press, which constitutes a promising path to cover by scholars.

Finally, it has been mentioned above that some scholars, such as Heah & Kathpalia (2013), prefer to refer to those ‘universal’ cases as ‘conventional’ instead, which is in direct relation to the previous subsection. It is true that if a metaphor is considered to be ‘universal’, or shared by many cultures, that is because it is so widely used that it could be considered as ‘conventional’ of a type of discourse; however, this would not match with culture-dependent metaphors. Thus, to avoid confusion, I have preferred the dichotomy of ‘international’/‘domestic’¹ on the one hand and the dichotomy of conventional/novel metaphors on the other, as separate classificatory patterns. This will be detailed in Chapter III.

¹ Idea suggested during an oral communication by Professor María Josep Cuenca in March 2018.

This last section has presented and reviewed the most updated and relevant theories concerning metaphor classifications, which is a very important part of this analysis. Forthcoming chapters (mainly III and IV) will refer back to these theories and provide further examples which may serve as additional explanations or illustrations of what has been covered in this section.

CHAPTER III: DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The preceding chapter has presented a summarized yet comprehensive overview of the most relevant theoretical underpinnings of this study, from the most descriptive ones, such as the theories of Cognitivism and Discourse Analysis, to the most practical ones, or those englobing the models applied for the analysis. Having commented on all those which are used in our case, this chapter will now present in more detail the data under analysis and the methodology followed. Each section of the chapter covers a step of the methodology, starting with the data presentation and selection, followed by its extraction. It will then focus on the metaphor identification and classification methods applied, followed by the qualitative method addressing metaphor ideology and persuasion and finishing with the statistical methods used in all the corresponding parts.

1. CORPUS UNDER ANALYSIS

As introduced in Chapter II, media discourse constitutes a field of great interest for discourse analysts because of its own nature as a public interactive platform where the information is produced (manufactured) on-record, from a concrete part and addressed to an open, infinite public (O’Keeffe 2011). It is not a private exchange of information and therefore all people can have access to it, which implies careful use from all the parts involved; besides, if all the public can read or listen to media discourse, it can be strategically used to have an impact or effect on them, which directly leads us to the notion of ideology and persuasion which has also been commented before.

These characteristics are common to all media discourse types, yet the branch of interest for this study is online media discourse and, more concretely, economic reports, which involve another factor: reporters are not just informing, but also commenting on economic realities that affect the entire community. If we consider the ideological load of all media companies (whether they publicly admit it or not), this adds another layer that makes this type of discourse so particularly appealing for linguists in general and critical discourse analysts in particular.

This section presents the corpus under analysis in this contrastive study of economic reports in online media discourse in the Spanish and English press, starting from the criteria followed for its selection and then presenting both corpora in detail.

1.1. SELECTION CRITERIA

Several newspapers were originally considered before the analysis started, although the final selection included six different sources, three for each language or country. Before explaining each of the specific criteria followed for the selection process, the first one is that all the sources had an online platform with regular publications of economic reports. Most of the newspapers in the study also have a printed version, which follows its own patterns of style and periodicity; however, and for reasons of practicality, only the online reports were retrieved for the study.

Concerning the specific criteria that had to be met by the newspapers used for the analysis, these included: their periodicity of publication, the circulation, the scope (*id est*, specialized or not), the ideological stand and format. Finally, the time frame was another key factor when deciding which news to retrieve, together with the requirement that the online version had a section specifically dedicated to the economy or finance from which to retrieve the reports.

- Periodicity: since the time frame of study was, as introduced, the pre-election period, all the newspapers used needed to have a frequent periodicity of publication in order to have a corpus that was large and representative enough for the purpose of the analysis; in other words, only those newspapers that published on a daily basis (and several reports per day if possible) were selected for the study. As will be presented below, some of them publish more frequently than others (one of them in particular does it in a notable way); however, statistically speaking, this must not imply a drawback in the process.
- Circulation: in close relation to the periodicity of publication, the number of readers that access each newspaper's website every day is another factor of the study. Since there is no set number that limits what is considered to be 'large readership' or 'reduced readership' (to the best of my knowledge), an online search was performed so as to check that all the newspapers used for the study were at least amongst the most widely read in the corresponding country, according to the *SimilarWeb* ranking². As for the type of readership (social class), this was not taken as a cut-off mark, as, even if a certain group

² *SimilarWeb* is an online browsing tool widely used in marketing that provides its users with information concerning the position that each website has in a ranking of publication and global access.

leans towards a given newspapers, the fact that all the newspapers have free access means that a working-class user can also visit newspapers that are more frequently visited by high-class users or vice versa, and this could jeopardize the study.

- Scope: one of the objectives of this study is to observe not only the presence of metaphors in the newspapers in question (quantitatively speaking and in terms of typology) but also the potential effect they have on their readers; for this reason, a specialized newspaper (apart from usually not being free) is commonly accessed by expert readers, specialized in the field in question (economy and finance in this case). An expert reader is very likely to be so familiar with the expressions and metaphors used by the reporters that would consider most metaphors conventional, even dead (as discussed in Chapter II). However, what concerns us is the effect that economic reports in a pre-election period can have on the common reader, who is not particularly interested in the economy but reads these reports just to be informed. This is the reason why all the newspapers of this study have a general scope and are not specialized in the economy; if that was the case, it could be expected to find a very different use of language (specialized language) and therefore different metaphorical expressions. In any case, within the general scope of the newspapers, one of the requirements is that the newspaper had an *economy* or *business* section, separated from the *politics* one.
- Ideological stance: as introduced, newspapers have a political view or stance and they (more or less openly) support a political cause or party. As ideology and persuasion are among the focuses of this study, it was considered that different ideologies would produce discourse in different ways. Consequently, one of the criteria followed was that the main political branches were represented in the study. As there are three newspapers per corpus, each one of them corresponds to one ideological position: left, centre and right. It must be clarified here that this criterion was not easily set; among the newspapers that met the rest of selection factors, it was difficult to find one newspaper that specifically belongs to one concrete political side, and this is even more difficult to address in the case of the so-called 'central' newspapers. Thus, the most approximate candidates were selected for analysis. This is the reason why they can be considered as 'centre-left', or 'centre-right' in some cases. In any case, a representation of the three different spheres was pursued.

- Format: this factor was firstly considered to differentiate the type of publication of the newspapers, although they all share the online format. Due to the constant changes in what format is concerned, mainly in the case of the English newspapers, this criterion was slightly altered before the analysis started. Although it had originally been planned to use only broadsheets, the changes during the last years (*The Guardian*, for example, has changed from the broadsheet format, to the Berliner, and to a tabloid format in the last 15 years) have caused this study to have a wider ‘acceptance’ criterion. Moreover, the first difference between broadsheets, berliners and tabloids concerns the size and number of pages. However, as we are analysing online reports, neither the number nor the size of pages of the print version is an issue. Finally, this broadsheet-tabloid distinction is mainly found in the British and American press, but Spanish terminology does not include it that often; in sum, as long as they had an online section of economy/finance and were commonly read by the general public and considered as ‘quality’ newspapers, the format of printing did not exclude potential newspapers for the analysis.

All these requirements refer to the newspapers chosen for the analysis; in addition, and in a more specific level, the news or reports that form each corpus also needed to meet certain conditions:

- they had to be published by reporters of the newspapers (in other words, reports with no authorship claimed, coming from news companies as *Europress* or *Routers*, were excluded);
- they had to be found within the section of ‘economy’, ‘finance’, ‘market’ or ‘business’ (although this one was not frequent), including any subsection within these; even if they were retrieved during the pre-election period, the section of politics was not of interest for the study as it focuses on economic metaphors;
- the time-frame of extraction had to be the previous seven days to the general election day in each country (May 7th in the United Kingdom and December 20th in Spain).

To conclude, the six newspapers that finally met all these requirements were as follows (more details will be given in turn):

- Spanish corpus: *Público*, *El País* and *ABC*.
- English corpus: *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Daily Telegraph*.

1.2. SPANISH NEWSPAPERS

This subsection presents the three newspapers from which economic reports were retrieved for analysis. As introduced, all of them (as well their English counterparts) meet the criteria stated above.

- *PÚBLICO*

Público is a free Spanish online newspaper owned by Display Connectors Limited Society and edited by Ana Pardo de Vera, founded in 2007; it was originally distributed both in its print version and digitally, but the former folded in 2012. Since its beginning, it has claimed to be a “young, modern” newspaper compromised with a social change, Human Rights and social and gender equality, as presented by one of its founders, Tatxo Benet³. Thus, its political alignment corresponds to the left-wing, liberal parties. It is also known to be anti-monarchical. Although it only has an digital version nowadays, in what format is concerned, its original print version had a tabloid design (*id est*, the pages used to measure 432 x 279 mm), considered to be a modern, more comfortable support for the user (Pérez Suria 2017), and more frequently adapted by other newspapers, to the point that tabloids are now considered to be quality papers more accessible to the readers (Barbero & Parratt 2011).

- *EL PAÍS*

Owned by the Spanish media conglomerate PRISA, and directed by Antonio Caño, it is one of the oldest and most widely read newspapers in the country (the print version was founded in 1976); however, the online version did not start running until 1996, although it was still one of the first newspapers to offer a digital version. It was originally claimed to be an independent, quality, pro-democracy newspaper, being always related to the left and the centre-left political alignments of the country (Vázquez-Bermúdez 2006). However, recent claims accuse it of

³ Press-conference presentation of the newspaper *Público* in Madrid on September 20th, 2007. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6qGbx9NCsOU>. Accessed on 11/04/2018.

leaning progressively towards some conservative, right-wing policies (Sáenz de Ugarte 2014). Thus, it can be considered to be a centre-left newspaper that also has some conservative, right-wing journalists among its reporters. Concerning the format, its print version, published daily, has a berliner size, with pages measuring approximately 315 x 470 mm, which is the intermediate format between the larger broadsheets and the more compact tabloids.

- *ABC*

Alongside *El País* and *El Mundo*, *ABC* is considered to be one of the three largest general-interest newspapers in Spain. Owned by Grupo Vocento and edited by Ángel Expósito, its first print version was published in 1903 (being the oldest of the three Spanish sources of this study) and its digital version aired in 1995, one year earlier than *El País*. It has been defined as a catholic, conservative, pro-monarchical newspaper (López de Maturana 2005, Pizarroso-Quintero 2010) in political terms and pro free-market policies in what economy is concerned. Thus, it is openly supportive of the right-wing parties' policies and it is commonly linked to the Spanish conservative party, Partido Popular. In terms of format, the print version, also published on a daily basis, has a compact design (a quality newspaper printed in tabloid format but a bit taller), which resembles a magazine format (Barbero & Parratt 2011).

Having introduced the main technical characteristics of the three Spanish newspapers, Table 2 summarizes this information alongside its readership or circulation, shown in millions of unique users according to comScore⁴ as of November 2017:

	Público	El País	ABC
Founded	2007 (ceased in 2012) Online 2007	1976 Online 1996	1903 Online 1995
Access	Free	Free	Free
Periodicity	Every day	Every day	Every day
Circulation	5,5	18,9	14,2
Scope	General	General	General
Ideology	Left, liberal, democrat, republican	Centre (leans to left but right columnists)	Conservative, right-wing, pro- monarchy
Format	Online Tabloid	Online Berliner	Online Compact

Table 2: Summary of the Spanish newspapers

⁴ comScore is a media measurement and analytics company that provides marketing information about the circulation of websites worldwide.

1.3. ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS

- *THE GUARDIAN*

Owned by the Guardian Media Group and now edited by Katherine Viner, the print version of *The Guardian* was first published 1821, which makes it the oldest newspaper of the entire corpus. Its online version, though, started running in 1999, and it combines both editions daily since then. The editorial board has always claimed the newspaper to be independent and with no political alignment, even though it is usually linked to the Labour Party and liberal ideals. Although it is not as openly leftist as the Spanish counterpart, the readership of this media group generally comes from the mainstream left of British political stance⁵ and it is, in any case, the newspaper that leans towards the left the most within the English newspapers of this study. Concerning the format, the print version has constantly changed it as it started being a broadsheet, then changed to berliner format and it has very recently changed again to the more compact and, as stated, comfortable for the readers, tabloid design.

- *THE INDEPENDENT*

As it occurs with *Público* within the Spanish corpora, *The Independent* only holds the digital version as a publication platform nowadays, as the print version (first published in 1986) very recently folded in 2016. As for the online version, it was relaunched in 2008 and, although not as frequently visited as the other two newspapers in this corpus, it is still amongst the most widely consulted quality newspapers online nowadays. It is not owned by one but three parts (Sultan Muhammad Abuljadayel, Alexander Lebedev and Evgeny Lebedev) and edited by Christian Broughton. It originally intended to englobe the centre of the political views in the British opinion and, although it has columnist both from the left and the right spectrums, it is still considered to be mostly central, as shown in Figure 3 below, published by the British newspaper *The Times* in 2017, gathering results of a survey carried out to analyse the users' views concerning the political stance of some British newspapers. Concerning the format, the printed version started as a broadsheet, but it also changed later to a compact design in 2003.

⁵ It has to be noted here that the most left-wing British newspapers, *The Morning Star* and *The Mirror* could not be considered for the analysis as they do not hold an 'Economy' or 'Finance' section and therefore economic reports could not be retrieved.

Newspapers on the political spectrum

How readers view each publication

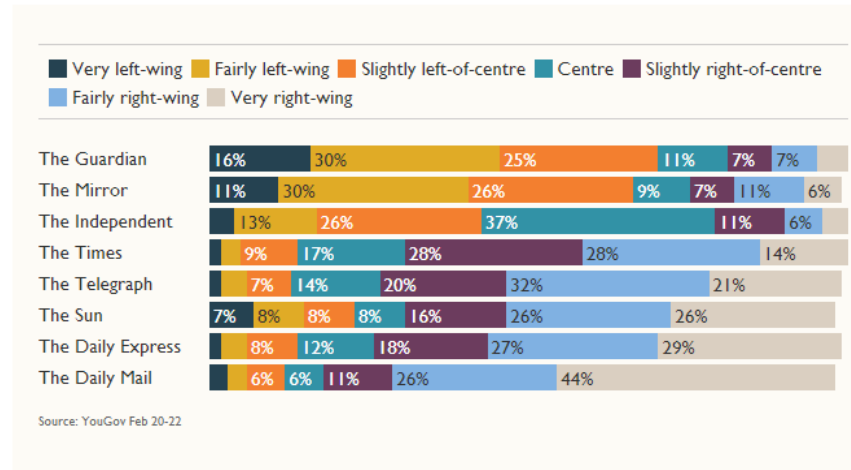


Figure 3: Political stance of British newspapers as seen by their users. Survey published by *The Times* in February 2017.

- *THE DAILY TELEGRAPH*

It is commonly known as *The Telegraph*, and this is how it is referred to in this study. Owned by Telegraph Media Group and edited by Chris Evans, its print version was founded in 1855 and its digital version, in 1994, being the oldest of the three British digital newspapers under analysis. It has been supportive of conservative policies since its foundation and therefore the right-wing parties, being referred to sometimes as the ‘Torygraph’ (a colloquial reference to the Conservative Party in Britain). Concerning its format, it is one of the few newspapers in the United Kingdom that remains being a broadsheet since its beginnings.

As done with the Spanish data, Table 3 below summarizes the main technical and numerical information concerning the British part. Data about the circulation is taken from the National Readership Survey service⁶ as of December 2017:

⁶ The company analyses Britain's major newspapers and magazines' audience, showing the results achieved daily, weekly and monthly. It considers the three media groups as ‘quality’ newspapers, independently of their print size or format.

	The Guardian	The Independent	The Telegraph
Founded	1821 Online 1999	1986 Online 2008 (2 nd)	1855 Online 1994
Access	Free	Free	Free
Periodicity	Every day	Every day	Every day
Circulation	NSR 2017 7.060.000 month	NSR 2017 4.175.000 month	NSR 2017 6.722.000 month
Scope	General	General	General
Ideology	Liberal democrat (Labour P)	Centre (leans to left but right columnists)	Conservative, right-wing,
Format	Online Berlinés (until 2018) Quality	Online (first broadsheet, tabloid in 2003) Quality	Online Broadsheet Quality

Table 3: Summary of the English newspapers

To conclude this section, Table 4 shows the political alignment or stance of all the newspapers from which data was retrieved for analysis in this study:

Political Stance	Spanish corpus	British corpus
Left	<i>Público</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>
Centre	<i>El País</i>	<i>The Independent</i>
Right	<i>ABC</i>	<i>The Telegraph</i>

Table 4: Newspapers of the study

This section has provided the list of criteria followed for the selection of the newspapers from which the data has been retrieved, as well as the criteria that the economic reports had to meet as well. Moreover, it has summarized the most relevant details of the three Spanish and three British newspapers from which the reports were finally analysed, including their circulation, readership and ideological stance, among other information. Once the sources had gone through the necessary filters, the following step was to retrieve the reports in question, as it is explained in the forthcoming section.

2. DATA COLLECTION

Once the newspapers had been selected according to their periodicity of publication (daily), readership or circulation (among the most widely read in each country), scope (general), ideological stance (left, centre or right) and format (online), the consequent step was to crawl each of the websites in search of all the news and reports for the corpus. As stated above, they all needed to meet the following criteria:

- Being written by reporters of the newspaper in question.
- Found within the sections related to the economy ('economy', 'finance', 'business' or 'market', depending on the newspapers) and all the subsections within them.
- Being published in the seven natural days previous to the voting day (May 7th in the UK and December 20th in Spain).

Searching each report or piece of news manually would have meant a time and effort consuming process, plus the risk of potentially missing information, as the human eye can commit mistakes, which would jeopardize the analysis. For this reason, a computational tool was used: *import.io*, a free (as of October 2016, when the corpus was retrieved) online platform that allows the user to extract data from websites in an intuitive, organized way. The steps followed during this stage of the analysis are explained in a chronological way in turn.

2.1. DATA CRAWLING: IMPORT.IO

Among several web crawling tools, this one was chosen for reasons of practicality; once the user tells the platform where to extract data from and which part of the data is desired, it automatically provides a table with all the required information. To be more specific, the user needs to “show” the platform several URLs (Uniform Resource Locators) that serve as example and then set the start and end point of the crawling process that it has to perform. To exemplify better, and put in simple words, the analyst can “give” the platform the following command: “I need all the news published by *El País* in *December 2015* in the section of *economy*”, which, in the computational language understood by the program, would be as follows: *economia.elpais.com/economia/2015/12/{num}/{any}*.

This process and instructions were repeated with each of the newspapers; it shall be noted here though that not all the websites follow the same URL pattern, and therefore this had to be treated carefully so as to give the program the adequate instruction for each concrete case.

One of the positive aspects (and reasons why it has been applied) of this platform is that, given the right instructions and the required time, it provides a complete, clean outcome with all the reports published during the indicated time frame in an accessible, workable excel document, which can be processed by a corpus requests tool. Moreover, it separates the information into the different sections of the piece of news (headline, subheading and text body), which allows further analyses in which discursive factors are to be considered. It can as well retrieve data concerning the date and the authorship of each report, making it of interest, for example, for studies observing the role played by the author's genre or for chronological studies; this information was indeed retrieved in the process, but it was not taken as a factor for the present analysis. Finally, Figure 4 below shows an example of the tool in the process of crawling the web following the exemplifying instruction given above:

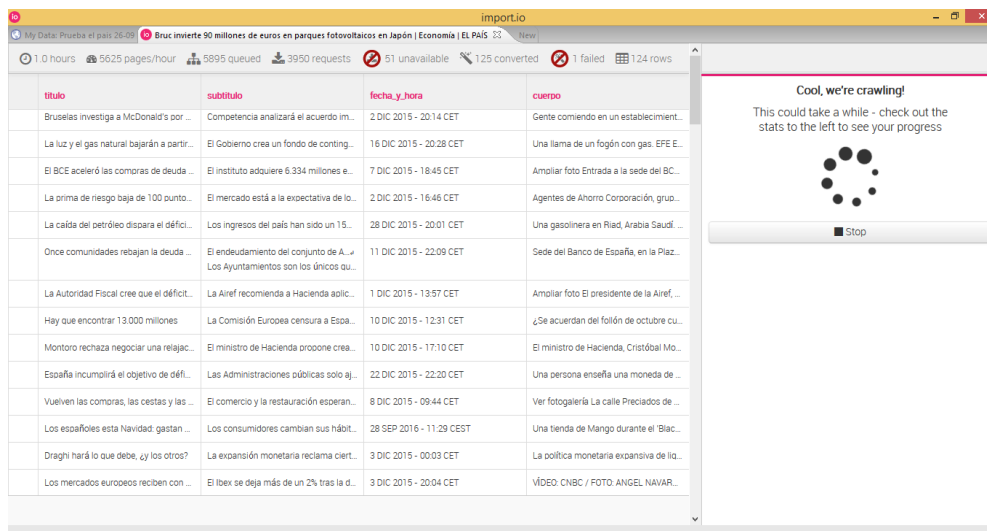


Figure 4: The tool import.io crawling a web and extracting the required data for analysis

However, and in spite of its much facilitating nature, this tool also presents some limitations that always need to be supervised by the human eye, as it occurs with all computational tools, and in support of the joint work between human brain and machines in linguistics. This is to be commented in the following subsection.

2.2. DATA CLEANING

Apart from the different and independent format of the URLs, once the download was completed, it was noted that some reports had been extracted twice (although this did not occur frequently); as the process itself already required a manual reading of the texts, this problem was eventually solved, eliminating all repeated texts in each individual corpus.

Moreover, another limitation of the program is that it sometimes extracts undesired details, such as photo footnotes or even social networks' logos that appeared at the end of the body of the piece of news. This was a considerable problem to face, as it would otherwise alter the word count and, in consequence, invalid future results. In any case, it was also solved during the manual reading and cleaning process.

2.3. DATA ORGANIZATION

Once each individual corpus was retrieved and manually read and cleaned, the texts were individually organized. The number of news reports and the word count of each part of the report (headline, subheading and body) are summarized in Table 5:

	Spanish corpus			English corpus		
	Público	El País	ABC	The Guardian	The Independent	The Telegraph
Number of texts	26	29	143	15	55	18
Headline	354	290	1,755	135	633	191
Subheading	661	569	3,283	321	646	369
Body	11,818	20,737	66,254	8,964	26,385	14,253
Tokens per source	12,833	21,596	71,292	9,420	27,664	14,813
Tokens per report	494	745	499	628	503	823
Tokens per corpus		105,721			51,897	

Table 5: Number of news reports and tokens/words per corpus

As observed from the table, the retrieval process provided unequal results in terms of the number of news reports published by each online newspaper, as there is a very large difference

between the number of reports published by *ABC* and the other two newspapers in the Spanish corpus (149 against 26 and 29). As for the English corpus, there is also a considerable difference between the number of reports published by *The Independent* and the other two sources (55 against 18 and 22). As the time frame was equivalent in both languages (seven natural days), the reason for this difference may be the simple fact that online newspapers can produce and modify news reports constantly as there is no ‘print’ deadline; thus, some media companies can produce more reports per day than others. In any case, the statistical analyses are applied considering this difference and they are taken as independent groups; therefore, this constitutes no limitation for the study.

Apart from this difference, there are two more that need to be commented. The first one concerns the length of the news reports; as observed, some sources (*El País* and *The Telegraph*) contain reports that are usually much larger than the rest, as seen by the average length of each newspaper. Once again, it does not convey a limitation for the analysis in account of the statistical tests applied. The second and last one is the size of each corpus, which might seem the most epistemological difference. The Spanish corpus is approximately twice the size of the English corpus. In numerical terms, this may seem a problem as one would expect to find more conceptual metaphors in the former than in the latter in total, yet it is the relative frequency that must be observed. In addition, and in line with the aforementioned steps, careful statistical tests are applied in each case so that the number of words does not produce unbiased results.

Section 2 has informed about the different data collection steps followed, starting by crawling the webs of each newspaper to retrieve all the reports, following by a cleaning process done manually and finishing by organizing the results for the subsequent step, that of identifying the metaphors within, which is to be explained in Section 3.

Before commenting on metaphors, and in reference to the different typologies of corpus that have been mentioned in Chapter II, it has to be pointed out that this corpus-based study falls within the typologies of specialized (economy), multilingual (in this case, bilingual) corpuses.

3. METAPHOR IDENTIFICATION

Having crawled, cleaned and organized the corpus, the next step in the analysis is to identify the discursive, cognitive element that is the focus of the study as a whole: metaphor. However, finding metaphor in corpus, as introduced in Chapter II, is not a simple task and there have been many studies and attempts approaching metaphor identification and retrieval from a corpus in the last decades (Martin 1990; Fass 1991; Mason 2004; Stefanowitsch 2006; Praggeljaz Group 2007; Seen et al. 2010; Berber Sardinha 2011). For this study, a set of logically organized steps was followed: first, a list of common targets within the economy was drawn, which was then used to locate potential metaphorical patterns in the corpus by means of a corpus tool and thus retrieved and organized according to different criteria. Each of these steps is explained in turn in each of the following subsections.

3.1. TARGET-BASED ANALYSIS

The objective of the study was not to analyse all the metaphors used within a corpus of economic reports, but, as stated in Chapter I, to observe if economic terms were used metaphorically and, if so, how, and the potential implications this could have. In view of this, the first step in the process of metaphor retrieval was to decide on which terms were to be searched for in the corpus.

A list of 26 common targets was drawn following previous studies on the discourse and language of the economy (Orts-Llopis & Rojo-López 2009; Rojo-López & Orts Llopis 2010). However, for reasons of length and time, such list was then reduced to its half, *id est*, to the 13 most common target domains in the field. To draw this final list, two general corpora (one in Spanish and one in English) were used as a reference: Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (CREA), or Present-Day Spanish Reference Corpus (my translation) and the British National Corpus (BNC henceforth). This stage is explained in the following subsection, followed by a second one that focuses on the use of the corpus tool once the list had been formed.

3.1.1. TARGETS SELECTION: CREA AND BNC

CREA is a reference corpus formed by texts of different nature stored in a digital, accessible format, from which Spanish language can be studied. Its last version (published in June 2008), contains about 160 million words, coming from both oral and written texts and produced in different Spanish speaking countries from 1975 to 2004. The written part of the corpus is composed mainly by literature (books) and newspapers and magazines that cover a wide range of domains, including economics or politics; the spoken part, on the other hand, contains transcriptions of radio and television documents, mainly⁷. The annotated version used for this study was not created until 2015 (version CREA 0.1, available at <http://web.frl.es/CREA/view/inicioExterno.view>).

On its part, the BNC contains about 100 million words (in its last edition, *BNC XML Edition*, released in 2007), also from both written (90% of the entire corpus) and spoken (10%) language from different English-speaking countries from the later part of the 20th century. The written corpus is formed by different newspapers and journals, academic book and popular fiction, letters and school's essays, among other genres. Concerning the spoken part, it consists of transcriptions of informal conversations and government meetings or radio-shows, among others⁸. The last version can be downloaded or accessed via different platforms, such as the *BNCWeb at Lancaster University*, which is the one used for this study (available online through free registration at <http://bncweb.lancs.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bncXML/BNCquery.pl?theQuery=search&urlTest=yes>).

The aforementioned original list of domains to be contrasted with the two reference corpora included a list of terms that are commonly found in the language of the economy and finance: *bank, capital, company, consumption, credit, crisis, currency, debt, demand, economy, entity, finance, FTSE* (English only), *goods, IBEX* (Spanish only)⁹, *index, investor, market, money, product, recession, raw material, sales, sector, shares and supply*.

⁷ Information retrieved from the website of the Real Academia de la Lengua Española (Royal Spanish Academy). Available at <http://www.rae.es/recursos/banco-de-datos/crea>. Last accessed: 05/03/2018.

⁸ Information retrieved from the section 'What is BNC?' within the website of the BNC, available at <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/corpus/index.xml>. Last accessed 06/03/2018.

⁹ The *FTSE 100* (abbreviated form of *Financial Times Stock Exchange 100 Index*) is the benchmark index in the British Stock Market, formed by the 100 companies with the highest capitalization. Its equivalent in Spain is the

Once the lists were drawn, the contrasts with the reference corpuses were performed in turn. In order to do so, there were some filters to be considered. Both CREA and BNC offer the user the option to limit the size of the search and only look at, for instance, written texts in economic newspapers. The filters available were different but equivalent in both languages, and they were as follows:

- CREA: time frame (all), origin (Spain), format (written), section (nonfiction), medium (press), topic (politics, economy and justice).
- BNC: time frame (all), format (written), text domain (informative), derived text (newspaper), topic (commerce, politics, law and education).

Each target domain was searched for in each corpus considering the filters; it is important to note that it was the lemma that was used as the search starting point, so that, for example, the frequency of the domain ‘market’ considered all cases, including plurals or derivatives.

- Practical issues in the analysis process

One important factor that had to be supervised was homograph words and polysemy; for instance, the term “capital” (both in Spanish and English) may refer to the city where the country has its government and main organizations or to the money or property available; thus, where needed and if allowed by the searching tool, more filters had to be applied so that only those cases referring to the correct case were taken into account for the frequency of the domain as a whole.

Another example concerns the domain “bank” in English, which can stand both for “banca” and “banco” in Spanish, yet the term “banco” in Spanish can refer to the building where money is stored but also to a bench to sit on. This implies that, for example, searching for the lemma {banc*} in the CREA provided with a very large number of cases, but these included derivatives of the latter meaning (the seat). To solve this problem, it was decided that only the feminine case was to be searched in the CREA, so as to eliminate all those cases and avoid

IBEX 35 (or *Indice Bursátil Español*), which comprises, in this case, 35 companies. Since they are used respectively in their languages, they have been taken as 1 term (26 in total for each language) but searched individually in each corresponding reference corpus.

having an unbiased frequency (even though all cases referring to the economy were retrieved from our corpus in the indicated step).

Concerning the English corpus, a troublesome case was the word “good”, which can be both an adjective and a noun. However, it was observed that, when referring to the economy and the market, it always appeared in its plural form; in view of this, the filter for plural cases was needed in this particular case. A similar example occurs with the term “demand”, which can be both a verb and a noun; as it is the noun that is specifically referred to the economy, a filter was also applied here.

As it occurs with these examples, for almost each term in each corpus, it required to set certain parameters so as not to obtain altered results that could mislead the word frequency.

- Frequency list

Once all of them had been individually annotated, the most frequent ones in each corpus were selected, organized and contrasted with the other language. Table 6 below gathers the 26 terms of each corpus ordered by relative frequency in the CREA and BNC, respectively:

Frequency	CREA	BNC
1	acción	company
2	mercado	share
3	sector	market
4	economía	bank
5	banca	investor
6	inversor	sale
7	crisis	finance
8	producto	economy
9	dinero	money
10	moneda	product
11	compañía	stock
12	finanzas	sector
13	entidad	debt
14	deuda	capital
15	bolsa	index
16	venta	recession
17	crédito	demand
18	capital	credit
19	oferta	consumption
20	consumo	currency
21	demanda	supply

22	índice	goods
23	bien	crisis
24	recesion	FTSE
25	materia	raw material
	prima	
26	IBEX	entity

Table 6: domains ordered by relative frequency in each reference corpus

As observed, most of the terms coincide as the most frequent within their corpuses. As already said, a final list of 13 items was desired for reasons of length and practicality. Among the 13 most common terms in both Spanish and English, there were 10 that coincide: *bank, company, economy, finance, investor, market, money, product, sector* and *share*.

To complete the list to be later searched for in our corpus, several decisions were needed:

- First, the term ‘crisis’ is the 7th most frequent term in Spanish, but it does not even appear among the 15 most frequent in English. However, the preferred term for crisis in English, ‘recession’, does. Moreover, it has to be noted that the reference corpus gathers texts which were produced before the economic recession that Europe went through in the last decade, which can justify the fact that is not found that frequently. In fact, it is arguable that, if searched in a corpus of texts produced in the last 10 years, the frequency would be much higher. Still, and in order to have comparable terms in all their senses, I decided to include both ‘crisis’ and ‘recession’ in the search list, as they are very frequently used (heard and read) terms in the newspapers. Last, they shall not be taken as entirely synonyms, as “recession” does not necessarily imply crisis, yet a “crisis”, among other factors, involve recession. As they may entail different connotations, both shall be considered.
- Second, the term ‘stock’, as in the Stock Market, appears among the 13 most frequent terms, although its Spanish equivalent ‘bolsa’, does not appear until the 15th position. Still, they were taken for the final list since it is the closest one in the Spanish list to the ‘top 13’ that has its counterpart among the most frequent in

English. Moreover, although this is not taken as a decisive criterion as all of them could be, it is expected to be a very productive term in terms of metaphors.

Thus, the final list of the 13 target domains which were to be used as a spotting tool for metaphorical patterns is as follows: *bank, company, crisis, economy, finance, investor, market, money, product, recession, sector, share* and *stock*. Once this list was set, the consequent stage consisted in finding the given domains in our corpus, which is to be explained next.

3.1.2. TARGETS RETRIEVAL: #LANCSBOX

#LancsBox (Brezina, McEnery & Wattam 2015) is a package corpus tool for the analysis of linguistic data developed at Lancaster University¹⁰. Its last downloadable and free version (updated in October 2017) includes annotated corpora in English, Spanish and Chinese, which makes it usable for our purposes, as its previous versions only included English.

Among its facilities and advantages, it allows users to explore its downloadable corpora, as well as build and explore their own corpus in any of the three languages mentioned above. Moreover, it provides the absolute and relative frequencies of each term in the corpus by means of the *Whelk* tool, collocations and collocation networks by the *GraphColl* tool and, being the main concern for this study, it allows the user to find keywords in context (together with co-text) and retrieve them from the interface, by using the *KWIC* tool. This turns very useful as it permits to locate the selected target domains within context and therefore facilitates the retrieval of potential metaphorical patterns. Figure 5 below shows an example of what the tool provides when asked to search for the domain *market/mercado* in the individual corpus of the newspapers *Público* and *The Guardian*. As observed, it shows the specific document (news report) in which each case appears, as well as the immediate co-text of the node or target domain. Moreover, it allows to compare two different corpora simultaneously, which is very practical when comparing both languages.

¹⁰ Information retrieved from the ‘What is *#LancsBox*?’ section on <http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/lancsbox/index.php>. Last accessed on 30/03/2018

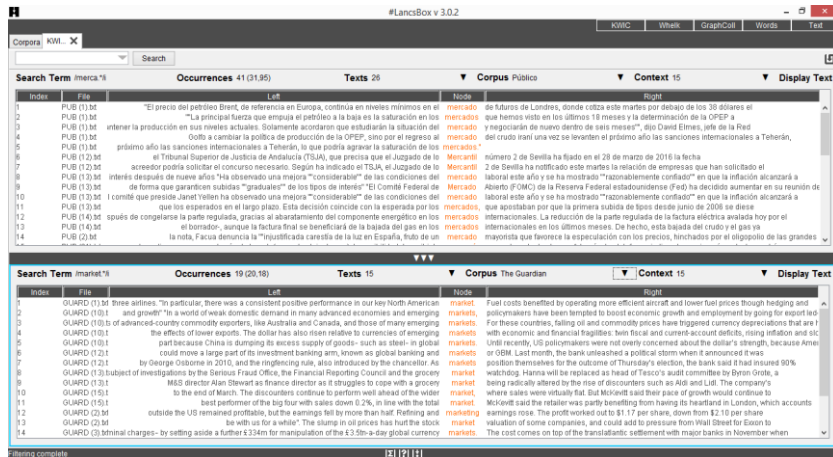


Figure 5: KWIC of the term 'market/mercado' in the newspapers *Público* and *The Guardian* on #LancsBox tool.

Concerning the frequency and distribution of each of the targets, this can be done by the *Whelk* option of the program, as shown in Figure 6. As can be seen in the example, which shows the results of the search for the domain 'mercado' in the Spanish newspaper *Público*, alongside its derivatives (*mercantil*, *mercados*, *mercantiles*, etc.), this tool provides information about the total number of tokens of the lemma, their total frequency and, most importantly, their relative frequency:

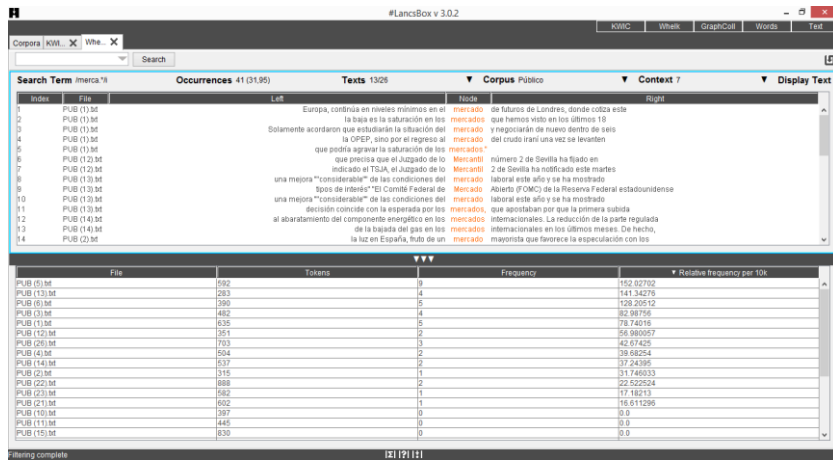


Figure 6: Tokens, frequency and relative frequency of the domain 'market' and its derivatives in the corpus of *Público*

Once all the corpora were loaded in the program, searching for each domain, findings in context (and thus, its co-text) as well as its frequency was a relatively easy task. The next stage in the analysis was directly related to the core element of my study: metaphor. By means of

#*LancsBox*'s tools, it consisted in finding and retrieving all the cases of each individual case so that they could be analysed and the metaphorical patterns could be annotated.

3.2. METAPHORICAL PATTERN ANALYSIS

As introduced, in 2006, Stefanowitsch & Gries published an edited book called 'Corpus-based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy', in which they collect articles by several scholars performing corpus-based studies of metaphor in different contexts or types of discourse, as Semino on metaphors for speech activity or Koller on metaphor in business media discourse. In the introductory chapter of the volume (ibid.: 1-16) Stefanowitsch summarizes the main existing (to that date) strategies for extracting metaphors from corpora, which have been already explained in Chapter II, alongside their potential drawbacks. However, it is another chapter and another method presented in the volume that concerns us for the present study: the so-called Metaphorical Pattern Analysis (MPA) (ibid.: 63-105).

One of the main concerns that hinders metaphor identification is the fact that "conceptual metaphors are not tied to specific lexical items, and in particular, they do not all contain lexical items from the target domain" (ibid.: 65). As he justifies in the first chapter of the volume, methods which only focus on the target domain or on the source domain always present disadvantages or limitations and have the risk of missing potential metaphors or imply an informed previous knowledge of the field they analyse. That is why, instead of focusing on isolated lexical domains, he focuses this method on what he calls "metaphorical patterns", which he defines as

a multi-word expression from a given source domain (SD) into which one or more specific item from a given target domain (TD) have been inserted. (ibid.: 66)

In other words, it refers to those expressions in which not only the target domain is found but also the source, and in close proximity to the former. To serve as example and further explanation, the following set of potential metaphorical expressions can be contrasted. The first one applies this approach (observing target and source) while, in the second one, only the source

is found in the text. The examples used are widely known within the metaphor community as they are found in Lakoff & Johnson's volume (1980):

(1) ARGUMENT IS WAR (1980: 4)

Source domain: WAR

Target domain: ARGUMENT

- a. *Your claims are indefensible.*
- b. *His criticisms were right on target.*
- c. *He shot down all of my arguments.*

(2) LOVE IS WAR (1980: 49)

Source domain: WAR

Target domain: LOVE

- a. *He is known for his many rapid conquests.*
- b. *He fled from her advances.*
- c. *He is slowly gaining ground with her.*

Comparing the examples from (1) to the examples in (2), one observes that in the first set there is information about the target (*claims, criticisms, arguments*) and the common source domain (*indefensible, on target, shot down*) and, therefore, it is easy to link both domains and recognize the metaphorical pattern. On the other hand, the examples in (2) contain information about the source (*conquests, advances, gaining ground*) but no specific reference to the target domain (love) is made, and, if isolated, it is not possible to establish the conceptual metaphor, or the reader would have to infer information which does not need to be inferred using MPA as it is already there. Stefanowitsch admits that using metaphorical expressions containing both target and source domains had already been used, but he claims that such case should be treated as a particular and different case and recognized as so, which is why he coined the term 'metaphorical pattern' (defined above) (ibid.: 66).

In sum, applying MPA is a reliable method for those researchers aiming at locating the most concurring metaphorical patterns within a specific corpus. It is even more productive if the analysis is based on an informed set of target domains as this study in question, since it implies

that, by means of a corpus tool, the patterns can be easily and confidently located in the text. Besides, the fact that it allows quantification is in line with recent claims on the need for quantitatively proved metaphor analysis, based on reliable methods rather than introspection alone. Some recent works within our field of interest that have applied this method and served to prove its reliability and effectivity in practical terms include Rojo-López & Orts-Llopis's studies on Spanish economic discourse and translation of economic terms in English and Spanish (2008, 2010; see also Orts-Llopis & Rojo-López, 2009); Chung's analyses of the case of the term *growth* in political speeches in the United States (2009); Soares da Silva's study of the conceptualization of austerity in the Portuguese press (2013); Muelas-Gil's (2016) corpus-based approach to metaphorical patterns used to talk about the Stock Market in the English and Spanish press; or Soares da Silva et al. (2017) recent study on the different conceptualization of key pre-selected terms (namely: *austerity*, *cut* and *debt*) related to the Global crisis in Portugal, Spain and Ireland by the press of the three countries.

3.2.1. GENERIC AND SPECIFIC METAPHORS

Another important advantage which MPA brings is that in sentences containing metaphorical expressions as those in (1), it does not only give us information about the relationship between the two generic concepts or, in other words, the generic mapping ARGUMENT IS WAR; the researcher can also retrieve information about more specific mappings. Figure 7 below serves as an example or explanation of this. As can be seen, from the metaphorical expression we do not only retrieve the generic mapping DISCUSSION IS WAR, but we can also relate the specific words that appear in the expression (*shot down*) to the component of the source domain they refer to (in this case, *missiles*). Therefore, we obtain the more specific mapping ARGUMENTS ARE MISSILES. What is more, this multiple extraction can be extended and result in other potential specific relationship if the used words allow for multiple possibilities within the source field, which would provide the researcher with a wider set of mappings in the corpus. This is a very important advantage of this method as it allows “to investigate the correspondences between source and target domain at a level of detail not usually found in studies of metaphor” (ibid.: 67).

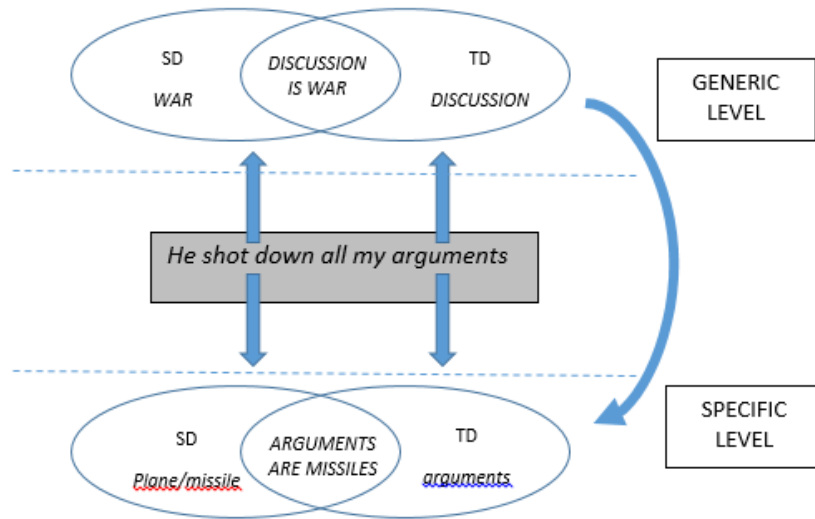


Figure 7: Generic and specific mappings obtained applying MPA

Methodologically speaking, once the metaphorical patterns were retrieved by searching the list of domains in *#LancsBox*, each one of them was classified according to this specific/generic dichotomy. Still, there is yet one more advantage of the method that is applicable in this work.

3.2.2. MULTIPLE-METAPHOR RETRIEVAL

In relation to the chained extraction of generic and specific metaphors, MPA can also identify multiple metaphors within the same expression, as there might be two targets in close proximity to a common element of the source domain and therefore allow the researcher to extract two different mappings. In the next example (3), there are two different targets within the same expression (*eyes* and *anger*, which are part of the two corresponding source domains *ORGANS* and *EMOTIONS*); they are in close proximity to a common source domain word (*filled*), which maps into the concept of *CONTAINER*. Thus, we do not only obtain the mapping *ORGANS ARE CONTAINERS*, but also *EMOTIONS ARE LIQUIDS* (found within such containers) (ibid.: 69):

(3) *His eyes were filled with anger.*

TD1: anger → EMOTIONS

TD2: eyes → ORGANS

SD: The container was filled with liquid → CONTAINERS / LIQUIDS

General mappings: EMOTIONS ARE LIQUIDS

ORGANS ARE CONTAINERS

Specific relations: anger → liquid, eye → container

This is a really important advantage of the method, and it needs to be carefully applied. In any case, it means that the number of metaphorical patterns found in the corpus do not necessarily mean that there is exactly the same amount of metaphors in the corpus as a whole; in other words, applying MPA means that there is a higher number of metaphors in the corpus than metaphorical patterns referring exclusively to the 13 target domains of the list.

To sum up, MPA proves to have a comprehensive set of advantages that make it applicable for our study. Since it focuses on specific domains of the field of economy, using the list of domains to locate and retrieve potential metaphors could be systematically done. However, and as it occurs with all methods, it does have a limitation that needed to be faced. In all the aforementioned studies, MPA provides reliable quantitative results that can further prove that Stefanowitsch approach is on the right track for metaphor identification in real discourse. Still, even if it offers numerical results of the metaphorical load of discourse, intuition is always needed when it comes to deciding whether a metaphorical pattern is in fact metaphorical or not. Sometimes, the co-text and context are enough to make such decision, and the previous knowledge and cultural knowledge, together with their training on metaphor studies, are also taken as valid decision-makers. Nevertheless, there is still a chance of misunderstanding a concrete expression or even oversee metaphors in the corpus. In fact, that is one of the limitations (among others) that several scholars wanted to deal with and solve by presenting another metaphor identification method: the well-known Metaphorical Identification Procedure (Pragglejaz Group, 2007) and its further extension into MIPVU (Steen et al. 2010). It was decided to apply this as a complementary method to try to verify whether the metaphorical patterns retrieved were used metaphorically or not. This method, introduced in the next sub-

section, follows a fixed list of steps that help the analyst to check whether a word is metaphorical or not.

3.3. MIP AND MIPVU

Chapter II has already introduced the background information of the Metaphor Identification Procedure, developed by the Pragglejaz Group for several years and finally presented in 2007, under the following rationale (see Steen et al. 2010):

(metaphorical meaning) arises out of a contrast between the contextual meaning of a lexical unit and its more basic meaning, the latter being absent from the actual context but observable in others. For instance, when a lexical unit like *attack* or *defend* is used in a context of argumentation, its contextual meaning has to do with verbal exchange. However, this is an indirect meaning, in the sense of Lakoff (1986, 1993) and Gibbs (1994), because it can be contrasted with the more basic meaning of these words in other contexts, which involves physical engagement between people. Since the basic meaning can afford a mapping to the contextual meaning on the grounds of some form of nonliteral comparison, all uses of *defend* and *attack* in contexts of argumentation can be analysed as metaphorical. (6)

Thus, they started this approach from the need for an empirical procedure which justified how and when to differ from the basic and the metaphorical meaning of a word or expression in natural discourse. Moreover, they tried to formulate and also find an answer to a set of questions that, according to them, the researcher needs to ask himself/herself before the analysis (ibid.: 13): (1) What counts as a stable unit of analysis?; (2) What is an adequate description of contextual (situation specific) meaning?; (3) What is a generally motivated description of basic meaning?; (4) What is the degree of distinctness between the two meanings?; and (5) What is the degree of similarity between the two meanings?

After six years and several attempts, they finally presented a four-step procedure (see Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3), alongside a list of indications concerning the essential information that all researchers should report when applying this procedure in order for it to be informed and reliable enough (such as text details, the assumed readership, decisions concerning lexical units,

details of the resources, the coding process, the analysts involved, any subsequent analysis and the results proved statistically) (ibid.).

1. Read the entire text/discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text/discourse.
3. A. For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, i.e. how it applies to an entity, relation or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.
B. For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be:
 - more concrete;
 - what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, – smell, and taste; related to bodily action;
 - more precise (as opposed to vague);
 - historically older.Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.
C. If the lexical unit has a more basic current/contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
4. 4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

They also provided a detailed explanation of some of the main issues in applying the method. These include discursive issues (concerning the type of discourse to which MIP is applied) and linguistics norms (concerning decisions on the different linguistic forms that may be found in discourse and whether they decided to treat them metaphorically or not, such as multiwords, polywords, phrasal verbs, idioms, fixed collocations, or cases of different word class - i.e. *squirrel* as a noun and as a verb). Moreover, they refer to decisions made concerning how to

establish the basic meaning of a word in order to contrast it to the contextual meaning or how they dealt with other linguistic forms as metonymy or simile (Steen et al. 2010).

It was precisely some of these last issues that led Steen, together with other scholars from the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam to put the method into practice and try to face and solve the potential limitations of the original method (Steen 2007). To mention some, they started this new variant from the premises that, for instance, not distinguishing word class could involve misconceptions of metaphorical use, as well as a mistaken conception taking human-oriented and historically older meanings as the concrete ones, when it does not always need to be the case as he claims. Another issue they address is the troublesome identification of the contextual meaning in spoken discourse or in specialized language (2007). These were some of the reasons that led this team of researchers to try to find an extension or variant of MIP, which they finally presented in 2010 under the name of MIPVU (VU standing for Vrije Universiteit, where this project took place).

Before referring to the steps specified by the newest approach, which was the one applied in this study, there are some important differences between both methods, which are then summarized in Table 7 (see Krennmayr & Steen, 2017: 1061). To start with, MIPVU does not only focus on indirect expressions as MIP did, but also pays attention to other direct forms like simile or analogy, and to implicit metaphors via, for instance, pronouns or ellipsis; they also operate at the level of concepts rather than linguistic forms and lexical units and they do differ between word classes; moreover, they rely on three different dictionaries instead of one, with their corresponding guidelines (Steen et al. 2010: 21).

	MIP	MIPVU
Definition of basic meaning	More concrete, related to bodily action, more precise (as opposed to vague), historically older	More concrete, related to bodily action, more precise (as opposed to vague)
Lexical units	Crosses word class	Does not cross word class
Dictionaries	MacMillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners	MacMillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners; Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online; Oxford English Dictionary
Types of metaphors coded	Metaphor and non-metaphor	Metaphor-related words (indirect metaphor, direct

metaphor, implicit
metaphor), metaphor
signals, ambiguous
metaphor, possible
personification

Table 7: Main differences between MIP and MIPVU (Krennmayr and Steen, 2017: 1061)

The 6-step method was presented as follows (Steen et al. 2010: 25-26):

1. Find metaphor-related words (MRWs) by examining the text on a word-by word basis.
2. When a word is used indirectly, and that use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning of that word, mark the word as metaphorically used (MRW).
3. When a word is used directly, and its use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text, mark the word as direct metaphor (MRW, direct).
4. When words are used for the purpose of lexico-grammatical substitution, such as third person personal pronouns, or when ellipsis occurs where words may be seen as missing, as in some forms of co-ordination, and when a direct or indirect meaning is conveyed by those substitutions or ellipses that may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning, referent, or topic, insert a code for implicit metaphor (MRW, implicit).
5. When a word functions as a signal that a cross-domain mapping may be at play, mark it as a metaphor flag (MFlag).
6. When a word is a new-formation coined, examine the distinct words that are its independent parts according to steps 2 through 5.

3.3.1. MIPVU AND SPANISH

One of the main, if not the most important, issues concerning the application of MIPVU to our corpus was the lack of a reliable, empirically tested method in Spanish. Both MIP and MIPVU were developed for metaphor identification in English mainly, and the methodological issues such as the distinction of lexical units, multiwords, fixed expressions, etc. were faced and solved for this language. However, over the last decades there has been a crescent demand for

the method to be applicable to other languages, and some advances have taken place indeed. In spite of how similar some might be (as Romance languages as Spanish or Portuguese, for example), there will always be idiosyncrasies among them, which is why the application of a method designed for just one language will necessarily convey adjustments; it was precisely such demand what brought a group of scholars, led by Susan Nacey, to start a project (called '*MIPVU in multiple languages*', which ran from 2016 to 2017, see <https://app.cristin.no/projects/show.jsf?id=521344>) in which researchers from all over the world could participate by attempting to apply MIPVU to their languages (in Nacey et al., forthcoming). Thus, the method has been recently applied to several languages within this project, including Dutch, German, Scandinavian languages, French, Russian, Serbian, Polish, Lithuanian, Sesotho, Uzbek, Chinese and Ancient Egyptian.

However, the project does not include any approximation of the method to Spanish. In fact, and to the best of my knowledge, not many scholars have presented an alternative view to this language. Berri and Bregant (2015) discuss several methodological issues when applying MIPVU to distinguish metonymy in discourse in Argentinian Spanish; Williams Camus (2016) has recently presented an application of the method to identify cancer treatment metaphors in the Spanish and English press. Although both indicate that they use MIP or MIPVU in their analysis, none of them tackle precise methodological procedure issues that are specific or different in the Spanish language than in English, such as specific expressions in Spanish or syntactical constructions (reflexive verbs, the use of the particle "se", the lack of modal verbs to mark, for instance, a conditional aspect, which is indicated by the suffix, etc.). They seem to follow the exact same process as in the original method, without facing those linguistic specific issues which, to my understanding and following Nacey et al. (forthcoming) suppose the aforementioned adjustments.

In conclusion, for reasons of length and time, this thesis does not attempt to present a fixed application of the method to Spanish; however, I did follow the established steps presented by Steen et al. (2010) and then observed those language-specific cases that were troublesome individually when found in our corpora. Concerning the dictionaries used for the Spanish application of MIPVU, I have used the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* by the Real Academia Española as the primary reference dictionary and the digital version of the *Diccionario del Uso*

del Español María Moliner as a secondary reference in case of doubt. Finally, when the etymology of a word was required, the Diccionario Etimológico Español en Línea was consulted.

This section has reviewed the two methods that were applied in this study. The central method was Metaphorical Pattern Analysis, but it was complemented by a second method which is being extensively applied in the last years, MIPVU, so as to corroborate that the metaphorical patterns originally retrieved with MPA were, indeed, metaphorically used.

3.4. MPA AND MIPVU COMBINED

As explained, the first and principal method used to identify metaphors in this corpus was MPA. Although MIPVU presents a lot of advantages agreed upon the metaphor community, there are two main reasons that justified the use of the former as the main method and the latter as the second one.

To start with, the fact that no specific methodology has been explained in the metaphor community concerning Spanish language is the first limitation that it has; although there are some guidelines and they were in fact applied in the study, personal decisions were needed when facing linguistic-specific features of Spanish.

Moreover, MIPVU is a very reliable method to identify all the metaphors in a given corpus going through it word by word; however, as stated before, this concrete study focuses on a certain list of common domains within the specific field of economy and finance. If the purpose had been to analyse the metaphorical use of all words in the text, MIPVU alone would have been justified. Nevertheless, and considering that a corpus tool helps to locate any term or domain very easily, it is more practical to use a method that has also been applied before (and is therefore a reliable one) and focuses on these terms alone, even if then more metaphors can be found in the immediate co-text.

In conclusion, the nature and characteristics of each method was considered. It is my belief that different methods do not need to exclude each other but that, on the contrary, they can be used combined and complementing each other, leading to even more contrasted and therefore reliable outcomes.

Once the metaphors had been identified and retrieved from the corpus by means of this combined methodology of MPA plus MIPVU, they needed to be classified both quantitatively and qualitatively in order to provide and discuss an informed and detailed explanation of why the metaphors retrieved from the corpus in question had been found. The next section of this chapter will present the classification and distinction criteria and methods adopted in this study.

4. METAPHOR CLASSIFICATION

As introduced in Chapter II, this study followed different classificatory criteria, as it divided the metaphors in view of different reasons that do not exclude each other. Apart from differentiating between specific-level and generic-level, the present method separated the retrieved metaphors according to:

- (1) the cultural schema they presented, obtaining
 - a. propositional schemas
 - b. image schemas
 - c. event schemas
- (2) their level of conventionality, obtaining
 - a. conventional economic metaphors
 - b. novel or creative economic metaphors
- (3) their belonging to one or both cultures, obtaining
 - a. culture-dependent metaphors, or domestic metaphors
 - b. ‘universal’, ‘near-universal’ or, as I preferred to coin them, international metaphors

Next, each subsection will explain how the metaphors were divided in each of the three categories. Before doing so, however, it needs to be reminded that the first division made through the identification procedures separated them into generic or specific metaphors. This meant that the number of specific metaphors found was expected to be larger than the number of generic metaphors (since a generic metaphor can provide several specific metaphors); for each classification, the study considered only the generic metaphors as a reference, only the specific metaphors, or both. This will be specified in each corresponding subsection:

4.1. STRUCTURAL SCHEMAS

As explained in the previous chapter, dividing the obtained metaphors according to this criterion meant that it was their inner structure and what it conveyed that was considered. Previous studies taken as models for this classification include Soares da Silva (in Romano & Porto, 2016) and Soares da Silva et al. (2017), apart from others, also commented in Chapter II,

that applied Moreno Lara's taxonomy (that she had applied to politics) (2008). These schemas are relevant to our study because of its contrastive nature, as it compares two different cultures, and these schemas together constitute the so-called *cultural schemas* (Sharifian 2015), which refer to how different cultures understand and reason differently, depending on the world around them and their interaction with it.

Each one of them shall be explained in turn. Concerning which metaphors were taken for the classification in this stage, only the generic-level ones were considered. This was justified by the fact that if a metaphor instantiated the event schema THE ECONOMY IS A RACE, all the specific metaphors derived from it (ECONOMISTS ARE RACERS, or PRODUCTS ARE RACING CARS, for instance) also instantiated the same event. Then, only the most generic one was taken into account in this three-way classification.

4.1.1. PROPOSITIONAL SCHEMAS

Propositional schemas are “abstractions which act as models of thought and behaviour” (Quinn 1987, in Sharifian 2011) and represent relations between the different elements of the metaphorical mappings within the expressions found in discourse. They serve as a mirror of how discourse participants reason and think and how we conceptualize terms in terms of human thought and behaviour, living entities such as animals or plants, natural and supernatural forces such as weather conditions or catastrophes, or physical or immaterial objects (Soares da Silva et al. 2017). This approach is in line with the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING (already introduced), which starts from the basis of the next chain of natural beings: humans, animals, plants and complex and natural objects; and it accounts for those metaphorical expressions that attribute, for instance, natural beings' characteristics and behaviours to other animate or inanimate elements (Lakoff & Turner 1989, Musolff 2005). For example, in the language of the Stock Market it is very common to hear of “bulls” and “bears” in Wall Street (Charteris-Black 2000, Cortés de los Ríos 2010, Vasiloaia et al. 2011), albeit these are not animals but investors and investment attitudes. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor INVESTORS ARE ANIMALS would be classified according to the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING. In fact, and referring back to the generic-specific dichotomy discussed above, Kövecses (2010: 153) includes the more generic-level metaphor of

HUMAN IS ANIMAL in this category, among many other examples. In close relation to this and following Soares da Silva et al.'s model, propositional schemas are, for instance, “those in which austerity is conceptualized as human behaviour, a family, a house or building, living beings (animals and plants), illnesses, natural forces, supernatural forces, objects and machines, in the main” (ibid.). Let us observe the next example taken from their study of the conceptualization of austerity, in this case in the Portuguese press in 2012 (English translation provided in the article, 2017):

(1) *Ya es incapaz de ocultar sus fracasos: al **traje** de la austeridad se le abren las costuras pese a sus aparatos de propaganda, y por ellas asoma la Galicia real* (País, 08.01.12)

*‘(Feijóo’s Gov.) is incapable of hiding its failures: all the seams of the **suit** of austerity are being broken despite the propaganda apparatus, and the real Galicia can be seen through them’*

As observed, the authors underline the target domain of the study (one of the three domains, together with *cuts* and *debt*), and retrieve the metaphorical pattern (TD - *austerity*; SD - *suit*). Thus, in this metaphorical expression human attributes (wearing clothes, more concretely a suit) are given to an inanimate, abstract entity as *austerity*. In other words, *austerity* is conceived here as a human body or as a person who can wear clothes and, if we extend this, who can also take them off, even change them to other type of suits or clothes. However, as explained, only the more generic metaphors, (as in AUSTERITY IS A HUMAN BODY), were counted in this classification; if there were more specific ones, (such as ECONOMICAL MEASURES ARE CLOTHES, as I interpret it), they would count for the other two classificatory criteria (novelty/conventionality and internationality), but not for the present one. Concrete cases of this study will be commented in Chapter IV (Results and Analysis).

Concluding, all the cases that present a similar structure in our study were classified within the category of *propositional schemas*, as they were examples of how the discourse participants conceive an abstract entity in terms of human behaviour. Further cases of this structural schema include, for example, those when economic measures are conceived as weather conditions, as a family, a house or building, animals or plants, illnesses, natural and supernatural forces, objects and machines, mainly (Soares da Silva et al. 2017).

4.1.2. IMAGE SCHEMAS

Palmer defines image schemas as “intermediate abstractions – between mental images and abstract propositions –, that are readily imagined and clearly related to physical-embodied or social experience” (1996: 66, in Sharifian 2011: 9). In other words, they follow a skeletal structure or a schematic pattern (Croft & Cruse 2004) and derive from our experience and interaction with the world (Kövecses 2010: 43) such as how we move in and around the world that surrounds us, or how things around us go up and down, for instance.

Our experience and interaction with the world make our conceptual system conceptualize what we perceive in relation to those structural elements. Within the generic IMAGE SCHEMA there is the more concrete PATH SCHEMA, which conceptualizes the target as a path with a final destination and includes all the components in that path, same as we follow paths to reach our destination, both literally and metaphorically speaking about vital goals, for example. In Orts-Llopis & Rojo-López (2009), they apply this structure to financial operations, sub-dividing it into four types of metaphor based on this one (verticality, source-path-goal, container schema and journey), including the path image and other additional elements “such as the trajectory, his/her intended goal, the trajectory he/she describes, his/her position at a given time, his/her direction,...” (ibid.).

To serve as example, let us observe the next sentence, also retrieved from Soares da Silva et al. (2017), but in this case found in the Spanish press in 2012 (English translation also provided in the article):

(2) *Este recorte es, sin duda, **un paso más hacia el vacío cultural** (El País, 08.01.12)*

*‘This cut is, clearly, a **further step backwards** in the cultural vacuum’*

Again, the metaphorical pattern has been retrieved from the corpus, as we have a reference to one of the three targets (in this case, *cuts*) in close proximity to a source domain (*un paso más hacia.../ a further step backwards*), which in this case refers to the image schema of going forwards or backwards (in other words, the ‘front-back’ directional schema). Besides, this example also refers to the path-goal schema as going backwards/forwards involve a surface, a path. In fact, both schemas can be joined, obtaining a ‘path-front/back direction-goal’ structure in

which there is a final destination that, curiously enough, is not achieved in this case as the direction followed is backwards. This would be an example of negatively treated schemas, and a container of the ideological load of metaphors that has been discussed thoroughly in previous sections and which will be seen throughout this study in forthcoming sections as well. After all, all paths have a starting point and a final destination, and all travelers who go through the path can either go for the destination or come back to the start.

Finally, once again, we could obtain the more generic-level conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A PATH, and more specific-level ones as REACHING GOOD ECONOMIC STATUS IS GOING FORWARD ON THE PATH, AUSTERITY IS GOING BACKWARDS IN THE PATH, ECONOMIC MEASURES ARE STEPS ALONG THE PATH, etc. which, as occurs with the examples given before, would be counted in other classifications but not in this one, as only the generic was considered.

Further image schemas, apart from the front-back, which are common in the economy, include: force-weight, path, up-down, link, container and spiral (Soares da Silva et al. 2017). All metaphors falling within these (or similar) images were classified as *image schemas*. Specific examples of our study will be as well given in Chapter IV.

4.1.3. EVENT SCHEMAS

Event schemas involve abstractions from experiences of certain events (Shank & Abelson 1977, in Soares da Silva et al. 2017). They conceptualize a mapping between two very different events due to the similarity in their inner structures. For instance, Sharifian refers to cultural schemas as ‘funerals’ or ‘weddings’, events that are shared by the same community but which usually have different nature across cultures and involve culture-specific components (2011), such as giving gifts to the couple or not, celebrating a meal for the guests after the funeral, as it is done in the US, or not, as it is usually done in Spain and other European countries, and so on. These components are the sub-schemas that constitute the more general cultural schema that conceptualizes the target domain in question as an event.

However, even if the characteristics are apparently shared by the cultures which are being analysed, when the target domain is conceptualized as an event, they should be placed within this category. In the field of economics, for example, a common image schema would be THE MARKET IS A RACE, as the characteristics of races are comparable to what may occur in the Stock Market and therefore are used to conceptualize this: the speed, the competitive nature, the fact that there are winners and losers and that some companies may overtake others, etc. The latter characteristics can also exemplify specific-level relations as BROKERS ARE RACERS, INVESTORS ARE WAGERERS IN THE RACE, COMPANIES ARE VEHICLES, etc. In relation to the mentioned cultural factor, the type of race which is evoked can vary from one culture to another, depending on, for example, whether Formula-1 races are the most typical ones in that country, or whether horse races are the culturally-shared ones in another country.

To continue the line of the previous two schemas, another example taken from Soares Silva et al.'s study (2017) may serve as an illustration of this schema. In their corpus, they find that austerity and austerity policies are conceptualized in terms of certain events as war, competitive games, show business, household management, mission and medical practice, especially painful therapy or treatment. This is shown in the following example from their corpus, this time found in the Portuguese press in 2011:

(3) *Os cortes já previstos mas confirmados no acordo de resgate financeiro não serão batalhas fáceis. (Público, 18.06.11)*

'The cuts already planned but committed to the financial rescue agreement will not be easy battles.'

In this example, the metaphorical pattern found contains one of the three targets (*cuts*) in proximity to a source domain that in this case evokes an event that is commonly shared, as it is *war* (more concretely, we have the word *batalhas/battles*). The structure or schema of a war is complex, but it is of common knowledge that it involves battles, whether they are fought on land, sea or air, and the fact that these characteristics are used to talk about cuts imposed by the Government gives a warlike nature to it. Therefore, this sub-schema evokes the more generic one, THE ECONOMY IS A WAR; more concretely we can obtain more specific metaphors as AUSTERITY IS THE ENEMY, CUTS ARE ATTACKS, THE GOVERNMENT IS THE

ENEMY, etc. Once again, the ideological and persuasive load contained within the metaphorical expressions cannot be underestimated, as it is not the same and it does not provoke the same result to conceptualize the economy in terms of a conflictive, warlike event, as this case, or in terms of a lighter one as a competition or a show, regardless of the results they refer to.

To conclude, further common events through which the economy is conceptualized include, for instance; mission, game, business, and therapy, among others (Soares da Silva et al. 2017). All the metaphors in this study that conceptualize the target language through one of these events, or others, were classified as *event schemas*. This last point is in line with the forthcoming subsection. The list given provides a set of common events used to conceptualize the economy, *id est*, a list of *conventional* economic metaphors. If, by any chance, the event evoked is not commonly found in the economy (as compared to previous studies), they would be new events, *id est*, novel or creative event metaphors.

4.2. CONVENTIONAL AND NOVEL METAPHORS

I shall refer back to Deignan's words advocating for a different treatment towards conventional and novel metaphors, when she defends that they are "almost certainly processed in different ways" (2005: 108). That there are common domains in the economy, for instance, has been agreed along the years, having domains as the WAR, the GAME or the HUMAN BODY constantly used metaphorically to comment on economic affairs. However, there are also claims that metaphor is a creative discursive element that adapts to the culture, time and context in general where it is used, therefore leading to unconventional domains, which may be more difficult to grasp. Since our study analyses a domain that is common to all citizens (economy) but in a specific, ideologically load, period of time (pre-election), unconventional, novel, even re-contextualized metaphors were expected.

Unconventional metaphors, or novel metaphors, are not necessarily rooted in society and appear as new, creative expressions in a given discourse. In an article studying metaphorical creativity, which was first addressed in *More than a Cool Reason* by Lakoff & Turner (1989), one of the questions that Kövecses (2010a) tries to answer concerns the origin of unconventional metaphors, and he defines metaphorical creativity as

the production and use of conceptual metaphors and/or their linguistic manifestations that are novel or unconventional (with the understanding that novelty and unconventionality are graded concepts that range from completely new and unconventional through more or less new and unconventional to well-worn, entrenched and completely conventional cases. (in *Cognitive Linguistics*, 21-4: 664)

In other words, he assumes that there is no black or white side concerning metaphor conventionality or novelty, or, in other words, there are not only two options. Instead, there is a scale which grades the level of metaphor novelty or unconventionality from completely unconventional metaphors, more or less unconventional and completely conventional or entrenched in discourse. I suggest adding a further grade in this scale which would refer to those semi-conventional cases, or cases which start to be less unconventional and more easily recognized in discourse. Figure 8 depicts a scale grading levels of conventionality/novelty, which was in fact applied in this study:

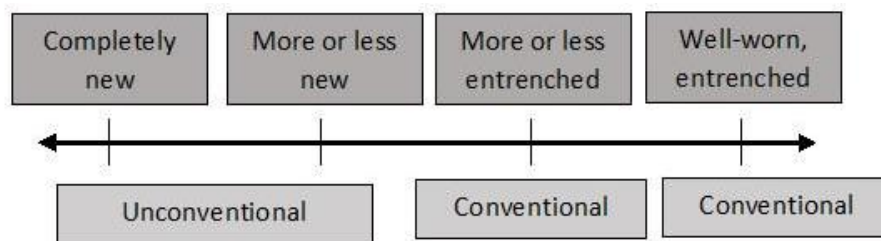


Figure 8: Scale of metaphor novelty/conventionality (inspired in Kövecses 2010a).

Before explaining each component of the dichotomy, I shall refer back to the classification of generic and specific level metaphors. In this concrete classification, both levels were counted in the analysis. This was justified by previous studies that had observed that conventional metaphors mainly occurred at the more generic levels, but a that there was a tendency towards creativity at the more specific ones. Referring back to an example already provided, we might find the generic-level event metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A RACE, but within this, more specific ones as ECONOMISTS ARE F1 RACERS, which is, to the best of my knowledge, not conventional in the economy. This is in close relation to cultural factors that may or may not be shared between the two cultures in the study, and therefore it is directly linked to the third classificatory category, commented in subsection 4.3. Before that, I shall specify the criteria following in this category for the study.

4.2.1. CONVENTIONAL METAPHORS

Even if there is no finite list of conventional metaphors of the economy, as introduced in Chapter II, there seems to be a more or less clear set of generic domains which are entrenched in this discourse community to one extent or another. Considering Kövecses's (2010a) proposal of the scale that grades the level of conventionality from completely conventional to completely unconventional, which I re-adjusted for the sake of this study, I approached the level of conventionality of the metaphors found in this corpus observing previous studies which had agreed to a great extent on which domains were more conventional than others. Once again, the degree of conventionality does not have a line that is clear-cut, and it can be open to discussion among scholars in the field; still, using a comparison or contrast with previous studies can be taken as a criterion to grade the level of conventionality of the expressions found.

Chapter II already introduced some of the most conventional domains within the field of the economy, alongside the studies from which they are taken or where they are found. However, I considered the following list of common domains (gathered in Table 8) as a reference list. It was drawn in close relation to the first classificatory stage (propositional schemas) and it included all the domains that have already been introduced in the previous section:

Conventional domains	
Propositional Schemas	Human being, weather conditions, family, house or building, animals or plants, illnesses, natural and supernatural forces, objects and machines.
Image Schemas	Front-back, force-weight, path, up-down, link, container and spiral.
Event schemas	War, competition, show, mission, game, business, therapy.

Table 8: List of conventional domains of the economy

Thus, all the metaphors found, both at a generic and at a specific level, that were conceptualized through one of the domains in Table 8 were tagged as 'conventional' or 'well-worn, entrenched' (following the scale in Figure 8). Also, if there was a case where the domain evoked was not in the list but it was very similar to one of them, it was considered as 'more or less entrenched' and, therefore, 'conventional' as well. The remaining cases would fall within the opposite category in this classification, which represents the other side of the scale, as explained next.

4.2.2. NOVEL OR CREATIVE METAPHORS

According to Kövecses, who had already distinguished between creativity based on the source domain of the metaphorical expression or conceptual metaphor and creativity based on the target domain, and also referred to what he coins as “context-induced creativity”, the different cases of metaphor creativity are as follows (2005):

- a. Source-induced creativity: those cases when a novel source domain, or novel elements of the source, are applied to a target domain
- b. Target-induced creativity: when the elements of a target which was not originally involved in a mapping are used and matching counterparts are found in the source.
- c. Creativity induced by source and target combined: the previous two would be interacting in metaphor creativity.
- d. Context-induced creativity: when various contextual factors (as the ones already discussed) lead to novel/unconventional metaphors.

In line with the scale mentioned above and with the domains included in Table 8, all the metaphors of the corpus that were not among the list components, were tagged as ‘novel’ or ‘creative’. This study then tried to find, in a qualitative way, an explanation for such creativity, following Kövecses’s list above. Finally, the fact that no neat boundary is traced between conventional and novel metaphors placed us in the intermediate point of the measuring scale. As well as those cases of metaphors not found in the list but very similar to one of the elements were considered as ‘more or less entrenched’ and thus, tagged as ‘conventional’, those cases that were not in the list and with almost no similarity (or none) found, were tagged as ‘more or less new’ or ‘completely new’, respectively or, in other words, ‘novel’ metaphors.

4.3. INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC METAPHORS

Last, but not least, this section reviews the last classification criteria followed in this study, which was performed once the previous two had been finished, or once the metaphors retrieved in the corpus had been classified according to their structural schemas and their degree of conventionality or novelty.

Chapter II has already introduced the theoretical underpinnings that concern this stage of classification, which shall not be repeated for reasons of length and to avoid unnecessary repetition. In that chapter, I have also introduced the denomination preferred for this study, that is, the dichotomy of ‘international’ versus ‘domestic’ metaphors in this study. To my understanding, claiming that a metaphor that appears in both Spanish and English is ‘universal’ or even ‘near-universal’ is too pretentious. Considering there are almost 7000 languages in the world, universality is nearly (if not entirely) impossible to tag. Thus, the criteria followed in this stage of the analysis can be metaphorically explained by reference to international and domestic flights. ‘International flights’ are those in which the plane crosses the borders of at least two countries. For example, a flight from Madrid to London crosses, at least, the border between Spain and France and then the one between France and the United Kingdom. On the other hand, a ‘domestic flight’ does not cross any border, as it joins two cities within the same country, such as, for example, a flight between Madrid and Barcelona.

It was expected that some of the metaphors retrieved in our corpus were found both in Spanish and English; these metaphors would be then considered as international, since they “cross” the borders between the two countries on which the study is based. On the contrary, if a given metaphor was exclusively found in one of the two corpuses (independently of which newspaper it is found in) it was tagged as ‘domestic’ metaphor.

Additionally, it has to be clarified that this dichotomy does not distinguish the language alone, but the culture (in the broadest sense). In other words, if the study compared metaphors in Argentinian press and Spanish press, the term ‘international’ would still be used if a metaphor was found in both corpuses, as, even if the language is the same, the culture is not, and geographical borders would have been “crossed”.

Finally, concerning the level of metaphoricity that is taken into account in this part of the study, and as done with the previous classification, only specific-level metaphors were counted here. As explained in Chapter II, most studies observing ‘universality’ of metaphors in the discourse of the economy agree on the ‘universal’ domains of the field (as summarized in Table 1) as well as on the fact that, if differences are to be found across cultures, this is most likely to occur at the most specific levels (Kövecses 2005, Vasiloaia et al. 2011). It is precisely for this

reason that I have focused on that level, so as to observe whether there is indeed an existing difference or not.

The last three subsections have explained the division criteria specifically applied in our study. To conclude this section, Figure 9 below summarizes all of them:

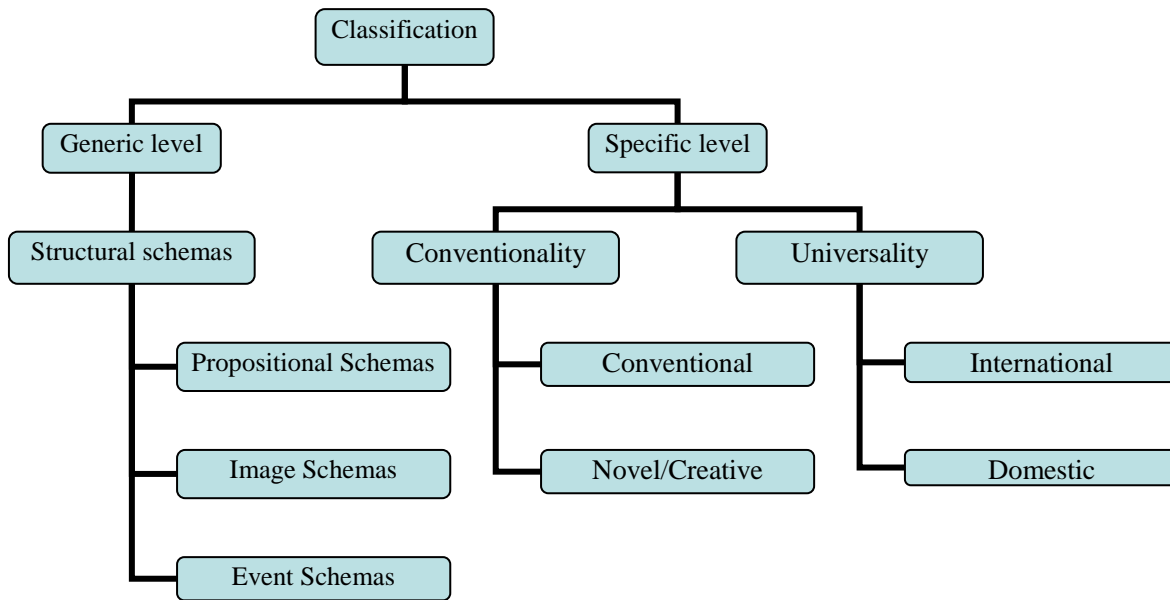


Figure 9: Classification criteria of the study

To conclude, we shall keep in mind that the different categories may interweave and therefore one metaphor can fall within the category of ‘generic’, ‘event schema’, ‘conventional’ and ‘domestic’. We shall resort to an example that has been given before to illustrate this more clearly: a corpus may provide an instantiation of the metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A GAME, which would be tagged as ‘generic’, ‘event schema’, ‘conventional’ and, if found in both corpora, ‘international’. However, observing the more specific instantiations, given that a metaphor like ECONOMISTS ARE F1 RACERS was obtained, it would be tagged as ‘specific’, ‘novel’ and, if found only in Spanish, ‘domestic’. Once again, this is but one tentative example, formulated *ad hoc* to explain the methodology. However, the results obtained with the analysis and concrete examples which will be commented in turn in Chapter IV. Moreover, the qualitative classification needed to be empirically tested so as to confirm the hypotheses and contrast this work to the existing literature; this could only be done via statistical tests for each and every stage of the classification, as detailed in the next section of this chapter.

5. STATISTICAL ANALYSES

In line with recent claims for empirically tested studies that do not only rely on interpretation alone (see references given in Chapter II), this work applied statistical studies so as to contrast and explain the quantitative results obtained in the analysis in an informed, reliable form.

For the present study, the software package SPSS v24.0.0 was applied. Its different tools were used individually for each stage of the preceding classification. Moreover, as the nature of this study is contrastive, comparing not only two languages but also three different ideologies, several tests were required, as there were both intralinguistic and interlinguistic comparisons at several levels. More concretely, Figure 10 below summarizes all the stages of the contrastive study. For each of the cells of the figure, a different test (contingency tables, Chi-square and Fisher's exact test principally) was applied. However, for practical reasons, the research questions of the study (see Chapter I) should better be taken as a reference as well, since one statistical test was applied for each one of them. This complex part of the study will be detailed in turn in the corresponding chapter so as to avoid its misunderstanding.

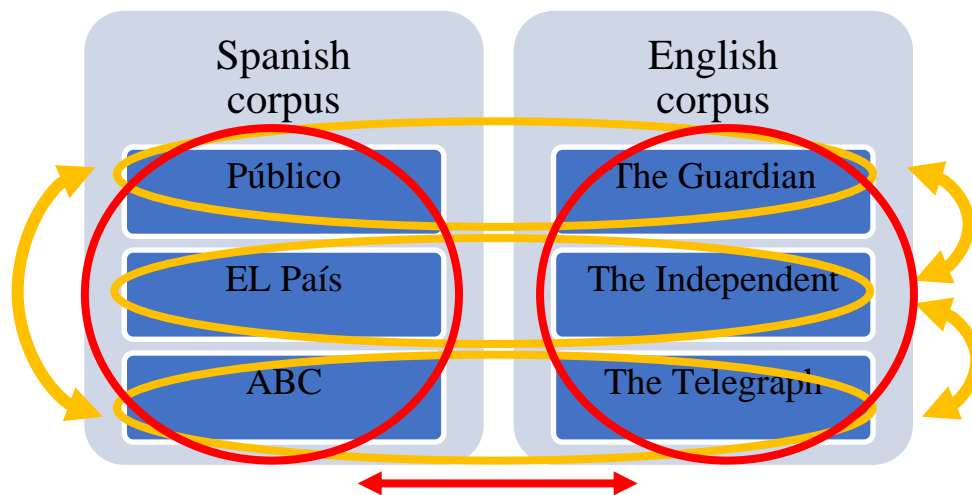


Figure 10: Intra and Inter linguistic levels of comparison

This section has briefly introduced the statistical program and the different tests of the statistical analysis of this work, a necessary step in order to produce more reliable and comparable results. All figures and tables will be detailed in Chapter IV, yet there was one last aspect to consider in the analysis and methodology of this work.

6. CRITICAL METAPHOR ANALYSIS: PERSUASION AND IDEOLOGY

This chapter has been divided according to the exact order followed in the analysis; for this reason, the most qualitative part is explained last, even though its theoretical underpinnings were explained at the beginning of Chapter II, previous to the more practical, methodological aspects (metaphor identification and classification), which, on the other hand, were performed first in the analysis.

In fact, following Charteris-Black proposal of a Critical Metaphor Analysis (2004), there are three steps (at least) to cover: identification, interpretation and explanation. The first two have already been explained; once all the metaphors had been located, retrieved, organized and classified according to all the criteria specified in the previous subsection, there was still a very important aspect to analyse or explain: ideology and persuasion. CMA is crucial in the study for many reasons. Mainly, the time frame of the study was of high significance, as the corpuses had been specifically retrieved in a very ideologically loaded period where power was intrinsically involved: the previous seven days to the general election of the country. We shall not repeat what has been exposed before, but it was required to recall the motivations for this stage of the analysis briefly.

As presented, the 3 different newspapers that form each corpus (Spanish or English) represent an ideological side in the political sphere: left, centre and right. During a political situation where the right-wing, conservative parties had been in government in both countries, and the economic recession suffered in Europe in the previous years was still latent, the stance of the media and their support was of critical importance. For this reason, a persuasive element as metaphor was also crucial in the discourse of these media sources.

Even though this is a more qualitative approach, as the analyst has to interpret the potential persuasive load of the metaphors found in the study, it is also a quantitative one, as persuasion can also be “counted” and statistically contrasted or tested. Thus, once all the metaphors had been qualitatively interpreted according to the two criteria exposed below, the results were also tested in SPS v24.0, as it had been done in the previous classification stages.

Thus, the interpretation of the ideological and persuasive load of metaphors was done through a two-fold method, as it observed two different, yet overlapping strategies: highlighting and hiding, on the one hand, and euphemism and dysphemism, on the other.

It is important to note here that it was not the conceptual metaphor that was considered in this part of the analysis, but the linguistic one (or the metaphorical pattern plus its immediate context) instead. Thus, the total number obtained in each category had to coincide with the total number of metaphorical expressions found in the corpus (1123). In other words, this part of the study analysed the metaphors in context in order to interpret them.

Finally, the two different strategies that are being analysed separately can be either found in isolation or in combination (having different potential combinations since each strategy has three different values). Examples will be provided in the following chapter.

6.1. METAPHOR HIDING AND HIGHLIGHTING

Van Dijk's differentiation of the "Us vs. Them" (1988) was taken as a starting point for this part of the analyses. Here, I did not focus on opponent subjects, but mainly on the way that positive or negative aspects were highlighted or hidden through metaphor.

If I had followed the four options proposed by Van Dijk (*ibid.*), our adapted criteria would have been as follows:

- a. It highlights the positive aspects of the economy
- b. It highlights the negative aspects of the economy
- c. It hides the positive aspects of the economy
- d. It hides the positive aspects of the economy

However, I considered that these four options might lead to redundancy, since where there are positive aspects, there are also negative ones, and then if I choose to highlight one, I am consequently hiding the other. Therefore, I simplified the criteria for this study, resulting in the following options:

- A. It highlights the positive or hides the negative aspects of the economy (marked as ‘positive polarity’).
- B. It highlights the negative and hides the positive aspects of the economy (marked as ‘negative polarity’).
- C. It does neither highlight nor hide a given aspect of the economy (marked as ‘NA’ (for non-applicable). This is marked when there is persuasion found but the strategy is not polarity (*id est*, there is euphemism or dysphemism).

6.2. EUPHEMISM AND DYSPEMISM

Finally, the last persuasive strategy that was analysed in this study, and linked to the previous one, was the dichotomy of euphemism and dysphemism. As explained as well in the theoretical review of all the approaches of this work, euphemism and dysphemism are directly related to the well-known ‘face-saving’ and ‘face-threatening’ movements in discourse (as Brown & Levinson tagged them, 1987). In other words, euphemism is used when we want to ‘save’ the face of the discourse users and, on the contrary, dysphemism ‘threatens’ it.

However, the ‘face’ that was being saved in our study was not that of the writer or reporter, as they were commenting on or informing about economic affairs that concerned an entire community that they could not even see or control. Instead, the ‘face’ that could be ‘saved’ or ‘threatened’ was that of the political party to which the affairs commented (economic and financial) in each report could be related to. To exemplify this better, if a component of the economy was referred to in a euphemistic way, this would be ‘saving’ the face of the party that governed the economy at the time being. Thus, those sources supporting the government were more expected to ‘save’ their face and, those in the opposition, to ‘threaten’ it.

Considering these specific aspects of the study, the metaphors found in the corpus were classified according to the following list. Again, the criteria were combined and simplified so as to avoid redundancy, resulting in three options:

- A. It ‘saves’ the government’s face (marked as ‘euphemistic’).
- B. It ‘threatens the government’s face (marked as ‘dysphemistic’).

C. It does neither 'save' nor 'threaten' the government's face (marked as 'NA', when there is persuasion but not through this strategy).

It has to be noted that there were cases where the metaphorical expression was used euphemistically used but, observing the immediate co-text, it did not refer to a component of the government in question but, for example, to a member of the opposition. A case like this would be marked as 'dysphemistic' since, from my interpretation, euphemistically talking about one part means that the opposing part is somehow dysphemistically affected. This was also done to avoid confusion and to unify the methodology. Still, each individual case will be commented and explained in the corresponding chapter.

This last section has explained how this work approaches the most qualitative aspects of the study: ideology and persuasion through metaphor, divided into two different classificatory criteria, each one referring to a different persuasive strategy. Finally, the two lists provided here, once again, can find themselves combined as one strategy does not necessarily exclude another.

Chapter III has presented the data and methodology of the present work. It has started by informing about the sources that were originally taken for the study, together with the criteria followed in the selection process, and it has then introduced all the details about the data under analysis, which is made of all the news published by six different newspapers during a similar time frame in the two countries involved in the study. Next, it has explained how the metaphors were identified in the corpus and then classified according to different criteria, being finally statistically tested and contrasted. The consequent step of this work was to perform the analysis of the presented data following the presented methodology, which shall be presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV: ANALYSIS – RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Chapter III has introduced all the relevant steps followed during the analysis in turn. Having explained all in detail and having provided a first insight into the data of this work, Chapter IV will present the different stages of the analysis (or, more concretely, the different levels of analysis) with the results obtained. For reasons of practicality and in order to avoid redundancy, each result of each analysis will also be discussed in this chapter, which comprehends, therefore, the results and the discussion of the study. Logically, the results are going to be presented as they were obtained, *id est*, the most quantitative part will be presented first, followed by the most qualitative part. In fact, the chapter is divided into three different sections: Section 1 presents the different steps followed until the final data set is finally gathered, including the different processes of metaphor identification (target retrieval, Metaphorical Pattern Analysis and Metaphor Identification Procedure), and it will comment on the metaphor density of each corpus of the study. Section 2 focuses on the first three levels of analysis of the final data set, including metaphor schemas and their typology, metaphor creativity and metaphor scope (level of universality); it will present the results together with examples and ‘special’ cases that deserve further clarification or comments, as well as the statistical tests applied in each case. Finally, Section 3 presents the last level of analysis of the study, persuasion through metaphors, including the two levels of sub-analysis that are applied (metaphor polarity and euphemism/dysphemism through metaphor); equally, examples and statistical tests will be provided and commented in detail. It has to be clarified that the entire data set is neither presented in this section nor in the printed Appendix part, as the complete list of examples has very large extension (in pages); instead, all the cases have been included in a digital format (CD rom) which is attached to this work separately and in a more convenient form. Still, this section will cover as many examples as required.

1. METAPHOR IDENTIFICATION

The first step for the analysis, consisting in data organization, has already been presented in the previous chapter. As explained, the tool *import.io* was used to retrieve all the articles and reports published by each newspaper during the previous week to the general elections of each country (May and December 2015). All the files were organized using Excel and converted into a format so that they could be introduced and processed by *#Lancsbox*, resulting in the following numbers (already presented in table 5 in Chapter III). They are summarized in Table 9:

	Spanish corpus			English corpus		
	Público	El País	ABC	The Guardian	The Independent	The Telegraph
Number of files	26	29	143	15	55	18
Tokens/source	12,833	21,596	71,292	9,420	27,664	14,813
Tokens/corpus	105,721			51,897		

Table 9: Number of news reports and tokens/words per corpus

Data cleaning has also been commented above, and it consisted in eliminating those files that, for some reason, were repeated (due to an error made by the newspaper itself or by the corpus tool, proving again that human eye and hand are essential in corpus studies). Summarizing, we observe that the size of the two corpora is uneven, as the Spanish corpus is twice the size of the English corpus, which is mainly due to the size of the amount of files published by the Spanish newspaper *ABC*. This fact is relevant as it could be argued that the Spanish corpus will logically present a much higher number of linguistic and/or conceptual metaphors than its English counterpart; however, relative frequencies are considered for the analysis, which is a necessary measure to avoid misleading or mistaken results.

Once they were introduced and cleaned, the next step was that of locating all the targets previously selected by contrasting the original target list (as explained in the previous section) to general corpora (BNC and CREA). All the lemmas were then introduced in turn, and the results are presented in the following subsection.

1.1. TARGET PRODUCTIVITY

As explained, the 13 target items were searched for in the corpus tool. They are summarized in turn, organized alphabetically, in Table 10 (Spanish) and Table 11 (English), which include the total count of each target in each corpus, alongside the number of files in which it appeared and the relative frequency in its respective corpus (newspaper). In addition, Table 10 below presents the targets organized by frequency in the corpus as a whole (Spanish on the one hand and English, on the other).

TARGET	HITS				NUMBER OF TEXTS				REL. FREQUENCY		
	PÚB	PAÍS	ABC	Total	PÚB	PAÍS	ABC	Total	PUB	PAÍS	ABC
acción	37	10	76	123	7	5	24	36	28.83	4.63	11.05
banco	34	52	205	291	8	17	51	76	26.5	24.09	29.04
bolsa	8	16	58	82	5	8	22	35	6.23	7.41	8.22
compañía	31	13	131	175	8	8	44	60	24.16	6.02	18.56
crisis	4	24	50	78	4	12	31	47	3.12	11.12	7.08
dinero	0	24	35	59	0	10	19	29	0	11.12	4.96
economía	17	62	172	251	10	22	59	91	13.25	28.72	24.36
finanzas	31	37	135	203	14	12	55	81	24.16	17.14	19.12
inversores	24	24	130	178	11	12	43	66	18.7	11.12	18.41
mercado	40	66	195	301	12	22	73	107	31.17	30.57	27.62
producto	17	50	104	171	6	12	49	67	13.25	23.16	14.73
recesión	1	13	10	24	1	8	5	14	0.78	6.02	1.42
sector	18	11	111	140	9	7	37	53	14.03	5.09	15.72
Total	262	402	1412	2,076	95	155	512	762			

Table 10: Target productivity in the Spanish corpus

In general terms, the most productive targets at this stage of the metaphor retrieval process coincide in some but not all cases; for instance, the targets “mercado” and “banco” are

very frequently found in the three Spanish newspapers, but there are some cases that are very pervasive in one newspaper but not in the others, as it occurs with “acción”, which is the second most frequent in the newspaper *Público* but is not even close to the most frequent in the other two newspapers. Concerning the least frequent cases, we can observe that, while there seems to be a higher tendency towards the use of “crisis” in contrast with “recession”, neither of them is among the most frequently items found in our corpus.

TARGET	HITS				NUMBER OF TEXTS				REL. FREQUENCY		
	GUAR	IND	TEL	Total	GUAR	IND	TEL	Total	GUAR	IND	TEL
bank	87	162	117	366	8	28	17	53	92.42	58.59	79.02
company	13	84	5	102	6	31	3	40	13.81	30.38	3.38
crisis	20	13	16	49	5	12	11	28	21.24	4.7	10.81
economy	46	46	80	172	10	13	16	39	48.86	16.64	54.03
finance	23	43	52	118	8	25	16	49	24.43	15.55	35.12
investor	13	124	21	158	5	28	6	39	13.8	44.84	14.18
market	19	79	30	128	10	27	12	49	20.18	28.57	20.26
money	10	30	7	47	6	16	6	28	10.62	10.85	4.73
product	13	39	4	56	5	14	3	22	13.81	14.1	2.7
recession	2	6	5	13	2	2	5	9	2.12	2.17	3.38
sector	15	28	12	55	7	14	7	28	15.93	10.13	8.1
share	20	67	2	89	6	16	2	24	21.24	24.23	1.35
stock	3	18	4	25	3	7	2	12	3.19	6.51	2.7
Total	284	739	355	1,378	81	233	106	420			

Table 11: Target productivity in the English corpus

Concerning the English corpus, the three newspapers use the target “bank” most frequently and with a considerable difference from the second target in each case; “economy” is also quite frequently found in *The Guardian* and in *The Telegraph*, even though it is not that

commonly used by *The Independent*. As for the least frequent words, they seem to coincide with the Spanish corpus in that “recession” is hardly ever found in the three sources, as well as “stock”. On the other hand, “crisis” is unevenly found, but it has to be borne in mind that it is not only the frequency of a target that matters, but also and most importantly how it is used. This, however, will be commented in forthcoming sections of this Chapter. Table 12 below now summarizes the 13 targets of the study in order of frequency in each language or corpus, considering the three newspapers as a whole and the size of the whole corpus as a reference.

SPANISH CORPUS		ENGLISH CORPUS	
TARGET	Rel. Freq.	TARGET	Rel. Freq.
mercado	28.47	bank	70.52
banco	27.53	economy	33.14
economía	23.74	Investor	30.44
finanzas	19.20	market	24.66
inversores	16.84	finance	22.74
compañía	16.55	company	19.65
producto	16.17	share	17.15
sector	13.24	product	10.79
acción	11.63	sector	10.60
bolsa	7.76	crisis	9.44
crisis	7.38	money	9.06
dinero	5.58	stock	4.82
recesión	2.27	recession	2.50

Table 12: Target frequency per corpus

Observing the table, both languages coincide in general terms in how frequently they use the targets of study in our corpus. At least, the six most frequently used targets in both languages, even if there are some differences, are: *bank, economy, investor, market, finance and company*. On the other hand, the least frequently used also coincide, including: *crisis, money, stock and recession*, which is hardly ever used in any of them. As commented above, it is not until we analyze the co-text and context of each target that we can interpret the results qualitatively; however, the frequency of use already gives the analyst and the reader an idea of the content of the corpus that is to be analyzed, as well as the targets that are going to be metaphorically used

(or not). The process of identifying metaphors did not actually occur until all the targets were retrieved and organized; once this was done, the forthcoming steps were carried out, as presented and discussed in Subsection 1.2. However, there are some clarifications needed so as to understand some criteria followed for the target-retrieving step that has just been presented.

- TROUBLESOME CASES: SEMANTIC FIELDS AND HOMONYMY

As introduced, corpus tools as the one used for this study have supposed a great advance for linguists and discourse analysts of all fields; nevertheless, they also present some limitations and always need to be complemented by the human eye, brain and hand (see references in Chapter II).

One of the limitations of this corpus tool is that the analyst can set some semantic boundaries by introducing the lemma to be searched (for instance, “invest*” to look for concepts as “investor” or “investing”, plus their derivatives), but it does not account for different words which share the same lemma (as it occurs with “investigation”, for example, which has the same root as “investor”; or with “share” as a verb or action, which has nothing to do with economy or finance, but the noun does).

In addition, it does not recognize homonymy, which implies that, for instance, the sense of the Spanish word “banco” that refers to a bench to sit on, is also retrieved and therefore counted. Thus, each case had to be manually supervised in order to avoid mistaken frequencies. Other troublesome cases (mainly found in Spanish) include:

- “acción” as in “Acción de Gracias (Thanksgiving Day) or in “Consumidores en Acción” (which refers to “take action”), or “acciones legales” (legal procedures);
- “invertir”/“inversor” (invest/investor) share their root with other words, such as “efecto invernadero” (greenhouse effect) or “invertir la tendencia” (where “invertir” means “to invert” and not “to invest” as it may seem);
- “mercado” was also somehow problematic, as it was not that clear sometimes which type of market it referred to. On the one hand, one entry of the dictionary refers to the market that concerns this study (the Stock Market, where stock and money are exchanged in an abstract form); there is another entry, much more frequent in a daily basis, that refers to

the establishment where goods are bought, or a supermarket. Even if the activity taking place in each type of market is structurally similar, they referred to first-need products, mobile phones or computers, which do not refer to the economy of the country but to daily activities;

- “producto” (product) and its verbal form “producir” (to produce) has the same root as the verb “producir” (to cause something) in Spanish, which resulted in multiple cases when the corpus tool retrieved the extract in question and counted it alongside the rest of cases and this would mean an elevated frequency, but they could not be analyzed as part of our target field.

All these cases had to be eliminated from the total count of items that the corpus tool had originally provided; thus, in order to obtain the numbers summarized in tables 10, 11 and 12 above, a manual calculation was required, which was essential for the relative frequency of each target. For reasons of length, only the final count has been presented here, but this manual cleaning had to be commented.

1.2. METAPHORICAL PATTERN ANALYSIS

Stefanowitsch’s Metaphorical Pattern Analysis (MPA) has already been introduced in detail in Chapter II. It has been applied to this study as the main identification method because of its design. As already mentioned, this work was designed from the beginning with the objective of analyzing common targets of the economy and finance in the discourse of non-specialized media. It is precisely for this reason that the list of 26 words was drawn and consulted with specialists and previous research, and later reduced to 13 items. Used in combination with a corpus tool, MPA helps the analyst to locate in a very fast and relatively easy way the targets that are to be analyzed. If we were looking for sources alone, it would have been difficult to apply; however, since the targets are the core of the study, functioning as a “fishing tool” for linguistic metaphors, this procedure was the most adequate, even if it was later combined with and complemented by a second one (explained in turn). This subsection presents how the procedure was applied with examples from the corpus. As already introduced, it is not feasible to include and comment on all the occurrences of each target individually, but only the most relevant for

the study. In addition, this part of the metaphor identification stage also presented some limitations and troublesome cases, which will also be commented.

To start with, I shall briefly refer back to how metaphorical patterns are spotted in discourse. As Stefanowitsch puts it (2016), metaphorical patterns are instances of discourse where a given target is found in close proximity to a potentially metaphorical source; in other words, by spotting a target domain, the analyst has to search for potential sources that are used to refer to such target in the immediate co-text. Thanks to the corpus tool, which allows analysts to set the desired extension of the co-text to both sides of the node or central item, I set this to extract the first fifteen words to the right (preceding the node) and to the left (following it).

Before presenting the data, it has to be clarified that there were occasions during this stage of the analysis where the potentially metaphorical mapping between the two domains was more evident than others. For this reason, I used three different tags: ‘No’, for those occasions where it was clear that there was no metaphorical use of the domains in the excerpt, ‘Yes’ when it was clear that there was a potential linguistic metaphor, and ‘CDMY’, standing for ‘in Case of Doubt, Mark it as Yes’, which is inspired by Steen et al.’s use of ‘WIDLII’ (When In Doubt, Leave It In). One of the limitations of a study of this nature performed by only one analyst is that, logically, there will be a higher chance of doubt and misperception than in a study performed by a team of analysts and experts; it is for this reason that I consulted expert metaphor researchers when I was in doubt¹¹. Table 13 below presents the results of the first step of the metaphor identification process, summarizing the instances that a target was found in close proximity to a source and the mapping between them was potentially metaphorical, alongside the relative metaphor frequency in reference to the total number of hits per target (already presented), and the metaphor density of each corpus, obtained dividing the number of linguistic metaphors by the total number of words of each corpus and then calculating their size per 1000 words (Cameron 2008).

¹¹ I want to thank Prof. Augusto Soares da Silva, from the Universidade Católica de Braga, and my supervisor, Prof. Manuela Romano, for their help in dealing with cases of doubt.

	YES	CDMY	Total	Out of () hits	Rel. freq.	Corpus size	Met. Density
PÚB	47	6	53	262	20.23	12,833	4.13
PAÍS	78	10	87	402	21.64	21,596	4.03
ABC	272	43	315	1412	22.31	70,611	4.46
Spanish	397	59	455	2076	21.92	105,721	4.30
GUARD	90	8	98	284	34.51	9,420	10.40
INDEP	142	8	150	739	20.30	27,664	5.42
TELEG	129	9	138	355	38.87	14,813	9.32
English	361	25	386	1378	28.01	51,897	7.44
TOTAL	758	84	841	3454	24.35	157,618	5.34

Table 13: First metaphor count applying MPA

Observing the table, we can see that the metaphor density of the three Spanish newspapers is very similar, in spite of the much larger size of the newspaper ABC which, as presented, published a much larger amount of reports and articles during the time frame of the study. Concerning the English corpus, numbers are more varied, as the metaphor density of *The Guardian* is considerably larger than the other two newspapers; this is especially worth mentioning as it is in fact the smallest sub-corpus not only in English but also in the entire study (9,420 words), which seems to indicate that a large size of a corpus is not a determining cause of a higher presence of metaphors (this, however, will be discussed in forthcoming sections).

Finally, contrasting both corpora (in terms of language), and taking as reference their size (the Spanish corpus is made of 105,721 words and the English one, of 51,897), the numbers also reveal a higher relative frequency in the English newspapers (except for *The Independent*, which presents a similar frequency to their Spanish counterparts) and therefore a higher metaphor density of the corpus as a whole (7.44 in English versus 4.30 in Spanish).

The next examples show and explain how MPA analysis was applied in this study. Being a first insight into our corpus, one excerpt from each newspaper is included:

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
79	Público	24	esta rebaja en la tasa de mora avanza en línea con el saneamiento del sector	<u>bancario</u>	y apunta lo lejos que está el sector de mantener unos márgenes suficientes para hacer

Spanish for: "...this reduction in the default ratio goes forward in line with the sanitation of the banking system and points how far it is from maintaining enough margins to make..."¹²

Before commenting on this example, bold letters (source domain) and underlining (target domain) have been added ad hoc to facilitate their processing and understanding. Excerpt 79 has one of the derivatives of the target item "banco" (bank), referring to the "banking sector" of the economy. By applying MPA and observing the immediate co-text, we observe that there is a potential source being used metaphorically, "saneamiento"; thus, there is a mapping between hygiene or health and the banking sector of the economy, which is projected as a dirty, unhealthy place/body. In consequence, this excerpt was marked as 'YES' in the MPA process. In subsequent steps of the analysis, the generic and the specific conceptual metaphors are specified, but this step would only mark whether there was a potential metaphor or not.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
343	El País	4	niveles más bajos de los últimos cuatro años y medio, un movimiento bendecido por el	<u>Banco</u>	Popular de China (PBOC). En cinco sesiones, la moneda ha perdido casi un 0,8% frente

Sp. for: "...lower levels of the last four years, a movement blessed by the Banco Popular de China (PBOC). In five sessions, the currency has lost almost 0.8% against..."

This example from El País shows a mapping between the domains of religion "bendecido" ("to bless") and banking, where the bank in question is projected or portrayed as a priest or, at least, a powerful religious person. Thus, it would also be marked as a potential metaphor under the MPA analysis. This excerpt is interesting since it is an example of what occurred with many excerpts in the corpus, where not only metaphor but also metonymy was found: the Bank is referred to as a person, which would be a personification of the bank being a priest as aforementioned; however, it is not the bank that blesses a given action, but the manager or a team of people working in the bank, so we would have a metonymy where the building or institution is taken for the people working at it. It is important to take this into account as in this particular case, even if this was a metonymy, there was still a metaphor present; however, there

¹² My own translations

were also cases where metonymy was found but there was no metaphorical mapping present in the excerpt at all, and they would not be categorized as metaphors. After all, the focus of the study is metaphor and the analysis is extensive enough to be applied to metaphors alone, which is precisely the reason why it was decided to leave metonymies apart, even though they may perfectly be used in further analysis or extensions of the present one.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
817	ABC	108	Popular, Bankinter, Cajamar y otros	<u>bancos</u>	pequeños pactan reducir la comisión del cajero a sus clientes. Los pactos bilaterales que estan

Sp. for: “Popular, Bankinter, Cajamar and other small banks agree to reduce the ATM commission for their clients. Bilateral pacts that are...”

Excerpt 817, from the Spanish newspaper ABC, is an example of what would occur when metonymies were found but there was no metaphorical mapping present in the immediate context. The target source “bancos” is given an action (“pactar”, or “agree”). In this case, we also see how the institution (the bank) is attached to an action that is not actually performed by the institution, but by the people working at it and making all the important decisions. Thus, there is a metonymy where the institution is taken for the manager or team of workers. In contrast to excerpt 343 above, there is no other rhetorical figure found in the immediate co-text, which means this excerpt would not be included as potentially metaphorical and would not be processed in subsequent stages of the analysis.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
2240	The Guardian	12	HSBC chief attacks George Osborne over	<u>bank</u>	levy Stuart Gulliver says bank will decide where to site HQ this year but levy

Concerning the English corpus, Excerpt 2240, from the newspaper *The Guardian*, is an example of a case that would be marked as potentially metaphorical during this stage of the metaphor identification process. As observed, the target domain ‘bank’ is found in close

proximity to a source that belongs to the domain WAR or FIGHT ('to attack'), so it can be categorized as 'yes' according to MPA methodology.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
3598	The Telegraph	18	now said these unbridgeable differences were putting an "honourable compromise" further out of reach. Europe's	<u>economics</u>	chief Pierre Moscovici hinted at the areas of disagreement, saying there would be no talk

Excerpt 3598 shows an example of those excerpts where the target of analysis, in this case 'economy', is not found in close proximity to a source domain that might be used metaphorically and does not even give place to doubt. In fact, this case is simply describing the position of an economist in Europe, not the economy, and if there was a metaphor, it would be referring to the economist as a person, not the position, which means that even if the corpus tools retrieve this particular case, it was not marked as potentially metaphorical and therefore would not be part of subsequent steps of analysis.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
2913	The Independent	16	year.; The bank also strengthened its balance sheet so that it is more resilient to	<u>financial</u>	shocks in the future, with its capital buffer reaching 11.5 per cent; it has a

Finally, excerpt 2913 is an example of those cases where the potential metaphor was not so easily grasped and thus had to be marked as a case of doubt and later consulted with a more experienced metaphor researcher. Having 'financial' as the target domain, we find 'shocks' right to its right. The reason of doubt lies in the main sense or definition of the word 'shock', as it is a word that is used so often in all types of discourse that I found it difficult to see whether the metaphorical basis remained perceptible.

This example may also serve as another clarification of how the identification process was performed and how the excerpts were counted. One of the many advantages of MPA is that it does not only allow the analyst to find one source referring to one target; on the contrary, and also due to the extension of the immediate co-text to 30 words (15 left and 15 right), it can also help the analyst to spot other targets that are of interest to the study. In this case, observing the

immediate co-text of ‘financial’, there is also another target of the study, ‘bank’. In order to avoid redundancies, this excerpt would only be counted as one, and the source referring to ‘bank’, if existing, would be analyzed in a separate case and also counted as one. However, there were cases in which another potential metaphor was spotted but the source was not necessarily referring to the target of study (in other words, the node) but to another word(s) of the excerpt, or even to a target that was implicit; this was in fact the case in many excerpts, and these “multiple metaphors” caught by the so-called ‘metaphor net’ of our 13 targets had to be included as well, as the metaphor frequency or metaphor density could be affected by them. The solution taken was to duplicate (or even triplicate) those cases where there was more than one target and source in close proximity within our field of study and to count them as different excerpts in the database. The following examples below may serve as an explanation of how and why I decided to add this step to the analysis:

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
14	Público	22	parte de la operación que, en su caso, quedarán sin suscribir. Además, la segunda máxima	<u>accionista</u>	de FCC y su vicepresidenta, Esther Koplowitz, también se ha comprometido a inyectar el capital

Sp. for: “...part of the operation that, in their case, will not subscribe. Moreover, the second biggest stockholder of FCC and its vice-chief, Esther Koplowitz, have also committed to inject the capital”

Excerpt 14 from the Spanish newspaper Público has the target “acción” (share) as the main target or node, and there is an element of a source domain used metaphorically in close proximity, “inyectar” (to inject), which is an instantiation of the source domain of MEDICINE. The generic metaphor that this excerpt would be projecting is ECONOMY IS MEDICINE, and the more specific, COMPANIES ARE DOCTORS. However, if we utter the conceptual metaphor present in the linguistic one like this, there are other components missing. For example, the target ‘capital’, which is a synonym of ‘money’, is not part of our 13 targets, but it also refers to a component of the economy, which in this case is metaphorically referred to as blood that can be injected, and the action of ‘injecting’ itself is metaphorically referring to investing money. This is an example of what I have referred to as multiple-metaphor cases, in

which there is more than one target present and more than one source as well, even if the generic level of both is shared. Then, this excerpt would be duplicated and counted as separate cases.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
354	El País	11	fuerte catalizador para que los precios encuentren un soporte”. Las petroleras europeas se hundan en	<u>Bolsa</u>	La bajada del precio del <u>crudo</u> se deja sentir también en los mercados de valores.

Sp. for: “...a strong agent of change so that the prices find a support. The European oil companies sink in the Market. The decrease of the price of crude has also been felt in the value markets”

There were cases, as it occurs in Excerpt 354, where the multiple metaphors found within the same excerpt did not belong to the same generic domain. In this example, the target domain or node “Bolsa” is metaphorically referred to as an ocean, where companies sink (“se hundan”), immediately portraying them as boats as well; the generic source domain is then OCEAN. However, there is another target present in the excerpt, “crudo” (crude oil), which belongs to the semantic family of products, but the corpus tool ignores it; by observing its co-text, the word “bajada” (the act of descending) is metaphorically projecting an image schema of VERTICALITY, which has no immediate relation to the OCEAN domain portrayed in the previous sentence. Therefore, this excerpt was also duplicated and the targets were counted separately. It has to be clarified here that even if potential metaphors were found in the two previous examples, when multiple targets were found, the excerpt was always duplicated and then MPA was applied, implying that multiple target cases did not necessarily convey multiple metaphors.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
3674	The Telegraph	16	Greece's <u>debt burden</u> remains one of the biggest obstacles to the country ever getting its	<u>finances</u>	back on a stable footing . The country owes more than €330bn to its official creditors,

In the English corpus, multiple target cases were equally found. Excerpt 3674 can serve as example. In this case, the central target or node is “finance”, and the source found in close

proximity refers to the act of walking in a stable manner (“back on a stable footing”), which would be projecting the image schema of PATH as well as the human action of WALKING (generic and specific conceptual metaphors will be explained in its due stage of the analysis). Observing the co-text, though, there is another target of interest, “debt”, which also falls within the semantic families of money, economy and banks; since there is not only one but two source elements referring to such debt (“burden” and “obstacles”), this is another clear example of a multiple target that had to be duplicated and analyzed and counted separately.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
2238	The Guardian	10	world have eased monetary policy, following the lead of the European Central Bank and the	Bank	of Japan. In the eurozone, countries on the periphery needed currency weakness to reduce their

Once all the cases were revised again in search of multiple target cases, new calculations were required. Table 14 summarizes the results:

	YES	CDMY	Total	Out of () hits	Rel. freq.	Corpus size	Met. Density
PÚB	71	5	76	286	26.57	12,833	5.92
PAÍS	111	10	121	436	27.75	21,596	5.60
ABC	364	47	411	1513	27.16	70,611	5.82
Spanish	546	62	608	2235	27.20	105,721	5.75
GUARD	143	7	150	336	44.64	9,420	15.92
INDEP	202	8	210	799	26.28	27,664	7.59
TELEG	202	8	210	429	48.95	14,813	14.18
English	547	23	570	1564	36.45	51,897	10.98
TOTAL	1093	85	1178	3799	31.01	157,618	7.47

Table 14: Second metaphor count applying MPA (with multiple-metaphor cases)

As seen in the table, most numbers resulted higher once multiple-metaphor cases were accounted for. Starting with the Spanish newspapers, the relative frequency regarding the total number of hits per target increased similarly in all of them, and they present similar metaphor density as well, being *Público*, the smallest corpus, the one presenting a slightly higher value than the other two Spanish newspapers. In terms of metaphor count, this increased in more than one hundred cases. Within the English corpus, both the relative frequency of metaphorical targets and the metaphor density of each newspaper increased parallelly as well: *The Guardian*,

being the smallest corpus of the study, continued being the one with the highest metaphor density of all (15.92) and *The Independent*, being the largest of the English corpora by a considerable difference, also presented the lowest metaphor density of its sub-corpus.

Contrasting both sub-corpora, the differences remained equal as well, the English sub-corpus presenting twice the metaphor density than the Spanish one, in spite of being half its size. This seems to point at English language presenting a higher tendency towards metaphorical language than other languages, including Spanish, and would actually answer to our Research Question 1 and shed some light on the little research concerning metaphor frequency across languages. However, there is another possible explanation to such difference, directly linked to the aforementioned limitation of studies performed by only one researcher; this limitation is even more restrictive when a researcher is working with a different language to their native one, as it is the case of this work. Being English a second language, learned as a foreign language since childhood, there may still be cases when I doubt about the meaning of a given expression, which is even more likely to happen in specialized discourse; thus, having no perfect command of a language may cause a researcher to overvalue metaphor or, better said, think that there is metaphor where there actually is not. This is one of the reasons why a second metaphor identification process was required, as will be explained in the forthcoming subsection. Still, this is only a possible explanation for such difference in metaphor frequency and metaphor density between languages, but the reason may as well lie in linguistic and cultural factors which are not dependent on the researcher's interpretation. In fact, this is what previous studies, as the ones mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, actually claim to be the case.

Before commenting on the last step of the metaphor identification process (applying MIPVU), Table 14 also shows that, after the second count and considering all multiple-metaphor cases, the total amount of excerpts containing a linguistic metaphor reached 1178 out of 3799, which is the final number of cases to which both procedures (MPA and MIPVU) were actually applied.

1.3. MIPVU APPLIED

The advantages of Setefanowitch's method (2006) have already been discussed throughout this dissertation several times. However, it also presents certain limitations that would jeopardize the whole study and that therefore need to be addressed and solved. To begin with, there are some cases in which intuition itself is not reliable enough, especially when working with a qualitative, subjective study. A researcher's intuition and opinion might not be in agreement with another researcher's view, which could be easily solved if the study was performed by a team of analysts who could discuss all cases, and inter-rater tests could be applied; however, this study was performed by one analyst (myself) and consulted with two more specialist in cases of doubt, but it was not possible to consult each individual case, which means intuition and personal factors could affect my interpretation.

Moreover, MPA is a reliable spotting tool that easily finds the targets in question, thanks to which the researcher can identify mappings in the discourse, but some mapping are much more identifiable than others. I have already talked about cases of doubt (CDMY), but there were other cases which were marked as potentially metaphorical but, when revised and consulted with a dictionary, were not so clear.

MIPVU method was presented as a more reliable method as it trusts in a reference dictionary that provides information about the origins of the word in question. This is, in fact, a very important advantage why it was used. When analyzing a discourse in a language that is not the native one, as it is the case, and even if practically all words are understood, there is a higher chance that the analyst unconsciously takes a word for potentially metaphorical because they think it is metaphorical in their native language, but it may be different in others. By using dictionaries, MIPVU helps researchers check whether their metaphorical intuition is correct or not. Examples of this will be provided in turn.

It can be argued that, having been presented as a reliable method and widely known among the metaphor community, MIPVU should have been applied as the main method of metaphor identification in this study. However, we shall remember that it is common targets of the economic discourse that are being analyzed, not the entire discourse or text. Apart from the fact that it would have been practically impossible to analyze every word of the corpus

individually, it would have also implied extracting metaphors of all nature, not only economy or finance. That is why MPA was used first, and MIPVU second. Still, only those cases tagged under the ‘yes’ or ‘CDMY’ categories would compound the final data set for the more qualitative part of the analysis, which means that MIPVU was the last filter deciding whether an excerpt was metaphorical or not.

Before presenting results and examples from the corpus, we must take into account that this part of the metaphor identification process already contemplated multiple metaphor cases, which had been extracted during the MPA stage. Table 15 below shows the results obtained after applying MIPVU to our corpus.

	YES	CDMY	Total	Out of () hits	Rel. freq.	Corpus size	Met. Density
PÚB	70	3	73	286	25.52	12,833	5.69
PAÍS	113	2	115	436	26.38	21,596	5.33
ABC	381	0	381	1513	25.18	70,611	5.40
Spanish	564	5	569	2235	25.46	105,721	5.38
GUARD	137	11	148	336	44.05	9,420	15.71
IND	202	3	205	799	25.66	27,664	7.41
TEL	196	5	201	429	46.85	14,813	13.57
English	535	19	554	1564	35.42	51,897	10.67
TOTAL	1099	24	1123	3799	29.56	157,618	7.12

Table 15: Metaphor count applying MIPVU

As the table informs, there is an increase in almost all the components except for the cases of doubt, which are slightly less numerous than in the first stage of the identification process. This is due to the fact that the aforementioned enquiries with the experts had already taken place, which means a lot of cases that had been originally dubious were re-tagged as potentially metaphorical in the end, before starting with MIPVU. However, there were many cases of doubt even when consulting dictionaries, which were in turn discussed with the same experienced analysts as well. Still, there were excerpts in both languages in which, even consulting the dictionaries and the analysts, the metaphorical basis remained somehow dubious, and therefore were tagged as ‘CDMY’. In other words, the cases of doubt applying MPA do not necessarily coincide with the cases of doubt using MIPVU, but this will be further explained with examples below.

Before presenting some examples of how MIPVU was applied, Table 15 shows that the number of cases where the metaphor had been intuitively tagged as ‘yes’ (*id est*, metaphorical) does not vary notably from the number of cases identified as clearly metaphorical applying MIPVU (1094 to 1099); the cases of doubt, however, are notably less frequent when applying MIPVU (85 to 24, respectively), which is justified by the fact that dictionaries as Macmillan and DRAE (among others) are used as references and by the help provided by experienced metaphor analysts. It is also notable that the total number of cases tagged as metaphorical is slower after applying MIPVU (1179 to 1123); the reason lies in the aforementioned limitations that one-researcher, non-native and intuition-based analyses entail. As will be shown in the examples, there were cases that were tagged as potentially metaphorical (being this metaphoricity more or less debatable or dubious) but that, when contrasted and checked in dictionaries, no difference was found between the meaning evoked in the mapping and the more basic one, or there was no possible contrast or comparison at all. These cases were not tagged as MRW (Steen et al. 2010: 25-26), or metaphor-related word (‘yes’ in this dissertation) and were not part of the classification process. The examples below may serve as an example of how this part of the analysis was performed:

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right	MPA	MIPVU
103	Público	25	estadounidense de Iberdrola, debuta en Wall Street con un valor de más 11.000 millones. La	<u>compañía.</u>	fruto de la fusión con UIL, es una de las mayores eléctricas de EEUU con	CDMY	NO

Sp. for: “...American of Iberdrola, makes its debut with a value higher than 11,000 million. The company, fruit of the merge with UIL, es one of the biggest electricity companies of the USA with...”

Excerpt 103 from the Spanish corpus is an example of a common case (found often in both languages) that was dubiously tagged as potentially metaphorical under MPA and later dismissed as non-metaphorical when checked in the dictionary and consulted with other analysts. More concretely, it was originally thought that the company might have been metaphorically referred to as an object, since it was the size that was being recalled. However, the contextual

metaphor of this case actually falls within the dictionary entry “Que excede a algo en cantidad o calidad” (Sp. for “that exceeds another entity in quantity or quality”), and does not refer to the tangible size than can be measured and palpable, but to the quantity of workers within the company. As this is the most basic entry given by the dictionary and it is the same as the contextual one, we cannot consider this to be a MRW. Given that the contextual meaning referred to “of great importance” rather than the number of workers, which occurred in some cases (although not very numerous), it would be different as the contextual meaning (importance) is different yet comparable to the more basic one (size) and therefore would be marked as MRW. Examples can be consulted in the database attached in digital format.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right	MPA	MIPVU
182	Público	1	economía depende de forma más estrecha del precio del crudo. Los bajos precios han frenado	<u>inversiones</u>	en las explotaciones más costosas, lo que ha afectado a la naciente industria del esquisto	YES	YES

Sp. for: “...economy depends on the narrowest form of the price of crude. The low prices have slowed down inversions in the most expensive profits, which has affected the new industry schist...”

This case is an example of a target that was tagged as potentially metaphorical under MPA and such metaphoricity was confirmed applying MIPVU. Moreover, it is also an example of those cases when two targets appear in the same excerpt (“economía” and “inversiones”). However, this case of “economía” was extracted as a separate excerpt and underwent the analysis separately with its own immediate co-text. Focusing on Excerpt 182, the target “inversiones” was found in close proximity to a potential metaphor, “frenar”, referring to the source of vehicles or machines. Then, the contextual metaphor would be “to slow down an activity” (in this case, the act of investing). When contrasted in the dictionary, there is a more basic sense: “*moderar o parar con el freno el movimiento de una máquina o de un carruaje*”, (Sp. for “to moderate or put the brake on the movement of a machine or vehicle”); since both meanings are sufficiently different yet comparable through a similitude between the movement of a machine and the pace of inversion, this case would be tagged as a MRW (or ‘yes’ in our

MIPVU analysis), and the domain evoked here would be the structural schema of a MACHINE or a VEHICLE (this will be specified in its corresponding section of metaphor classification).

ExcID	News ID	File	Left	Node	Right	MPA	MIPVU
350	El País	5	crisis en EE UU, casi una década después del estallido de las hipotecas basura. El	<u>banco</u>	central estadounidense, el mayor del mundo, ya había empezado a preparar el terreno desde hace	YES	YES

Sp. for: “...crisis in the USA, almost a decade after the boom of trash mortgages. The FED, the biggest in the world, had already started to prepare the land since...”

Excerpt 350 is a particular example because the source domain component that is found in the immediate co-text of the target domain “banco” is not only one word, but actually three (“preparar el terreno”/“prepare the land”). In fact, these three words, according to the dictionary, already constitute a fixed expression in language use, meaning “conseguir un ambiente favorable” (Sp. for “to obtain or prepare a favourable environment or atmosphere”). However, it does not provide the origins or the more basic sense of such fixed expressions; when dealing with situations like this, Steen et al. recommend coding all the words within the expression (in other words, the expression) as metaphorically used (2010: 84), following Moon’s claim that fixed expressions involve exaggeration and implausibility, leaning towards a metaphoric interpretation, because they “may describe theoretically possible situations, but are untrue in the specific context” (1998: 198).

ExcID	News ID	File	Left	Node	Right	MPA	MIPVU
356	El País	15	Los inversores extranjeros tienen ya el 44% de la	<u>Bolsa</u>	española Las familias también ganan protagonismo en el parqué y ya son dueñas del 26%	CDMY	NO

Sp. for: “...foreign investors already have 44% of the Spanish Market. Families also gain prominence in the Market and are masters of 26%...”

Excerpt 356 is another example of a case that was tagged as dubious under MPA and later dismissed from the list of metaphorical expressions when applying MIPVU. In this case, the

target “Bolsa” is found in close proximity to the source “parqué”, which I originally thought was a potential metaphor since it evokes the material of some houses’ floors. However, when contrasting its contextual meaning (the Stock Market, as a tangible, concrete place), with the more basic one, there is an entrance that indicates this is a specialized use of the term, meaning “recinto donde se realizan las operaciones de bolsa” (Sp. for “enclosure where Stock Market operations take place”). In general terms, MIPVU recommends treating specialized expressions as metaphorical when there is a potential metaphor at least to the general language user (2010: 34). However, this particular case is different. The more basic meaning provided in the dictionary refers to the type of floor made of wood, which is probably the material of which this part of the Stock market is made; then, as one refers to a place and the other to the material, there is no plausible comparison. Instead, this would be a metonymic projection, because the place is taken for the material used to build the place, or its floor at least.

ExcID	News ID	File	Left	Node	Right	MPA	MIPVU
1302	ABC	15	en vez de empezar a contabilizar otra vez de cero su futura indemnización. Además, ese	<u>dinero</u>	podrá rescatarse también al llegar la jubilación La desventaja de este modelo reside en que	YES	NO

Sp. for: “...instead of starting to count again from zero its future compensation. Moreover, that money can be rescued at retirement as well. The disadvantage of this model lies in...”

Excerpt 1302 is relevant as it shows a case where intuition can be misleading, as well as double senses or entries of a word. The target “dinero” is projected as something that can be recovered. However, a first analysis had interpreted the sense of “rescatar” as “rescue”. The contextual meaning of the word is “to recover something that was taken by someone else”; when contrasting this in the dictionary, the more basic sense is exactly the same, which means there is no metaphor but a literal sense of the word. If, for example, the contextual meaning of “rescatar” had been “to save someone from danger”, the analysis would have been different (and there are, in fact, several instances of this meaning in the corpus). Finally, there is one more aspect to comment, which is directly related to one of the limitations of MIPVU: the verb “rescatar” here appears with the particle “se”, which converts it into passive voice. English language does not

have such construction and, since MIPVU has been designed and applied mainly to English, as already commented in previous sections, this meant there is no published instruction concerning how to deal with these cases. I consequently decided to treat the verb as the passive construction “ser rescatado” (“be rescued”) and leave the particle “se” (referring to the main verb “ser”) apart, analyzing only “rescatar” as a transitive verb that has “money” as its object.

ExcID	News ID	File	Left	Node	Right	MPA	MIPVU
1955	ABC	78	es la colección de cisnes negros que podrían desfilar el año que viene por el	<u>mercado.</u>	1.- Ataques del DAESH que disparen el precio del petróleo La cuarta parte de los	YES	YES

Sp. for: “...is the collection of black swans that could file next year in the market. 1- ISIS attacks that shoot up the price of oil. One quarter of...”

The last excerpt taken as an example from the Spanish corpus shows another specialized use of a word in the field of finance and economics, which is, as well, a fixed expression: “cisnes negros” (Sp. for “black swans”). In this case, not only the reference dictionary was needed, but I also had to consult specialized references to understand the contextual meaning and the basic one as well. The contextual meaning of the expression is in fact a theory (the ‘Black Swan Theory’, developed by Nassim Nicholas Taleb, 2007) that is in itself a metaphor describing events that come as a surprise and have a great impact or effect and which are later rationalized through introspection (based on ancient beliefs that black swans did not exist and but were later discovered and accepted). This theory is very frequently used in the economy to refer to surprising, unexpected events that can affect the economy of a country. In conclusion, the expression of this excerpt is a fixed one, which implies exaggeration and implausibility (see Moon 1998:198) plus it is a theory that is a metaphor in itself, and it was tagged as metaphorical also under MIPVU. Finally, we shall mention that there is yet another source present in the excerpt, “desfilar” (Sp. for “waking in file or parading”), which means this is another example of multiple metaphor within the same excerpt that had to be duplicated and analyzed individually.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right	MPA	MIPVU
2248	The Guardian	12	Gulliver cited the bank levy– which cost HSBC £700m last year, more than any other	<u>bank–</u>	as well as the requirement to ringfence its high street arm from the investment banking	YES	YES

The first example taken from the English corpus has the target “bank” in the node, found in close proximity to a potential metaphor, “to ringfence”. In this case, MacMillan dictionary, used as the first reference by MIPVU in English, only gives one meaning or entry: “to make sure that money intended for a particular purpose is not used for anything else”. Then, the contextual and the basic meaning would be the same. However, in those occasions where only one entry was provided, I decided to consult the second dictionary that MIPVU uses as reference, Oxford Dictionaries. This example proves that using more than one reference dictionary is not only necessary but much more fruitful, as this one provides further entries, and it actually includes a more basic one: “to enclose (a piece of land) with a ring fence”. Thus, the contextual meaning would be “to control the spendings of the banking arm” while the more basic one refers to land and farming. Considering they are sufficiently different yet comparable (controlling and putting a limit to spending is comparable to controlling or putting a limit to a piece of land in farming), this case would be marked as metaphorical by MIPVU as well, confirming the intuitive interpretation using MPA before.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right	MPA	MIPVU
2489	The Guardian	2	outside the US remained profitable, but the earnings fell by more than half. Refining and	<u>marketing</u>	earnings rose . The profit worked out to \$1.17 per share, down from \$2.10 per share	CDMY	YES

As aforementioned, some cases were interpreted more easily than others and, even after consulting metaphor experts, there were still cases of doubt left, which could be solved by MIPVU. Excerpt 2489 from *The Guardian* is one of those cases. Originally, my intuition thought that “rising” was a metaphorical projection since it implied moving up on an abstract vertical line. However, “rising”, as it happens with its Spanish equivalent “subir” can have many interpretations and meaning, even if it always implies going upwards. When at least one of the

meanings seemed metaphorical, it was marked as a case of doubt, but in this case the use of a dictionary was mandatory. The contextual meaning of ‘rise’ is an increase in the amount of earnings. The more basic meaning of the word in this case is “to move upwards or to a higher position”, as it is more bodily oriented and tangible. Both meanings are different but comparable by similarity, and consequently they were marked as MRW or, in this study, under the category ‘yes’. The same occurred with all the cases of the opposite verb, “to fall” (which also appears in this excerpt), which were finally tagged as metaphorical. This seems to confirm that MPA and MIPVU can complement each other in a reliable way.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right	MPA	MIPVU
2624	The Independent	28	Lloyds beats	<u>bank</u>	blues with bullish outlook on profits and respite on PPI Investors were also pleased with	YES	YES

Excerpt 2624 shows an example of fossilized metaphors, which have been referred to in Chapter II alongside the so-called ‘dead metaphors’. In agreement with claims on the still palpable metaphoricity of the most conventionalized metaphors (Gibbs 1999), the discourse of economy and finance also has fossilized expressions and words that still hold some metaphoricity, as is the case of the *bull* and the *bear* metaphors. Used in the everyday language of finance, these examples still have a metaphorical basis, as they recall the way these animals behave. In addition, the adjective “bullish”, keeps its metaphorical basis in spite of being extensively used and conventionalized among economists, and therefore is marked as ‘yes’.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right	MPA	MIPVU
2734	The Independent	6	the cheapest and most prudent option.; HSBC, for so long the golden child of British	<u>banking.</u>	does the same thing when it comes to the Americans. Its European regulatory strategy is	YES	YES

Excerpt 2734 from *The Independent* has been used as an example because it shows an extended metaphor, in the sense of the extension from a generic to a more specific level. To be more concrete, the target “bank”, or more specifically, a banking system, is projected

metaphorically as the parent of a child, which is the HSBC in this case. Thus, we would have the generic level metaphor of a BANKING SYSTEM IS A FAMILY, where BANKS ARE CHILDREN is the more specific instantiation in this case. Moreover, it is also a case of interest because it also contains a symbol as a base for metaphors, since “gold” is seen as a symbol of wealth and success, and it is used here to project a successful, wealthy child or, better said, bank. Colors have not been found very frequently, apart from gold and red (depicting negative results) but, when found, they have been tagged as MRW based on symbols.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right	MPA	MIPVU
3444	The Telegraph	16	their assets out of the country at the start of the year. The European Central	<u>Bank</u> ,	which pulled the plug on its normal lending operations before Mr Tsipras was able to	YES	YES

Fixed expressions in Spanish have already been commented above, but they actually appear in both languages and very frequently. This is the case of excerpt 3444, where we find the fixed expression “to pull the plug”, whose contextual meaning refers to stop an activity or, as the entry in MacMillan’s dictionary contains, “to stop an activity, especially by no longer providing the money needed to allow it to continue”. The more basic meaning, as it is a fixed expression, is not given by the dictionary, but it lies on the actual fact of pulling a machinery’s plug in order to stop its working. Steen et al. 2010 already faced this problem, referring to a case where there is “a loss of the metonymic basis as a result of the conventionalization process” (see Goossens 2002: 374). In line with this, and following Moon’s interpretation of fixed expressions, I decided that fixed expressions like this one needed to be tagged as metaphorical since there was implausibility within them (2010:84).

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right	MPA	MIPVU
3611	The Telegraph	3	government risks ""unprecedented economic contraction"" as it insists it will not cross red lines over	<u>economic</u>	reforms " "The Greek government reaffirmed its commitment to carry out key Leftist electoral promises in	YES	NO

Finally, Excerpt 3611 further supports the use of MIPVU as a necessary method to confirm whether intuition has been correct. In this case, my intuition as a non-native speaker of English led me to think that the source domain “reform” was a metaphorical projection of the target domain “economy”, believing there was a mapping of BUILDING, due to its similarity to the Spanish form “reformular”, whose more basic meaning refers to giving shape to something, which would mean the economy was being objectified and the meaning was metaphorical. However, MacMillan dictionary gives the basic meaning of the noun as “a change that is intended to correct a situation that is wrong or unfair, or make a system work more effectively”, *id est*, the same as the contextual meaning understood in the excerpt. When double-checking with the Oxford Dictionary, the more basic entry agrees with MacMillan’s entry: “the action or process of reforming an institution or practice”. There is reference to the origins of the word in the OED, but it only indicates that the noun dates back to the 17th century. Then, facing lack of further reference to the potential origin of the word in English, the only meaning that it apparently has is the contextual one here, which means we cannot mark this as a MRW and therefore was finally tagged as “no” under MIPVU.

The objective of including the previous excerpts was to explain and illustrate how MIPVU was applied to all the cases that had been identified as potentially metaphorical under MPA, gathering different cases ranging from those that coincided in both methods, to those that were originally dubious and later confirmed or dismissed, to those that had been marked as metaphorical first but were later dismissed by MIPVU. It is not feasible to include all the individual cases and comment on all of them here, but this set may be extended to the corpus as a whole, as the most representative or frequent correspondences have been included.

- **Summary of results**

Once both methods had been applied, the metaphor density of the corpus, as well as the metaphor frequency of each newspaper and of each sub-corpus, were altered. Table 16 summarizes the results of the corpus as a whole.

	Total of Targets	Total Count		Relative Frequency		Metaphor Density	
		MPA	MIPVU	MPA	MIPVU	MPA	MIPVU
Público	286	76	73	26.57	25.52	5.92	5.69
El País	436	121	115	27.75	26.38	5.6	5.33
ABC	1513	411	381	27.16	25.18	5.82	5.4
Spanish corpus	2235	609	569	27.20	25.46	5.75	5.38
The Guardian	336	150	148	44.64	44.05	15.92	15.71
The Independ.	799	210	205	26.28	25.66	7.59	7.41
The Telegraph	429	210	201	48.95	46.85	14.18	13.57
English corpus	1564	570	554	36.45	35.42	10.98	10.67
TOTAL	3799	1178	1123	31.01	29.56	7.47	7.12

Table 16: Comparison of MRW using MPA alone and MPA and MIPVU together.

As observed, the total count of metaphorical hits, as well as the metaphor relative frequency contrasted with the total number of targets retrieved, and the metaphor density within each corpus are lower after applying MIPVU. This is an indicator that this identification tool can serve to filter cases that had been wrongly understood by the analyst’s intuition, as there were numerous cases in both languages and in all newspapers that had been taken as metaphorical when they were not so. Still, the results in terms of relative frequency and metaphor density do not seem to differ so much, which seems to indicate that intuition in fact (using MPA procedure) can work as a metaphor identification tool; however, the results will probably be more accurate when applying both methods in combination. Figure 11 below summarizes the results of both methods in a graph:

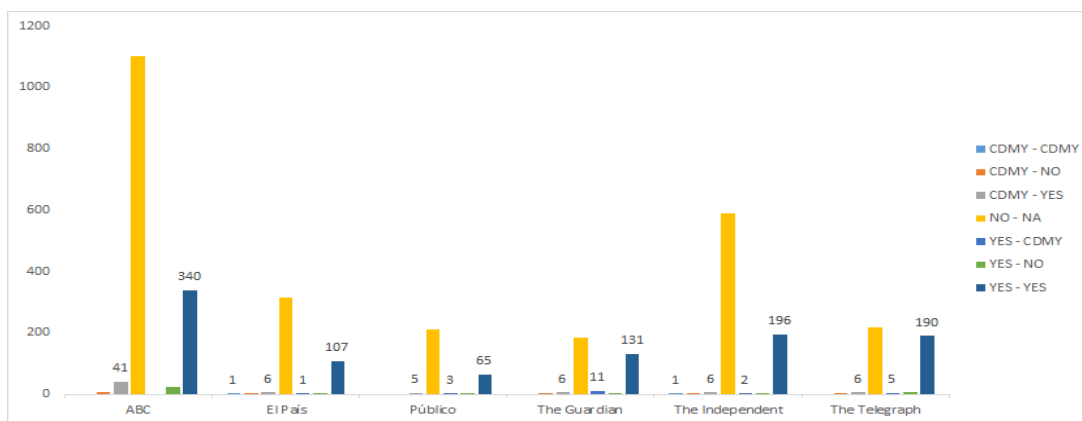


Figure 11: MPA-MIPVU combinations of identified (metaphorical and non-metaphorical) cases

As observed, the most frequent dichotomy is “NO-NA” in all corpora, which corresponds to those cases that did not contain potential metaphor according to MPA and therefore MIPVU

was not applied to them. In future extensions of this work and having other objectives, both methods will be applied to all cases (the original 3799 cases), instead of applying one method first and the other second only to those cases that had been selected by the former. In addition, the second most frequent combination in the corpus as a whole, in both languages and in all newspapers, is ‘YES-YES’, representing those cases where intuition had tagged a case as potentially metaphorical and MIPVU confirmed this intuition. Concerning those cases that had been originally tagged as potentially metaphorical by MPA (either in a clear or a dubious way) but were later dismissed by MIPVU when confirmed with dictionaries, the total number of cases is 13 (‘CDMY-NO’) on the one hand, and 42 (‘YES-NO’) on the other.

In order to observe what happened once all the non-metaphorical cases were dismissed, Figure 12 summarizes the new combinations:

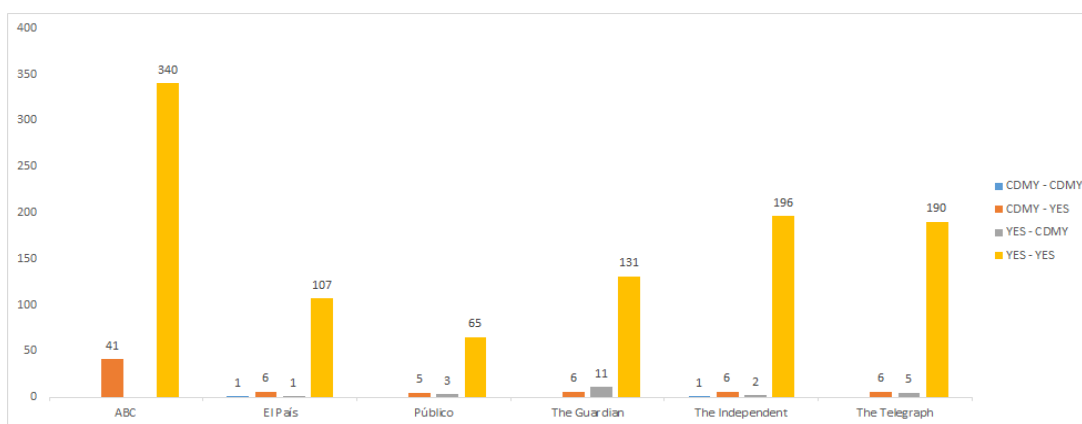


Figure 12: MPA-MIPVU combinations of metaphorical cases

Again, according to the table, there seems to be general agreement between both methods, in spite of some differences. The most frequent combination in the corpus as a whole and in each subcorpus is that of ‘YES-YES’, *id est*, excerpts that were potentially metaphors were tagged by MPA and subsequently confirmed by MIPVU. The least frequent case, also in all corpora, is ‘CDMY-CDMY’, including those cases that were dubious under MPA and kept being dubious once experts had been consulted and once MIPVU had also been applied. In conclusion, both figures seem to show a general agreement between both methods although there are some differences, since the total number of metaphorical cases tagged by MPA (putting together clear and dubious cases) raised to 1178 while the total number identified by MIPVU (out of those 1178) is 1123, which made up the final data set, meaning that 55 cases were dismissed. These

results contrast with different studies on metaphor and corpus that claim that machine-based search of metaphors usually retrieve a larger number of metaphors compared to what the human eye and hand retrieve (Berber Sardinha, 2010a, 2010b). If this had been the case, then MIPVU would have tagged as metaphorical all or almost all cases tagged by MPA. As aforementioned, further studies may apply both methods to all cases, and different outcomes could be expected.

Finally, statistical tests were applied in order to observe whether the observed difference between the results before applying MIPVU and after applying it were significant or not. In other words, one of the aims of this study was to observe whether MPA and MIPVU could work together and whether this combination would bring relevant differences in terms of metaphor frequency or metaphor density. In order to obtain this, a Confidence Interval test was performed using the statistic package SPSS.24. Findings are summarized in Table 17:

		Statistic	Std. Error
Mean		.95	.006
95% confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	.94	
	Upper Bound	.97	

Table 17: Confidence Interval values for MIPVU applied as a filtering method

In view of the results, obtained contrasting the number of cases in which MIPVU agreed with MPA with those which rejected the original metaphoricity, the level of confidence applied to MIPVU as a second filtering method is very high, which means the null hypothesis that there is no agreement between both methods has to be rejected. In other words, MPA can be taken as a reliable method since it highly agrees with MIPVU; the results also point at a reliable functioning of both methods in combination, which answers to Research Question 2.

In addition, another test was performed in order to answer to Research Question 1, addressing the potential correlation between language and metaphor frequency or metaphor density. The crosstab summarizing the results and the chi-square test results are shown in turn:

			Metaphorical		Total
			NO	YES	
Language	Spanish	Count	1666	569	2235
		Expected count	1574.3	660.7	2235.0
		% within language	74.5%	25.5%	100.0%

	English	Count	1010	554	1564
		Expected count	1101.7	462.3	1564.0
		% within language	64.6%	35.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	2676	1123	3799
		Expected count	2676.0	1123.0	3799.0
		% within language	70.4%	29.6%	100.0%

Table 18: Metaphorical proportions per language

	Value	df	Symp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	43,866	1	.000

Table 19: Chi-Square test for metaphorical proportions per language

As can be observed, out of the 3799 cases of the corpus (2235 in Spanish, 1564 in English) to which both metaphor identification methods were applied, 569 (25,5%) cases were metaphorical in Spanish and 554 (35,4%) in English, a difference in proportions of 0.129, meaning that, out of every 100 cases in the corpus, 129 more cases would be found in English than in Spanish (Grissom and Kim 2012). There is a statistically significant difference between the two independent binomial proportions in our corpus ($p < .001$). Therefore, we can reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis, pointing at a significant difference between languages and thus suggesting that the metaphorical frequency of a text is dependent on the language it is written in, finding a higher frequency in English than in Spanish texts (at least in this study).

2. METAPHOR CLASSIFICATION: ACCESS DATABASE

Once all the metaphorical cases had been retrieved and counted, a more qualitative analysis was required. Section 2 thus presents the first three steps of the four-level qualitative analysis of the remaining 1123 cases, including (1) the typology of schema depicted, (2) the level of creativity of each corpus, and (3) the international or domestic scope of the metaphors found. These analyses were performed using the data processing program Access which allows for an organized classification of textual excerpts¹³. Each subsection will now present the results of each of these 4 levels of analysis in the same order as they were carried out. Examples will be provided and commented on as well, alongside statistical differences between and within corpora. Before proceeding with the analysis, it should be taken into account that, considering these analyses are based on my interpretation, there might be cases in which another analyst would interpret them differently. Still, explanations on how I performed the analysis will be provided.

2.1. FROM LINGUISTIC TO CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR

The first necessary step before performing the different analyses was to extract the conceptual metaphors evoked in each linguistic metaphor of the corpus. In the previous section, we have commented on the linguistic metaphors in the examples, but this was only done to identify potential metaphors or dismiss them as non-metaphorical. However, it was necessary to annotate the conceptual metaphor englobing the linguistic one. Thus, the truly first step of this part of the analysis consisted in annotating the linguistic metaphors on a conceptual level. For instance, in Excerpt 3220 below, tagged as dubiously metaphorical under MPA and confirmed by MIPVU, the linguistic metaphor or the mapping evoked join the target domain of products (an inner component of the Stock Market) and the source domain of competition (“compete”). From this linguistic metaphor, we obtain the conceptual one, THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION. This annotation was done for all cases, but thanks to MPA it was not only the generic conceptual metaphor that could be annotated, but also the more specific one.

¹³ I would like to thank Dafne Palú, from the Universidade Catolica de Braga, for her immense help in setting and organizing my database on Access.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right	MPA	MIPVU
3220	The Independent	30	of restrictions than the rest of the market are able to compete with more mainstream	<u>products?</u>	According to Mr Sinclair, this is also part of Sharia compliance: “As an Islamic bank,	CDMY	YES

2.1.1. FROM GENERIC TO SPECIFIC METAPHORS

As explained in Chapter II, one of the advantages that Stefanowitsch highlights of his method is that, by looking at the co-text of a target and spotting the target, it is possible to perform a multiple extraction which allows “to investigate the correspondences between source and target domain at a level of detail not usually found in studies of metaphor” (2006: 67). Thus, in the example above (Excerpt 3220), and recalling Figure 7 from Chapter III, Figure 13 below depicts how both the generic and the specific level metaphors were annotated:

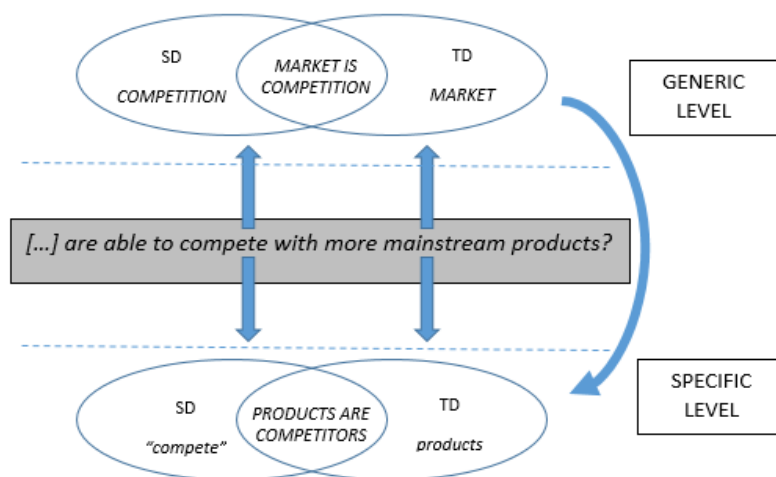
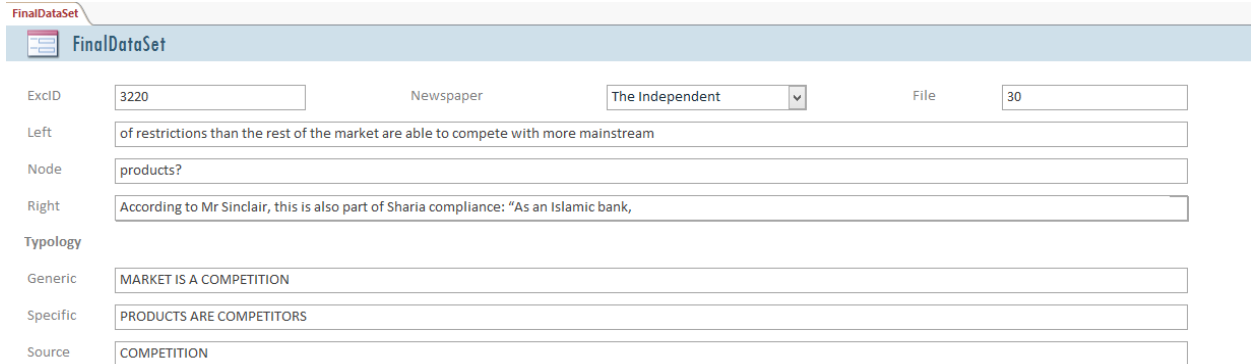


Figure 13: Generic and specific mapping of Excerpt 3220

In the database processed by Access, the extraction of generic and specific metaphors was annotated as shown in Figure 14 below, which is a screenshot of the actual program in process (it has been included to show how I proceeded with the annotation). As observed, there are two levels, one for the generic and one for the specific, plus a third level in which I only

annotated the source used in the mapping. This last category was added simultaneously in order to facilitate future stages of the analysis, such as the classification of the schema, as will be explained in turn.



ExclID	3220	Newspaper	The Independent	File	30
Left	of restrictions than the rest of the market are able to compete with more mainstream				
Node	products?				
Right	According to Mr Sinclair, this is also part of Sharia compliance: "As an Islamic bank,				
Typology					
Generic	MARKET IS A COMPETITION				
Specific	PRODUCTS ARE COMPETITORS				
Source	COMPETITION				

Figure 14: Screenshot depicting annotation of generic and specific level metaphors and source domain.

For reasons of length, it is not practical to include here a table summarizing all the generic and specific metaphors found in the corpus, but two tables have been included in the Appendix. More concretely, Appendix C depicts a full list of all the conceptual metaphors grouped according to the generic metaphor they depict. If observed, one may notice that there are cases in which the generic metaphor is the same, yet it englobes many different specific conceptual metaphors and even different sources. This occurs, for example, with the next set of conceptual metaphors extracted from Appendix C. The same generic metaphor (BANKS ARE BODIES) has six specific instantiations alongside the corpus, and the source englobing them is, in all cases but one, BODY. The source of this remaining one is WEIGHT. The reason for this lies, first, in the order that was followed during the analysis, and second and most importantly, in a principle which has not been mentioned before: Giora’s Graded Salience Hypothesis (1997, 2003, 2008). According to Giora (2003: 10), salient meanings are “coded meanings foremost on our mind due to conventionality, frequency, familiarity, or prototypicality”. In other words, and applying this principle to metaphor, there are mappings that, for reasons of conventionality, frequency, familiarity or prototypicality, will come to the analyst’s mind more easily than others, because they are, put in simple words, more salient. In their study, Martínez-Manrique and Vicente (2013) refer to them as those that are “dispositionally more likely to be accessed when the appropriate stimulus –namely, a word– is present”. In our example below, in all but one cases, the more salient source when analyzing the metaphor was that of BODY, while the more

salient one in the other one was WEIGHT, precisely because there was a stimulus or word present evoking such source (more concretely, it refers to a bank that was “weighed down”). This variation in sources within the same generic level metaphor was not very frequent, but it mainly occurred in those cases where the generic metaphor referred to living beings or bodies.

Generic	Specific	Source
BANKS ARE BODIES	GOOD BANKS ARE GROWING BODIES	BODY
	LOSING MONEY IS LOSING WEIGHT	WEIGHT
	FINANCIAL PROBLEMS ARE PAIN	BODY
	GOOD BANKS ARE STRONG BODIES	BODY
	REFORMING A BANK IS REMOVING ITS INTESTINES	BODY
	SUFFERING BANKS ARE DYING BODIES	BODY

In fact, the source BODY deserves further explanation, as it presented some controversy during the analysis. In an example like the one below, the target domain of a “strong” body is used to refer to investment in Spain. The conceptual metaphor that we find is then “GOOD INVESTMENT IS A STRONG BODY”, but it does not specify whether this body is human or animal, which means classifying the source as HUMAN BODY would be misleading. Since there were numerous cases of “WEAK BODY” as well, it was decided to tag the sources as BODY unless there were specific references to human or animal bodies in the excerpt.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
184	Público	10	este año la economía se está acelerando gracias a la fortaleza del consumo y la	<u>inversión.</u>	por varios factores como el precio del crudo o la rebaja fiscal, entre otros."

Sp. for: “...this year the economy is accelerating thanks to the strength of consumption and inversion, for many reasons such as the price of crude or fiscal reduction, among others”

I have mentioned above that the order of analysis followed in this part was also a determining factor for the differences in the tables summarizing all the generic and specific level metaphors. To be more precise, there were cases where one linguistic metaphor would evoke a

specific level conceptual metaphor, from which a generic one could be deduced as well. But there were cases in which one could extend the specific-generic metaphors to several levels. However, due to the design of the analysis and in order to maintain the same number of levels in all cases, only two conceptual metaphors could be uttered in each case, one specific and one generic. For this reason, and observing Appendix B, there were cases in which the same conceptual metaphor could be analyzed as a specific-level or as a generic-level one, depending on how salient its components were.

For instance, this occurs with the conceptual metaphor BANKS ARE DOCTORS, present in both excerpts below but at different levels. While in Excerpt 924, this conceptual metaphor was analyzed as a generic-level metaphor, having MARKET MEASURES ARE MEDICINE as the specific-level one and MEDICINE as the general source, Excerpt 1311 is a more complex case. This last excerpt was one of the multiple-metaphor excerpts from which different metaphors could be extracted. If observed, the node is not “banks” but “money”, which is metaphorically referred to as “blood” that can be injected. But we also have the target “banks”, which are metaphorically referred to as the doctors injecting the blood. Even if both conceptual metaphors share the source MEDICINE, they are analyzed as separate cases with separate target domains. Since there are different targets in the immediate co-text, the BANKS ARE DOCTORS metaphor does not have a more specific instantiation (considering only two were analyzed, one per level), and its immediate, more generic projection is THE ECONOMY IS MEDICINE (as the science that studies life and health, not as a medication as it occurs in Excerpt 924). In other words, depending on whether it was possible to extract a more specific metaphor or not, the examples were analyzed as more specific or more generic.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
924	ABC	41	seguir reduciendo gastos de explotación. Y esa capacidad instalada es uno de ellos. El propio	<u>Banco</u>	de España viene recetando ese ajuste adicional para avanzar en esa mejora de la rentabilidad,

Sp. for: “...continue reducing expenses of exploitation. And that capacity installed in one of them. The Bank of Spain itself is prescribing that additional adjustment to go forward in that improvement of profitability”

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
1311	ABC	79	política monetaria Los principales bancos centrales respondieron a la crisis con políticas monetarias expansivas, <u>inyectando</u>	<u>dinero</u>	en el sistema. Se trataba de una medida excepcional para una situación anómala. La Fed

Sp. for: "...monetary policy. The main central banks answered to the crisis with expansive monetary policies, injecting money into the system. It was an extraordinary measure for an anomalous situation. The FED..."

Finally, adding the field of "source" in the database resulted very useful when analyzing which sources had been found, in spite of the different instantiations at the generic-specific levels. That is why another table has been included in Appendix D, which groups all the conceptual metaphor according to the general source they are embedded in. As it was not feasible to include them all here, the next set of conceptual metaphors extracted from the Appendix may serve as an example:

Source	Generic	Specific
FARMING	BANKING IS FARMING	SAVING MONEY IS PREPARING THE LAND CONTROLLING THE MARKET IS RING- FENCING A PIECE OF LAND
	MARKET IS FARMING	INVESTING MONEY IS PLOUGHING

In this case, within the common source domain FARMING, there are two different generic-level metaphors, but a total of three specific-level ones. This case does not contain many instantiations, but there were cases, as can be consulted in Appendix D, where one common source as CONTAINER included a total of five generic-level metaphors which at the same time comprised 14 different specific-level metaphors.

To finish, Figure 15 summarizes all the sources in a graphic. As observed, the most frequent sources in the whole corpus were BODY and VERTICALITY, followed by MEDICINE, RACE, CONTAINER and SIZE. Further examples will be provided on

forthcoming subsections, which present the classification of the conceptual metaphors annotated in the step presented in this subsection.

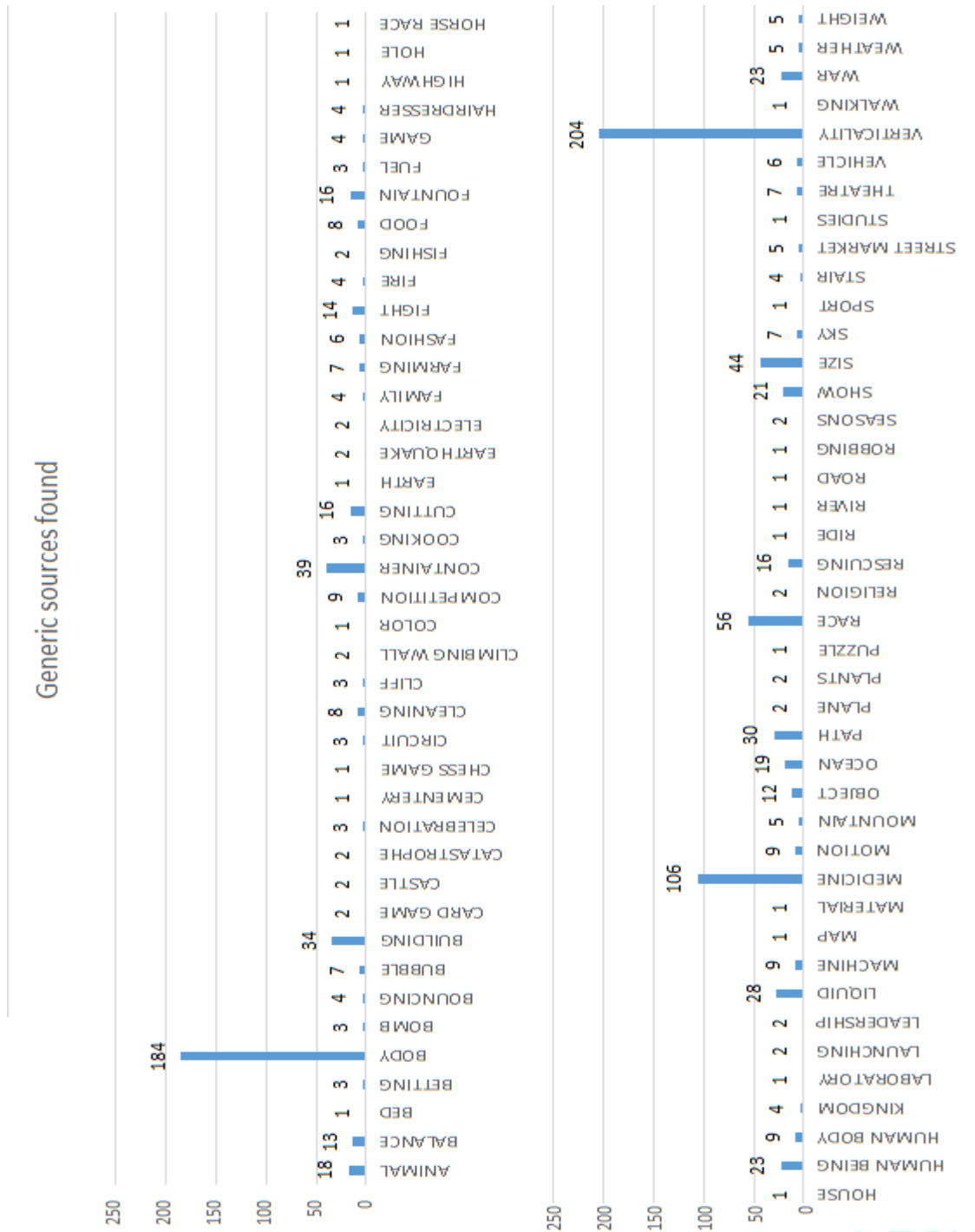


Figure 15: List of sources in the corpus and their frequency

2.2. METAPHORICAL SCHEMAS

As introduced, the different schemas used for this part of the analysis vary according to the structural pattern they instantiate, or to their inner structure. Based on previous similar studies (Orts-Llopis and Rojo-López 2010; Rojo-López and Orts-Llopis 2009; Soares da Silva 2013a, 2012b, 2016) and using Soares da Silva et al.'s (2017) reviewed and re-named three-dimensional division of schemas (originally used by Moreno-Lara, 2008), this study has divided the conceptual metaphors into (1) propositional schemas, (2) image schemas and (3) event schemas. They work in combination to form what Sharifian refers to as *cultural schemas*, elaborated by “our knowledge of our bodies as well as our experience of social interactions” (2015: 474).

This subsection thus presents the results separately in three parts, corresponding to each category and including examples, explanations and results from both corpora (Spanish and English) and from the six newspapers. Finally, the results of the contrastive analysis within and between corpora will be presented alongside their corresponding statistical outcomes.

Before presenting the results, I shall recall that, for this level of analysis, it was the generic-level metaphor that was counted, and this was done with the help of the general source as well. This is justified by the fact that, given that a specific-level metaphor fell within the category of event schemas, for example, its immediate generic-level metaphor would do the same, as well as the general source in which both are embedded. Finally, there is one more factor that needs to be taken into account. There were occasions when one metaphor could be placed within more than one schema because more than one structure could be identified. On those occasions, Giora's Graded Salience Hypothesis (1997, 2003, 2007) was applied, and the most salient or noticeable schema was identified.

2.2.1. PROPOSITIONAL SCHEMAS

Propositional schemas include those cases that serve as a mirror of how discourse participants reason and conceptualize discourse in terms of human thought, living entities, natural or supernatural forces or objects (Soares da Silva, 2017), and it is based or inspired by the

well-known GREAT CHAIN OF BEING (Lakoff & Turner 1989, Musolff 2005). This means that those excerpts in our corpus, where the source referred to one of those entities because it was conceptualized in such terms, were included within the category of propositional schemas.

Before presenting the examples found within this category, I shall introduce how the database program was set for this part of the analysis. Figure 16 below depicts how the program was taught to make the analysis faster and more practical for subsequent levels of analysis and classification. More specifically, once the analyst selects which of the three schemas is found in the excerpt (propositional in this case), it immediately activates a list of the common types of schemas within that category, as identified and presented in Table 8 in Section 4.2 of Chapter III. Such a list was originally set to differentiate between conventional and creative metaphors, based on previous studies of metaphor in the economy. However, it was also very practical to identify which category was being used within each of the three schemas, regardless of their degree of conventionality, which would be analyzed later. If the metaphor could be included within one of the well-known metaphors of the reference list, the corresponding one was tagged. On the contrary, if none of them was identified, I would select the option “other” and this would immediately activate a box in which I could type in which type of propositional schema (in this case) had been found. In order to avoid redundancy, this was similar in all three schemas, and selecting one or another would immediately activate the different typologies within each one, plus another option for the not-known cases.

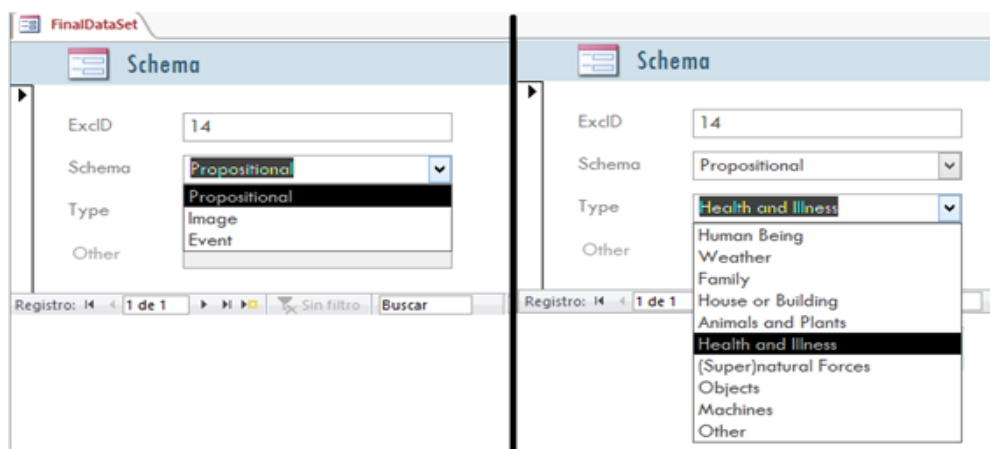


Figure 16: Access program selecting Schema and Type of metaphor

● EXAMPLES FROM THE SPANISH CORPUS

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
14	Público	22	parte de la operación que, en su caso, quedaran sin suscribir. Además, la segunda máxima	<u>accionista</u>	de FCC y su vicepresidenta, Esther Koplowitz, también se ha comprometido a inyectar el capital

Sp. for: “...part of the operation that, in their case, will not subscribe. Moreover, the second biggest stockholder of FCC and its vice-chief, Esther Koplowitz, have also committed to inject the capital”

Excerpt 14 from the Spanish newspaper *Público* is an example where one of the targets (or, more specifically, one of the derivatives) is portrayed as a doctor injecting blood (money), as has been already mentioned. Thus, the specific-level metaphor is SHAREHOLDERS ARE DOCTORS, its generic one is ECONOMY IS MEDICINE and the general source is MEDICINE. Since the inner structure is related to health, it is analyzed within the category of propositional schemas; there is one type of propositional schema within which this case can be encapsulated, Health and Illness¹⁴, which is precisely how it has been analyzed. It is worth noting here that, although the general source used during the analysis is Medicine instead of Health, I understand these two as similar domains (at least when analyzing metaphors), which is why, even though the former is used to annotate the metaphor, the latter is used upon categorization.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
530	El País	22	gran pata de los estímulos. En los espinosos 2008 y 2009, cuando muchos grandes colosos	<u>financieros</u>	se hundieron , Estados Unidos, adalid del libre mercado, tuvo que tragar sapos como los rescates

Sp. for: “...great leg of the stimulus. During the prickly 2008 and 2009, when many great financial colossi sank, the USA, leaded of free market, had to swallow toads such as the rescues...”

¹⁴ Capital letters (for all letters) have been used for CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS, while only initials have ben capitalized when referring to the common sources of the reference list used for tagging. Linguistic metaphors, extracted from the examples, have not been capitalized.

Even though case 530 is an example of multiple-metaphor extraction, we are only analyzing the mapping created between the target “finance” (“financieros”) and the source “sinking”. It is necessary to clarify that we have a case that deserves special attention. The word “financieros” (as an adjective) modifies “colosos”, which is also pre-modified by “grandes”. These three words actually refer to banks (important banks, to be more precise); we have a case of textual cohesion device that avoids repeating the same word, which is found in the previous sentences to the present one. This supports the claim that corpus tools cannot work on their own without the human eye, and that in spite of their facilitating nature, it is essential to read the full text carefully and double-check cases where the referred word is not present in the excerpt but it is in the text as a whole. Having said that, the linguistic metaphor “the banks sank” is a depiction of the specific-level conceptual metaphor BANKS ARE BOATS, which is projected within the more generic one (THE) MARKET IS AN OCEAN and the general source OCEAN. Thus, this excerpt would be analyzed within the typology of “(Super)natural forces”.

One may argue here that “sinking” does not necessarily imply that the ocean is being depicted and that it could also be a river or a sea. However, having no specific reference towards an element within a semantic field, I opted out for the hypernym or more generic member of the category, at least in size. This was applied to all cases (if applicable).

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
1495	ABC	85	de tipos podría ser un obstáculo para ello y contribuir a un estancamiento de la	<u>economía.</u>	Hasta doce veces menciona la palabra «inflación» la Fed en los cinco párrafos de su

Sp. for: “...of types could be an obstacle for that and contribute to the stagnation of economy. The FED mentions twice the word “inflation” in its five paragraphs...”

The last example from the Spanish corpus has been taken to show what happened when a conceptual metaphor did not fall within any of the types previously seen and set in the program. The target, “economy” (“economía”) is mapped with the source domain of a liquid through the word “estancamiento” (Sp. for “blockage” or “dam”, referring to liquid not flowing). Thus, the specific-level metaphor is ECONOMY IS LIQUID, where the economy referred to is national

economy within the financial system or Market, which means the generic-level metaphor found is (THE) MARKET IS A LIQUID CONTAINER. If we observe the schemas, we do have CONTAINER as a well-known source within image schemas. However, we shall recall that, in case of finding more than one possible schema in which the conceptual metaphor could be placed, the more salient one was preferred. In this case, there is a clue (a word) which directly refers to liquid (if looked up in the DRAE, it refers to the act of “stopping the flow or a liquid”), which is why this was the preferred source. Looking at all the known types of prepositional schemas, there is not one that refers to “liquid”, so it was necessary to select it as an instantiation of a different type, or “other”, which was “liquids”. This type was, in fact, very frequent in the entire corpus and in both languages.

To summarize, Figure 17 below shows all the types of propositional schemas found in each newspaper, plus all the types found within the Spanish corpus as a whole. It has been included because of the different size of each newspapers, as ABC has many more tokens than the other two newspapers.

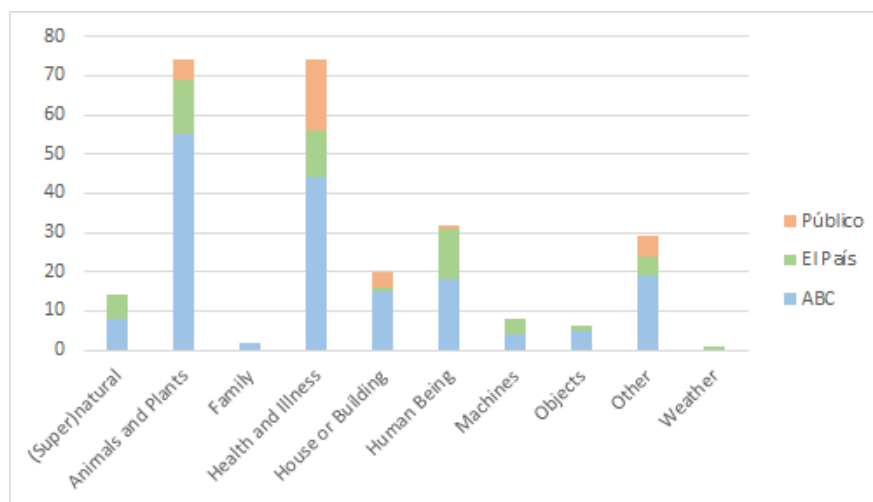


Figure 17: propositional schemas in the Spanish newspapers

As observed, the most common types within the category of propositional schemas are, with 74 cases each, Animals and Plants and Health and Illness (whose difference was not so small when taking the newspapers individually, as it is in fact the most frequent schema in *Pùblico*, while Animals and Plants is the most frequent one in *ABC* as well as in *El Paìs*,

although the difference here was almost imperceptible). These two schemas are followed by Human Being (32 cases) and Other (29), which englobes, as introduced, all the cases that were not placed within any of the existing typologies and which can be consulted in Appendix B. The least frequent ones, taking the sub-corpus as a whole, are Weather (only 1 case) and Family (2 cases). The total number of propositional schemas, thus, was 260 cases, distributed in 33 cases in *Público*, 57 in *El País* and 170 in *ABC*. Further comparisons and tests will be explained in their corresponding section below, after introducing and explaining the examples from the English corpus.

● EXAMPLES FROM THE ENGLISH CORPUS

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
2429	The Guardian	10	exports. The dollar has also risen relative to currencies of emerging markets with economic and	<u>financial</u>	fragilities: twin fiscal and current-account deficits, rising inflation and slowing growth, large stocks of domestic

In the first excerpt extracted from *The Guardian*, the target domain “finance” is found right next to the source, “fragilities”. According to MacMillan dictionary, the adjective “fragile” implies that something is “easy to break or damage”, which directly implies an abstract objectification if the entity it is referring to is not a palpable, breakable object. The specific-level metaphor present here is (THE) MARKET IS A FRAGILE OBJECT, its generic one, (THE) MARKET IS AN OBJECT, and the source, OBJECT. Here, the more specific level includes the specific characteristic that is present in this excerpt (fragility) and the more generic one, a projection of the market as an object in its most general sense, without particularities. Then, this excerpt was tagged as Propositional and, within this, as “Object”.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
3170	The Independent	17	At that time, Lloyds, TSB and RBS had a total of £37 billion of taxpayers’	<u>money</u>	pumped into them to stabilise the UK financial system.; António Horta-Osório, Lloyds Group chief executive,

Excerpt 3170 shows another case in which the option “other” was needed, as it projected a different schema to the existing types within the category of Propositional. In this case, the target “money” is “pumped into” UK banks. The linguistic metaphor is “money is fuel pumped into a car (bank)”. From this linguistic metaphor, the specific-level conceptual metaphor would be INVESTING MONEY IS PUMPING FUEL, and the more generic one, from which others could be derived, is MONEY IS FUEL. The general source englobing both is FUEL, which is not found within any of the existing categories of propositional schemas and therefore was tagged within the “Other” category and typed in “Fuel”. This is not an isolated case, since more examples of the source FUEL were found, as can be seen in Appendix B.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
3579	The Telegraph	15	according to the European Commission. Despite briefly holding the title of the eurozone's fastest growing	<u>economy</u>	at the end of last year, the election of its radical Left government has thrown

Finally, Excerpt 3579 from *The Telegraph* is an example of the BODY source that has been mentioned and which could not be attached exclusively to humans or to animals. The target “economy” is referred to as something that can “grow”, which, according to MacMillan dictionary, has its most basic meaning when it refers to children, animals, plants or trees “becoming taller or larger”. All these entities have one common component: a body (taking trees’ trunks as their bodies), which was then the general source of the linguistic metaphor “a growing economy”. Its specific conceptual metaphor is (THE) ECONOMY IS A GROWING BODY and its generic one, (THE) ECONOMY IS A BODY (as it can also shrink or get smaller). When deciding whether to include this within the type of Human Being or Animals and Plants, the hypernym was preferred as well, since it is not only more general but, actually, humans are also animals after all. Thus, it was placed within the latter.

Figure 18 below summarizes all the types of propositional schemas found within the English corpus, showing in different colors the corresponding proportion per newspaper:

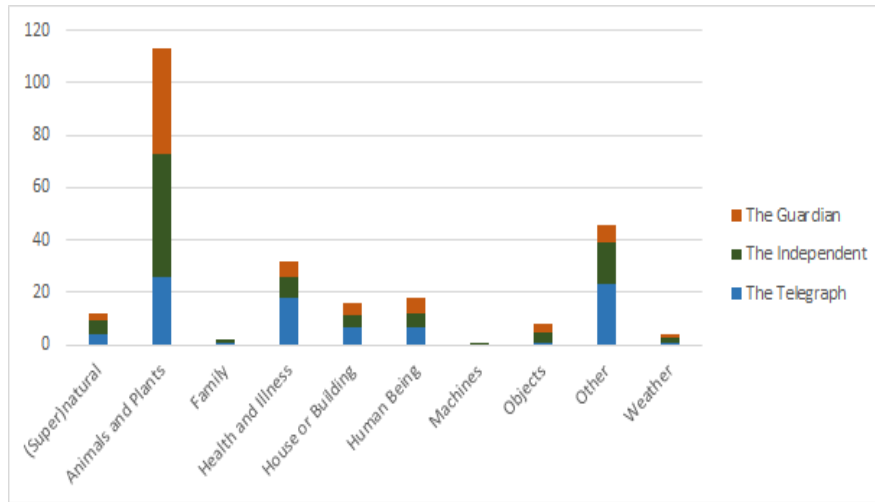


Figure 18: propositional schemas in the Spanish newspapers

As in the Spanish corpus, the most frequent propositional schema in English is also Animals or Plants (113 cases), being also the most frequent in each individual newspaper. On the contrary, the second most frequent case in English is “Other” (46), englobing schemas as Fuel, Food, Fire and Liquids, among others; followed by Health and Illness, which is not as frequent as it was in Spanish (32 cases). Finally, the least frequent ones are almost the same as in the Spanish corpus, with only 2 cases of Family and 4 of Weather, yet the least frequent one is Machines, with only 1 case. As a whole, the total amount of Propositional schemas found in the English sub-corpus is 252, distributed in: 71 cases found in *The Guardian*, 93 in *The Independent* and 88 in *The Telegraph*.

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To end this section, Figure 19 below contrasts the results of both languages. However, no statistical tests have been carried out in this part because the objective was to observe differences at a more global level, or between the three metaphorical schemas, but not within each category.

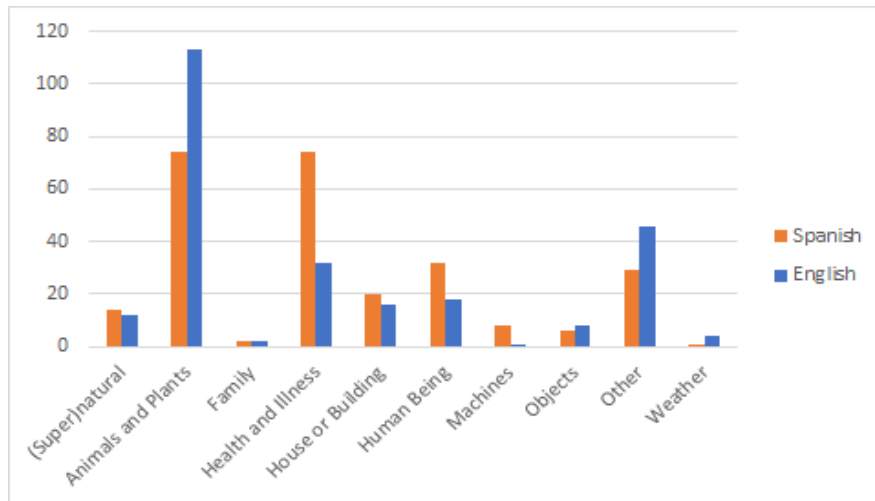


Figure 19: propositional schemas in both languages

With a total of 187 cases, Animals and Plants is the most frequent propositional schema in the entire corpus as well as in both languages, followed by Health and Illness (106 cases) and Other (75). However, Health and Illness is the second most frequent only in Spanish (equal number of cases of Animals and Plants), but it is the third one in English, as the second one is Other, which is the fourth more frequent in Spanish. This points at existing differences in terms of typological choice within the category of propositional schemas.

The reason behind the fact that many more cases of the first schema type (Animals and Plants) are found in comparison to the other may lie in the frequent use of the word “grow” and its derivatives, in both languages, always referring to the economy. However, it shall be noted here that the fact that it is so pervasive does not entail that it is in a positive tone. This will be analyzed in detail in Section 3, when persuasion is addressed. So far, however, this is only an assumption. Finally, the total amount of propositional schemas in the corpus is 512 cases (260 in Spanish and 252 in English).

2.2.2. IMAGE SCHEMAS

Image schemas refer to those abstract projections that are “readily imagined and clearly related to physical-embodied or social experience” (Sharifian 2011: 9), which present a schematic or skeletal structure (Johnson 1987, Croft and Cruse 2004). In other words, they are

derived from the way humans interact and move in and around their physical environment. Thus, moving upwards or moving downwards are human interactions that imply movement, and using these references as metaphorical sources implies that the skeletal image of going up or going down is being abstractly used.

Section 2.4 in Chapter III has introduced the list of types of image schemas that have been studied and found in previous works on metaphor and the economy or finance (Orts-Lllopis and Rojo-López 2009, Alejo 2010, Soares da Silva et al. 2017, among others), which are: front-back, force-weight, path, up-down, link, container and spiral. As in the case of propositional schemas, these categories were introduced in Access so as to facilitate tagging. In addition, another option for those types of image schemas which did not fall within this list was included, plus an automatically-activable box to specify which type of “other” image schema was being depicted. Figure 16 in Section 2.2.1 above may serve to show how this typology selection was performed within the image schema category. Let us now observe some examples taken from the corpus.

- EXAMPLES FROM THE SPANISH CORPUS

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
82	Público	22	neto de 5.717 millones y unas pérdidas de 13,6 millones de euros. Subida histórica en	<u>bolsa</u>	FCC se anotó este viernes la mayor subida diaria de su historia en Bolsa, al

Sp. for: “...net of 5,717 million and losses of 13.6 million euro. Historic rise in the market. FCC annotated this Friday the biggest daily rise in the history of Market...”

In Excerpt 82, the target domain, “bolsa” (Stock Market) is found in close proximity to the source domain “subida” (from the verb “subir”, meaning “to go up”), which is actually repeated twice within the same excerpt. According to the DRAE, “subir” has its most basic meaning in “ir o moverse hacia arriba” (Sp. for “going or moving upwards”). The Spanish particle “-se” actually adds an important connotation that is relevant here. To be more specific, if we only had “mover”, as a transitive verb, we could be moving something, as an object, or a part of our body, for example. However, “moverse” itself implies that it is the whole body that we move, in this case to go somewhere upwards. In other words, this movement is completely

human-oriented and based on the interaction of our whole body and existence with the background around us. Thus, all cases where the source was a derivative of “subir” or its opposite movement, “bajar” (“to go or move downwards”) were included within the image schema type of “up-down”. Finally, the specific-level metaphor of the linguistic metaphor “going up in the Stock Market” is the well-known conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP, while the more generic one, which englobes this and its opposite (LESS IS DOWN), is (THE) MARKET IS A VERTICAL LINE and the general source is VERTICALITY.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
560	El País	22	los calcetines de colores. Son las jóvenes promesas de esos grandes fondos y bancos de	<u>inversión</u>	que mueven millones a diario y tienen algo en común: la de este miércoles, fue

Sp. for: “...coloured socks. They are the young promises of those big funds and investment banks that move millions per day and have something in common: this Wednesday was...”

The CONTAINER metaphor is widely used in the discourse of economy and finance, and Excerpt 560 is an example of this image schema in our corpus. It is very common to read or hear about “fondos de inversión” in Spanish (investment funds) or about the “profundidad” (depth) of the economy and the Market. The dictionary defines this word as “parte inferior de una cosa hueca” (Sp. for “bottom of an empty thing”). If we refer to “emptiness”, this necessarily implies a containing entity, or an empty container. Spanish speakers may argue that “fondo” may also have its basic meaning referring to the bottom of the sea or the river, which would place this metaphor in a different category. However, according to the Dictionary of Spanish Etymology, the origin of the term is actually the Latin word *fundus*, which refers to “base, fondo de una cavidad o recipiente” (Sp. for “base, bottom of a cavity or recipient”). Thus, the more basic, human-oriented and also historically older is the reference to the container, which meant all linguistic metaphors like the present one were included in the image schema category of CONTAINER, which is also the general source used in the analysis. The specific-level metaphor was GOOD MARKET (CONDITIONS) IS A DEEP CONTAINER, as there is a specific word

referring to such depth, and the generic-level one, (THE) MARKET IS A CONTAINER, since further properties could be highlighted by different metaphors.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
1806	ABC	102	El incremento actual y previsto de la capacidad de producción china va a desestabilizar el	<u>mercado</u>	de modo significativo a largo plazo», detalló la compañía en un comunicado. En dicho comunicado,

Sp. for: “...the actual and predicted increase in the capacity of Chinese production is goin to unbalance the market in a significant way in the long run, detailed the company in an announcement,...”

To finish with the Spanish examples, Excerpt 180 above shows a case in which the image schema projected was not one of the components of the list of conventional ones, and had to be tagged as “Other”. More specifically, the target source “mercado” is metaphorically referred to as something that can be “desestabilizado” (“unbalanced”). Thus, if something can be unbalanced, that means it has been previously balanced. The more basic, human-oriented meaning of “balanced” or “stable” in Spanish is defined as something that keeps or recovers balance (DRAE); on the contrary, “unstable” is defined as the opposite, as something that loses its balance. Therefore, we are projecting this image from our knowledge as humans, acquired thanks to our interaction with the world, as we are picturing a balance that can be made unstable or stable. Thus, the generic level englobing both options is (THE) MARKET IS A BALANCE and the specific one portrayed here, BAD MARKET (CONDITIONS) IS AN UNSTEADY BALANCE, having BALANCE as the source, and therefore classifying this and similar cases as image schemas within the category of “Other” and then “Balance”.

To end this part and as done with the previous schema, Figure 20 below summarizes the results obtained in the Spanish corpus within the category of image schemas, showing the total amount of each category and using different colors for each newspaper:

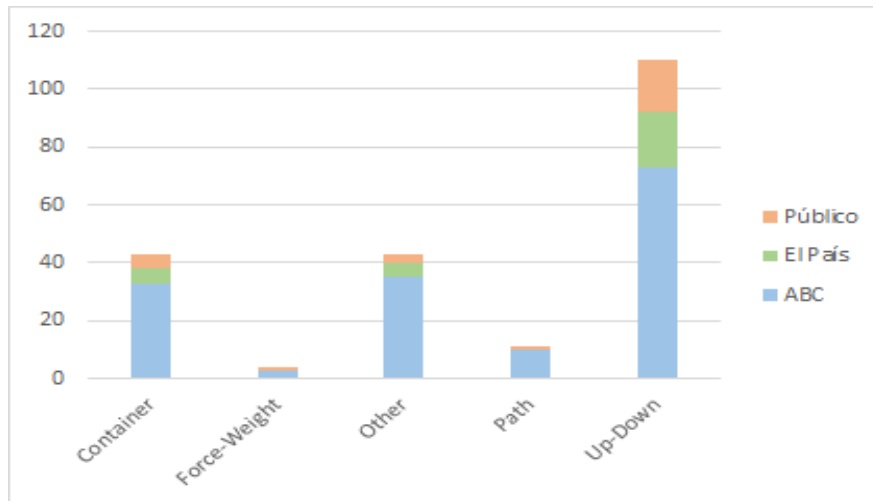


Figure 20: Image schemas in the Spanish newspapers

As depicted, the most frequent image schemas in all three newspapers and in the Spanish corpus as a whole is, by difference, Up-Down (110 cases), which is almost always depicted by the MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN metaphors. As will be explained later, there were cases where the sources “subir” and “bajar” were modified and exaggerated by adverbs or other verbs, but this was taken into account in the qualitative analysis observing potential persuasion in these verbs. The second most frequent category englobes all the “other” schemas which do not fall within the well-known ones, which are: balance, bouncing, bubble, circuit (as a circular movement), color, highway (when it was not just a path but a highway that was specifically referred to), motion, size, stairs (moving upstairs or downstairs) and wall (moving vertically on a wall). The Container image is often found as well (43 cases), while Path (11 cases, most of them found in *ABC*) and Force-Weight (4 cases) are the least frequent image schemas in the Spanish corpus. In addition, there are two components of the list of common ones that are not found at all in this sub-corpus: Front-Back and Spiral.

Taking all the cases into account, there is a total of 211 cases of image schemas, distributed in 28 in *Público*, 29 in *El País* and 154 in *ABC*.

- EXAMPLES FROM THE ENGLISH CORPUS

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
2548	The Guardian	9	is probably just a temporary deceleration, partly related to a fall in <u>construction output</u> , a	<u>sector</u>	that is particularly volatile,” said NIESR’s principal research fellow Simon Kirby. “We expect economic growth,

Excerpt 2548 has been included to show the opposite of the case of “subir” or “go upwards”, which has been explained in the Spanish examples. The target domain “sector” actually refers to “construction sector”, which would be the real target of the metaphorical mapping established with the source “fall”. It is worth noting that there is no exact equivalence between the Spanish “bajar” (going or moving downwards) and the English verb “falling”. It might be due to a cultural preference in terms of lexis, but no instances of the English exact translation of “bajar” have been found at all. The Spanish corpus shows preference for the term “bajar” against “caer”, which would be the exact translation of falling (although, in this case, some instances of references to falling and falls were found in Spanish). In any case, MacMillan dictionary defines the noun *fall* as a “an occasion when someone or something falls to the ground”, which inherently implies a movement downwards and is even more concrete than “going down” since it has a limit (the ground). Thus, this human-oriented movement downwards is placed within the image schema of Up-Down as well, having (THE) MARKET IS A VERTICAL LINE as the generic or more embracing metaphor, LESS IS DOWN as the more specific, and VERTICALITY as the source. Its opposite concept “rise” would also be categorized in this group.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
2622	The Independent	26	tipped to replace the outgoing Tidjane Thiam, who is heading off to join the Swiss	<u>banking</u>	giant Credit Suisse after an eventful six years in charge of Britain’s largest insurer.; Mr

During the metaphor identification process, it has been mentioned that references to “mayor” in terms of extension or size of a bank were not considered metaphorical in the end because of the ambiguous sense of its more basic meaning and because it would be too risky to

claim it to be metaphorical. However, there were cases in which the term “mayor” was used to refer to the importance of a company or a bank, as it is the case in Excerpt 2622, in which the target “bank” (“banking”, to be more specific) is referred to as a “giant”. Therefore, we do not only have the conceptualization of importance in terms of size, but also the specification of a lot of importance in terms of a huge size. In other words, the specific metaphor derived here is IMPORTANT BANKS ARE GIANTS, which is more specific than its generic and well-known correspondent, IMPORTANT IS BIG. Consequently, this excerpt was categorized within the image schema of Size, which was not in the existing list and thus was tagged as “Other”.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
3420	The Telegraph	11	the crisis, the redistributive nature of its policy stance may also flip. Now that the	<u>Bank</u>	is moving towards lifting its interest rates, creditors will benefit to the expense of debtors.

Finally, another image schema type that was not present in the conventional list used as a reference was Motion (Talmy 1975,1985, 1988). Our last example from the English corpus has the target “bank” as an entity or object that “is moving towards” something, implying that motion is involved in the economy of the country. The source MOTION in Excerpt 3420 then includes the more generic conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS MOTION and the more specific one, BANKS ARE MOVING OBJECTS, using “object” not as a source but as an identifier of what is moving in this case (see Giora’s Principle of Saliency above). One may argue that “up-down” and “front-back” also imply motion or movement. However, in this case and in similar ones, there is no particular reference to whether the motion is upwards, downwards, forwards or backwards, which means that categorizing it as so could be misleading and mistaken. Owing to this lack of specificity concerning the direction of the motion or movement, I considered MOTION alone as the main source.

To conclude, Figure 21 below summarizes the results of image schemas in the English corpus.

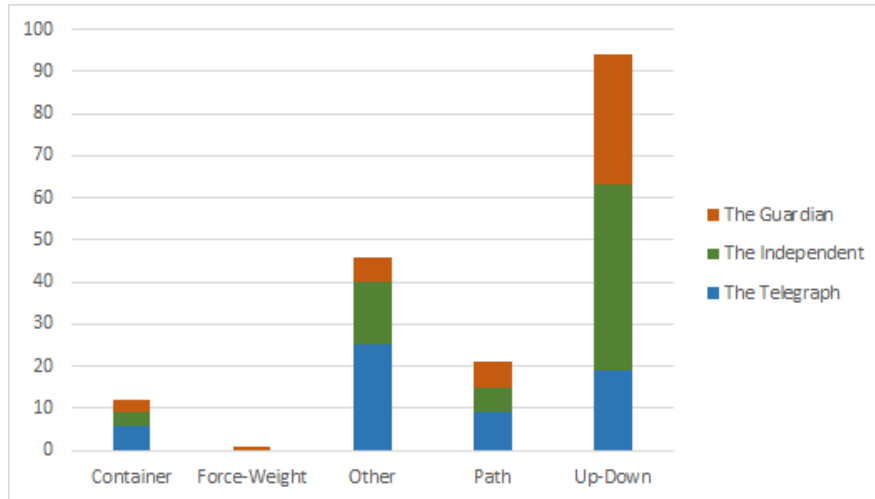


Figure 21: Image schemas in the Spanish newspapers

As depicted, the most pervasive image schema in the English corpus is Up-Down (94 cases), followed by the category englobing different schemas which are not present in the list, which are practically the same as in Spanish: balance, bouncing, bubble, hole, motion, size, stairs and wall. The Path Schema is depicted 21 times, followed by Container (12 cases) and having Force-Weight as the least recurred image schema in English (only 1 case), apart from the two components of the original list which, as it occurred in Spanish, do not even appear in our corpus: Front-Back and Spiral.

As a whole, there are 174 cases of image schemas in the English corpus, distributed in 47 cases in *The Guardian*, 68 in *The Independent* and 59 in *The Telegraph*.

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To conclude, Figure 22 shows the results taking the whole corpus into account instead of the newspapers. As already commented, statistical tests will be applied at a more general level, but this may serve as an illustration of the preferences within image schemas in our corpus.

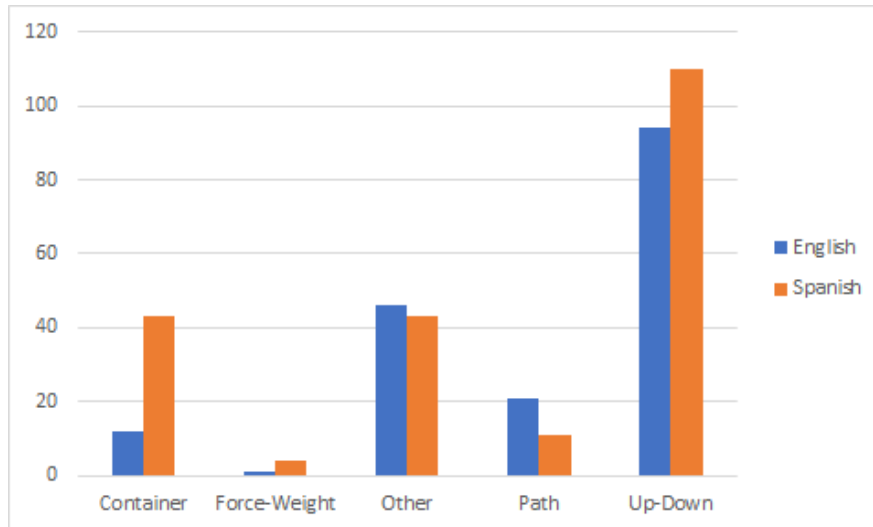


Figure 22: Image schemas in both languages

Observing and contrasting Spanish and English, both have Up-Down as the most frequent image schema (204 cases), and the category englobing Other image schemas as the second most frequent one (89 cases), although the difference is mainly notable due to the English corpus, since, if we observe only the Spanish columns, it has the same cases as the Container Schema (43 each). Therefore, there is agreement in terms of the most and the least frequent schemas, as well as in those schemas which are not depicted once in the corpus; but frequencies among the rest of image schemas vary across languages.

In this case, the great difference found between VERTICALITY (the main source categorized in the Up-Down schema) and the rest lies in the fact that there were numerous references to products going “up” or “down”, “falling” and “rising” in the Market, and one sentence could report on three different products, for example, which meant that three different mappings were found in very close proximity.

2.2.3. EVENT SCHEMAS

Event schemas, as their own name indicates, metaphorically conceptualize one event in terms of another due to similarities in the inner structures of both, or in the way they are performed. They are derived from our experiences of those events (Shank and Abelson 1977) and usually vary from culture to culture (Sharifian 2011). Some common events found in

previous studies in this field include: war, competition, show, mission, game, business and therapy. These are, then, the components of the list of conventional event schemas that is used as a reference in the analysis, adding the corresponding option of “Other” event schemas. As the procedure is identical to what has been explained regarding Propositional and image schemas, and in order to avoid redundancy, the examples from both corpora are presented:

- EXAMPLES FROM THE SPANISH CORPUS

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
234	Público	5	experimentales en el campo de la oncología y de las enfermedades neurodegenerativas, debuta en el	<u>mercado</u>	continuo para acelerar sus planes de internacionalización. Las acciones de la compañía biotecnológica Oryzon se

Sp. for: “...experimental in the field of oncology and neuro-degenerative illnesses, markets its debut in the continuous market to accelerate its plans of internationalization. The shares of the biotechnology company Oryzon is...”

The first example from the Spanish corpus (Excerpt 234) has “market” as the target domain, and the linguistic metaphor is created alongside the source “debuta” (Sp. for “making a début”). DRAE’s most basic meaning of the word reads as follows: “dicho de una compañía teatral o de un artista: Presentarse por primera vez ante el público” (Sp. for “said of a theatre company or an artist: to act or be in front of an audience for the first time”). An extension of this would apply to other activities or events apart from theatre and artistic shows, which means there is a difference which can be comparable. The linguistic metaphor “las compañías debutan” derives in the generic metaphor (THE) MARKET IS A SHOW (having no specific reference towards which show it is) and the specific level one, ENTERING THE MARKET IS DEBUTING IN A SHOW, having SHOW as the main source, which is actually one of the existing or conventional metaphors in the list.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
361	El País	15	de euros en dividendos. Zoido insistió en que es necesario reforzar el papel de la	<u>Bolsa</u>	como punto de encuentro entre la necesidad de financiación de las empresas y el ahorro

Sp. for: “...of euro in dividends. Zoido insisted that it is necessary to reinforce the role of the Market as a meeting point between the financial necessity of companies and savings...”

Excerpt 361 has been included because it is in close relation to the previous one. Here, the source domain component assigned to the target “Bolsa” (Market) is the word “papel”, which does not refer to “paper” but to “role” in English. Consulting the etymology of the “role” sense of the word, it seems to derive from the physical piece of paper, yet it has its own established sense as the role played by actors in theatre (which was written on a piece of paper, as a matter of fact). Thus, this excerpt does include a specific reference to a type of show, THEATRE, which would be the source used in this case, within which we have the generic metaphor (THE) ECONOMY IS A PLAY and the specific one, MARKETS ARE ACTORS. Since there is not a category for Theatre, and due to its recurrent use in the corpus, I decided not to include it within the Show schema, and create another category on its own, categorizing it under Other schemas and naming it Theatre.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
2069	ABC	5	1,10% al 0,80% TAE, un cambio que ya se aplica a quienes contraten actualmente este	<u>producto.</u>	Por su parte, <u>Ibercaja</u> también ha metido la tijera en su Cuenta.com Bienvenida, que hasta

Sp. for: “...1.10% to 0.80% APR, a change that already applies to those who actually hire this product. On its part, Ibercaja has already cut its cuenta.com. Welcome, that until...”

The last example from the Spanish corpus, Excerpt 1955 from ABC, is an example of the “fishing” power of MPA, which has been already commented. Although the node or target is “product”, this is not metaphorically projected. However, when reading its immediate context, we have a bank (Ibercaja), which is one of our targets with the source “metido la tijera”, which is a fixed expression that would literally mean to cut a piece of cloth, as dressmakers or tailors do,

but that implies exaggeration and means “to reduce the amount of money”. Therefore, this implausibility of the world of fashion in an economic event creates the generic metaphor ECONOMY IS FASHION and ECONOMIC MEASURES ARE TAILOR CUTS. We could also derive the specific metaphor BANKS ARE TAILORS, but the salient component here is the act of cutting the cloth, which is why it has been preferred. As it happened with theatre, there is no conventional event schema in the reference list that refers to fashion; as a consequence, a new category was needed to include this and all similar cases of the corpus.

Figure 23 now summarizes all the event schemas found in the Spanish corpus as a whole, using the same colours for each newspaper as has been done with the previous two schemas.

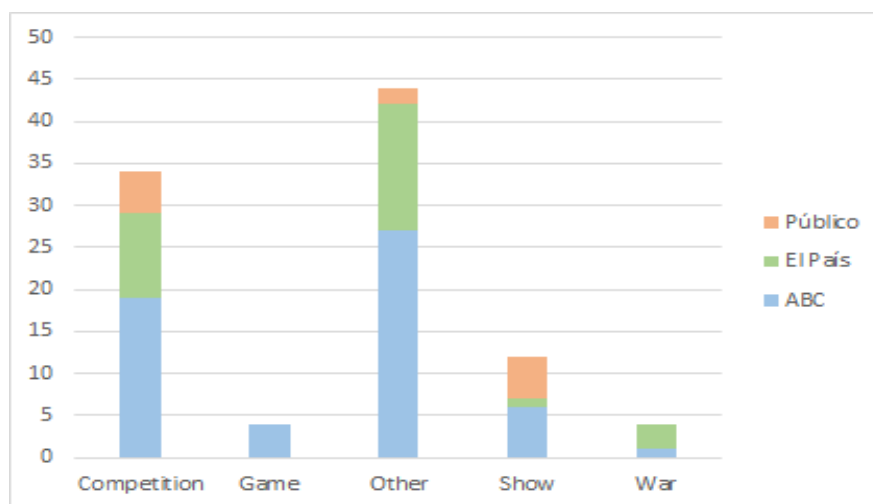


Figure 23: Event schemas in the Spanish newspapers

In general terms, the category of Other Event schemas is the most frequent one (44 cases), at least as a whole, because there are considerable differences if we observe the newspapers individually (27 cases belong to *ABC* while there are only two cases found in *Público*. There seems to be, though, wider agreement within the second most frequent schema, Competition (34 cases), which is the second most frequent both as a whole and individually. In fact, the Spanish newspaper *Público* only presents three different categories (taking into account that Other englobes different options), since War (4 cases) is only present in *ABC* and *El País* and Game is only present in the former, with 4 cases as well. In fact, there are two event schemas

which were found in previous studies and thus categorized as conventional for our reference list, but are not found at all in the corpus: Mission and Therapy.

Considering all the cases, then, there are 98 event schemas in the Spanish corpus, distributed in 12 found in *Público*, 29 in *El País* and 57 in *ABC*.

- EXAMPLES FROM THE ENGLISH CORPUS

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
2458	The Guardian	10	to materialize; consumption growth was weak in the first quarter, and capital spending and residential	investment	were even weaker. As a result, the US has effectively joined the <u>currency war</u> to

The first excerpt from the English corpus, Excerpt 2458, depicts one of the most well-known event schemas in metaphor studies in the economic and financial discourse. Although the node is “investment”, there is another linguistic metaphor of interest in close proximity, referring to the target “currency”, which belongs to the same semantic field as money. In this case, the linguistic metaphor is very noticeable as the word “war” is directly used to refer to the dispute among currencies from different countries in the global market and economy. Thus, the source domain is WAR, the generic metaphor is (THE) MARKET IS WAR and the more specific one, the one where the target is concretely uttered, is CURRENCIES ARE ARMIES. This event schema, then, would be categorized within the existing event War.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
3256	The Independent	29	than expected– as the construction industry slid back into recession and the UK’s dominant services	<u>sector</u>	slowed sharply.; The Cips blamed the stronger pound for hitting export orders from the eurozone,

Excerpt 3256 from *The Independent* is another case of multiple-metaphor retrieval during the metaphor identification process, as several targets can be spotted in the same excerpt, as well as several sources. The one that concerns us here refers to the target “services sector” and the source “slowed sharply”. This linguistic metaphor then portrays market sectors as vehicles than

can go faster or slow down in the race or competition that the market, in the more generic sense, is. Therefore, the source RACE is the one being used in this case, englobing the generic metaphor (THE) MARKET IS A RACE and the more specific MARKET SECTORS ARE RACERS which compete to win the race or competition. One could argue that the source VEHICLE can also be derived from this example, yet what is being highlighted is the action of going faster or more slowly in comparison to other racers or vehicles, not a component of a vehicle, which would be generalizing too much. Finally, considering races are usually of a competitive nature, it was decided to include all the instances depicting a race within the event schema of Competition.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
3479	The Telegraph	4	Former ECB chief Trichet denies telling Ireland to 'save	<u>banks</u>	at all costs' "Questioned by a parliamentary inquiry, Jean-Claude Trichet said the first he learned

The last example from the English corpus, and from this section, is a very recurrent event in nowadays economy sections in all newspapers and media sources in fact: rescuing banks. Here, the word “rescuing” is not specifically used as it occurs in other examples of the corpus (see Appendix B for the complete list), but “saving” is used, which is, in the end, a synonym (actually, MacMillan defines it as the act of “making it possible for someone or something to avoid danger, harm, injury etc.”). In all the cases here, it is not someone that is being saved, but a bank, and the harm it is being saved from is not physical, as its more basic sense assumes, but economic. Thus, the generic metaphor derived from the linguistic one is BANKS ARE PEOPLE IN DANGER, the more specific one is HELPING BANKS IS RESCUING THEM and the general source, RESCUING. Although I could have also used SAVING instead of RESCUING as the source, I have preferred to englobe all the cases referring to both verbs in one category in order to avoid redundancy. Finally, and in spite of its constant appearance on nowadays world affairs, there was no existing event schema referring to Rescuing, which is why a new one had to be created in this analysis.

Figure 24 below summarizes all the cases found in the English corpus, using as well the same colours for each newspaper:

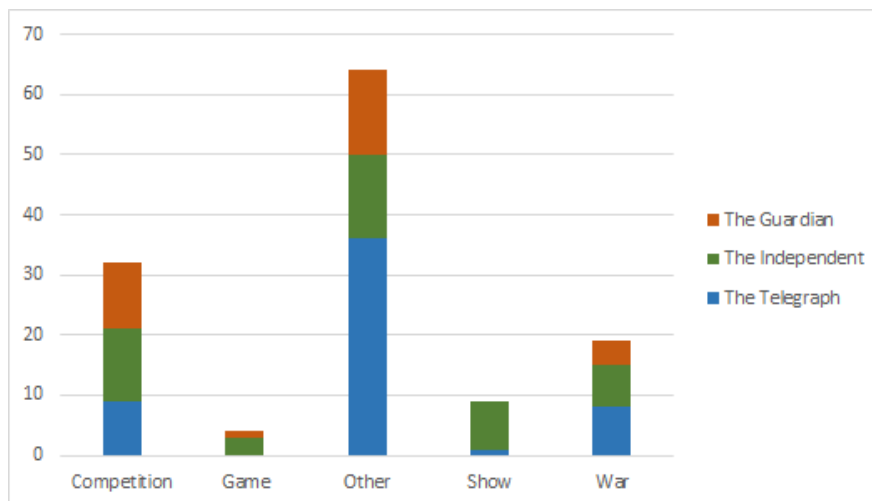


Figure 24: Event schemas in the English newspapers

As observed, the most frequent category is the one englobing all types of Other event schemas, with 64 cases, and it is also the most frequent in all three newspapers. This seems to indicate that there is a higher creativity in this Schema than in the previous two, although this will be analyzed in forthcoming sections. The second most recurrent Schema is Competition (32 cases), which englobes all types of competitions yet the most common one was the RACE metaphor; and it is followed by War (19), which, although it is said to be one of the most frequent metaphor in the discourse of the economy (Koller 2002, Charteris-Black and Musolff 2003), it is not so pervasive in this study. As it occurred with the Spanish corpus, there are two Events which are not portrayed even once in the whole English corpus: Mission and Therapy.

As a whole, there are 128 cases of event schemas in the English corpus, divided in 30 found in *The Guardian*, 44 in *The Independent* and 54 in *The Telegraph*.

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Figure 25 shows the comparison between the two sub-corpora of our study in terms of language.

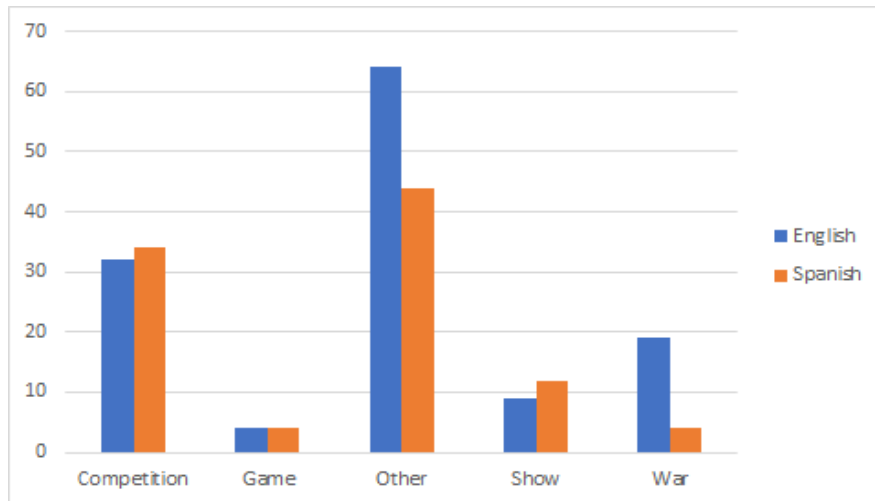


Figure 25: Event schemas in both languages

As depicted, both languages show a preference towards creative image schemas (108 cases, 44 in Spanish and 64 in English), or schemas that were not part of the reference list taken for this study, followed by Competition (34 and 32 respectively) and having as the least frequent the Game Event (only 8 cases distributed evenly). Concerning the remaining two events (Show and War), they differ in frequency across languages.

The complete list of new events found includes: betting, celebration, cleaning, cooking, cutting, farming, fashion, fight, fishing, hairdresser, house cleaning, kingdom, launching, leadership, religion, riding, robbing, school, sport, street market and theatre. Since they were so varied and the difference with the more conventional schemas was noticeable, Figure 26 has been included below, which shows that this difference comes justified mainly by three schemas: cutting, fight and rescuing. It is worth noting that while the first two are found in both languages and in different newspapers, the schema of Rescuing is only found in two newspapers, *ABC* and *The Telegraph*, which are precisely the two newspapers with a more conservative ideology. However, the reason or consequence of such preference will be commented alongside persuasion in forthcoming parts of this chapter. It can also be observed from the colours that, while these conservative newspapers are the ones that use these schemas more frequently, their left-wing counterparts, *Público* and *The Guardian* are the ones that rarely used them as the source.

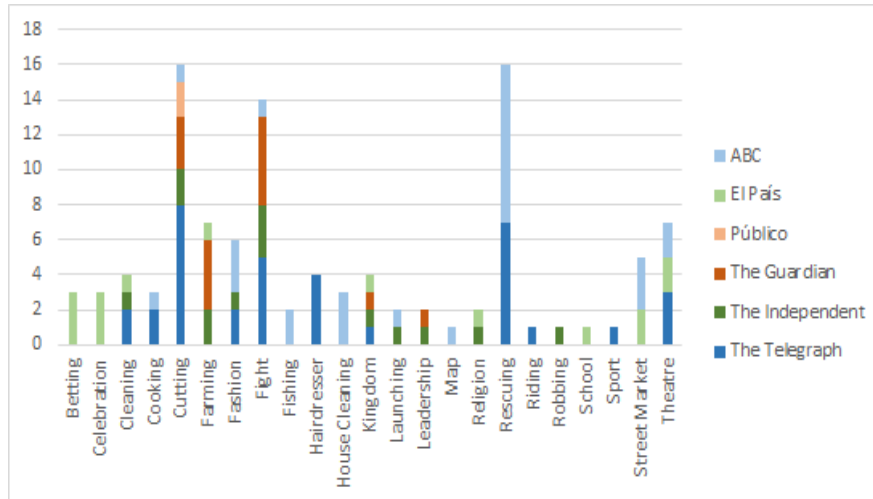


Figure 26: Other event schemas in the whole corpus

To conclude, there is a total of 226 instances of event schemas in our study, distributed in 98 cases found in Spanish and 128 in English.

2.2.4. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

Figure 27 and Figure 28 below show the contrast in terms of Schema preference or frequency in both corpus or languages on the one hand and distributed across ideologies, on the other. For the former, the three newspapers of each language have been considered and, for the latter, the three different ideologies of the study, grouping each newspaper with its corresponding one in the other language (*id est*, *Público* and *The Guardian*, *El País* and *The Independent*, and *ABC* and *The Telegraph*). It can be observed at first sight that there is a similar distribution of schemas both across languages and across ideologies, showing a higher number of propositional schemas, followed by image schemas and using event schemas the least frequent.

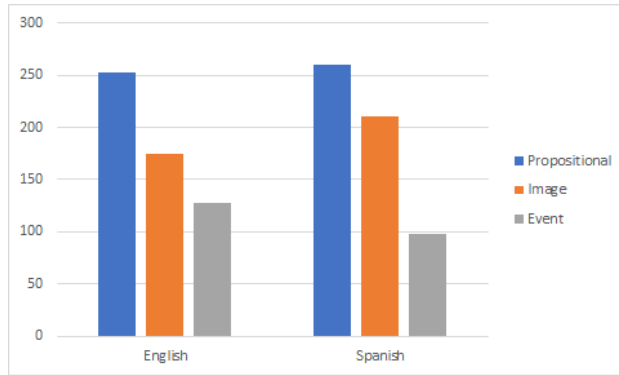


Figure 27: Schema distribution across languages

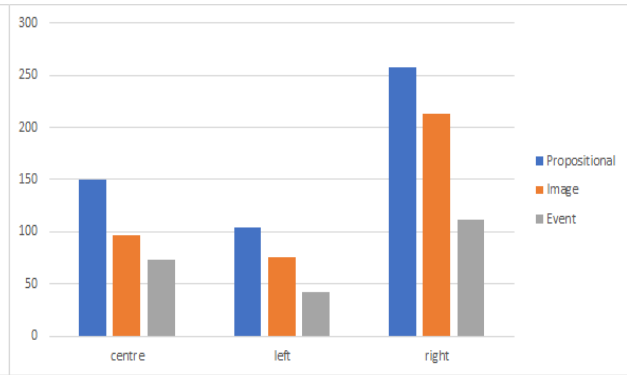


Figure 28: Schema distribution across ideologies

Apparently, the distribution is similar, but statistical tests were run so as to see whether such differences were relevant, on the one hand, and whether it was possible to claim that there was a correlation existing between language and schema type and between ideology and schema type.

To start with, out of the 1123 cases on which metaphors were found, distributed in 569 cases in Spanish and 554 in English, 45.6% of them presented propositional schemas (45.7% in Spanish, 45.5% in English), 34.3% presented image schemas (37.1% in Spanish and 31.4% in English) and 20.1% presented event schemas (17.2% in Spanish and 23.1% in English). The Chi-Square test showed a statistically significant difference in proportions of $p=.024$, which answers to Research Question 3 and confirms the hypothesis that language influences in the choice of Structural schemas in our corpus. This data is summarized in Tables 20 and 21 below:

		Propositional	Image	Event	Total
Spanish	Count	260	211	98	569
	% within lang	45.7%	37.1%	17.2%	100%
English	Count	252	174	128	554
	% within lang	45.5%	31.4%	23.1%	100%
Total	Count	512	385	226	1123
	% within lang	45.6%	34.3%	20.1%	100%

Table 20: Proportion of schemas per language

	Value	df	Symp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.464	2	.024

Table 21: Chi-Square test for schema type and language

Concerning ideology (see Figure 23 and Table 22 below), the distribution of percentages is similar as well. Concerning statistical comparisons, Pearson’s Chi-Square test resulted in a value of $p = .352$ (see Table 23), which implies that there is no significant difference in proportions concerning ideology and metaphorical schema (Research Question 4). *Id est*, we cannot assume that a given ideology (left, centre or right) will always entail a higher proportion of propositional schemas, for example.

		Propositional	Image	Event	Total
left	Count	104	75	42	221
	% within ideology	47.1%	33.9%	19.0%	100.0%
centre	Count	150	97	73	320
	% within ideology	46.9%	30.3%	22.8%	100.0%
right	Count	258	213	111	582
	% within ideology	44.3%	36.6%	19.1%	100.0%
Total	Count	512	385	226	1123
	% within ideology	45.6%	34.3%	20.1%	100.0%

Table 22: Proportion of schemas per language

	Value	df	Symp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.419	4	.352

Table 23: Chi-Square test for schema type and ideology

One more test was run to observe whether the two variables acting together (language and ideology) showed a difference in results. By adding another layer (language) to the previous Chi-Square test, it gave two different values for the Spanish corpus and the English one (see Table 24). More specifically, Pearson’s test revealed that the difference in proportions is still significant in the Spanish corpus considering ideology, resulting in a value of $p = .022$, while its English counterpart results in $p = .593$ (which is higher than the value obtained considering only ideology). This seems to indicate that ideology does play a role in terms of schema choice in Spanish newspapers, while it does not seem to do so in the English ones; in other words, language and ideology combined significantly influence the proportion of schemas in a corpus in Spanish, while they do not act similarly in an English corpus. This indicator could be confirmed by expanding the Spanish corpus and analyzing further cases to observe whether such correlation is maintained. Finally, further tests showed that, adding the ideological variable to the language comparison and splitting statistical results for each ideological side, the level of significance

changed considerably. As shown in Table 25 below, while the value for ideology “left” and “centre” remains non-significant ($p = .581$ and $p = .321$ respectively), it changes in the “right” ideology, obtaining a value of $p = .001$. In consequence, this seems to indicate that there is in fact a relation between Spanish right-wing newspapers and their choice of schemas.

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig (2-sided)
Spanish	11.445	4	.022
English	2.793	4	.593
Total	4.419	4	.352

Table 24: Chi-Square test ideology-language

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig (2-sided)
Left	1.085	2	.581
Centre	2.270	2	.321
Right	14.202	2	.001
total	7.464	2	.024

Table 25: Chi-Square test language-ideology

In conclusion, the outcomes of this level of analysis of our corpus indicate that there seems to be a general preference towards propositional schemas in both languages and in all three ideologies. However, the differences are significant mainly when language is involved in the relation. In addition, all three schemas have presented examples of almost all the conventional elements in the reference lists which will be analyzed in the following subsection, except for some which have not been found; what is interesting, though, is the high presence of “Other” schemas in all three categories as well, which seems to point at a considerably high level of creativity in the corpus (to be confirmed next). Nevertheless, these results could be contrasted with larger samples, possibly from different newspapers with similar ideologies (to make the corpus larger) or with newspapers in different languages, to observe whether the significant difference across language and schema-type is maintained in other languages as well.

2.3. METAPHORICAL CREATIVITY

The next stage or level of analysis in this study concerning the level of creativity of the conceptual metaphors derived from the corpus. As has been introduced in the previous chapter, a

list of more-or-less conventional metaphors for each of the three schemas of the study was set, which was drawn based on previous studies of similar nature (see Table 8 in Section 4.2. of Chapter III) (Rojo-López and Orts-Llopis 2008, 2010; Orts-Llopis and Rojo-López 2009, Soares da Silva (2013a, 2013b),) and following Kövecses’s proposal of the scale grading conventionality (2010, see same section). It is important to note that whether a metaphor is conventional or novel is not a dichotomous choice, and that the level of conventionality can be graded, which is why such scale has been used as a reference tool.

As introduced, previous works claim that there seems to be a general agreement concerning creativity at the most generic level but higher levels of creativity or novelty cannot be found at the more specific levels (Kövecses 2005, Vasiloaia et al. 2011). Considering these are general assumptions, the present study has focused precisely on those specific-level metaphors which are the ones that may reveal creativity within a given corpus. Thus, in order to retrieve the more creative metaphors from the corpus, I set Access questionnaire to offer two options at this level, as shown in the screenshot depicted in Figure 29 below. It has to be clarified that, even though the program allows for two options (Creative and novel), Kövecses’ scale (2010a) was at all times considered and taken as a reference. As for those cases that would be considered to be situated in the intermediate point of the scale I proceeded as follows: “those cases of metaphors not found in the list but very similar to one of the elements were considered as ‘more or less entrenched’ and thus, tagged as ‘conventional’, (and) those cases that were not in the list and with almost no similarity (or none) found, were tagged as ‘more or less new’ or ‘completely new’, respectively or, in other words, ‘novel’ metaphors (see Chapter III).

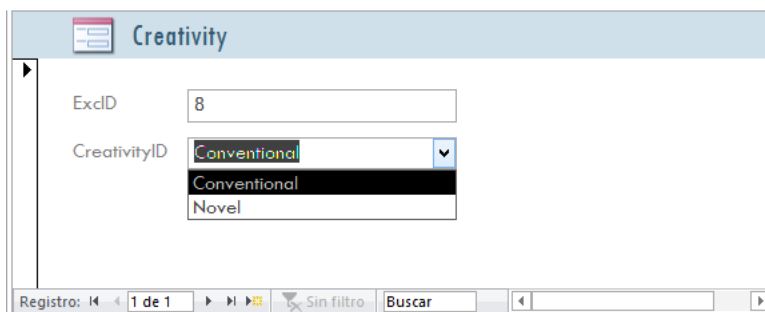


Figure 29: Screenshot of conventionality Analysis on Access

As done with the metaphorical schemas, several examples for each group (conventional and novel) are presented in this section. The most relevant ones, either for their frequency or for

other particular aspects found during the analysis, were selected. Again, the whole list of excerpts and their classification concerning conventionality or novelty can be consulted in Appendix F.

2.3.1. CONVENTIONAL METAPHORS

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
236	Público	5	de la compañía biotecnológica Oryzon se han disparado un 35,7% en su debut en el	<u>Mercado</u>	Continuo este lunes, al marcar un precio de 4,6 euros por acción, frente a los

Sp. for: “...of the biotechnology company Oryzon have shot up 35.7% in its debut in the Continuous Market this Monday, marking a price of 4.6 € per share, against the...”

The first example from the corpus is taken from the Spanish newspaper *Público* and it is a similar case to another one presented before. Here, the target domain Market is presented as a show in which companies can make their *début*. The generic metaphor is (THE) MARKET IS A SHOW, the specific one is ENTERING THE MARKING IS DEBUTING IN A SHOW and thus the main source domain is SHOW. As already explained, this dissertation focuses on specific-level metaphors, since most previous studies were centered on the more generic one. In the present example, there is a feature of ‘shows’ being portrayed at the more specific example: the moment of debuting. In this sense, in those cases where the specificity of the metaphor was just informing about a common characteristic of all the potential specific instantiations of the more generic level, it was considered conventional as it is depicting a more or less entrenched inner characteristic. Thus, since all first appearances in a show are *débuts*, Excerpt 236 would be categorized as conventional.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
1491	ABC	85	2008, y, como incide la autoridad monetaria en su comunicado, se apoya en la mejoría	económica	de EE.UU. Los tipos bajos han contribuido a que la economía estadounidense haya encadenado crecimientos

Sp. for: "...2008, and, as the monetary authority insists in its announcement, it is based on the economic improvement of the USA. The low types have contributed to the fact that the American economy has chained growths..."

Medicine has long been found as a conventional metaphor in the discourse of economy and finance (Boers and Demecheleer 1997, Pecican 2007, Peckham 2013), which would place Excerpt 1491 within the category of conventional metaphors. However, in this case, the target "economy" is referred to as someone (a patient) that is getting better, or showing some improvement. The DRAE takes as the more basic meaning the medical one, referring to it as "alivio en una dolencia, padecimiento o enfermedad" (*Sp. for* "a relief from pain, ailment or illness"). Thus, the source, as explained in previous sections, would be MEDICINE, which is directly linked to the well-entrenched metaphor of Health and Illness and was categorized as conventional. Again, no specific or special characteristic of medicine is being referred to, such as a new type or treatment, which, if existing, could be considered novel.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
2729	The Independent	51	the next two years.; Revenue at its global markets and banking- home to its investment	<u>banking</u>	operations- rose 8%.; Additional reporting by Reuters"

As already mentioned, the Up-Down metaphor is one of the most recurrent schemas in the whole corpus; a fact which seems to be justified by the numerous cases of verbs such as "rising" and "falling" in reference to products, money and companies in the Market. In the present example taken from the English newspaper *The Independent*, the node that serves to "fish" the metaphor is "bank", yet the target of the linguistic metaphor is "revenue", mapped with the vertical image source schema of rising ("rose"). Thus, the specific-level metaphor derived from the linguistic metaphor is MORE IS UP (as part of the more generic one MARKET IS A VERTICAL LINE), which can be traced within the entrenched image schema of Up-Down and therefore categorized as conventional. This was the case for almost all examples using sources such as "rising", "falling", "going upwards" or "going downwards" or their synonyms, unless there was something specifically different being mapped, as is shown in the following subsection.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
3776	The Telegraph	11	its own rates came close to zero then the UK would have faced “a deeper	<u>recession</u> ,	higher unemployment and very weak underlying domestic inflation”, Mr Carney said. George Osborne, the Chancellor,

The last example taken from the conventional category of metaphors is Excerpt 3776, in which another well-known or somehow entrenched image schema is being depicted: the Container metaphor. In this case, the container is not the Market as in previous examples, but the target “recession”, which is mapped alongside the adjective “deeper”, deriving in the generic metaphor RECESSON IS A CONTAINER and, within this, the specific one, LONG RECESSON IS A DEEP CONTAINER. Moreover, the comparative form of the adjective seems to imply that, the longer a recession is, the deeper the container. Since the Container image schema is well-known, cases like this were also categorized as conventional.

2.3.2. NOVEL METAPHORS

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
386	El País	29	se decanten por carreras como ingeniería aeronáutica o robótica, entre otras. La migración de las	<u>compañías</u>	al nuevo escenario de la economía digital requiere de los llamados titulados STEM (siglas en

Sp. for: “...to chose for degrees as aeronautic enginery or robotics, among others. The migration of companies to the new scenario of digital economy requires the new so-called STEM graduates...”

The first case of novel or creative metaphor from the Spanish corpus has been extracted from *El País*. The target domain “company” is mapped to the source “migración” (migration), which, as defined by the DRAE, literally refers to a “periodical journey that birds, fish or other animals take”. The main source then is ANIMAL and the generic metaphor, COMPANIES ARE ANIMALS. The propositional schema Plants and Animals is considered to be conventional, yet the specific metaphor derived here (CHANGING MARKETS IS MIGRATING) has been

categorized as novel. The reason for such categorization lies in the property that is highlighted (or more salient) at the specific level: the act of migrating. Previous studies referring to the field of animals have focused on animals themselves, on different types of animals, such as the well-entrenched metaphor of the bull and the bear (Charteris-Black 2000, Cortés de los Ríos 2010, Vasiloaia et al. 2011.). However, this case does not map a well-entrenched class of animal but actually the movement or journey that animals take. This was a case of dubious example that would be placed in the intermediate point of Kövecses’ grading scale (2010a), but it was eventually classified as novel since there was no real similarity with previous studies from which our reference list was drawn. Nevertheless, we should consider that even though all the novel metaphors under study have been classified taking into account the present data and some existing previous studies from different perspectives and in different languages, but there may be research that actually includes a metaphor like this one (or like any other novel one in the corpus). In other words, the concept of novelty has been used following Kövecses (ibid.), but I do not claim that the novel metaphors identified are completely novel or creative in the whole discourse of economy and finance, a claim that would require more data.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
957	ABC	5	con malas noticias para los clientes de ING Direct. El próximo 1 de enero, el	<u>banco</u>	de origen holandés recortará la retribución de su Cuenta Naranja, una de las mejores cuentas

Sp. for: “...with the bad news for the clients of ING Direct. Next January 1st, the Dutch bank will cut retribution of its Cuenta Naranja, one of the best accounts...”

In Excerpt 957, Countries and Governments “cutting” money or budgets is something that may not sound very novel nowadays as references to this fact or event have been present for the last decade, or at least since the global economic crisis started in 2008. However, when this study was performed and to the best of my knowledge, there were no studies that presented the source CUTTING as conventional in the discourse of economy and finance. Moreover, because of the diversity of approaches to the study of economic metaphors all instances of CUTTING were tagged as novel. To be more concrete, the specific level derived from the linguistic metaphor of Excerpt 957 from ABC, which says that “a bank will cut payment” depicts the

generic metaphor MONEY IS PAPER and its more specific one, REDUCING AMOUNT OF MONEY IS CUTTING PAPER.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
2546	The Guardian	8	its 22nd month above the 50 mark that separates growth from contraction. "The eurozone manufacturing	<u>sector</u>	continued to grow in April, but the dip in the rate of expansion will serve

Another frequent source found in our corpus and in both languages is SIZE. Excerpt 2546 from the English newspaper *The Guardian* is an instantiation of this source. As already justified, those instances of “mayor” when it referred to the size of a company or a bank in terms of number of buildings, workers or actual extension were not considered metaphorical since the more basic entry given by the dictionary was precisely that. Thus, only if it referred to importance, as in IMPORTANT IS BIG (see the case of “giants”), it would be considered to be a metaphor (again, the co-text and having previously read each text manually were essential). However, the present case shows a different example, as it refers to a “sector” (one of our targets) “expanding”. When checking the dictionary, MacMillan defines “expansion” as “the process of increasing in size and filling more space”, *id est*, it immediately implies an objectification of the target to make it tangible so that it can “fill more space” which is, as a matter of fact, abstract in the example. Therefore, in this case it is implying that, the more money or control a sector has, the bigger it is, and the more it increases its size. Consequently, the specific metaphor GOOD ECONOMY IS INCREASING SIZE (within the more generic MORE IS BIGGER), would be categorized as novel, since the source SIZE is not part of the reference list of conventional metaphors and it does not present similar characteristics that would make it well entrenched in this discourse.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
3488	The Telegraph	5	Greece's endgame: why they will finally be forced to capitulate "With its	<u>banking</u>	system teetering on the edge , the Greek government's bargaining power is being eroded with every

Finally, Excerpt 3488 from *The Telegraph* is another example of a novel metaphor at the specific level that, if only observed at its generic level, would be categorized as conventional instead. Here, the target “banking system” is metaphorically projected as being on the edge of a cliff. Then, if we observe the generic metaphor derived here, (THE) MARKET IS A CLIFF, it would be placed within the more or less entrenched schema of Natural Forces since cliffs are a part of natural landscape. However, this excerpt is highlighting the dangerous side of a cliff, the edge, and the risky moment in which someone stands on the edge and may fall down the cliff. Thus, this particular action is not a characteristic of natural forces itself but seems to be much more elaborated and thus not so well-entrenched as the cliff on its own. In view of this, the present specific metaphor, UNSTABLE MARKET IS BEING ON THE EDGE OF A CLIFF, would finally be categorized as novel.

Following Kövecses’ grading scale (2010a), this subsection has presented some examples that have been categorized as conventional and others than have been classified as novel or creative within the corpus, taking excerpts from all newspapers and ideologies and from both languages. The following subsection shows the results obtained from contrasting all these variables.

2.3.3. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

Figures 30, 31 and 32 below show the results of the total count of conventional and novel metaphors in our corpus, separated by source (Figure 24), language (25) and ideology (26).

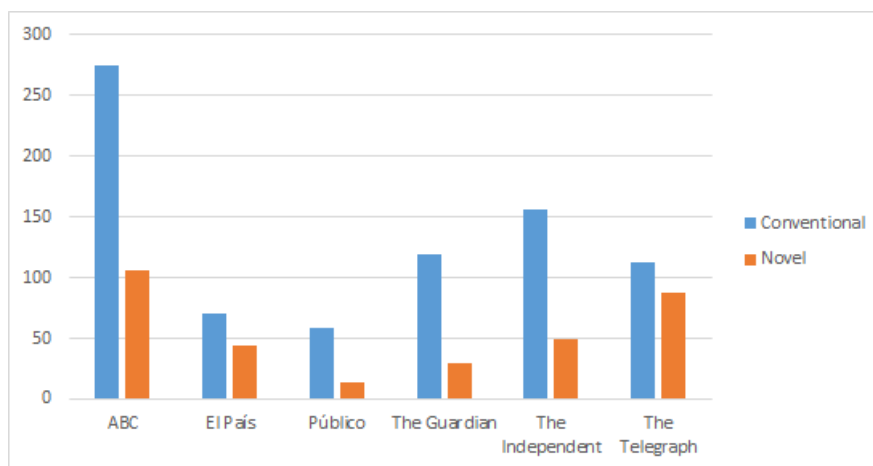


Figure 30: Conventional/Novel metaphors per newspaper

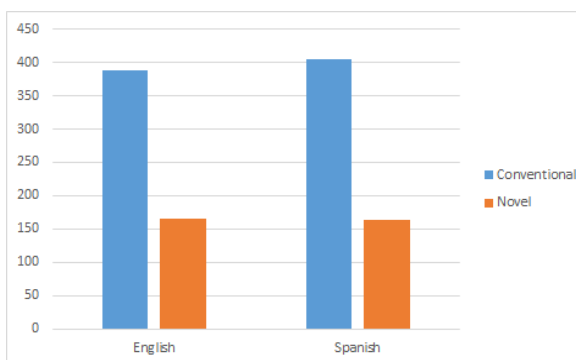


Figure 31: Conventional/Novel metaphors per language

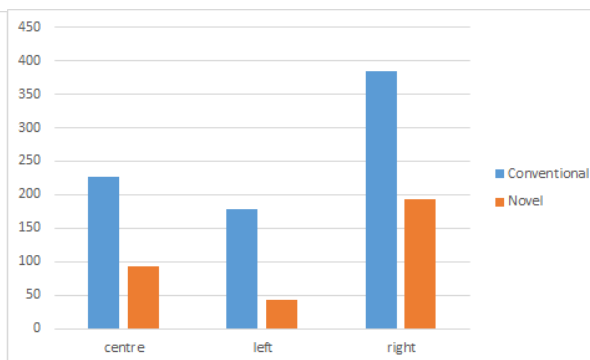


Figure 32: Conventional/Novel metaphors per ideology

To start with the newspapers, there is a clear prevalence of conventional metaphors in the corpus, which is in line with the hypothesis and with previous studies (Kövecses 2002, Schmid 2007, Arrese 2015). The difference is mainly noticeable in the Spanish newspapers *Público* and *ABC* and in the English *The Guardian* and *The independent*. On the contrary, *El País* and *The Telegraph* seem to present more even results in terms of frequency of conventional and novel metaphors, but this will be statistically tested in turn. For now, all figures show a general tendency towards conventionality even if the specific level metaphors are counted instead of the more generic ones, where a higher level of conventionality would be expected according to the aforementioned previous research. Table 26 below summarizes the individual results for each newspaper:

		Conventional	Novel	Total
Público	Count	59	14	73
	% within news.	80.8%	19.2%	100.0%
El País	Count	71	44	115
	% within news.	61.7%	38.3%	100.0%
ABC	Count	275	106	381
	% within news.	72.2%	27.8%	100.0%
The Guardian	Count	119	29	148
	% within news.	80.4%	19.6%	100.0%
The Independent	Count	156	49	205
	% within news.	76.1%	23.9%	100.0%
The Telegraph	Count	113	88	201
	% within news.	56.2%	43.8%	100.0%
Total	Count	793	330	1123
	% within news.	70.6%	29.4%	100.0%

Table 26: Proportion of conventional/Novel metaphors per newspaper

	Value	df	Symp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	38.361	5	.000

Table 27: Chi-Square test for newspaper/conventionality

The percentages confirm the visual outcome from the figures above, and the Chi-Square test applied showed significant difference in the proportions shown in Table 27, with a value of $p = <.001$. This can be interpreted in the sense that there is a relation between the source or newspaper and the level of metaphorical creativity. As a whole, there are 793 conventional cases and 330 novel ones, which means that almost one third of the metaphors in the corpus are creative at their specific level (Research Question 5) This, however, may differ if we take other factors into account, such as language or ideology.

Observing language alone, in order to contrast the outcomes cross-linguistically, Table 28 below shows the total count and the proportion of each category, and Table 29 presents the results of the statistical test.

		Conventional	Novel	Total
Spanish	Count	405	164	569
	% within lang.	71.2%	28.8%	100.0%
English	Count	388	166	554
	% within lang.	70.0%	30.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	793	330	1123
	% within lang.	70.6%	29.4%	100.0%

Table 28: Proportion of conventional/Novel metaphors per language

	Value	df	Symp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.176	1	.675

Table 29: Chi-Square test for language/conventionality

In this case, the distribution of proportions is equal in both languages (approximately 70% of conventional cases and 30% of novel cases), which points at a non-significant difference across languages (Research Question 6). This is confirmed by the statistical test, whose value is $p = .675$, confirming no relevant difference in proportion between languages in terms of conventionality.

Finally, the last variable of interest is ideology. Figure 26 also showed a generally similar tendency of a much higher proportion of conventional metaphors. Results are summarized in Table 30 below.

		Conventional	Novel	Total
left	Count	178	43	221
	% within ideol.	80.5%	19.5%	100.0%
centre	Count	227	93	320
	% within ideol.	70.9%	29.1%	100.0%
right	Count	388	194	582
	% within ideol.	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
total	Count	793	330	1123
	% within ideol.	70.6%	29.4%	100.0%

Table 30: Proportion of conventional/Novel metaphors per ideology

	Value	df	Symp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.886	2	.001

Table 31: Chi-Square test for ideology/conventionality

Although the tendency is similar, there is a difference in proportions that, as shown in Table 31, is significant as indicated by the Chi-Square test, obtaining a value of $p = .001$, which is an indicator that there is indeed a relation existing between ideology and level of conventionality. The results then suggest that right-wing newspapers seem to have a higher level of novelty than centre and especially left-wing ones. This answers our Research Question 7.

Summarizing, the results obtained at this level of analysis suggest that, although there is a difference in terms of frequency and conventional metaphors prevail over novel ones in all newspapers and in both corpora, the distribution within each sub-corpus varies. Statistical tests show that some newspapers significantly use a higher number of novel metaphors, and this fact seems to be related with the ideology they have instead of the language they are written in. In fact, and in order to observe whether the values were maintained, another layer to both tests (linguistic and ideological) was added. Results are summarized in Tables 32 and 33 below:

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig (2-sided)
Spanish	8.490	2	.014
English	29.458	2	.000
Total	14.886	2	.001

Table 32: Chi-Square test ideology+language and conventionality

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig (2-sided)
Left	.005	1	.941
Centre	7.367	1	.007
Right	15.082	1	.000
Total	.176	1	.675

Table 33: Chi-Square test language+ideology and conventionality

Adding a third layer to the test provides interesting results. As summarized in Table 32, when adding a layer for language to the potential relation between ideology and conventionality, which has proved to be statistically significant, the value of significance is maintained for both languages ($p = .014$ for Spanish and $p < .001$ in English), which indicates that ideology has a stronger effect on the level of creativity of metaphors in the economy than language. Observing Table 33, when adding the layer of ideology to the potential relation between language and conventionality, which proved to be non-significant, this value actually varies notably ($p = .941$ for left, $p = .007$ for centre and $p < .001$ for right). Thus, the non-significant difference in proportions in terms of language mainly comes from the left-wing newspapers, which is what actually influence the high value of $p = .675$ obtained originally. This may suggest that, if only right-wing newspapers were analyzed, the level of significance of the relation between language and ideology would vary considerably, but these assumptions could only be confirmed in further analysis and with a larger or more varied set of data.

In sum, Section 2.3 has presented and commented on the results of the second level of the quantitative analysis, observing the degree or level of conventionality and novelty of the corpus, and contrasting results in terms of language and ideology mainly. Results suggest that while the first variable does not seem to affect the level of creativity in economic metaphors, the second one does, since the proportion of novel metaphors in centre and especially right-wing newspapers is significantly higher than left-wing ones. The examples presented illustrate how I proceeded with this part of the study, further examples can be consulted in Appendix E.

2.4. SCOPE OF METAPHORS

The third level of the quantitative analysis aimed at observing the level of “internationality” of the metaphors found. In other words, it analyses whether the metaphors are found in both languages or if, on the contrary, they only appear in one. Although some scholars refer to “universal” metaphors, considering that only two languages are analyzed in this corpus, it was too pretentious to say that a given expression is “universal”. For this reason, the dichotomy of international/domestic has been preferred (see Section 8.3. in Chapter II). Finally, as specified in the Methodology, this part of the analysis focuses as well on the specific-level metaphors, since most of the existing literature has focused on the more generic ones, (Kövecses 2005, Vasiloiia et al. 2011, among others), and this work aims at contributing at expanding this field of research. As done with the other levels of analysis, all the excerpts classified at this one can be consulted in Appendix G.

Before presenting some examples and numerical results, there are some guidelines followed that need to be clarified, although they are to be understood in combination with the examples below:

- First, if a conceptual metaphor only appears in one of the two languages, it is immediately tagged as domestic. Equally, if it appears frequently and more or less evenly in both, it is tagged as international.
- However, if a metaphor appears in one language very frequently and it also appears in the other, but there is only one case, it is considered as domestic since that isolated case, considering the size of the corpus, does not need to imply internationality. That isolated case has been tagged as international so as not to jeopardize the results, also because it was not considered to be a prototypical or representative case of its corpus.
- Although it is the specific level that is being analyzed, the general source is also consulted as a reference in cases of doubt. So, for example, considering that there are two sources of the same semantic field which appear together very frequently, like WAR and BOMB, they have been tagged as international even if the first appears in Spanish and the second in English, for example. These cases, however, were not very frequently found.

- Finally, the opposite case may apply. In other words, two specific sources that fall within the same general source but depict a very specific characteristic or typology and only appear in one language, were tagged as domestic.

2.4.1. INTERNATIONAL METAPHORS

Following the guidelines above, internationality was applied to those metaphors that were frequently and more or less evenly found in both languages; moreover, cases that were not very recurrent in the corpus as a whole but did appear both in Spanish and English, were also tagged within this group.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
79	Público	24	esta rebaja en la tasa de mora ""avanza en línea con el saneamiento del sector	<u>bancario</u> ""	y apunta ""lo lejos que está el sector de mantener unos márgenes suficientes para hacer

Sp. for: “this this reduction in the default ratio goes forward in line with the sanitation of the banking system and points how far it is from maintaining enough margins to make...”

The first case, taken from the Spanish newspaper *Público*, depicts a well-known or well entrenched metaphor derived from the general source MEDICINE and previously tagged as conventional within the schema of Health and Illness. The target “bank” (referring to “banking sector”) is mapped alongside “saneamiento” (derived from “sano”, which means “healthy”). This is a case in which conventionality and internationality coincide; the specific metaphor GOOD BANK (CONDITIONS) IS GETTING BETTER (within the more generic BANKS ARE PATIENTS) only appears in one case in Spanish, but there are numerous cases in both corpora with the specific source of GETTING BETTER referring to companies, the market, the economy, etc. Therefore, all these cases of recovering patients were tagged as international since, although the target varies, the source is the same.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
581	El País	11	hunden en Bolsa La bajada del precio del crudo se deja sentir también en los	<u>mercados</u>	de valores. Las principales petroleras del Viejo Continente volvieron a caer ayer tras varias jornadas

Sp. for: “...sank in the Market. The decrease in the price of crude have been felt also in the value markets. The main oil companies of the Old Continent fell again yesterday after several days...”

VERTICALITY has already been introduced as one of the most frequent schemas (in fact, the most frequent) in both corpora and in the whole corpus, which is why one example has been included here. In this case, it is the target “market” and the source “to fall” that are mapped together, creating the specific metaphor of LESS IS DOWN within the more generic source VERTICAL LINE and VERTICALITY. Since it is very recurrent in both languages, as well as its opposite, MORE IS UP, all these cases are considered to be international in this study.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
2742	The Independent	9	quarter. This was well below consensus forecasts of annualised 1 per cent growth . The central	<u>bank’s</u>	statement did note that growth “had slowed during the winter months”, but attributed this in

The term GROWTH is also very pervasive in the entire corpus, having constant references to the economy growing or to consumption growing, among other targets, yet in most of them and even if it was implicit, the source GROWTH was mapped with the target ECONOMY, as it is the case in Excerpt 2742. Although the node or “fishing” target is “bank”, “growth” is referring to the economy of the country in the text as a whole. This was in fact a hazardous task since some cases could be ambiguous and it was necessary to consult the entire report in order to understand what each metaphoric source was actually referring to. Thus, the specific metaphor GOOD ECONOMY IS A GROWING BODY was tagged as international since it appears very frequently in both languages. It has to be noted here that even if the adjective “GOOD” is used in the conceptual metaphors produced in this study, it refers to “good market conditions” or “good economic conditions”; equally, when “bad” is found, it refers to

“bad economic conditions”, yet the word “conditions” is implicit (as well as the article “the”, which was omitted when possible to avoid long conceptual metaphors).

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
3627	The Telegraph	9	eliminate the structural deficit– or the money the government has to borrow even when the	<u>economy</u>	is running at full steam . What does this mean for the public finances? According to

Finally, Excerpt 3627 from *The Telegraph* depicts the source RACE, when referring to the target “economy running at full steam”. In those cases where the more specific source was the economy (the national economy), it was uttered as ECONOMIES ARE RACERS (in this case), meaning economies of each country, and therefore being all within the more generic or more global ECONOMY IS A RACE. Again, it was necessary to read the whole text to understand which economy in particular was being depicted. Considering that this specific CM was found in both corpora, it was tagged as international, as well as all similar cases, unless very different aspects or types of races (such as a horse race or a F1 race) were referred to.

2.4.2. DOMESTIC METAPHORS

On the contrary, domestic metaphors are, as domestic flights, those that stay within the country; in other words, when a metaphor from the corpus was specifically found only in one language, it was tagged as domestic. Equally, following the guidelines given before, if a case was found more or less frequently in one language but there was only one instance in the other language, it was also tagged as domestic in the former corpus.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
476	El País	22	de muchos dólares baratos de obtener para la banca— puede acabar calentando en exceso la	<u>economía</u>	y generando burbujas. Y una retirada de las ayudas demasiado temprana ha llevado a experiencias

Sp. for: “...many cheap dollars away to achieve for the bank- this can end up overheating the economy and generating bubbles. And retiring the helps too soon has led to experiences...”

To start with, Excerpt 474 shows multiple metaphors, yet this case focuses on the target “economy” and the source “calentando en exceso” (Sp. for “overheating”). Although “sobrecalentar” does not only imply machines, it is most commonly used to refer to machinery and engines in general. Thus, the national economy is depicted here as a machine that can be overheated (and, supposedly, this may lead to a bad consequence as that of creating “bubbles”, but this would be a different metaphor). Although the source MACHINE does appear in the reference list of conventional metaphors used in the study (within propositional schemas) and was tagged as conventional, this does not necessarily imply that it is going to be shared by both languages. In fact, it only appears in the Spanish corpus (more concretely, the specific metaphor BAD ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ARE OVERHEATED MACHINES, as part of the generic ECONOMY IS A MACHINE) and it does not appear once in English, which determined its categorization as domestic.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
1423	ABC	25	De Guindos: una carrera de 728.381 kilómetros para apuntalar la	economía	La mejora de la imagen de España en las plazas internacionales fue uno de los

Sp. for: “...De Guindos: a race of 728,381 kilometres to brace the economy. The improvement of the image of Spain in the international squares was one of the...”

Excerpt 1423 is a special case. It also has multiple metaphors that would be analyzed separately (in fact, the node “economy” is the fishing target but not the one analyzed here). In this case, the word “plaza” (square) functions as the target and the source at the same time. More concretely, it is a word that is used in finance discourse to refer to the Market, probably due to the similarity in shape between the building of a Market and a square. Thus, the real target is “market”; when consulting the Spanish dictionary DRAE and etymological references, the word “plaza” actually refers to “lugar ancho y espacioso dentro de un poblado, al que suelen afluir varias calles” and “lugar donde se venden artículos diversos, se tiene el trato común con los vecinos, y se celebran las ferias, los mercados y las fiestas públicas” (Sp. for “street market”),

but it does not specify which one is more basic. Etymologically, though, the word was used in Greek to refer to the market and the place as one concept. This leads us to the source of STREET MARKET, having the generic metaphor MARKETS ARE STREET MARKETS, from which we obtain metaphors as COMPANIES ARE MERCHANTS, and the one present in this Excerpt, MONEY IS A PRODUCT. These are not only novel, but also domestic as they only appear in Spanish. This may be justified by its Latin and Greek roots and to the commonality of street markets nowadays in all Spanish cities and towns.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
2272	The Guardian	12	extent to which we as the 100% shareholder will have management control over that ringfenced	<u>bank...</u>	If we ended up simply as an equity holder... that would become a difficult issue,”

The first example from the English corpus has already been introduced in this chapter. Having the target domain “bank” and the source “ringfence”, which, as mentioned, comes from the general source of FARMING, it has only been found in English, in the generic forms BANKING IS FARMING and (THE) MARKET IS FARMING. In this case, both the generic and the specific would be domestic, but since we are focusing on the latter, the specific metaphors found in the corpus are CONTROLLING THE MARKET IS RING FENCING A PIECE OF LAND and INVESTING MONEY IS PLOUGHING, as a farming method. It has to be noted that there is in fact one instance of farming in the Spanish corpus, but, as explained, and since the majority of them are only found in English, it is still considered to be representative of one of the two languages (English in this case) and it is therefore categorized as domestic.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
3173	The Independent	20	matters.”; European equity funds are buoyed by the introduction of quantitative easing, which means more	<u>money</u>	being pumped into the economy to be used in investments.; “We saw retail investors switching

Finally, excerpt 3173 is another case of a specific metaphor that has only been found in English. Even though it is not a very frequent one, it has been included here because of its creativity as well, as it was both categorized as novel and domestic. To be more concrete, the

target “money” is mapped as something that is being “pumped into” the economy, which is a linguistic metaphor that can actually produce several specific metaphors at the same time (such as ECONOMY IS A CAR). However, what is highlighted or salient here is what is being pumped into that car, *id est*, fuel. The projection of MONEY IS FUEL (generic level) has its more specific one represented here, INVESTING MONEY IS PUMPING FUEL (INTO A CAR), and this creative metaphor has only been found in English, which means it has to be considered as domestic in this corpus.

To conclude, this subsection has explained how this part of the analysis was carried out, providing several examples for each category and from both corpora. Contrastive analyses will be presented now.

2.4.3 CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

Although this level focuses on internationality or domesticity in linguistic terms, and it can be argued that observing the effect of ideology would not provide meaningful results, this variable has also been included in the analysis. Consequently, Figure 33 below shows the frequency of international and novel metaphors in each newspaper, so as to observe the general tendency, and Figure 28 and 29 compare the results cross-linguistically and cross-ideologically. Statistical results are also provided below.

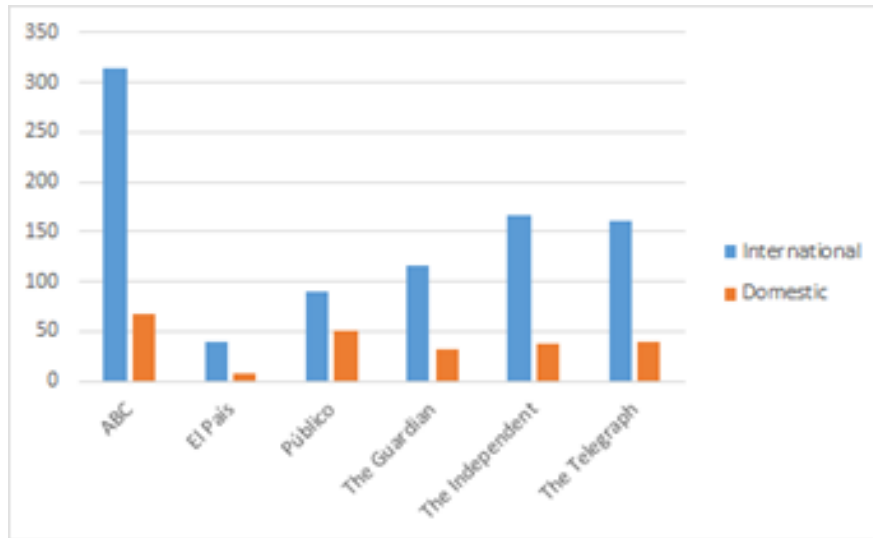


Figure 33: International/Domestic metaphors per newspaper

As it was hypothesized, there is a general supremacy of international metaphors over domestic ones, and the tendency and proportions seem to be similar as well, although the highest difference is observed in the Spanish newspaper *ABC*.

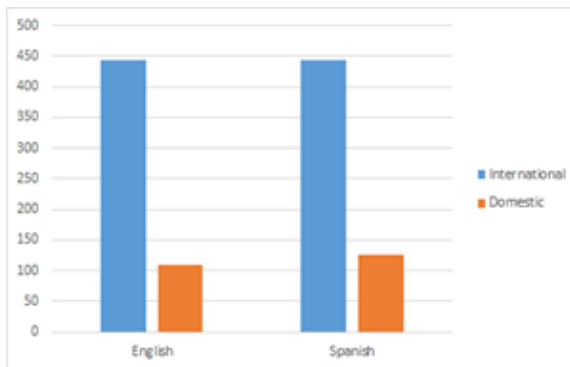


Figure 34: International/domestic metaphors per language

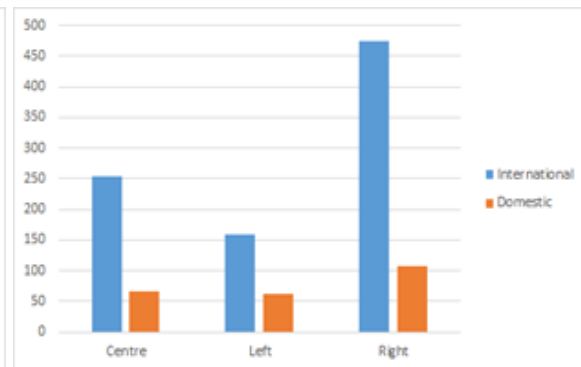


Figure 35: International/Domestic metaphors per ideology

Concerning group differences, Figures 34 and 35 show that the prevalence of internationality remains both cross-linguistically and cross-ideologically. In fact, in the case of the first one, the proportion is almost identical, as confirmed by the values summarized in Table 34 below (22.1% of the Spanish metaphors are domestic, against 19.9% in English). Concerning ideology, the highest proportion of domestic metaphors is found in the left-wing newspapers, with 28.1% of them being domestic (see Table 36 below).

		International	Domestic	Total
Spanish	Count	443	126	569
	% within lang.	77.9%	22.1%	100.0%
English	Count	444	110	554
	% within lang.	80.1%	19.9%	100.0%
Total	Count	887	236	1123
	% within lang.	79.0%	21.0%	100.0%

Table 34: Proportion of international/domestic metaphors per language

	Value	df	Symp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.886	1	.347

Table 35: Chi-Square test for language/internationality

		International	Domestic	Total
Left	Count	159	62	221
	% within ideol.	71.9%	28.1%	100.0%
Centre	Count	253	67	320
	% within ideol.	79.1%	20.9%	100.0%
Right	Count	475	107	582
	% within ideol.	81.6%	18.4%	100.0%
Total	Count	887	236	1123
	% within ideol.	79.0%	21.0%	100.0%

Table 36: Proportion of International/Domestic metaphors per ideology

	Value	df	Symp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.024	2	.011

Table 37: Chi-Square test for ideology/internationality

Statistical findings (Tables 35 and 37) reveal that the difference in proportions concerning language is not significant ($p = .347$), which suggests that no relation can be established between language and frequency of domestic metaphors even at a more specific level, which is in line with the aforementioned previous studies observing universality of metaphors at a more generic level (see Table 1 in Chapter II). On the contrary, ideology seems to have an influence on such frequency, as the statistical test shows a value of $p = .011$, indicating that the difference in proportion between the three ideologies is significant, finding the highest distance in the left-wing newspapers. This answers Research Questions 8 and 9. In addition, further tests applying a third layer were carried out to observe whether the two variables combined have an effect on a higher or lower appearance of domestic metaphors in the corpus:

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig (2-sided)
Spanish	20.431	2	.000
English	.514	2	.773
Total	9.024	2	.011

Table 38: Chi-Square test ideology+language and internationality

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig (2-sided)
Left	9.186	1	.002
Centre	1.986	1	.159
Right	.470	1	.493
Total	.886	1	.347

Table 39: Chi-Square test language+ideology and internationality

When applying the linguistic layer to the statistical test contrasting ideological results, the values vary across languages. The significant difference in proportion is maintained in the case of Spanish ($p = <.001$) but it is not significant any more in English ($p = .773$). In addition, when carrying out the inverse procedure (*id est*, applying the layer of ideology to the cross-linguistic test), right-wing and centre ideologies maintain the low level of significance ($p = >.05$ in both cases) but it changes in the case of left-wing newspapers ($p = .002$). Therefore, we can conclude from these values that language is a determinant factor only if combined with ideology and only in left-wing newspapers, as well as ideology seems to be relevant only in the Spanish corpus. Again, these results can only be applied to the present study, but they could be contrasted with larger corpora, for example analyzing Spanish newspapers alone.

Section 2 has presented the results obtained from the first three levels of analysis of this study once all the metaphors were been identified and annotated, and they have analyzed: preference in terms of metaphorical schemas, level of creativity and level of internationality or presence of domestic metaphors. Examples and statistical tests have been provided so as to illustrate the procedure followed in each of these three levels and whether the variables being accounted for (language and ideology) were significant when determining (1) choice of schema, (2) presence of novel metaphors and (3) frequency of domestic metaphors versus international ones. Moreover, the tests and their results were checked individually and in combination, a method that has provided more detailed information on the different significance in proportions.

Once these three analyses were finished, the last (but not least) step of the procedure was a more qualitative one, which aimed at observing whether the metaphors used in the corpus carried a persuasive objective, being this one of the main aims of this work. Within this fourth level, though, several variables were also considered, which is why the results are presented in a separated section.

3. METAPHOR AND PERSUASION

Section 3 presents the last step of analysis of this study, which was carried out once the previous analyses had been finished. More concretely, it focuses on one of the main motivations behind this thesis: persuasion through metaphor. It is the more critical approach to the corpus, as it observes whether the metaphors used by the newspapers carry some form of persuasive power, crucial at all times and particularly in times of election. As explained, I have considered two types of persuasive strategies through metaphor, which are going to be presented separately and then in combination. The first one refers to polarity, distinguishing between “positive” and “negative” polarity. The second strategy observes face moves in the form of euphemism and dysphemism. Finally, it has to be noted that both strategies may appear together or not, *id est*, negative polarity may coexist with dysphemism or appear individually. This will be analyzed in turn alongside examples and statistical tests.

Before commenting on the results, Figure 36 below shows how I set the program Access to facilitate this step of the analysis. To be more specific, if I considered that one of the two strategies or the two were present in the excerpt, I selected ‘yes’, which immediately activated two combo boxes, one for polarity and one for face moves. Within each combobox, there were three different options, two corresponding to each typology within each strategy, and a third one for ‘NA’, or ‘non-applicable’, used when X strategy was not present in combination with Y.

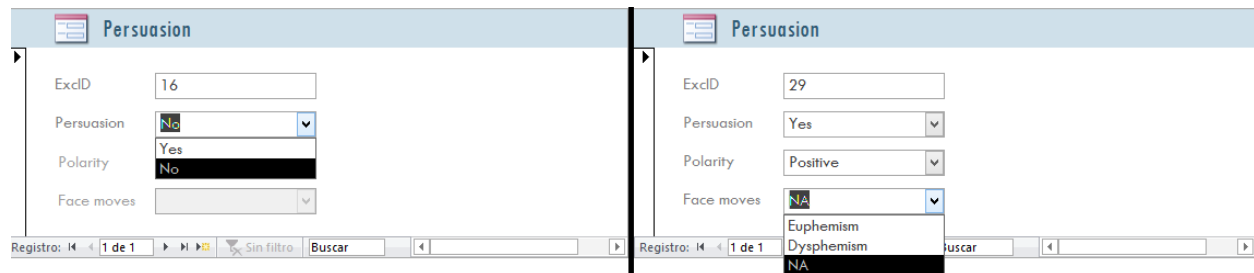


Figure 36: Screenshot of Access questionnaire for Persuasion

Finally, there are as well several guidelines that were followed during this part of the analysis and that need to be specified:

- To start with, one of the objectives of this study is to observe persuasion and compare the way it is hidden differently in the newspapers. Thus, what concerns us here is what the journalists or reporters say or write, which means that when the piece of news is using the

direct speech said by someone else (indicated by inverted commas), the message is not actually uttered by them and, if there is persuasion, it is not the newspapers that is “using” it. Consequently, direct speech was not tagged as persuasive.

- Another core objective of the study is to observe the potential implications that these metaphors can have on the audience in terms of the economy of the country in critical days (pre-election week). In other words, it is mainly national economy affairs that concern this study. This means that, if a piece of news mentions a detail about Chinese economy or Italian economy, this shall not be tagged as persuasive (in terms of national economy). However, there are two aspects that were considered of importance at a global level and that affects the national economy in each case. To start with, there were numerous cases of metaphors referring to the economy and the Stock Market of the United States, pointing it as a reference of the global market. In addition, references to the economy of the European Union were also very frequent. In these two cases, where the Stock Market of New York is seen as a global indicator of the economy of the entire world, and the state of the European economy affects national economies in Europe as well, I did evaluate the persuasive power, if existing. After all, a negative projection of the economy of the UE is as well a negative projection of the Spanish economy, being the latter a member of the former, and the potential effect on the audience is also a matter of interest for this thesis.

These two guidelines are common in both languages and in all newspapers. Further particular cases of interest will be commented alongside the examples below.

3.1. NON-PERSUASIVE METAPHORS

Previous to the analysis of persuasive strategies, the cases where no persuasive strategy was found at all were tagged as ‘no’ and therefore the combobox was not activated in Access (see Figure 36 above). First representative excerpts of non-persuasive metaphors are commented on and next affirmative ones.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
79	Público	24	esta rebaja en la tasa de mora ""avanza en línea con el saneamiento del sector	<u>bancario</u> ""	y apunta ""lo lejos que está el sector de mantener unos márgenes suficientes para hacer

Sp. for: “this reduction in the default ratio goes forward in line with the sanitation of the banking system and points how far it is from maintaining enough margins to make...”

Excerpt 79 from the Spanish newspaper *Público* is an example of the aforementioned direct speech, *id est*, discourse (and therefore, metaphors) that are not produced by the newspaper or the journalist writing the report, but said by someone else. In this case, File 24 reports on an interview with a trade analyst and the words within which the metaphor had been spotted (“saneamiento del sector bancario”) are said by him. Therefore, this metaphor was directly marked as non-persuasive.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
1508	ABC	90	Latina sufrirá una recesión más profunda que la inicialmente prevista. La agencia prevé que la	<u>economía</u>	brasileña sufrirá una contracción del 3,7 % en 2015 y que la recesión se mantendrá

Sp. for: “...Latin suffers a wider recession than initially expected. The agency foresees that the Brazilian economy will shrink in a 3.7% in 2015 and that recession will remain stable”

Excerpt 1508 from *ABC* contains the source metaphor SIZE by the use of “contracción” (“shrinking”) which would be opposite to another example previously seen “expansión” (“expansion”). Although the target it is referring to is “economy”, it is not the Spanish or European economy that is being projected, but Brazilian’s one. Thus, following the guidelines specified above and having no direct impact on the national economy or politics, this metaphor in this excerpt would also be marked as non-persuasive.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
2423	The Guardian	9	a sector that is particularly volatile,” said NIESR’s principal research fellow Simon Kirby. “We expect	<u>economic</u>	growth , consistent with a modest recovery, to resume from the second quarter.” The troubles of

Excerpt 2423 from *The Guardian* is another example of a metaphor that is not said by the newspaper but by a research fellow from the National Institute of Economy and Social Research (NIESR). Thus, we cannot claim that this newspaper is persuasively talking about “economic growth” of the country, but reporting on someone’s thoughts. If they had transformed the message into indirect speech and added comments or adverbs to modify the original message, it could have been considered as persuasive¹⁵; however, as long as the message is exactly reported, no persuasion is tagged.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
3262	The Independent	4	BHP Billiton joined it in negative territory after Citi gave a gloomy outlook for the	sector.	<u>Rio fell</u> 64p to 2,915.5p, while BHP was 25.5p lower at 1,564p.; On the mid-cap

Finally, there are several metaphors in this excerpt (a multi-metaphorical example), yet the case of interest here is the underlined target, “Rio” (a company) and the source “fell”, very frequently found as part of the well-known VERTICALITY image schema. This is a very representative case of how persuasion has been analyzed in our corpus. To start with, the high frequency of MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN metaphors have already been commented; most of them were found in pieces of news containing market reports, and they were simply informing about “movements” of the companies or products in the abstract vertical line that the Market is. In other words, if a company lost value, the verb “fell” would be objectively informing about this. Companies and products move along this imaginary vertical line daily and market reports serve to inform about whether they move upwards or downwards, but they do so, in most cases, objectively. In consequence, they were marked as non-metaphorical in the corpus. If, on the contrary, these verbs depicting this movement upwards or downwards were accompanied by a

¹⁵ This is actually one of the potential future research paths of this dissertation.

modifier, like the adverb “drastically” or if they were projected in an exaggerated way such as “tumble” or “se desplomó” (real examples from the corpus), it was considered that the movement was being ‘decorated’ as the movement was being exaggerated (either positively or negatively).

- **PERSUASION FREQUENCY IN THE CORPUS**

Considering the guidelines and taking into account all cases where there was no persuasive load even if the metaphor was not direct speech or about other countries’ economies, calculations were carried out so as to observe frequency of persuasive strategies within and between corpora, regardless of the typology of persuasive strategy found (to be analyzed next). Figures 37 and 38 below summarize the proportion of persuasive versus non-persuasive metaphors per language and per ideology, respectively.

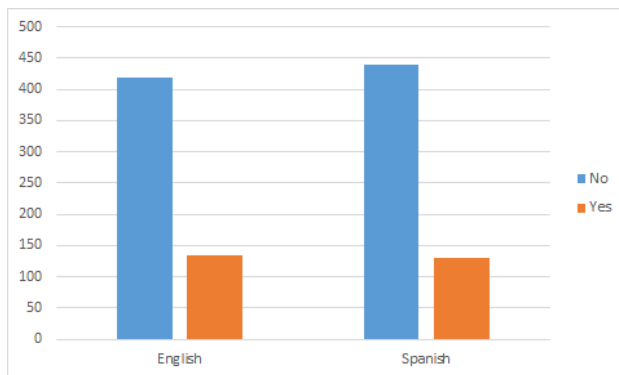


Figure 37: Presence of persuasion per language

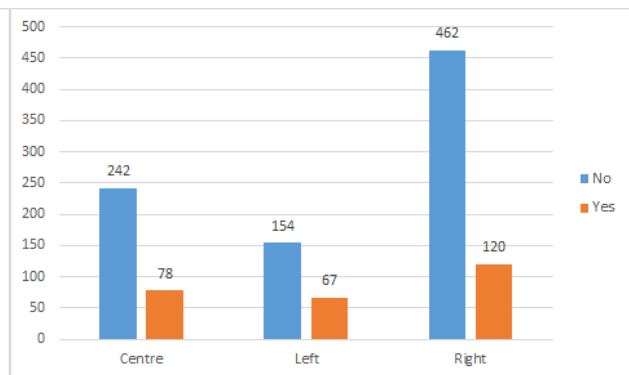


Figure 38: Presence of persuasion per ideology

As depicted, there is as noticeable prevalence of non-persuasive metaphors over persuasive ones, independently of their type. The coincidence is even more notable when contrasting languages, since both have a very similar number of metaphors carrying persuasion (130 in Spanish and 135 in English), as well as a very similar number of non-persuasive cases (439 and 419, respectively). This, however, needed to be confirmed by statistical tests (see Tables 40 and 41 below). As for ideology, differences in proportions seem to vary more, which is why Tables 42 and 43 are also necessary to infer statistical interpretations.

		Persuasive	Non-persuasive	Total
Spanish	Count	159	410	569
	% within lang.	27.9%	72.1%	100.0%
English	Count	106	448	554
	% within lang.	19.1%	80.9%	100.0%
Total	Count	265	858	1123
	% within lang.	23.6%	76.4%	100.0%

Table 40: Proportion of persuasive/non-persuasive metaphors per language

	Value	df	Symp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.085	1	.001

Table 41: Chi-Square test for language and persuasion

		Persuasive	Non-persuasive	Total
Left	Count	50	171	221
	% within ideol.	22.6%	77.4%	100.0%
Centre	Count	63	257	320
	% within ideol.	19.7%	80.3%	100.0%
Right	Count	152	430	582
	% within ideol.	26.1%	73.9%	100.0%
Total	Count	265	858	1123
	% within ideol.	23.6%	76.4%	100.0%

Table 42: Proportion of persuasive/non-persuasive metaphors per ideology

	Value	df	Symp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.878	2	.087

Table 43: Chi-Square test for ideology and persuasion

The results of the statistical tests prove how important it is to calculate proportions and values so as to confirm or dismiss visual results, which at first sight might be of help but can also cause misperceptions, as has been the case. According to the Chi-Square test run to obtain the potential relation between language and persuasion (in other words, whether the language influences on a higher or lower presence of persuasive strategies through metaphor), the answer to such relation would be affirmative, since there is a significant difference in proportions between the affirmative and negative cases of persuasion across languages, obtaining a value of $p = .001$. Percentages in Table 40 actually show a considerably higher proportion of persuasive

metaphors in Spanish (27.9%) than in English (19.1%), in spite of the apparently similar result in the graphics above. This answers Research Question 10, and points at a significant relation between Spanish language and a more frequent use of persuasive strategies than English, which consequently rejects the original hypothesis.

Concerning ideology, the difference in proportions seemed to be more notable in the graphic depiction above, yet statistical comparisons result in a non-significant difference, according to the value $p = .087$ in Pearson's chi-square test. Answering Research Question 11, this suggests that the ideology of the newspaper does not affect the persuasive load, at least in numerical terms. However, this does not mean that the typology of the persuasive strategies which are used will not vary, as this part of the analysis only accounts for the existence of persuasive strategies, not their nature. This is actually going to be commented in the following subsections.

3.2. POLARITY THROUGH METAPHORS

The approach towards polarity in this study is actually based on the capacity of metaphors to highlight or hide certain aspects of the source and of the mapping at the same time (Deignan 2005). In combination with this capacity, if persuasion is found in a metaphor of the corpus, polarity would be present if it highlighted or hid positive or negative aspects of the economy (global, European or national). Referring to Chapter III, there are three possible values for polarity in this study: positive (when it highlights something positive about the economy), negative (when it highlights something negative) and 'NA' (when there is persuasion but the main strategy is not polarity).

The examples below may serve as an example of the use of this strategy in the present corpus and the justification for each classification. The complete list can be consulted in Appendix H.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
354	El País	11	fuerte catalizador para que los precios encuentren un soporte”. Las petroleras europeas se hundan en	<u>Bolsa</u>	La bajada del precio del crudo se deja sentir también en los mercados de valores.

Sp. for: “...a strong agent of change so that the prices find a support. The European oil companies sink in the Market. The decrease of the price of crude has also been felt in the value markets”.

The first example from the Spanish corpus is taken from the more central newspaper *El País*. Here, the target is “Bolsa” (Market) and it refers to companies sinking in it (the source OCEAN has been commented in previous sections). This propositional schema is somehow combined with the image schema of VERTICALITY, since “sinking” implies going downwards in the ocean. According to the principle of salience I marked OCEAN as the main source, but this vertical sense is helpful when analyzing persuasion. As commented before, all instances of this verticality being portrayed as simply “going upwards/downwards” or “rising/falling” were considered to be objective unless there was something subjective. That is the case in the present excerpt, as the movement downwards is not referred to as something objective, but the negative aspect is being highlighted by emphasizing the act of sinking. Consequently, this case would be tagged as persuasive and as “negative polarity”. However, and to the best of my knowledge, there is no euphemistic or dysphemistic strategy in this case, which means the option ‘NA’ would be marked for the second strategy.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
1247	ABC	119	la venta del percebe, todo apunta a que el sector consolidará la salida de la	<u>crisis</u>	este 2015. Lo hace en paralelo con la curva del PIB por demanda, que refleja

Sp. for: “...barnacle sales, it all points at the sector leaving the crisis in 2015. It does so parallel to the curve of GDP due to demand, which reflects...”

Excerpt 1247 from the right-wing newspaper *ABC* has “crisis” as the target in the node, and the source “salida” (“going out”) as the source, therefore depicting the aforementioned

CONTAINER SOURCE, the generic metaphor CRISIS IS A CONTAINER and the specific one FINISHING A CRISIS IS GOING OUT OF THE CONTAINER. All references to crisis and recession in the corpus are practically always load with a persuasive movement, being this metaphorical or not. After all, an economic crisis as the one suffered by many countries such as Spain entails negative aspects that can therefore be highlighted or hidden depending on the message that wants to be spread. In this case, the message is affirming and thus highlighting that there will be an end to the crisis (“se consolidará la salida de la crisis”). Thus, although the container itself is negative, going out of the container is consequently positive, which means this concrete metaphor would be market as ‘positive polarity’.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
2565	The Guardian	6	denting profits at the bailed-out bank in the first three months of the year. But	<u>shares</u>	in the bank jumped more than 7% to above 83p as analysts considered whether to

Regarding English newspapers, Excerpt 2565 is taken from the left-wing newspaper *The Guardian*. It also depicts the VERTICALITY image schema as the previous example did, but it is not embedded within any other schema like Excerpt 1247. It has been taken as an example because the MORE IS UP metaphor is subjectively projected here, because the target “shares” are not said to “rise” or “go up” simply, but to have “jumped more than 7% to above”. Using the verb “to jump” is optional, since they could have used the objective, neutral form of the previous verbs. However, a choice to highlight the upwards movement in the imaginary Market line means that persuasion is hidden, and this was marked as “positive polarity” since it is a positive aspect of the economy that is being highlighted.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
3239	The Independent	29	just 0.3 per cent– much lower than expected– as the construction industry slid back into	<u>recession</u>	and the UK’s dominant services sector slowed sharply.; The Cips blamed the stronger pound for

Finally, Excerpt 3239 from the English newspaper *The Independent* has a synonym of “crisis”, “recession”, and the CONTAINER image schema is depicted again through the

preposition “into”. As commented above, being in a recession is portrayed as being within the container, which entails negative connotations. If going out of the container was interpreted as something positive (and marked as “positive polarity”), being “dragged into it” (which is in itself an exaggeration) again is consequently something negative, since the negative aspect is being highlighted. Thus, this case would be tagged as ‘negative polarity’. It has to be noted that there are in fact multiple metaphors present as the target “sector” is metaphorically projected alongside the source “slowed”, subjectively modified by the adverb “sharply”; in brief, and although this has been counted and analyzed separately, polarity is also present in a negative form.

Having shown some examples, Figures 39 and 40 below summarize in graphs the distribution of metaphors within the strategy of polarity. For these graphs, as well as for the statistical tests at this stage, only ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ polarity cases have been considered, leaving those tagged as ‘NA’ for further steps of the study (to be commented in turn).

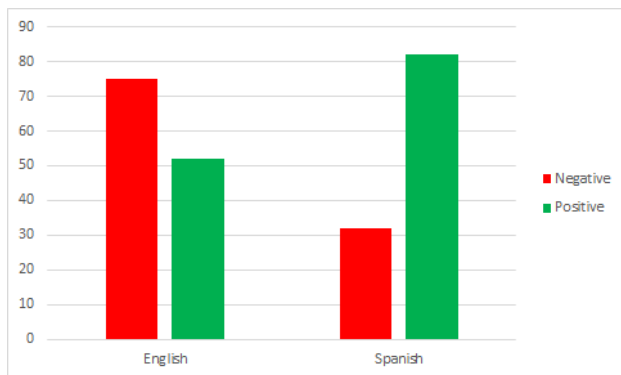


Figure 39: Presence of polarity per language

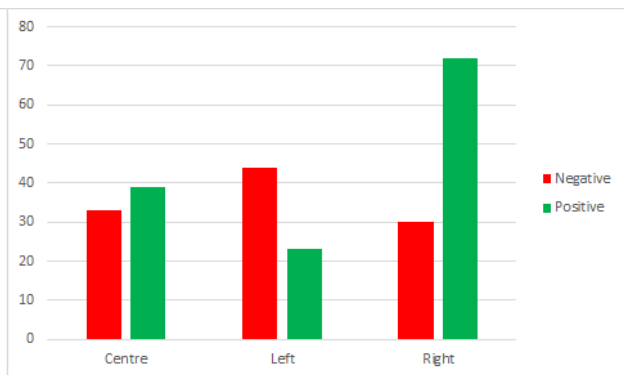


Figure 40: Presence of polarity per ideology

To start with language differences, a very notable difference is observed since, while the English corpus shows a larger number of cases with negative polarity, Spanish newspapers use positive polarity not only more frequently than its English counterpart, but also with a much larger difference with the negative cases. This seems to point at a relation between language and polarity choice, being Spanish much more positive than English. This is to be confirmed by the statistical tests run and summarized in Tables 44 and 45 below. Concerning ideology as an influential factor for polarity as a persuasive strategy, Figure 33 also reveals interesting outcomes. On the one hand, left-wing newspapers (*Público* and *The Guardian*) show more

negative polarity than positive and, even if centre newspapers (*El País* and *The Independent*) show more positive polarity, the difference with negative outcomes is not very large. On the other hand, right-wing newspapers (*ABC* and *The Telegraph*) show a notable preference for positive polarity, which seems to confirm our original hypothesis. Still, statistical tests are required.

		Positive	Negative	Total
Spanish	Count	82	32	114
	% within lang.	71.9%	28.1%	100.0%
English	Count	52	75	127
	% within lang.	40.9%	59.1%	100.0%
Total	Count	134	107	241
	% within lang.	55.6%	44.4%	100.0%

Table 44: Positive and negative polarity per language

	Value	df	Symp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23.364	1	.000

Table 45: Chi-Square test for language and polarity

The crosstab and the Chi-square both confirm in numerical and statistical terms the results depicted in the previous graphs. As observed, the relation is not only inverse (*id est*, Spanish newspapers tend to have a much higher proportion of positive polarity while English shows more negativity), but also very notable, since the percentages in the corpus are approximately 70% versus 30% in Spanish (positive/negative respectively) and around 40% versus 60% in English, showing a minor difference. The statistical value is $p = <.001$, which points at a strong relation between the variable ‘language’ and the proportion of one side of this persuasive strategy and the other; this answers to Research Question 12 of the study in an affirmative way. Without considering ideology, Spanish newspapers are much more positive than English. This thesis hypothesized that right-wing newspapers were expected to present more positive polarity since they would be supporting the Government to be re-elected by highlighting the positive aspects of the present (at that time) economy. Although language and ideology are taken as independent values, an explanation for the strong relation between Spanish language

and positive polarity may be due to a high number of metaphors within the Spanish right-wing newspapers *ABC*. In order to confirm this and find an explanation for such value, another layer was added to this analysis, obtaining the results summarized in Table 46 below:

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig (2-sided)
Left	14.189	1	.000
Centre	3.096	1	.078
Right	21.250	1	.000
Total	23.364	1	.000

Table 46: Chi-Square test language+ideology and polarity

As summarized, the statistically significant difference in proportion and value of the Chi-square test when adding the layer ‘ideology’ is maintained in two of the three ideologies. While right-wing and left-wing newspapers (the two opposite poles) still show significant differences and therefore a positive relation between ideology and language, the central ideology does not result in statistically significant differences across languages ($p = .078$). This points at a higher load of persuasion through polarity (either positive or negative) in the two more clear-cut newspapers in terms of their political stance. However, this does not mean that the hypothesis expecting higher negativity in left-wing newspapers and higher positivity in right-wing ones is confirmed yet. Ideology as an independent variable needs to be contrasted as well. To this end, Tables 47 and 48 below gather numerical and statistical outcomes that have been visually shown in the figures above.

		Positive	Negative	Total
Left	Count	23	44	67
	% within ideol.	34.3%	65.7%	100.0%
Centre	Count	39	33	72
	% within ideol.	54.2%	45.8%	100.0%
Right	Count	72	30	102
	% within ideol.	70.6%	29.4%	100.0%
Total	Count	134	107	241
	% within ideol.	55.6%	44.4%	100.0%

Table 47: Positive and negative polarity per ideology

	Value	df	Symp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21.623	2	.000

Table 48: Chi-Square test for ideology and polarity

The values point at a significant difference in proportion of positive and negative polarity across ideologies, with a statistical value of $p = <.001$. Observing percentages, visual outcomes are confirmed, since there is a notable preference for negative polarity in left-wing newspapers (approximately 35% positive versus 65% negative) as well as for positive polarity in right-wing newspapers (approximately 70% positive versus 30% negative). Moreover, although centre newspapers do show a difference in percentage, it is more balanced (approximately 55% positive and 45% negative). This answers to Research Question 13 and confirms the hypothesis that there is indeed a relation between the ideology of the newspapers and the polarity of the metaphors it uses, and that left-wing newspapers show more negativity, which is justified by the fact that they advocate for a change in government in each country (for a more liberal, left-stance one) and therefore need to highlight the negative aspects of the economy in 2015 before the elections took place.

3.3. FACE-MOVES: EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM

The second strategy through which persuasion can be hidden that has been considered in this study is euphemism and dysphemism, based on the well-known principle of ‘Face Acts’¹⁶. I have re-adapted this principle and combined it with euphemistic and dysphemistic moves, understanding that a “face-saving” act (saving the Government’s face) is a euphemistic strategy, and “face-threatening” it, a dysphemistic one. As has been done with polarity, there were three values or tags at this level: ‘euphemism’ (it “saves” the Government’s face), ‘dysphemism’ (it “threatens” it) and ‘NA’ (there is persuasion in the metaphor but hidden through polarity).

It has to be noted that euphemistic and dysphemistic metaphors were not as frequently found as expected and they were much less pervasive than polarized metaphors in the whole corpus. The reason for this is that, to my understanding, both movements are more elaborated than simply highlighting or hiding a given aspect, since the person being euphemistic needs to create a “more pleasant” expression and vice versa if they want to be dysphemistic (Allan and Burridge 2016). This is only an assumption that could be studied with larger corpora and with other researchers’ studies to contrast inter-rater agreement. In any case, the following list of

¹⁶ See Brown and Levinson 1987, although it has only been taken as a reference

excerpts taken from the corpus may serve as an example of when and how I analyzed the “face moves” present in the metaphors of our corpus.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
924	ABC	41	seguir reduciendo gastos de explotación. Y esa capacidad instalada es uno de ellos. El propio	<u>Banco</u>	de España viene recetando ese ajuste adicional para avanzar en esa mejora de la rentabilidad,

Sp. for: “...continue reducing expenses of exploitation. And that capacity installed in one of them. The Bank of Spain itself is prescribing that additional adjustment to go forward in that improvement of profitability,...”

Excerpt 924 from the Spanish newspaper *ABC* has the target “Bank” (referring to the Spanish Bank) mapped with the source domain component “recetando” (“prescribing”), used to inform about economic adjustments or control measures that the institution is making. Moreover, such adjustments are addressed towards the objective of “keep getting better”. The linguistic metaphor portrays the conceptual one, BANKS ARE DOCTORS, who can prescribe a given medication when necessary because they have the faculty to do so. The adjustments that are being metaphorically referred to here are cuts in spending, which is something negative as less money can be spent. However, instead of using the source “cut”, the discourse is somehow ‘decorating’ this adjustment in the shape of a doctor that has no remedy but to write a prescription for a common good. This unconsciously creates a picture in the audience’s brain implying that the measure is only taken because it is really necessary and will lead towards a positive outcome. In other words, instead of simply saying that spending are being reduced, which would sound more unpleasant for citizens, the metaphor decorates it. Therefore, this is a case of a euphemistic use of metaphors in our corpus.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
423	El País	22	hundieron, Estados Unidos, adalid del libre mercado, tuvo que tragar sapos como los rescates con	<u>dinero</u>	de los contribuyentes. Y la máquina de imprimir dinero trabajó a destajo. Este miércoles, la

Sp. for: "...sank, the USA, leader of free market, had to swallow toads such as the rescues with money from the contributors. And the money-printing machine worked non-stop. This Wednesday, the..."

The second excerpt from the Spanish corpus shows the opposite strategy. We have the source RESCUING, which is very frequent in the corpus as a whole, used to refer to the target "money". However, it is not only the source that is of importance here but its co-text, in which we find the expression "tragar sapos" (Sp. for "swallow toads", which is the equivalent to "bite the bullet" in English) which is in itself implausible and exaggerated and automatically tagged as metaphorical. Focusing on the Spanish expression, "tragar sapos" is naturally more unpleasant than saying simply that bad news or measures (such as rescuing banks) have to be accepted, which means this case would be tagged as 'dysphemistic'. It is also worth mentioning that it is not the national economy that is being referred to, but the economy of the United States; however, as has been explained, this economy is considered to be of global reference and importance, as well as the European one, which is why both have been taken in consideration for the analysis.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
2458	The Guardian	10	to materialize; consumption growth was weak in the first quarter, and capital spending and residential	<u>investment</u>	were even weaker . As a result, the US has effectively joined the "currency war" to

The first excerpt taken from the English corpus also has several targets of interest, and they were all tagged under the same category of face moves. To be more specific, the main target or node in this case is "investment" and the source, "weaker" (depicting the BODY metaphor and its specific WEAK/STRONG characteristic). If this was literally referring to a physical weakness, it would be objective. However, since it is metaphorical, it is using something more unpleasant than a neutral voice as would be the case of, for example, "investment was low" or "minor". Thus, there is a dysphemistic strategy hidden in the metaphor. Moreover, this euphemism is stressed by the use of "even", which premodifies it and highlights a negative aspect, which means this case was also tagged as 'negative polarity', and is the first instance of the two strategies combined that is going to be further exemplified next.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
3454	The Telegraph	17	central bank. The ECB also refrained from increasing the collateral requirements on the country's stricken	banks.	Germany's veteran minister said Europe was still willing to rescue Greece from the abyss of

Finally, Excerpt 3454 shows a euphemistic strategy deployed by the right-wing newspaper *The Telegraph*. Although the node is “banks” and it has been analyzed as a separate case, we are focusing on the source “rescuing”, mapped alongside two sides of the schema, Europe as the rescuer and Greece as the rescued one. This example has been taken because, depending on which side of the rescue the news is being told from, the metaphorical use of this source may be load with different persuasive power. More concretely, Europe is being depicted here as the saver, therefore rescuing is seeing as something pleasant, or at least more “face-saving” than the neutral case “giving money”, since what is implied here is that a life is being saved, which, through metaphor (and exaggeration) has an effect on the audience that portrays Europe as a hero and not just a money-lender. If, on the other hand, the news was focusing on the rescued part who was about to “die” and has been rescued, we could probably consider this to be dysphemistic as the act of “almost dying” is being used instead of “losing money”. However, this would be analyzed separately if it was the case. This Excerpt was then tagged as euphemistic.

Figures 41 and 42 below may serve, as in previous sections, to graphically see the total proportion of dysphemistic and euphemistic metaphors in the corpus, both cross-linguistically and cross-ideologically.

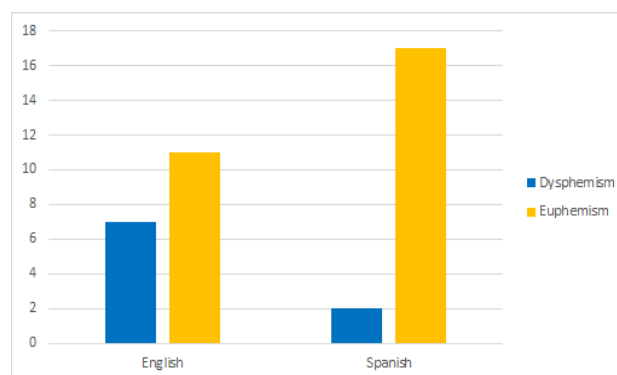


Figure 41: Presence of polarity per language

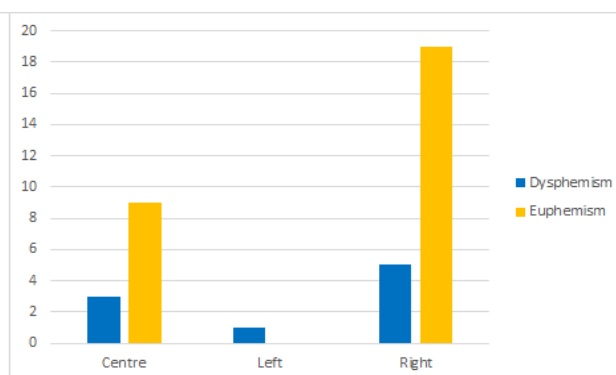


Figure 42: Presence of polarity per ideology

As depicted, there are not many occasions of either euphemism or dysphemism in the corpus as a whole (25 in Spanish and 23 in English, having only 48 cases of this strategy). In any case, euphemism is preferred in both languages but the difference seems to be much larger in Spanish, which would mean again a higher degree of positivism in the Spanish press and would agree with the higher proportion of positive polarity. This, however, needs to be confirmed statistically. Regarding ideology, euphemism is also preferred by centre and right-wing newspaper, yet it is not found at all in left-wing newspapers, which only presents once case of dysphemism. Numerical and statistical results are shown in turn.

		Euphemism	Dysphemism	Total
Spanish	Count	17	2	19
	% within lang.	89.5%	10.5%	100.0%
English	Count	11	7	18
	% within lang.	61.1%	38.9%	100.0%
Total	Count	28	9	37
	% within lang.	75.7%	24.3%	100.0%

Table 49: Euphemism and dysphemism per language

Table 49 above shows that the difference in percentages is actually notable, since there is a relation of approximately 90% (euphemism) to 10% (dysphemism) in Spanish versus 60% to 40% in English. However, as was previously seen in the graphic, Pearson’s chi-square test cannot be run since we have two expected cell counts less than five (dysphemism in Spanish expected value is 4.6 and, in English, 4.4). Thus, Fisher’s exact test was conducted between language and face move strategies. Results are summarized in Table 50 below.

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig (2-sided)	Exact Sig (2-sided)
Fisher’s Exact Test016

Table 50: Fisher’s exact test for language and face moves

As shown, the value obtained from Fisher’s exact test ($p = .016$) indicates that there is a significant difference in proportions even if the sample is small and that, therefore, we can reject the null hypothesis and confirm that the variables ‘language’ and ‘face moves’ (or preference towards euphemism and dysphemism) are dependent (Research Question 14). We can also interpret that the Spanish press leans towards the first one more notably, implying a more

positive tone or a more notable determination of Spanish press to save the Government's face. However, a further layer was added to the test so as to observe whether such significance was mainly due to the right-wing newspaper or the central ones (since left-wing newspapers did not use this strategy, or it was not found). As summarized in Table 51 below, the value in central newspapers is no longer significant ($p = .608$) while it is in right-wing newspapers ($p = .050$). Thus, we can claim that there is a dependence between language and face moves and that a third value also affects such dependency, particularly in right-wing newspapers. The values obtained also suggests that Spanish right-wing newspapers significantly use euphemistic metaphors much more often than dysphemistic ones and also more than the other two newspapers.

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig (2-sided)	Exact Sig (2-sided)
Left
Centre608
Right050
Total016

Table 51: Fisher's exact test for language+ideology and face moves

Finally, Table 52 below informs about the count and percentages of the results obtained in the crosstab analyzing the dependence between the variable ideology and face moves alone (without considering language).

		Euphemism	Dysphemism	Total
Left	Count	0	1	1
	% within ideol.	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Centre	Count	9	3	12
	% within ideol.	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
Right	Count	19	5	24
	% within ideol.	79.2%	20.8%	100.0%
Total	Count	28	9	37
	% within ideol.	75.7%	24.3%	100.0%

Table 52: Euphemism and dysphemism per ideology

The percentages summarized above also seem to be very different, especially considering left-wing newspapers, where there is only one case of dysphemism. On the other hand, centre

and right-wing newspapers do show a similar distribution in terms of percentage of euphemistic cases (around 80% in both languages) and dysphemism (the remaining percentage). Since, as it occurred with the linguistic variable, when running the crosstabs on SPSS we obtained more than one expected cell count less than five, Pearson's Chi-square test could not be run thus Fisher's exact test had to be performed instead in order to find out whether these two variables are dependent or not. Results are summarized in Table 53 below:

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig (2-sided)	Exact Sig (2-sided)
Fisher's Exact Test	2.927	.	.	.200

Table 53: Fisher's exact test for ideology and face moves

The statistical test analyzing potential relation between the variable ideology (left/centre/right) and the frequency of euphemistic and dysphemistic strategies points at a non-significant relation, obtaining a value of $p = .200$. Thus, we cannot claim that there is a dependency between the ideology of a newspapers and the use of this persuasive strategy. This answers Research Question 15 and rejects our original hypothesis that expected left-wing newspapers to use dysphemism more frequently (to attack the Government at a critical pre-electoral time) and right-wing newspapers to use euphemism instead (to protect or save the Government's face). However, we need to consider that this strategy has not been found very frequently and therefore different results could be obtained if the corpus was larger and more cases of this strategy were found.

Finally, once both strategies have been commented individually, there were some instances of the two combined. In spite of this not being very frequent, the next subsection comments on several examples from the corpus.

3.4. POLARITY AND FACE MOVES IN COMBINATION

Since there were not many instances of the second strategy analyzed in this study, a fact that somehow jeopardizes one of our objectives, there are not many cases to include in this subsection as the results were very reduced. However, apart from finding polarity alone and face

moves alone (although not that frequently), both strategies were found in combination. Examples of different combinations are presented in turn.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
1123	ABC	132	un Ibex a la baja supera la primera hora de cotización. los títulos de la	<u>compañía</u>	escalan hasta un 14,85%, intercambiándose a 6,379 euros. "FCC se dispara en Bolsa, tras anunciar

To start with, Excerpt 1123 from the Spanish newspaper *ABC* shows both positive polarity and euphemism. First, the target depicted here is “company”, which is portrayed alongside the source “escalan” (“climb”). Starting with polarity, the abstract vertical line that projects the source VERTICALITY is found, since climbing implies going up a vertical wall or a mountain but, in any case, going upwards. However, it is not simply the MORE IS UP metaphor that appears, but the act of climbing is emphasized, making it even more admirable and positive, meaning there is positive polarity hidden. Besides, it has been tagged as euphemistic as well since there was a more neutral form of reporting about this movement upwards, but the newspaper (or the writer) chose to decorate it in a more heroic, pleasant way. In conclusion, this is an example of the two positive strategies (positive polarity and euphemism) being combined. Another example of this logical combination is Excerpt 3183 below.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
3183	The Independent	32	are overwhelmingly relaxed about the outcome of the general election and foreign investors are ploughing	<u>money</u>	into UK government debt at a record pace. The findings suggest that talk of financial

Here, there are several components within the same excerpt that cause this double tagging. First, there is positive polarity since the act of investing money is highlighted by the use of “at a record pace”; second, “ploughing money into”, from the source FARMING, has been preferred instead of the more neutral one “investing”, which does not necessarily imply implausibility and persuasion. However, using this exaggeration and portraying the UK Government as a container within which money is being accumulated creates a positive, pleasant view towards it, and therefore euphemism is being used.

ExcID	NewsID	File	Left	Node	Right
2961	The Independent	18	has strengthened, and its mortgage business was the best for more than a year. The	<u>investment</u>	bank is being “restructured”– gutted might be a better description– into something more appropriate for

The opposite combination is also found in the corpus, as it occurs with Excerpt 2458 commented in the previous section, or as it occurs with Excerpt 2961 above. This is a very interesting case since it appears to present euphemism by the use of the inverted commas to refer to “restructured”. However, it immediately adds a further comment using the source “gutted”, which depicts the specific metaphor REFORMING A BANK IS REMOVING ITS INTESTINES. First, it is an exaggeration or highlighting of the negative things that are happening to a national bank, which means it needs to be tagged as ‘negative polarity’. Second, referring to intestines and their removal is a much more unpleasant expression than simply saying “changing the structure of a bank”. This unpleasant use of a metaphor means it had to be tagged as ‘dysphemistic’ as well.

Although there were not many combinations found in the corpus, these needed to be accounted for, especially because they may serve to carry out future studies observing potential uses of persuasive strategies combined by different languages and ideologies. To conclude, Figures 43 and 44 below summarize in a graphic way all the combinations found in our corpus in both languages and in the three ideologies under study.

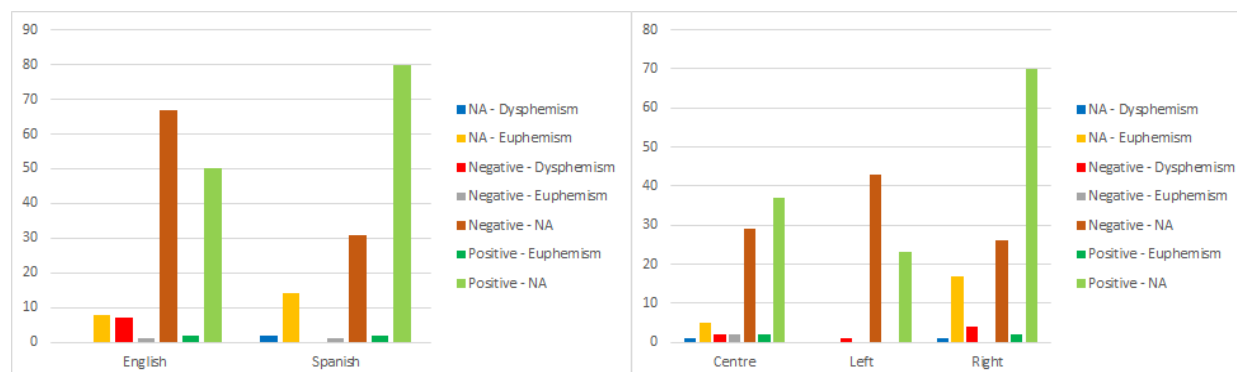


Figure 43: Persuasion strategies per language

Figure 44: Persuasion strategies per ideology

There are two main combinations that are repeated in Spanish and English and in the three different ideologies: ‘positive-NA’ and ‘negative-NA’. These two combinations represent all the cases where either positive or negative polarity was found alone, but face moves (or euphemistic and dysphemistic strategies) were not present. In fact, the third most common case in almost all cases (except for left-wing newspapers) is ‘NA-euphemism’, when the second strategy is found isolated. This seems to point at a non-significant relation between the two strategies in our corpus, as there is a very reduced number of cases where both strategies are found. Actually, Table 54 below gathers results concerning these cases in the corpus as a whole:

	Positive/ Euphemism	Positive/ Dysphemism	Negative/ Euphemism	Negative/ Dysphemism
Hits	4	0	2	7

Table 54: Instances of combinations where both strategies were found

Since the results were so low, no statistical tests were run, which leaves Research Question 16 unanswered and conveys one of the limitations that will be commented on in the following chapter and that needs to be addressed in future research with a different focus of study or corpus approach. So far, this seems to point at a non-existing relation between the two categories, meaning that positive polarity does not imply euphemism, for instance. Consequently, we have to reject our original hypothesis expecting a higher relation between these two variables.

In conclusion, Section 3 has presented the results of the last step of the 4-level analysis of this study: persuasion through metaphor. It has first observed the frequency of persuasive strategies as a whole in the corpus, and it has then provided examples of the two persuasive strategies that were included in this dissertation: polarity and euphemism/dysphemism. Results have been varied: while there is a higher persuasive load in Spanish newspapers than in English, ideology does not seem to be a significant indicator of a higher load in any of its poles. Moreover, within the existing persuasive cases, negative and positive polarity are used differently both cross-linguistically and cross-ideologically. Spanish newspapers are not only more persuasively loaded, but they seem to show a more positive tone than their English counterparts; concerning ideology, there is also a significant relation between left-wing newspapers and negative polarity

on the one hand and right-wing newspapers and positive polarity on the other. To continue, euphemism and dysphemism have not been found very frequently in the corpus, but they have revealed that, for instance, the Spanish right-wing newspaper (*ABC*) uses euphemism more frequently than the other newspapers and more frequently than dysphemism as well. However, while language does seem to play a role even if the numbers were not very high, ideology has proved not to be a constant with euphemism and dysphemism. This, however, should be contrasted with further samples. Finally, both strategies together are not frequent either, which is logic since the second one was not very pervasive in isolation. Again, future research may offer a better insight into this potential combination of strategies.

Chapter IV has presented in a detailed way the different steps of the analysis followed in this study. For reasons of practicality, the results have been interpreted in graphs and tables, alongside some examples and the statistical tests applied in each case. In other words, this chapter has served as a result presenter and as the discussion, since possible explanations or interpretations of the results have been provided.

The results have been included in the same order as they were obtained: first, the metaphorical density or metaphor frequency, having previously commented on the metaphor productivity of the list of 13 targets previously set; second, after applying both identification methods and once the final data set of metaphors was organized, Access program was used to perform the different levels of classification, including schema type, conventionality and internationality of the metaphors; finally, the last step of the four-level analysis performed in Access, observing persuasion in the economic discourse has been presented. Although all the results have been presented, commented and explained, I shall refer back to them in Chapter V of the dissertation (Conclusions), when commenting back on the original Research Questions and Hypotheses presented in Chapter I.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS

The last Chapter of this dissertation presents the main implications derived from the results of the study, which can be divided into two different groups: implications and contributions within the field of Metaphor Theory on the one hand, and implications and contributions within the Discourse of Economy. Both fields are interwoven but shall be presented separately for the sake of clarity. The results also serve to answer the research questions of the study presented in Chapter I, as well as the hypotheses that were formulated in the same chapter; they are going to be addressed in turn. Moreover, there have been several limitations in the study, some of which have already been commented. These limitations, together with their possible solutions, are going to be detailed as well. Finally, the limitations and results of the study have served to motivate a number of further related research avenues that aim at continuing with the objectives of this study at a broader scale. The last section of the chapter will summarize the concluding remarks of this dissertation.

1. IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study of metaphor in discourse has been of interest for linguists for some decades now, and there is constant research and advances approaching metaphor as an element of all types of discourse as well as its identification methods (Musolff 2006; Semino 2008; Pragglejaz Group 2007; Steen 2007; Semino 2008; Musolff & Zinken 2009; Steen et al. 2010; Semino, Deignan & Littlemore 2013, Soares da Silva 2016). Moreover, there has been a recent change towards a more socio-cognitive approach that sees metaphor as an embedded component of society more than a unique element of thought (Bernárdez 2008; Soares da Silva et al. 2017; Romano & Porto 2018). In other words, metaphor is not seen only as an element of discourse, but as discourse strategy of specific social, political contexts, genres, etc.; an element which is, therefore, reflected in language use, in discourse. This dissertation thus has aimed at providing further insights into this line of research. More specifically, this study wishes to contribute to the already vast literature of economic and financial metaphor studies (Henderson 1982; McCloskey 1983; Charteris-Black & Ennis 2001; White 2003; Herrera-Soler & White 2012; among many others), as well as to those approaching metaphor as a persuasive tool (Musolff 2004; Koller 2006; Hart 2008, 2014; López 2010; Romano 2013, 2015; Mohamed 2014; Lee 2015).

1.1. IMPLICATIONS FOR METAPHOR THEORY

To begin with, Chapter II introduced the main tenets of Metaphor Theory, from Lakoff & Johnson's renowned book (1980) to the present day. One of the main concerns of metaphor scholars is how to identify, in a reliable way, metaphor in discourse. Having reviewed the main empirical approaches to this issue, two methods were applied in the present study: Stefanowitsch's MPA (2006) and Pragglejaz's MIP (2007) (which derived in Steen et al.'s MIPVU, 2010). From a corpus perspective, both methods have resulted useful for retrieving metaphors in different ways, yet the former was applied first because of the corpus design of this work.

However, previous to the metaphor identification stage, the corpus tool *#Lancsbox* (Brezina, McEnery & Wattam 2015) was used to organize the data retrieved from the newspapers' websites. In spite of some limitations (such as the fact that homonyms were

retrieved and included in the count, or that Spanish accentuation system was not detected), it has proved to be a reliable retrieving tool to extract, in an organized way, all the excerpts of text within a corpus that contains a set list of domains. Therefore, the first contribution of this research concerns the usefulness of this tool in corpus studies that aim at analysing a concrete list of metaphorical domains in a given discourse.

Once the data were retrieved, cleaned and organized, MPA was used to identify the potentially metaphorical sources in the immediate co-text of the targets retrieved by the corpus tool. Two main characteristics of this methods have supposed a very important advantage for the study. First, the fact that it can identify the generic metaphor but also further specificities of the domain. And second, that, although the target list catches the metaphorical expressions referring to the node or main target, further mappings comprehending another target and another source can also be spotted by means of MPA. Therefore, the present study supports the use of MPA as a reliable metaphor identification method, due to the organized structure and chance for multiple extractions that it has proved to offer in Chapter IV. Given that the research focuses on a clear target to analyse, instead of the discourse of ‘economy’ as a whole, this method can provide outcomes than can be later processed and classified.

However, MPA is known to use the researcher’s intuition mainly as the analytic tool. Precisely, it is claimed that trusting intuition alone is not reliable and that researchers cannot always state empirically that a given word is metaphorical enough, especially if there is only one researcher performing the analysis (see Pragglejaz Group, 2007). It is precisely for this reason that MIP and MIPVU have been gaining momentum over the last decade, since they present a dictionary-based method that contrasts the metaphorical sense of a word with its more basic one according to a dictionary. According to the way this identification method was set out, using MIPVU requires going word by word in the dictionary and, since the design of this study focuses on a specific list of economic terms (not on the discourse of ‘economy’ as a whole) this method was not considered to be the most appropriate one. Instead, it was applied as a second method that would filter those cases tagged as metaphorical by MPA, therefore forming the final dataset of metaphorical expressions that would undergo subsequent steps of the analysis. The results summarized in Section 1.3 of Chapter III seem to prove that MPA and MIPVU agree in most cases, which points at two implications of this methodological combination: (1) that MPA is

actually reliable since most cases it tagged as metaphorical were later confirmed to be so by MIPVU, and (2) that MIPVU provides even more reliable outcomes (indicated by those cases this method dismissed as non-metaphorical when checking dictionary definitions) and thus can be used as a filtering method in combination with MPA. In other words, the present study takes the advantages of both methods and, instead of seeing them as competitors, advocates for using them in combination in a corpus-based study of metaphors.

The combined methodology of this dissertation has contributed to the study of three levels of analysis, namely: (1) metaphorical schemas, (2) conventionality versus novelty and (3) internationality versus domesticity. To start with, results obtained in Section 2.2. of Chapter IV have provided new insights into the classification of metaphors according to the structure they map or portray as reflected in the discourse participants' social and cultural background. Based on previous studies of economic and financial metaphors (Moreno Lara 2008; Rojo-López & Orts-Llopis 2009; Soares da Silva 2016; Soares da Silva et al. 2017), the three-category classification of schemas (propositional, image and event) has revealed to be very frequent in the discourse under study, including sources such as HEALTH, UP-DOWN and COMPETITION, which were found in both languages. Moreover, new source domains have also been identified, such as LIQUID (also very frequent in both languages), BALANCE or CUTTING and RESCUING (found more unevenly across languages). These findings agree with the socio-cognitive view that conceives metaphor as an element that changes as society changes. In fact, these last two sources (CUTTING and RESCUING) are widely used today due to the economic crisis that has affected most European countries since 2008, and which can justify the appearance and frequency of these two concepts in the corpus. *Id est*, the three-schema classificatory approach has proved to be useful to organize and categorize conventional sources that have been used over the last years, but also new (novel) ones to add to each schema, therefore expanding them.

As explained in Chapters II to IV, this work has observed both conventionality and novelty in the corpus. Although most schemas were centered on the most generic level of metaphors, the analysis focused on the more specific one in order to see whether the level of novelty was indeed higher as some researchers suggest (Kövecses 2005; Vasiloaia et al. 2011). This dissertation thus agrees with the existing literature in that there is a higher frequency of

conventional, well-entrenched metaphors in the corpus under study. However, there is still novelty found at the specific level of the metaphorical expressions, such as the act of *MIGRATING* (even if the more generic one *ANIMAL* is conventional) or specifications of the conventional *BODY* in terms of *SIZE*, for instance (in examples such as the conceptual metaphor of *GOOD ECONOMY IS INCREASING SIZE*). Therefore, this analysis also pointed at two implications: that conventionality is more frequent than novelty at all metaphorical levels, on the one hand, and that there is a need for further studies approaching specific levels in order to confirm whether the differences are actually more relevant at this level. So far, the present work points at a difference across media sources, languages and ideologies, but differences within the generic level have not been observed. However, examples such as the case of the source domain *MIGRATING* (among others), where the specific level is novel but the generic one is conventional, suggest that there would be indeed a difference if both levels were contrasted and statistically tested. Moreover, the novel metaphors found, including these and others such as those depicting the *CUTTING* and *RESCUING* schemas, agree with the socio-cognitive claim mentioned above that metaphor is a part of society and thus, if the latter changes, the former does as well; thus, novel situations in a society, such as an economic crisis, will consequently entail novel metaphors.

Similar results have been obtained concerning internationality versus domesticity of economic metaphors. Previous studies (Kövecses, 2010, 2015) referred to this dichotomy using the term “universality” instead, pointing at a higher degree of universal metaphors than culture-dependent ones, mainly at the more generic level. On the contrary, this study prefers the term “internationality” since it compares two languages (and, even when comparing more than two, using “universal” can be confusing), and it has focused on the more specific levels of metaphors as it did with conventionality, precisely to contribute to a new level, since the existing research concentrated on the generic one. According to the results summarized in Section 2.4 of Chapter III, there is a large prevalence of international metaphors in our corpus also at the more specific level, a fact which agrees with the existing literature (see Table 1 in Section 8.3 of Chapter II to see international metaphors from previous studies). However, specificities have been found in both languages, which implies that, even if internationality prevails, further research is needed so as to observe those domestic cases that are only found in one language, as can be seen with the *FARMING* schema in English, or the uses of the *STREET MARKET* in Spanish, which may be

justified by the cultural fact that street markets where food and goods are exchanged are still present in Spanish society.

To conclude, the use of a database program like *Access* has facilitated an organized classification of the metaphors retrieved by *#Lancsbox* and identified by MPA and MIPVU, which makes it a reliable program to use in similar studies, even though the researcher needs to set its structure and functioning first. Thanks to this tool, the classifications were easily carried out and exported to a format that could be statistically processed. All the programs used in the analysis, in sum, can contribute to corpus approaches to metaphor in discourse.

1.2. IMPLICATIONS FOR ECONOMIC PRESS AND PERSUASION

Finally, the last level of analysis was a more qualitative approach concerned with the persuasive load of metaphors in the discourse of the economy in times of pre-elections. Metaphor as a persuasive tool has been recurrently addressed over the last years at a general level and within the discourse of the press (see references in Section 1.1 of this chapter), which was the focus of this study. However, not many studies within the field of economy have narrowed down the analysis to a concrete period of time when ideology and persuasion are latent at all spheres of society such as the surrounding days of a general election. For this reason, this study aimed at contributing to the existing literature focusing on the previous week to the voting day in both countries in 2015. One of the main objectives, as already stated, was to observe whether the metaphors found in the corpus and previously classified were hiding some form of persuasive aim, more specifically through two different strategies: polarity and euphemism/dysphemism. For this level of analysis, it was not only the conceptual metaphor that needed to be analysed, but also its context and co-text. The results have been varied and have contributed differently to metaphor and persuasion theories.

First, there is a prevalence of non-persuasive metaphors over persuasive ones, and the difference is higher in the English corpus. These findings contribute to studies of persuasion through metaphor in two different ways. On the one hand, the findings strongly point at a non-existing relation between metaphor appearance and persuasion or, in other words, at the fact that not all metaphors are used persuasively even if they carry a different objective within the corpus.

On the other, the results point at a cross-linguistic difference in terms of persuasion frequency (see Section 3 in Chapter IV).

Second, different strategies regarding polarity have been identified both cross-linguistically and cross-ideologically. To start with, while negativity was more often found than positivity in English, the Spanish corpus seems to be more positive. Moreover, and as expected, left-wing newspapers showed more negativity than right-wing ones, and centre newspapers showed more balanced outcomes. However, combining both variables provided interesting findings, as it enabled to narrow down why cross-linguistic or cross-ideologic comparisons result one way or another. Since no studies have been found addressing this combination of variables, the present dissertation may serve to open a new area of research that can provide more specific results in terms of how persuasion is used in the discourse of the economic press.

Equally, no studies have been found addressing euphemism and dysphemism in this concrete discourse type, which means a new approach within the field. However, these strategies were much less frequently found in our corpus than polarity, which suggests that there is a promising area to investigate.

To conclude, the present study contributes at an important level to the field of persuasion in the economic press, since there is not much literature that directly addresses this area. In spite of the limitations, it may serve as a motivation to expand research on metaphor as a very powerful persuasive tool, even more in a social and political sphere like the pre-election period.

2. MAIN FINDINGS: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

The previous section has detailed the main implications and contributions of the present dissertation for metaphor studies. This section will summarize the original research questions that were set out in Chapter I and will confirm or refute the original hypotheses.

1. *Is there a difference in metaphor density across languages? In other words, is the Spanish corpus more metaphorical (in terms of frequency) than the English corpus?*

In spite of the lack of previous strong evidence that would address differences across languages, the results of the dissertation confirm the hypothesis that there is indeed a significant cross-linguistic difference in terms of metaphor frequency, finding a difference in proportions of .129 between the English and the Spanish corpus (see Section 1 in Chapter IV), and showing proportionally more metaphorical expressions in the former language. Taking into account that the size of the English corpus was almost half of the Spanish one (see Table 9 in Chapter IV), the results reject the hypothesis that metaphor density will be shaped by the size of the corpus, and this contributes to the scarce literature of cross-linguistic studies of metaphor density.

2. *Can MPA be used as a reliable metaphor identification tool in combination with MIPVU? Is it justified to use MIPVU as a complementary method instead of as the central one? Do they provide very different results?*

This question can be answered in two parts. First, results have confirmed the hypothesis that MPA can be used as a reliable identification method for research studies with a similar design (target-based). However, since there was place for error, MIPVU was applied and a Confidence Interval test confirmed that MIPVU can be trusted as a second, filtering method to confirm or dismiss metaphorical cases tagged by MPA.

3. *Are metaphorical schemas used differently across languages? Id est, does any of the two languages of the study show a preference for one of the three schemas?*

Since metaphorical schemas are shaped by their cultural framework, and two cultures have been analyzed, differences in terms of typology and frequency were expected. Findings summarized in Section 2.2.4 of Chapter IV confirm this hypothesis, since there was a difference in proportions of $p = .024$.

4. *Are metaphorical schemas used differently across ideologies? If so, does any of the three ideologies of the study show preference for one of the three schemas?*

Considering that ideology is also part of culture and that structural schemas are shaped by culture, differences across ideologies were also expected. However, the results have revealed this is not the case. In fact, there is no significant statistical difference cross-ideologically when choosing one schema or another. Therefore, this hypothesis has to be rejected.

5. *If creative metaphors are found in the corpus, can they be considered to be representative enough? In other words, is there a high proportion of novel or creative metaphors at the specific level in our corpus, in contrast with conventional ones?*

The same as novel metaphors had been found at the generic level in the aforementioned studies, they have been found also at the specific level in the present one. The difference in proportion between conventional (70.6%) and novel (29.4%) metaphors in the corpus as a whole was found to be of .412 or, in other words, there are 2.4 more cases of conventional metaphor than novel ones. It can be claimed that out of every 100 metaphors, almost 30 will be novel. From my viewpoint, this proportion is relatively high and can be said to be an important finding.

6. *Is metaphor creativity dependent on language? For example, does the Spanish corpus show a more frequent use of creative metaphors than English, or is it vice versa?*

It was expected to find a higher metaphor frequency in the largest corpus of the study, which resulted to be the Spanish one, and it was also expected to find a higher degree of creativity in the largest one. However, as commented above, the first hypothesis has proved to be wrong, since the English corpus has presented a higher metaphor density. In addition, not only does the English corpus show a slightly higher proportion of novel metaphors than Spanish, but also this difference is not relevant or comparable. In fact, as summarized in Section 2.3.3 of Chapter IV, the value obtained was $p = < .05$, which means we cannot claim there is a relation between language and novelty in metaphors, and thus the original hypothesis is rejected.

7. *In addition, is metaphor creativity dependent on ideology? For example, does the right-wing corpus show a more frequent use of creative metaphors than left-wing and centre newspapers?*

Our hypothesis was that no significant difference would be found cross-ideologically in terms of metaphor creativity. However, results have revealed otherwise. Right-wing newspapers have proved to be significantly more creative than centre and especially left-wing newspapers ($p=.001$), which leads to reject the original hypothesis and also opens a new interesting insight into creativity and ideology that can be further explored.

8. *It is understood that, as well as there are metaphors that will be found in both languages ('international' metaphors), some will be found only in one of them ('domestic' metaphors). Is this dependent on the language? In other words, does any of the two languages involved show preference for domestic versus international metaphors?*

As expected, domestic metaphors have been found in both languages and in all newspapers. However, the results obtained have revealed that, in spite of some differences (the Spanish corpus show a slightly higher proportion of domestic metaphors than the English one), these are not significant or representative, which therefore confirms the original hypothesis that we did not expect to find statistically significant cross-linguistic differences. Therefore, our claim that a larger corpus or other languages should be included so as to study this aspect in detail can be said to be on the right track.

9. *Moreover, does ideology play a role in the choice of domestic versus international metaphors?*

Interesting outcomes have been obtained concerning cross-ideologic differences in terms of domestic metaphors. In fact, although significant outcomes were not expected, statistical tests have revealed that the proportion of domestic metaphors is higher in left-wing newspapers than in centre and especially in right-wing ones. Thus, the hypothesis is rejected and this offers a new insight to be further explored in the field of metaphor internationality and ideology.

10. *Is there a dependent relation between the presence of persuasion hidden in metaphors and language? In other words, are Spanish newspapers more persuasive (regardless of the strategy used) than English newspapers, for example?*

As a whole, results have shown that approximately 24% of the metaphors found in the corpus are persuasive, against 76% which are not. Although a high number of persuasive metaphors were expected, the fact that only ¼ of the corpus is persuasive cannot be taken as a representative number, especially in pre-election days, when a high density of persuasion would be expected. Therefore, the hypothesis pointing at a very persuasive corpus cannot be confirmed, at least by this study. Moreover, in Chapter IV we argued that, since both corpora were retrieved during a similar time frame, both would show a similar persuasive load, independently of their language. However, this hypothesis has been rejected by the study, since the Spanish corpus has shown a higher proportion and a statistically significant difference with the English corpus. Thus, the linguistic variable does seem to play a role in the quantity of persuasive metaphors versus non-persuasive ones.

11. *Is there a dependent relation between the presence of persuasion hidden in metaphors and ideology? In other words, are left-wing newspapers more persuasive (also regardless of the strategy used) than the other newspapers? Do they use persuasive strategies as a whole more frequently?*

As expected, left-wing (*Público* and *The Guardian*) and right-wing (*ABC* and *The Telegraph*) newspapers have shown similar proportions of persuasive metaphors (22.6% in Spanish and 26.1% in English), and both are higher than the persuasive load of centre newspapers (19.7%). Still, while the right-wing ones do seem to show a higher density, the difference has not proved to be significant, which means that the original hypothesis that ideology would not cause significantly different outcomes has been confirmed in our corpus.

12. *Considering persuasion is found, is there a dependent relation between the variable polarity and language? For example, does the Spanish language use positive polarity more frequently and English negative polarity, or is it the inverse way?*

Our hypothesis was that no relevant cross-linguistic difference regarding polarity would be found, since both languages contained texts from all three ideologies and therefore polarity

strategies would be balanced. However, this has not been the case. In fact, while Spanish has shown a much higher proportion of positive polarity (71.9%), more than half of the persuasive metaphors in the English corpus make use of negative polarity (59.1%). Statistical tests have confirmed that it is possible to establish a relation between the linguistic variable and the typology of polarity used, at least in the present study.

13. Is there a dependent relation between the variable polarity and ideology? Id est, does the ideology of the newspaper affect the choice of negative or positive polarity?

Results have shown a much higher proportion of negative polarity in left-wing newspapers, a much higher proportion of positive polarity in right-wing ones, and a more balanced outcome in centre newspapers (although positive polarity – 54.2% - is more frequent than negative – 45.8%). This was indeed the expected finding due to the main objective each ideology would pursue: to highlight the positive aspects of the Government on the one hand, and to highlight the negative ones on the other. While this confirms the hypothesis, it is the centre newspapers that need to be further analysed so as to observe whether they lean towards one ideological side or another, or if, on the contrary, balanced results are always found.

14. On the other hand, is there a justified relation between the use of euphemism and dysphemism as persuasive tools and language?

Contrary to what happened with positive and negative polarity, euphemism and dysphemism have been very scarcely found in the corpus. While such low numbers, to the best of my knowledge, cannot be considered to be representative and further studies with a different approach and a larger corpus would be required, the corresponding statistical tests have in fact signaled a significant relationship between language and ‘face-moves’. To be more precise, both languages show more euphemism, yet the Spanish language does so more notably, which is in line with the higher degree of positive polarity previously shown. Thus, the original hypothesis that no link can be drawn between language and euphemistic/dysphemistic moves has to be rejected. In any case, this should be confirmed by further studies where a larger number of euphemistic and dysphemistic metaphors are identified.

15. *In addition, is there a justified relation between the use of euphemism and dysphemism as persuasive tools and ideology? In other words, does a given ideological side deploy euphemism more frequently than dysphemism, and vice versa?*

Again, low frequency of euphemistic and dysphemistic metaphors does not allow to consider the results of this part of the analysis as representative enough. However, Fisher's exact test, applied when the expected count is less than 5, provided a value higher than .05, which means that there is in fact no significant relation between the ideological variable and the frequency of these strategies. Our original hypothesis is thus rejected. Still, further studies are required to observe this strategy in closer detail.

16. *Finally, can these two strategies be found in combination in the corpus in a productive way?*

Although the strategies have been found in isolation, combinations of both have not been very frequent, as summarized in Section 3.4 of Chapter IV. This is mainly due to the low number of 'face-moves' in the corpus as a whole, which seems to indicate that, if there was a higher number of those, the frequency of combinations of euphemism and positive polarity, on the one hand, and dysphemism and negative polarity, on the other, would also be higher. Since there were only 13 cases of all the possible combinations together, no statistical tests were run, which means that, in order to answer the last research question of the study and confirm or reject my hypothesis, further extensions of the study would be required.

3. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The entire process of study of this dissertation has presented several constraints at several stages of the research process, starting from the very first steps of data crawling and retrieving, to the very last steps of metaphor classification. All the limitations needed to be solved in different ways so as to continue with the study, yet in most cases, they have served to motivate further analyses that will be detailed in the following section.

To start with, data crawling was not an easy task. Each newspaper has a different online format and a different URL structure, which meant that the crawling tool *import.io* had to be readapted for each one of them. Moreover, while the ideological stance of certain newspapers is easier to identify, or they directly claim to support one or another party, there are other media sources which do not overtly share their political stance, or claim to be centre, yet such “centrality” may be debatable. Since many factors were considered, as specified in Chapter III, including readership and periodicity, finding six newspapers that would fit all the requirements was a difficult step, but it was finally solved. Probably, having a broader choice of newspapers or contrasting only clear-cut ones would have been easier, but results of centre ones were expected to reveal interesting outcomes, which is why they were also included.

Once the data had been crawled, there was still another limitation presented by the tool used: that it retrieved some reports twice, which altered the total number of tokens per corpus and would jeopardize the study if not solved. Moreover, the reports sometimes included pictures and there were footnotes with them; others also retrieved the headlines referring to other reports; all these added tokens that were not actually of interest to the study. Therefore, in order to solve this problem, each report had to be closely read firstly to eliminate those sentences, headlines or footnotes that were not part of the report in question.

The corpus tool used, *#Lancsbox*, has proved to be a very reliable one when it comes to locating a list of targets and their immediate co-text, but it has also presented certain drawbacks that slowed down the process. To start with, and even if the newest version accepts Spanish and processes it, it does not recognize particularities of the language such as accentuation marks, which supposed a problem when setting the root or lemma to be searched for. This required careful supervision of each case found. Moreover, it has already been mentioned that the

machine-based tool did not recognize cases of polysemy or homonymy, such as the Spanish word “banco”. This had to be treated as well, since only the targets that particularly referred to economy and finance were of interest to our study.

However, the main limitations found in the analysis have to do mainly with the identification process. Since Metaphorical Pattern Analysis relies mainly on the researcher’s intuition, it implies that mistaken interpretations are possible; this was precisely why one of the main reasons why MIPVU was applied. However, deciding which entry of a word is more basic was sometimes difficult as well, especially with English, not being a native speaker. In addition, the study was always done by one researcher alone (myself) and, even if specialists were consulted in cases of doubt, there is always space for error and misinterpretation. In sum, the biggest restraint of this study has been the fact of being one researcher alone, the lack of an inter-rater (dis)agreement and linguistic barriers. In addition to these, MIPVU method has not been empirically applied to Spanish (it has been used but no clearly adapted steps have been presented yet), and there were cases of particularities of the Spanish language (such as the particle ‘se’) which had to be treated carefully, trying to respect the original method as much as possible. In any case, several readings were always required as well as constant consults, in order to overcome this limitation and interpret the results as reliably as possible. This, however, would be much more practically and reliably performed if there was a team of researchers of both languages working in collaboration, which directly leads us to the following section.

Summarizing, there were certain limitations during the design of the study and the different levels of analysis as well. However, they were treated and solved in the best way possible. The limitations have served as a motivation to continue the present analysis from different perspectives in future research.

4. FUTURE RESEARCH

The outcomes of this study and the aforementioned limitations rise a number of issues requiring further research. They are commented next, following the chronological order when they came up.

To start with, this study considered economic news and reports published by the online version of certain newspapers in both languages. Although the crawling program applied retrieved the texts separated in sections (headline, subheading and main text), the whole publication was taken for the present analysis, without differentiating the sections. Therefore, it would be interesting to observe, for example, whether headlines, being the first contact with the news for the reader, make a somehow different use of metaphors and persuasion than the rest of the text. Moreover, the comment section of the newspapers can also provide a revealing insight into what the real effect of the news is on the readers. Additionally, if the proper instructions are given, the program can also retrieve information concerning the authorship, which could be used in future studies to compare, for instance, background details such as the female versus male writers, and this would be of interest for analysis comparing metaphors used by both genders.

In addition to this, and also in relation to data retrieving, two more newspapers had been originally considered for the analysis: *The Financial Times* and *El Economista*. However, they were not included in the end, since the purpose of the study was to observe the use of metaphors in general newspapers read by all and not only by economists, as occurs with specialized press. Moreover, these newspapers are not free of charge and there are limitations to how much content can be accessed, which means the potential readership would not be the common citizen who is to decide who to vote for. Nevertheless, this can be taken as another aspect to consider for future research contrasting a non-specialized corpus with a specialized one in order to observe differences in terms of metaphor use.

As commented, one of reasons why MIPVU was not applied as the main identification method was the lack of a reliable guiding list on how to proceed with certain particularities of the Spanish language. Even if the singularities were treated carefully and individually when they were found, it would be advisable to expand this field of research and create an adapted version for Spanish. Although there is a version of the method in French (see Nacey's project '*MIPVU in*

multiple languages' 2016, introduced in Chapter II), and both languages share some commonalities of roman languages, it would be much more reliable to create a particular version for Spanish. This would be better done by a team of metaphor specialists instead of just one researcher, which is yet another proposal for further research.

Another potential line of investigation concerns the design of the methodology of the present dissertation. As explained, both levels of metaphor (specific and generic) can be identified by MPA, as were in fact identified. However, while both were taken as one when analysing schema typology, this study focused on the more specific level when observing creativity versus conventionality and internationality versus domesticity. Future extensions of this work will include both generic and specific metaphors at all levels of the analysis, which can serve to obtain reliable outcomes concerning whether it is indeed true that there is a higher chance of creativity and domesticity at the more specific instances of metaphors.

Ideology has been one of the central tenets of the study, being one of the motivations to select the six newspapers from which the data was going to be analysed. The empirical evidence derived from this study suggests that ideology seems to play a decisive role in terms of metaphor creativity, metaphor internationality, presence of persuasion in general and presence of polarity strategies. The only variable that does not seem to be affected by the ideological side of a newspapers is the use of euphemistic and dysphemistic strategies. However, we have seen that this may be due to the scarce number of cases containing these persuasive moves. Considering its potentially strong influence on metaphor use in economic discourse, further paths of research should focus on the ideological aspect. While there are numerous cross-linguistic or cross-cultural studies (Charteris-Black & Ennis 2001; Bielenia-Grajewska 2009; Negro 2011; among many others discussed in Chapter II), there is a need to observe cross-ideological similarities and differences, especially in time frames where there is a high ideological load in society as is the case under study. One option that could serve to shed some more light on this area and confirm or reject the results derived from this study would be to increase the number of newspapers or sources, taking, for instance, even more clear-cut or radical ones from an ideological point of view. It would also be revealing to focus on centre newspapers, which are supposed not to support any concrete political side. As observed in this study, they have revealed balanced results in practically all the levels of analysis; therefore, it is not possible to derive any reliable enough

conclusions that can interpret the real political stance. Whereas it could be argued that these balanced results point at an unbiased ideology, it is my belief that, if observed in close detail or including further centre newspapers, they actually lean towards one side or another. Thus, future extensions of this study will focus on these newspapers in order to shed some light on their real ideology and potential persuasive objective.

In relation to ideology and persuasion, it has been observed that polarity is much more frequently used than euphemism and dysphemism; this may be due to the fact that being more positive or negative (in other words, highlighting the positive or the negative side) requires less elaboration than creating a completely new expression that decorates a message to make it more pleasant or unpleasant. Further attention is needed to find these strategies in discourse, for instance studies exploring these moves in closer detail so as to interpret them more reliably.

Finally, there are two more future paths of research derived from this dissertation and they are both related to the real effect that the metaphors deployed in economic news have on the audience. As has been seen, this study has followed a critical discourse analysis of metaphor, but it has not paid attention to how the readers actually react to the supposed persuasive load of metaphors in the press. In fact, there is another line of research that examines how people respond to a metaphorically framed issue, known as the ‘response-elicitation approach’ (REA) (Robins & Mayer 2000; Sopory 2008). Although CDA and REA may seem to be opposite approaches to metaphor in discourse (see Boeynaems, Burgers, Konijn & Steen 2017), I consider they can very productively be combined in order to obtain a complete understanding on how the creator of discourse elaborates a metaphorical frame and how this frame actually affects the receptor. An option to perform a study from a REA perspective once the critical approach (as the one done in this study) is finished, would be to actually maintain interviews or questionnaires with a part of the population that read the corpus newspapers. In this way, CDA results can be contrasted and confirmed (or rejected). Although this path may seem too ambitious, it could provide a reliable interpretation of metaphor in economic discourse in times of election.

As for the second path mentioned, it consists in contrasting time frames; more concretely, since the pre-election week has been the one taken for this analysis, comparing the metaphors used before the voting day and those published in post-election days could also produce interesting outcomes. It could also reveal the reaction of the newspapers to the election results or

the response of the audience (if combined with a REA study). Therefore, and by means of the same crawling and corpus tools, the economic reports published during the seven days after the national elections of 2015 could be retrieved and analysed. Another option, even if it requires more time and effort, is to expand this analysis to the forthcoming elections of 2019 and (a) compare the data of pre-election and post-election days or even (b) carry out a diachronic comparison contrasting data of 2015 and 2019 and observing if, for instance, the same levels of creativity, internationality/domesticity and persuasive load are maintained or if, on the contrary, they change, considering that the political ambience of both countries have been in constant change.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This dissertation has presented an analysis contrasting the use of metaphor by three Spanish and three English newspapers during the pre-election days of the general election of 2015 in both countries. From a socio-cognitive, critical-discourse and corpus-based approach, it has analysed (1) the typology of cultural schemas deployed by each newspapers, language and ideological side, (2) the level of metaphor creativity and conventionality, (3) the presence of international metaphors versus domestic ones, and (4) the persuasive load of the corpus, more concretely by the use of polarity (highlighting and hiding certain aspects of the reality depicted by the metaphors) and euphemism and dysphemism (face-saving or face-threatening the Government at the time of the elections of 2015).

Chapter I has served as an introduction, presenting the general background of the study that has included the main reasons that motivated this study, the principal objectives to cover and the research questions that needed to be answered, followed by the different hypotheses that were set out pre-analysis. The theoretical groundings of the study have been discussed in Chapter II, from the more generic or inclusive theories, to the more specific or concrete ones of this research. It has reviewed the existing literature on which it is based and also commented on recent studies that have, at the same time, motivated the study. Next, Chapter III has presented the data under analysis, explaining why the sources were chosen for the analysis and how the texts were retrieved and cleaned. Moreover, the methodology has been detailed as much as possible, since there were various points of analysis that needed to be clarified. The central chapter of the thesis, Chapter IV, has presented the results of all those levels of analysis, which have been consequently interpreted and discussed. The main outcomes have been presented graphically in figures and the statistical values obtained from the different tests applied have also been summarized in tables. Finally, the present chapter has summarized the main conclusions obtained; it has commented on the research questions that were originally set out and also discussed the different hypotheses, most of which have been confirmed, even though some rejected. Moreover, the different avenues of further research motivated by this study have also been included in this last chapter.

As an overall conclusion, this dissertation has tried to expand the field of study of metaphor in economic discourse from a critical perspective. Although it has presented some limitations, which have been dealt with in turn, it can be said that the principal objective of analysing metaphor in times of election from a cross-linguistic and cross-ideologic perspective has been fulfilled. Moreover, the design of the study, including several corpus tools and programs (such as *import.io*, *#Lancsbox* or *Access 2016*) that have facilitated in great terms the analysis, can be taken to perform further analysis of similar nature: retrieving online data, organizing it and analysing it in an organized and reliable form, even if intuition and the researcher's hand and eye are always essential. Since the current research has also risen a number of issues concerning further investigation, it can also be taken as a motivation to continue expanding this area of research. To conclude, the results obtained may help to shed some more light on the different branches of study within the metaphor community, which is in continuous change and innovation and therefore needs to be continuously analysed.

CAPÍTULO V: CONCLUSIONES

El último capítulo de esta tesis presenta las principales implicaciones obtenidas de los resultados del estudio, que se pueden dividir en dos grupos: implicaciones y contribuciones dentro del campo de la Teoría de la Metáfora por un lado, e implicaciones y contribuciones dentro del campo del Discurso en Economía, por otro. Ambos campos están unidos en el estudio, pero se van a presentar por separado por motivos de claridad. Los resultados también responden las preguntas de la investigación presentadas en Capítulo I, así como a las hipótesis formuladas en el mismo capítulo; ambas serán presentadas a continuación. Además, se han encontrado diversas limitaciones al realizar el estudio, algunas de las cuales ya han sido comentadas anteriormente. Estas limitaciones, junto con sus posibles soluciones o maneras de afrontarlas, serán asimismo presentadas en detalle en este capítulo. Por último, dichas limitaciones y los resultados del estudio han servido para motivar diversos caminos de investigación futura con el objetivo de continuar los objetivos del presente estudio en una mayor escala. La última sección del capítulo resumirá las conclusiones de esta tesis doctoral.

1. IMPLICACIONES DEL ESTUDIO

El estudio de la metáfora en el discurso ha sido de interés para lingüistas durante décadas, y existe una constante línea de investigación y avances hacia la metáfora como un elemento de todos los tipos de discurso y hacia sus diversos métodos de identificación (Musolff 2006; Semino 2008; Pragglejaz Group 2007; Steen 2007; Semino 2008; Musolff & Zinken 2009; Steen et al. 2010; Semino, Deignan & Littlemore 2013; Soares da Silva 2016). Además, ha habido recientemente un cambio en este ámbito, hacia una aproximación más sociocognitiva que ve la metáfora como un elemento intrínseco de la sociedad, más que como un elemento únicamente propio del pensamiento (Bernárdez 2008; Soares da Silva et al. 2017; Romano & Porto 2018). En otras palabras, la metáfora no se ve solo como un elemento del discurso, sino como una estrategia discursiva de ciertos contextos sociales, políticos, culturales, etc.; un elemento que queda, por tanto, reflejado en el uso del lenguaje y en el discurso. Esta tesis ha intentado contribuir a este campo aportando más datos y puntos de vista y estudio. Más específicamente, el presente estudio tiene como objetivo contribuir a la ya amplia literatura existente sobre la metáfora en economía y finanzas (Henderson 1982; McCloskey 1983; Charteris-Black & Ennis 2001; White 2003; Herrera-Soler & White 2012; entre muchos otros), y aquellos estudios que observan la metáfora como una herramienta persuasiva (Musolff 2004; Koller 2006; Hart 2008, 2014; López 2010; Romano 2013, 2015; Mohamed 2014; Lee 2015).

1.1. IMPLICACIONES DENTRO DE LA TEORÍA DE LA METÁFORA

En primer lugar, el Capítulo II ha introducido las principales bases de la Teoría de la Metáfora, desde el reconocido libro de Lakoff & Johnson (1980) hasta la actualidad. Uno de los principales objetivos de los investigadores en este campo es cómo identificar, de manera fiable, la metáfora en el discurso. Una vez se han revisado los principales métodos empíricos en este aspecto, se aplicaron dos métodos en este estudio: el ‘Metaphorical Pattern Analysis’ (o ‘Análisis de Patrones Metafóricos’) de Stefanowitsch (2006) y el método ‘Metaphor Identification Procedure’ (o ‘Método de Identificación de Metáforas’) del grupo Pragglejaz (2007), que a su vez derivó en el ‘MIPVU’, o ‘Método de Identificación de Metáforas de la VU Ámsterdam’, de Steen et al. (2010). Desde una perspectiva del corpus, ambos métodos han resultado útiles para

extraer las metáforas de una forma u otra, aunque el primero fue aplicado como método inicial debido al diseño del corpus de este trabajo.

Sin embargo, antes del proceso de identificación de la metáfora, la herramienta de corpus *#Lancsbox* (Brezina, McEnery & Wattam, 2015) se utilizó para organizar los datos extraídos de las páginas web de los periódicos. A pesar de algunas limitaciones encontradas (como el hecho de que las palabras homónimas también fueran extraídas e incluidas en el recuento de palabras, o que el sistema de acentuación español no fuera detectado), esta herramienta ha demostrado ser fiable para extraer, de manera organizada, todos los fragmentos de texto dentro de un corpus gracias a una lista de dominios previamente establecida. Por tanto, la primera contribución de esta investigación se refiere a la utilidad de esta herramienta en los estudios de corpus que deseen analizar una lista concreta de dominios metafóricos en un discurso en concreto.

Una vez se habían extraído, limpiado y organizado los datos, el método MPA se usó para identificar dominios fuentes potencialmente metafóricos en el co-texto inmediato a los dominios meta extraídos por la herramienta de corpus. Ha habido dos características de este método que han supuesto una gran ventaja para el estudio. En primer lugar, el hecho de que se pudiera identificar la metáfora más general pero también ciertas especificaciones del dominio. En segundo lugar, que, aunque la lista de dominios meta identifica las expresiones metafóricas refiriéndose al término *centras* (o 'node'), otras proyecciones que incluían otros dominios meta y fuente también podían ser identificadas gracias al MPA (o APM en español). Por tanto, este estudio apoya el uso de MPA como un método fiable de identificación de metáforas, debido a la estructura organizada que presenta y a la oportunidad de extracción múltiple de proyecciones metafóricas que ha demostrado ofrecer en el Capítulo IV. Siempre que la investigación se centre en un dominio meta claro para analizar, en lugar de, por ejemplo, el discurso de la economía en general, este método puede proporcionar resultados claros que pueden ser posteriormente procesados y clasificados.

Sin embargo, MPA utiliza principalmente la intuición del investigador como la herramienta analítica. Precisamente, se ha argumentado que confiar en la intuición meramente no es del todo fiable y que los investigadores no pueden demostrar empíricamente que una palabra es metafórica o no, especialmente si solo hay un investigador realizando el análisis (ver Praggelaz, 2007). Es precisamente por esta razón que MIP y MIPVU son cada vez más usados desde la última década, ya que presentan un método basado en diccionarios que contrasta el

sentido metafórico de una palabra con el más básico según el diccionario. Según fue diseñado el método, usar MIPVU implica ir palabra por palabra en el diccionario y, como el diseño de este estudio se centra en una lista específica de términos económicos (no en el discurso de la economía en general), este método no se consideró como método principal en el estudio. No obstante, sí fue utilizado como un segundo método para filtrar aquellos casos identificados como metafóricos por MPA, formando, por tanto, la lista final de expresiones metafóricas que pasarían a los siguientes pasos del proceso de análisis. Los resultados resumidos en la Sección 1.3 del Capítulo II parecen probar que MPA y MIPVU coinciden en la mayoría de los casos, lo cual señala dos implicaciones de esta combinación metodológica: (1) que MPA es un método fiable ya que la mayoría de los casos identificados como metafóricos fueron posteriormente confirmados como tal por MIPVU, y (2) que MIPVU aporta resultados todavía más fiables (lo cual viene indicado por aquellos casos que este método rechazó como no metafóricos una vez fueron contrastados con diccionarios) y puede ser usado por tanto como un método de filtro en combinación con MPA. En otras palabras, el presente estudio toma las ventajas de ambos métodos y, en lugar de verlos como competidores, aboga por un uso combinado en estudios de metáfora basados en un corpus.

La metodología combinada de esta tesis ha contribuido al estudio de tres niveles de análisis, que son (1) esquemas metafóricos, (2) convencionalidad frente a creatividad y (3) internacionalidad frente a domesticidad. Para empezar, los resultados obtenidos en la Sección 2.2 del Capítulo IV han proporcionado nuevos datos en cuanto a la clasificación de la metáfora según la estructura que proyectan, según queda reflejado en el contexto social y cultural de los participantes en el discurso. Basada en estudios previos sobre metáfora económica y financiera (Moreno Lara 2008; Rojo-López & Orts-Llopis 2009; Soares da Silva 2016; Soares da Silva et al. 2017), la clasificación de esquemas en tres categorías (proposicional, de imagen y eventos) ha demostrado ser muy frecuente en el discurso estudiado, incluyendo dominios fuente como SALUF, ARRIBA-ABAJO y COMPETICIÓN, encontrados en ambos idiomas. Además, se han identificado nuevas fuentes, como LÍQUIDO (también muy frecuente en ambos idiomas), BALANZA o RECORTAR y RESCATAR (encontrados de manera diferente entre idiomas). Estos resultados por tanto coinciden con la visión sociocognitiva que percibe la metáfora como un elemento que cambia según cambia la sociedad. De hecho, estas dos últimas fuentes (RECORTAR y RESCATAR) son ampliamente usadas hoy en día debido a la crisis económica

que ha afectado a la mayoría de los países europeos desde 2008, y que puede justificar la aparición y la frecuencia de estos dos conceptos en el corpus. Es decir, la clasificación tri-categoría ha demostrado ser útil para organizar y categorizar fuentes convencionales que llevan siendo usadas durante décadas, pero también nuevas (creativas) dentro de cada esquema, consecuentemente ampliándolos.

Como se ha explicado desde el Capítulo II al IV, este estudio ha observado tanto la convencionalidad como la creatividad en el corpus. Aunque la mayoría de los esquemas estaban centrados en el nivel más general de la metáfora, el análisis se ha centrado en el más específicos para observar si el nivel de creatividad era de hecho mayor como sugieren algunos investigadores (Kövecses 2005; Vasiloaia et al. 2011). Esta tesis por tanto coincide con la literatura existente en el hecho de que hay una mayor frecuencia de metáforas convencionales y arraigadas en el corpus estudiado. Sin embargo, sigue encontrándose creatividad a un nivel específico de las expresiones metafóricas, como la fuente MIGRACIÓN (a pesar de que su nivel más general, ANIMAL, sí es convencional) o especificaciones del término convencional CUERPO en cuanto a TAMAÑO, por ejemplo (en casos como la metáfora conceptual UNA BUENA ECONOMÍA ES AUMENTAR TAMAÑO). Por tanto, este análisis también señala dos implicaciones en este ámbito: que la convencionalidad es más frecuente que la creatividad en todos los niveles metafóricos, por un lado, y que aun así se necesitan más estudios que se aproximen a los niveles específicos para poder confirmar si las diferencias son realmente más relevantes en este nivel. Por el momento, el presente trabajo señala que hay una diferencia entre las fuentes de noticias, idiomas e ideología, pero no se han observado diferencias entre nivel general y específico. Sin embargo, ejemplos como el caso del dominio fuente MIGRACIÓN (entre otros), en el que el nivel específico es creativo pero el general es convencional, sugieren que dicha diferencia sí se encontraría si ambos niveles fueran contrastados y probados estadísticamente. Además, las metáforas creativas encontradas, incluyendo estas y otras como los esquemas de RECORTAR y RESCATAR, coinciden con la afirmación sociocognitiva mencionada anteriormente sobre la metáfora como una parte de la sociedad y que es, por tanto, cambiante si esta cambia; consecuentemente, situaciones nuevas en una sociedad, como una crisis económica, producirán consecuentemente metáforas creativas.

Se han obtenido resultados similares en cuanto a la internacionalidad y la domesticidad de las metáforas económicas. Estudios previos (Kövecses 2010, 2015) se referían a esta

dicotomía usando el término “universalidad” en su lugar, señalando una frecuencia mayor de metáforas universales frente a las dependientes de la cultura, especialmente a un nivel más general. Por el contrario, este estudio prefiere el término “internacionalidad” ya que compara dos idiomas (e, incluso comparando más de dos, usar el término “universal” puede ser confuso), y se ha centrado en los niveles más específicos de la metáfora tal y como se ha hecho con la convencionalidad, precisamente para contribuir con un nuevo nivel, ya que la literatura existente se centra en el más general. Según los resultados obtenidos en la Sección 2.4 del Capítulo III, hay una notable prevalencia de metáforas internacionales in nuestro corpus también en el nivel más específico, lo cual coincide con la literatura existente (ver la Tabla 1 en la Sección 8.3 del Capítulo II para ver las metáforas internacionales de estudios anteriores). No obstante, se han encontrado especificidades en ambos idiomas, lo que implica que, aunque la internacionalidad prevalece, se necesitan más estudios para observar aquellos casos domésticos que solo se encuentran en un idiomas, como se puede ver en el esquema de AGRICULTURA en inglés, o en los usos del esquema de MERCADO CALLEJERO en español, que puede estar justificado por el hecho cultural de que los mercados en la callo donde se vende comida y productos son todavía muy frecuentes en la sociedad española.

En conclusión, el uso de un programa de base de datos como *Access* ha facilitado una clasificación organizada de las metáforas extraídas por *#Lancsbox* e identificadas por MPA y MIPVU, lo cual lo convierte en un programa fiable para aplicar en estudios similares, si bien el investigador necesita programar su estructura y funcionamiento previamente. Gracias a esta herramienta, las clasificaciones se realizaron de manera rápida y práctica, y exportadas a un formato que pudiera ser estadísticamente procesado. Todos los programas usados en el análisis, por tanto, pueden contribuir a los estudios de metáfora en el discurso basados en un corpus.

1.2. IMPLICACIONES PARA LA PRENSA ECONÓMICA Y LA PERSUASIÓN

El último nivel de análisis constaba de un estudio más cualitativo que analizaba la carga persuasiva de las metáforas en el discurso económico en periodo preelectoral. La metáfora como una herramienta persuasiva ha sido analizada durante los últimos años a una escala general y dentro del discurso de prensa (ver referencias en la Sección 1.1 de este capítulo), que era el foco central de este estudio. Sin embargo, los estudios existentes dentro del campo de la economía no

han acotado el análisis a un marco temporal concreto en el que la ideología y la persuasión están latentes en todas las esferas de la sociedad, como ocurre con los días que rodean a unas elecciones generales. Por esta razón, este estudio tenía como objetivo contribuir a la literatura ya existente centrándose en la semana previa al día de las elecciones generales en ambos países en 2015. Uno de los principales objetivos, como ya se ha comentado, era observar si las metáforas encontradas en el corpus y previamente clasificadas escondían algún tipo de objetivo persuasivo, más específicamente a través de dos estrategias diferentes: polaridad y eufemismo/disfemismo. Para este nivel de análisis, no solo se tomaba en cuenta solo la expresión metafórica en sí, sino también si contexto y co-texto. Los resultados han sido variados y han contribuido de diversas maneras a las teorías de metáfora y persuasión.

En primer lugar, hay una prevalencia de metáforas no persuasivas sobre las persuasivas, y la diferencia es más notable en el corpus inglés. Estos resultados contribuyen a estudios sobre persuasión a través de la metáfora de dos maneras diferentes. Por un lado, señalan que no existe una relación entre la aparición de una metáfora y la persuasión, es decir, que no todas las metáforas se usan de manera persuasiva, aunque, puedan tener otras funciones dentro del discurso. Por otro lado, los resultados indican que hay una diferencia cros-lingüística en cuando a frecuencia persuasiva (ver la Sección 3 del Capítulo IV).

En segundo lugar, se han identificado diferentes estrategias en cuanto a la polaridad, tanto cros-lingüista como cros-ideológicamente. Para empezar, mientras que la negatividad se ha encontrado más frecuentemente en inglés, el corpus español parece ser más positivo. Además, y según se esperaba, los periódicos de izquierda han mostrado más negatividad que los de derecha, y los periódicos de centro han mostrado tener resultados más equilibrados. Sin embargo, al combinar ambas variables se han obtenido resultados interesantes, ya que ha permitido restringir por qué las comparaciones cros-lingüísticas o cros-ideológicas resultan de una manera u otra. Ya que no se han encontrado estudios sobre esta combinación de variables, esta tesis puede servir para abrir un nuevo campo de investigación que puede proveer resultados más específicos en cuanto a cómo se usa la persuasión en el discurso de prensa económica.

Asimismo, no se han encontrado estudios sobre eufemismo y disfemismo en este tipo de discurso en concreto, lo cual implica también un nuevo campo de estudio en este ámbito. Sin embargo, estas estrategias se encontraron con mucha menos frecuencia que la polaridad en nuestro corpus, lo que sugiere que hay una línea muy prometedora por investigar.

2. RESULTADOS: PREGUNTAS DE LA INVESTIGACIÓN E HIPÓTESIS

La sección anterior ha detallado las principales implicaciones y contribuciones de esta tesis en el estudio de la metáfora. Esta sección va a resumir las preguntas de la investigación que se plantearon en el Capítulo I, y servirá para confirmar o rechazar las hipótesis originales.

1. *¿Hay alguna diferencia cross-lingüística en cuanto a densidad metafórica? En otras palabras, ¿es el corpus español más metafórico (en cuanto a frecuencia) que el inglés?*

A pesar de la falta de una evidencia clara previamente demostrada que se refiriera a las diferencias entre idiomas, los resultados de esta tesis confirman la hipótesis que afirma que sí hay una diferencia cross-lingüística significativa en cuanto a frecuencia metafórica, obteniendo una diferencia en proporciones de ,129 entre el corpus inglés y el español (ver Sección 1 del Capítulo IV), y mostrando proporcionalmente más expresiones metafóricas en este último. Teniendo en cuenta que el tamaño del corpus inglés era casi la mitad que el corpus español (ver Tabla 9 en el Capítulo IV), los resultados rechazan la hipótesis de que la densidad metafórica estará definida por el tamaño del corpus, lo cual contribuye a la escasa literatura de estudios cross-lingüísticos sobre densidad metafórica.

2. *¿Se puede usar MPA (o APM) como una herramienta de identificación metafórica fiable en combinación con MIPVU? ¿Está justificado usar MIPVU como herramienta complementaria en lugar de central? ¿Proporcionan resultados muy diferentes?*

Esta pregunta puede ser contestada en dos partes. Primero, los resultados han confirmado la hipótesis de que MPA se puede usar como un método de identificación fiable para los estudios de investigación con un diseño similar al presente (basados en los dominios meta). Sin embargo, teniendo en cuenta que aún podía haber algún error, se usó MIPVU y un test de Intervalo de Confianza que confirmó que MIPVU puede ser usado como segundo método y filtro para confirmar o rechazar los casos metafóricos identificados por MPA.

3. *¿Se usan los esquemas metafóricos de manera diferente entre idiomas? Es decir, ¿muestra alguno de los dos idiomas del estudio preferencia por alguno de los tres esquemas?*

Ya que los esquemas metafóricos vienen definidos por el marco cultural, y se han analizado dos culturas, se esperaba encontrar diferencias en cuando a tipología y frecuencia. Los resultados

resumidos en la Sección 2.2.4 del Capítulo IV confirman esta hipótesis, ya que sí se ha encontrado una diferencia de proporciones con un valor $p = ,024$.

4. *¿Se usan los esquemas metafóricos de manera diferente entre ideologías? Es decir, ¿muestra alguna de las tres ideologías preferencia por uno de los tres esquemas?*

Teniendo en cuenta que la ideología también forma parte de la cultura y que los esquemas metafóricos están influenciados por la cultura, también se esperaban diferencias entre ideologías. Sin embargo, los resultados han revelado que este no es el caso. De hecho, no se ha encontrado una diferencia estadística proporcional cros-ideológicamente en cuanto a preferencia de esquemas. Por tanto, esta hipótesis queda rechazada.

5. *Si se encuentran metáforas creativas en el corpus, ¿se pueden considerar representativas? En otras palabras, ¿hay una proporción elevada de metáforas nuevas o creativas en el nivel específico de nuestro corpus, en comparación con las convencionales?*

Igual que se habían encontrado metáforas nuevas a un nivel general en los estudios mencionados anteriormente, ha ocurrido lo mismo en el nivel específico en este estudio. La diferencia en proporciones entre las metáforas convencionales (70,6%) y las nuevas (29,4%) en el corpus total resultó en ,412; es decir, hay un 2,4 más de casos de metáforas convencionales que nuevas. Se puede decir que, por tanto, que, de cada 100 metáforas, casi 30 serán nuevas. Desde mi punto de vista, esta proporción es relativamente alta y por tanto se puede decir que el resultado encontrado es importante.

6. *¿Depende la creatividad metafórica dependiente del idioma? Por ejemplo, ¿muestra el español un uso más frecuente de metáforas creativas que el inglés, o al contrario?*

Se esperaba encontrar una mayor frecuencia metafórica en el mayor corpus del estudio, que resultó ser el español, así como se esperaba encontrar un mayor grado de creatividad en dicho corpus. Sin embargo, como se ha comentado, la primera hipótesis ha resultado ser rechazada, ya que el corpus inglés ha mostrado una mayor densidad metafórica. Además, el estudio ha mostrado una proporción ligeramente mayor de metáforas nuevas o creativas en el corpus inglés, pero además dicha diferencia no es relevante o comparable. De hecho, como se ha resumido en la Sección 2.2.3. del Capítulo IV, el valor obtenido es de $p = ,05$, lo que implica que no se puede

establecer una relación entre idioma y creatividad metafórica, y por tanto la hipótesis original queda también rechazada.

7. *De igual manera, ¿depende la creatividad metafórica de la ideología? Por ejemplo, ¿muestran los periódicos de derecha del corpus una mayor frecuencia de metáforas creativas que los periódicos de izquierda y centro?*

Nuestra hipótesis era que no se encontraría una diferencia significativa cross-ideológicamente en cuanto a creatividad metafórica. Sin embargo, los resultados han resultado ser diferentes. Los periódicos de derecha han mostrado ser significativamente más creativos que los de centro y especialmente que los de izquierda ($p = ,001$), lo que nos lleva a rechazar la hipótesis original y además abre un nuevo camino de investigación interesante en cuanto a la relación entre creatividad e ideología.

8. *Se entiende que, de igual manera que hay metáforas que se encontrarán en ambos idiomas (metáforas 'internacionales'), algunas se encontrarán solo en uno de ellos (metáforas 'domésticas'). ¿Depende esto del idioma? Es decir, ¿muestra alguno de los dos idiomas del estudio preferencia por las metáforas creativas o por las internacionales?*

Como se esperaba, las metáforas domésticas se han encontrado en ambos idiomas y en todos los periódicos. Sin embargo, los resultados obtenidos han revelado que, a pesar de algunas diferencias (el corpus español muestra una proporción ligeramente más elevada de metáforas domésticas que el inglés), estas no son significativas o representativas, lo cual confirma la hipótesis original que no esperaba encontrar diferencias cross-lingüísticas estadísticamente significantes. Por tanto, se puede decir que la idea de que se necesitaría un corpus mayor u otros idiomas para estudiar este aspecto en detalle parece estar bien encaminada.

9. *Asimismo, ¿tiene un papel importante la ideología en cuanto a la elección de metáforas domésticas frente a las internacionales?*

Se han encontrado resultados interesantes en cuanto a las diferencias cross-ideológicas en cuanto a las metáforas domésticas. De hecho, aunque no se esperaban resultados significantes, las pruebas estadísticas han revelado que la proporción de metáforas domésticas es más elevada en los periódicos de izquierda que en los de centro y especialmente que en los de derecha. Por

tanto, la hipótesis queda rechazada y eso ofrece una nueva visión que puede ser explorada en detalle en cuanto a la relación entre internacionalidad metafórica e ideología.

10. *¿Hay una relación dependiente entre la presencia de la persuasión escondida en las metáforas y el idioma? En otras palabras, ¿son los periódicos españoles más persuasivos (independientemente de la estrategia empleada) que los ingleses, por ejemplo?*

En general, los resultados han mostrado que aproximadamente un 24% de las metáforas encontradas en el corpus son persuasivas, frente al 76% que no lo son. Aunque se esperaba encontrar un mayor número de metáforas persuasivas, el hecho de que solo $\frac{1}{4}$ del corpus sea persuasivo no se puede tomar como una cifra representativa, especialmente en los días preelectorales, cuando cabría esperar una mayor carga persuasiva. Por tanto, la hipótesis que apuntaba hacia un corpus muy persuasivo no se puede confirmar, al menos por este estudio. Además, en el Capítulo IV se ha argumentado que, como ambos corpus se extrajeron en un marco temporal similar, ambos mostrarían una carga persuasiva similar, ya que el corpus español ha mostrado una proporción mayor y una diferencia estadísticamente significativa con el corpus inglés. Por tanto, la variable lingüística sí parece mostrar un papel importante en cuanto a la cantidad de metáforas persuasivas frente a las no-persuasivas.

11. *¿Hay una relación dependiente entre la presencia de la persuasión escondida las metáforas y la ideología? Es decir, ¿son los periódicos de izquierda más persuasivos (también independientemente de la estrategia empleada) que los otros periódicos? ¿Usan las estrategias persuasivas más frecuentemente?*

Como se esperaba, los periódicos de izquierda (*Público* y *The Guardian*) y los de derecha (*ABC* y *The Telegraph*) han mostrados una proporción similar de metáforas persuasivas (22,6% en español y 26,1% en inglés), y ambos muestran una mayor proporción que la carga persuasiva de los periódicos de centro (19,7%). Sin embargo, mientras que los periódicos de derecha muestra esa proporción mayor, la diferencia no ha demostrado ser significativa, lo cual significa que la hipótesis original de que la ideología no causaría diferencias significativas queda confirmada en nuestro corpus.

12. *Considerando que se encuentre persuasión, ¿hay una relación dependiente entre la variable de polaridad y el idioma? Por ejemplo, ¿emplea el idioma español polaridad positiva más frecuentemente y el inglés la polaridad negativa, o es al contrario?*

La hipótesis era que no se encontraría diferencia relevante entre idiomas en cuanto a polaridad, ya que ambos contienen textos que provienen de las tres ideologías y por tanto las estrategias de polaridad estarían equilibradas. Sin embargo, no ha resultado ser así. De hecho, mientras que el español ha mostrado una proporción mucho mayor de polaridad positiva (71,9%), más de la mitad de las metáforas persuasivas en el corpus inglés muestran polaridad negativa (59,1%). Las pruebas estadísticas han confirmado que se puede establecer una relación entre la variable lingüística y la tipología de polaridad empleada, al menos en este estudio.

13. *¿Hay una relación dependiente entre la variable de polaridad y la ideología? Es decir, ¿afecta la ideología del periódico en cuanto a la elección de polaridad positiva o negativa?*

Los resultados han mostrado una proporción mucho más elevada de polaridad negativa en los periódicos de izquierda, una proporción mucho mayor de polaridad positiva en los periódicos de derecha, y una proporción más igualada en los de centro (aunque la polaridad positiva – 54,2% – es más frecuente que la negativa – 45,8%). Esto era efectivamente lo que se esperaba debido al objetivo principal que perseguía cada ideología: resaltar los aspectos positivos del Gobierno, por un lado, y resaltar los negativos, por otro. Mientras que esto confirma la hipótesis original, son los periódicos de centro los que necesitan ser analizados en más detalle para poder observar si se inclinan hacia un lado ideológico u otro o si, por el contrario, siempre se encuentran resultados equilibrados.

14. *Por otro lado, ¿hay una relación justificada entre el uso del eufemismo y del disfemismo como herramientas persuasivas y el idioma?*

Contrario a lo que ocurría con la polaridad positiva y negativa, el eufemismo y el disfemismo se han encontrado con muy poca frecuencia en el corpus. Mientras que entendemos que resultados tan bajos no se pueden considerar suficientemente representativos y se necesitarían más estudios con un objetivo diferente y un corpus mayor, las pruebas estadísticas correspondientes han mostrado una relación significativa entre el idioma y eufemismo/disfemismo. Para ser más precisos, ambos idiomas muestran más eufemismo, aunque el idioma español lo hace de manera

más notable, lo cual coincide con el mayor grado de polaridad positiva mencionado anteriormente. Por tanto, la hipótesis original de que no se encontraría unión entre idioma y eufemismo/disfemismo tiene que ser rechazada. En cualquier caso, esto tendría que ser confirmado por más estudios en los que se identificara una mayor frecuencia de metáforas eufemísticas y disfemísticas.

15. Asimismo, ¿hay una relación justificada entre el uso del eufemismo y del disfemismo como herramientas persuasivas y la ideología? En otras palabras, ¿emplea un lado ideológico eufemismo más frecuentemente que disfemismo, y al contrario?

De nuevo, una frecuencia tan baja de metáforas eufemísticas y disfemísticas no permite considerar los resultados de esta parte del análisis como suficientemente representativos. Sin embargo, el test exacto de Fisher, aplicable cuando la frecuencia esperada es menor de 5, mostró un valor mayor de ,05, lo cual significa que no hay una relación significativa entre la variable ideológica y la frecuencia de estas estrategias. Nuestra hipótesis original queda por tanto rechazada. De cualquier forma, se necesitan más estudios para observar esta estrategia en más detalle.

16. Finalmente, ¿se pueden encontrar estas dos estrategias en combinación en el corpus de una manera productiva?

Aunque las estrategias se han encontrado por separado, no ha sido muy frecuente encontrarlas de manera combinada, como se resumido en la Sección 3.4 del Capítulo IV. Esto se debe principalmente al bajo número de metáforas eufemísticas y disfemísticas en el corpus en general, lo cual parece indicar que, si hubiera una mayor frecuencia de estas, la frecuencia de combinaciones entre eufemismo y polaridad positiva, por un lado, y disfemismo y polaridad negativa, por otro, también sería mayor. Como solo había 13 casos de todas las posibles combinaciones en total, no se llevaron a cabo pruebas estadísticas, lo cual significa que, para poder contestar la última pregunta de la investigación y poder confirmar o rechazar la hipótesis, sería preciso extender este estudio.

3. LIMITACIONES DEL ESTUDIO

El proceso completo de estudio de esta tesis ha presentado varias limitaciones en distintos momentos del proceso de investigación, empezando por los primeros pasos de rastreo y extracción de datos, hasta los últimos pasos de la clasificación de las metáforas. Todas estas limitaciones han tenido que ser afrontadas y resultas de diferentes maneras para poder continuar con el estudio, si bien, en la mayoría de los casos, han servido para motivar futuros caminos de análisis que serán detallados en la siguiente sección.

Primeramente, el proceso de rastreo de datos no fue una tarea sencilla. Cada periódico tiene un formato en línea diferente y una estructura de URL diferente, lo cual significó que la herramienta de rastreo, *import.io*, tuvo que ser readaptada para cada uno de ellos. Además, mientras que el lado ideológico de algunos periódicos es más fácil de identificar, o bien ellos mismos reconocen abiertamente apoyar a un partido u otro, hay otros medios de comunicación que no comparten de manera reconocible su ideología política, o claman ser de centro, si bien ese “centralismo” puede ser debatible. Teniendo en cuenta que eran muchos los factores a considerar para la selección de periódicos, como se ha especificado en el Capítulo III, incluyendo la circulación y la periodicidad, encontrar 6 periódicos que encajaran dentro de todos los requisitos era un paso difícil, que fue finalmente solucionado. Probablemente, tener una elección más amplia de periódicos o contrastar solamente aquellos con una ideología claramente marcada habría sido más fácil, pero se pretendía y esperaba que los resultados de los periódicos de centro revelaran resultados interesantes, razón por la cual fueron finalmente incluidos.

Una vez los datos habían sido rastreados, había una limitación más en lo que concierne a la herramienta empleada: que extraía algunas noticias duplicadas, lo cual alteraba el número total de palabras por corpus y por tanto ponía en riesgo el estudio si no se solucionaba. Además, las noticias alguna vez incluían imágenes y pies de imagen junto a ellas; otros también extraían titulares refiriéndose a otros artículos; todos estos casos añadían palabras que no eran en realidad de interés para este estudio. Por tanto, para solucionar este problema, cada informe tuvo que ser leído cuidadosamente al principio para eliminar aquellas frases, titulares o pies de nota que no formaban parte del artículo en cuestión.

La herramienta de corpus empleada, *#Lancsbox*, ha demostrado ser muy fiable para localizar una lista de dominios meta y su co-texto inmediato, pero también ha presentado ciertos inconvenientes que ralentizaron el proceso. En primer lugar, e incluso si la versión más actual ya

reconoce y procesa el idioma español, no reconoce ciertas particularidades de este idioma, como las tildes, lo cual supuso un problema a la hora de indicar la raíz o lema que tenía que localizar. Esto requirió una supervisión muy cuidadosa para cada uno de los casos. Asimismo, ya se ha mencionado que la herramienta basada en un ordenador no reconoce casos de polisemia u homonimia, como la palabra español “banco”. Esto tuvo que ser tratado también, ya que solo los dominios meta que se referían particularmente a la economía y las finanzas eran de interés para el estudio.

Sin embargo, las principales limitaciones del análisis ocurrieron principalmente durante el proceso de identificación. Como el Análisis de Patrones Metafóricos (MPA) parte principalmente de la intuición del analista, esto implica que interpretaciones erróneas sean posibles; esta fue una de las principales razones por las que se aplicó MIPVU. Sin embargo, decidir, qué entrada de una palabra era la más básica también era difícil en ciertos casos, especialmente en inglés, al no ser una hablante nativa. Asimismo, el estudio siempre se llevó a cabo por una analista (yo misma) e, incluso si se consultaron especialistas en caso de duda, siempre había lugar a duda o malinterpretación. En resumen, la principal barrera de este estudio ha sido ser solo una persona analizando, la falta de un medidor o escala de (des)acuerdo entre analistas y las barreras lingüísticas. A esto se le suma que el método de MIPVU no ha sido aplicado empíricamente al español (sí ha sido usado pero los datos específicos no se han presentado aún), y había casos de particularidades del español (como la partícula ‘se’) que tenían que ser cuidadosamente tratados, intentando respetar el método original en todo lo posible. En cualquier caso, fueron necesarias varias lecturas, así como constantes consultas, para poder superar esta limitación e interpretar los resultados de la manera más fiable posible. Esto, sin embargo, sería llevado a cabo de forma mucho más fiable y práctica si el análisis fuera hecho por investigadores de ambos idiomas colaborando, lo cual nos lleva directamente a la siguiente sección del capítulo.

Para resumir, hubo ciertas limitaciones durante el diseño del estudio y los diferentes niveles de análisis. Sin embargo, estos fueron tratados y solucionados de la mejor manera posible. Estas limitaciones han servido como motivación para continuar el presente análisis desde diferentes perspectivas en investigaciones futuras.

4. FUTURAS LÍNEAS DE INVESTIGACIÓN

Los resultados de este estudio y las limitaciones que acaban de ser presentadas presentar numerosos aspectos que requieren más investigación. Estos van a ser comentados a continuación, siguiendo el orden cronológico en el que surgieron.

Para empezar, este estudio tenía en cuenta noticias y artículos de economía publicados por la versión digital de ciertos periódicos en ambos idiomas. Aunque el programa de rastreo aplicado extraía los textos en diferentes secciones (titular, subtítular y cuerpo principal), la publicación entera fue tomada para este análisis, sin diferenciar secciones. Por tanto, sería interesante observar, por ejemplo, si los titulares, siendo el primer contacto con las noticias que tiene el lector, hacen un uso diferente de las metáforas y la persuasión que el resto de texto. Además, la sección de comentarios y opinión de los periódicos también puede proporcionar una visión interesante en cuanto al efecto real de las noticias en los lectores. También, si se le dan las instrucciones adecuadas, el programa puede extraer información en cuanto a la autoría, que pueden ser usados en futuros estudios que comparen, por ejemplo, detalles de contexto como el género de los escritores, lo cual sería interesante para análisis contrastando metáforas empleadas por mujeres y hombres.

Para continuar, y también en relación con la extracción de datos, dos periódicos más fueron considerados para el análisis: *The Telegraph* y *El Economista*. Sin embargo, no fueron incluidos finalmente, ya que el objetivo del estudio era observar el uso de las metáforas en periódicos de información general que fueran leídos por todo el mundo, y no solo por economistas, que es lo que sucede con la prensa especializada. Además, estos periódicos no son gratuitos y hay limitaciones en cuanto a la cantidad de contenido al que se puede acceder, lo cual significa que los potenciales lectores no serían el ciudadano común que está decidiendo a quién votar. Sin embargo, esto se puede tomar como otro aspecto a considerar para futuras investigaciones contrastando un corpus no especializado con uno especializado para observar diferencias en cuanto al uso de la metáfora.

Como se ha comentado, una de las razones por las que MIPVU no fue aplicado como el método de identificación principal fue la falta de una lista o guía fiable sobre cómo procedes con ciertas particularidades del idioma español. Aunque estas singularidades fueron tratadas con cuidado de manera individual, sería aconsejable expandir este campo de investigación y crear una versión adaptada para el español. Aunque sí hay una versión del método en francés (ver el

proyecto de Nacey, *MIPVU in multiple languages*, 2016, introducido en Capítulo II), y ambos idiomas comparten algunos aspectos comunes de las lenguas romance, sería mucho más fiable crear una versión particular para el español. Esto se haría mejor por un equipo de especialistas en lugar de un solo investigador, lo cual supone por tanto otra propuesta para futuras investigaciones.

Otra línea potencial de investigación concierne el diseño de la metodología de esta tesis. Como se ha explicado, MPA puede identificar ambos niveles de la metáfora (específico y general), y fueron de hecho identificados. Sin embargo, mientras que ambos fueron tomados como uno al analizar la tipología de esquemas, este estudio se centró en el nivel más específico al observar creatividad frente a convencionalidad e internacionalidad frente a domesticidad. Futuras extensiones de este trabajo incluirán tanto las metáforas generales como las específicas en todos los niveles de análisis, lo cual puede servir para obtener resultados fiables en cuanto a si es o no cierto que hay una mayor probabilidad de creatividad y domesticidad en los niveles más específicos de las metáforas.

La ideología has sido uno de los ejes centrales del estudio, siendo una de las motivaciones para elegir los seis periódicos de los que se iban a analizar los datos. La evidencia empírica obtenida de este estudio sugiere que la ideología sí tiene un papel decisivo en cuanto a la creatividad metafórica, la internacionalidad, la presencia de la persuasión en términos generales y la presencia de estrategias de polaridad. La única variable que no parece ser afectada por la carga ideológica de un periódico es el uso de eufemismos y disfemismos. No obstante, se ha observado que esto puede ser debido al escaso número de casos conteniendo estas estrategias persuasivas. Considerando su potencial influencia en el uso de metáforas en el discurso de economía, futuros camino de investigación se deberían centrar en el aspecto ideológico. Mientras que sí hay numerosos estudios cros-lingüísticos o cros-culturales (Charteris-Black y Ennis 2001; Bielenia-Grajewska 2009; o Negro 2011; entre muchos otros presentado en el Capítulo II), es necesario observar similitudes y diferencias cros-ideológicas, especialmente en marcos temporales en los que hay una alta carga ideológica en la sociedad como es el caso de este estudio. Una opción que puede servir para proporcionar una visión y conocimiento más amplia sobre este aspecto, y confirmar o rechazar los resultados derivados de este estudio sería incrementar el número de periódicos o fuentes, tomando, por ejemplo, aquellos que tengan una ideología mucho más marcada o radical. También sería interesante focalizarse en los periódicos

de centro, que se supone no apoyan ningún lado político en concreto. Como se ha observado en este estudio, han mostrado resultados equilibrados en prácticamente todos los niveles de análisis; por tanto, no es posible deducir ninguna conclusión suficientemente fiable que pueda interpretar el lado político. Mientras que se podría argumentar que estos resultados equilibrados apuntan a una ideología que no tiene ningún efecto, considero que, si se observan en detalle o si se incluyen más periódicos de centro, se observaría que de hecho sí se inclinan hacia un lado u otro. Por tanto, futuras extensiones de este estudio se centrarán en estos periódicos con el fin de conseguir más conocimiento sobre su ideología y su potencial objetivo persuasivo.

En relación con la ideología y la persuasión, se ha observado que la polaridad es mucho más frecuentemente usada que el eufemismo y el disfemismo; esto se puede deber al hecho de que ser más positivo o negativo (en otras palabras, resaltar la parte positiva o la negativa) requiere menos elaboración que crear una expresión completamente nueva que decore el mensaje para hacerlo más grosero o menos neutral. Es necesario prestar más atención investigadora para encontrar estas estrategias en el discurso, como por ejemplo a través de estudios explorando estos movimientos en más detalle para interpretarlos de manera más fiable.

Finalmente, hay dos caminos más de investigación futura que pueden derivarse de esta tesis y ambos están relacionados con el efecto real que las metáforas usadas en las noticias de economía tienen en el público. Como se ha visto, este estudio ha seguido un análisis crítico del discurso de la metáfora, pero no ha prestado atención a cómo los lectores reaccionan en realidad a la supuesta carga persuasiva de las metáforas en la prensa. De hecho, existe otra línea de investigación que examina cómo responde la gente a un asunto enmarcado dentro de la metáfora, conocido como el ‘response-elicitation approach’ (o REA, en inglés), o ‘enfoque de extracción de respuesta’ (mi propia traducción) (Robins y Mayer 2000; Sopory 2008). Aunque el CDA (análisis crítico del discurso) y REA pueden ser vistos como enfoques oponentes hacia la metáfora en el discurso (ver Boeynaems, Burgers, Konijn y Steen 2017), considero que pueden ser muy productivamente combinados para obtener una comprensión completa en cuando a cómo el creador del discurso elabora un marco metafórico y cómo este marco afecta en realidad al receptor. Una opción para realizar un estudio desde el enfoque REA una vez se ha concluido el análisis crítico (como el presentado aquí), sería llevar a cabo entrevistas o cuestionarios con una parte de la población que lea los periódicos que forman parte del corpus. De esta forma, los resultados del CDA pueden ser contrastados y confirmados (o rechazados). Aunque este camino

puede parecer demasiado ambicioso, podría proporcionar una interpretación fiable de la metáfora en el discurso económico en tiempos de elecciones.

En cuanto al segundo camino mencionado, consiste en contrastar marcos temporales; más concretamente, ya que se ha tomado la semana preelectoral para este análisis, comparar las metáforas usadas antes del día de elecciones y aquellas usadas en los días postelectorales también podría producir resultados muy interesantes. También podría revelar la reacción de los periódicos antes los resultados de las elecciones o la reacción de los lectores (si se combina con el enfoque REA). Por tanto, y usando las mismas herramientas de rastreo y corpus, los artículos de economía publicados durante los siete días posteriores a las elecciones nacionales de 2015 podrían ser extraídos y analizados. Otra opción, si bien requiere más tiempo y esfuerzo, sería expandir el análisis a las futuras elecciones de 2019 y (a) comparar los datos de los días previos y posteriores al día de elecciones o incluso (b) llevar a cabo una comparación diacrónica contrastando los datos de 2015 y los de 2019 y observando si, por ejemplo, se mantienen los mismos niveles de creatividad, internacionalidad/domesticidad y carga persuasiva o si, por el contrario, cambian, teniendo en cuenta que el ambiente político de ambos países ha estado también en constante cambio.

5. CONCLUSIONES GENERALES

Esta tesis ha presentado un análisis que contrasta el uso de la metáfora en tres periódicos españoles y tres ingleses durante los días preelectorales de las elecciones generales de 2015 en ambos países. Desde una perspectiva sociocognitiva, del análisis del discurso y un enfoque basado en un corpus, ha analizado (1) la tipología de los esquemas culturales empleados por cada periódico, idioma y lado ideológico, (2) el nivel de creatividad metafórica y convencionalidad, (3) la presencia de metáforas internacionales frente a las domésticas, y (4) la carga persuasiva del corpus, más concretamente a través del uso de la polaridad (resaltando o escondiendo ciertos aspectos de la realidad mostrada por la metáfora) y el eufemismo y el disfemismo (“amenazando” o “salvando” la cara del Gobierno en el tiempo de las elecciones de 2015).

El Capítulo I ha servido como introducción, presentando el contexto general del estudio, que ha incluido las principales razones que han motivado el estudio, los principales objetivos a cubrir y las preguntas de la investigación que necesitaban ser contestadas, seguido de las diferentes hipótesis que se plantearon previamente al análisis. Las bases teóricas del estudio se han comentado en el Capítulo II, empezando por las más generales o inclusivas, y terminando por las más específicas o concretas de la investigación. Este capítulo ha revisado la literatura existente sobre la cual este estudio se basa, y también ha comentado los estudios más recientes que también han motivado el estudio. A continuación, el Capítulo III ha presentado los datos del análisis, explicando por qué los periódicos fueron elegidos para el análisis y como se extrajeron y limpiaron los textos. Además, la metodología ha sido detallada todo lo posible, ya que había varios puntos del análisis que tenían que ser aclarados. El capítulo central de la tesis, el Capítulo IV, ha presentado los resultados de todos los niveles de análisis, que han sido consecuentemente interpretados y comentados. Los principales resultados se han presentado de manera visual en gráficos y los valores estadísticos obtenidos de las diferentes pruebas aplicadas también se han recogido en tablas. Finalmente, el capítulo actual ha resumido las principales conclusiones obtenidas; ha comentado las preguntas de la investigación que se plantearon originalmente y también las diferentes hipótesis, la mayoría de las cuales han sido confirmadas, si bien algunas no. Además, las diferentes avenidas de investigación futura motivadas por este estudio también se han incluido en este último capítulo.

Como conclusión, esta tesis ha intentado expandir el campo de estudio de la metáfora en el discurso económico desde una perspectiva crítica. Aunque ha presentado ciertas limitaciones, que han sido tratadas individualmente, se puede decir que el objetivo principal de analizar la metáfora en tiempos de elecciones desde una perspectiva cros-lingüística y cros-ideológica ha sido alcanzado. Además, el diseño del estudio, que ha incluido varias herramientas de corpus y programas (como *import.io*, *#Lancsbox* o *Access 2016*) que han facilitado enormemente el análisis, puede ser tomado para llevar a cabo futuros análisis con un planteamiento similar: extracción de datos digitales, organización y análisis de estos de una manera organizada y fiable, incluso si la intuición y la mano y ojo del investigadores son siempre esenciales. Puesto que la investigación también ha planteado un número de asuntos en cuando a investigación futura, también se puede tomar como una motivación para continuar expandiendo este campo de estudio. Para terminar, los resultados obtenido también puedes ayudar a ampliar la visión de diferentes ramas de estudio dentro de la comunidad de la metáfora, que se encuentra en continuo cambio e innovación y por tanto necesita ser continuamente analizada.

CHAPTER VI: REFERENCES

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- *Similarweb* Ranking: <https://www.similarweb.com/top-websites>

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A. URLs of the news used for the analysis

Spanish Corpus

Público

FILE	Source	Page	URL
1.	http://www.publico.es/economia/petroleo-brent-continua-niveles-minimos.html		
2.	http://www.publico.es/economia/consumidores-calculan-luz-subido-16.html		
3.	http://www.publico.es/economia/ibex-anota-peor-racha-caida.html		
4.	http://www.publico.es/economia/magnate-soros-aflora-participacion-del.html		
5.	http://www.publico.es/economia/biotecnologica-catalana-oryzon-dispara-debut.html		
6.	http://www.publico.es/economia/telefonica-firma-acuerdo-estrategico-grupo.html		
7.	http://www.publico.es/economia/caixabank-lanza-aplicacion-pagar-movil.html		
8.	http://www.publico.es/economia/consumidores-calculan-luz-subido-16.html		
9.	http://www.publico.es/economia/trabajadores-coca-cola-fuenlabrada-convocan.html		
10.	http://www.publico.es/economia/matriz-bankia-reduce-capital-compensar.html		
11.	http://www.publico.es/economia/precios-siguen-negativo-noviembre-aunque.html		
12.	http://www.publico.es/economia/petroleo-brent-continua-niveles-minimos.html		
13.	http://www.publico.es/economia/banca-dispuesta-inyectar-fondos-emergencia.html		
14.	http://www.publico.es/economia/juez-da-abengoa-hasta-28.html		
15.	http://www.publico.es/economia/fed-sube-tipos-interes-despues.html		
16.	http://www.publico.es/economia/gobierno-anuncia-bajada-luz-y.html		
17.	http://www.publico.es/economia/bancos-espanoles-ganaron-233-millones.html		
18.	http://www.publico.es/economia/oficina-antifraude-ue-investiga-volkswagen.html		
19.	http://www.publico.es/economia/deuda-publica-situa-octubre-entorno.html		
20.	http://www.publico.es/economia/espana-logra-cubrir-100-emisiones.html		
21.	http://www.publico.es/economia/amancio-ortega-compra-historico-edificio.html		
22.	http://www.publico.es/economia/coste-laboral-empresas-sube-julio.html		
23.	http://www.publico.es/economia/corte-ingles-desafia-amazon-y.html		
24.	http://www.publico.es/economia/fcc-lanza-ampliacion-capital-709.html		
25.	http://www.publico.es/economia/mas-80-000-trabajadores-afectados.html		
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APPENDIX B: List of Excerpts Retrieved with MPA and MIPVU analysis(digital)
APPENDIX C: Metaphors organized by Generic-Level.....(digital)
APPENDIX D: Metaphors organized by SOURCE(digital)
APPENDIX E: Excerpts classification of Schema Type(digital)
APPENDIX F-G: Excerpts classification of Conventionality and Scope(digital)
APPENDIX H: Excerpts classification of persuasive strategy(digital)