



**THE UNIVERSITY  
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**Corpus-Based Approaches to Figurative Language**  
**Metaphor and Austerity**  
A Corpus Linguistics 2013 Workshop  
**Workshop Companion**

*Gill Philip, John Barnden, Mark Lee, Rosamund Moon,  
Alan Wallington, Christopher Shank (Eds.)*

CSRP-13-01 July 2013

*Cognitive Science  
Research Papers*

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Corpus-Based Approaches to Figurative Language

## Metaphor and Austerity

A *Corpus Linguistics 2013* Workshop

22<sup>nd</sup> July 2013, University of Lancaster, UK

### Introduction: *Metaphor and Austerity*

Since the inception of the biennial Corpus Linguistics Conferences in 2001, we have held regular accompanying workshops on Corpus-Based Approaches to Figurative Language. We are continuing the tradition in 2013 with the *5th Corpus Linguistics Conference* at the University of Lancaster, UK, 23<sup>rd</sup> -26<sup>th</sup> July. The theme of the colloquium this year is *metaphor and austerity*.

Austerity is a by-product of the ongoing financial crisis. As Kitson et al (2001) explain, what was a “NICE” (‘non-inflationary consistent expansion’) economy has turned “VILE” (‘volatile inflation, little expansion’), and the economic and social fall-out is now becoming visible. Unemployment, redundancy, inflation, recession, insecurity, and poverty all loom, causing governments, businesses and individuals to re-evaluate their priorities.

A changing world changes attitudes, and the earliest manifestations of such change can often be found in figurative language. Political rhetoric attempts to sweeten the bitter pill that nations have no choice but to swallow; all are invited to share the pain, make sacrifices for the common good, and weather the storm. But more sinister undertones can also be perceived. In times of social and financial dire straits, scapegoats are sought and mercilessly pursued in the press. The elderly, unemployed, and disabled are under fire for “sponging off the state”; and as jobs become scarcer and the tax bill rises, migrant populations and asylum seekers are viewed with increasing suspicion and resentment. Calls for a “big society” fall on deaf ears. Society, it seems, is shrinking as self-preservation takes hold.

Austerity is a timely area of study: although austerity measures have been implemented in the past, most of the contributions here address the current political and economic situation, which means that some of the studies reported are work in progress while others look at particular “windows” of language output from the recent past. Whichever their focus, the papers presented here feature up-to-the-minute research into the metaphors being used to comment upon our current socioeconomic situation. The picture of austerity that emerges from these snapshots is a complex one, and one which is likely to be developed further and more widely in the coming future.

### References

M. Kitson, R. Martin & P. Tyler. 2011. The geographies of austerity. *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society* 4. 289–302.

### Endorsement

We are very grateful for the endorsement of this workshop by the  
**Researching and Applying Metaphor International Association**

**RaAM**  
Researching & Applying Metaphor

### Workshop organizers

Gill Philip (Lead Organizer): *Department of Education, Cultural Heritage and Tourism, University of Macerata, Italy.*

John Barnden & Mark Lee: *School of Computer Science, University of Birmingham, England.*

Rosamund Moon: *School of English, Drama, and American and Canadian Studies, University of Birmingham, England.*

Christopher Shank & Alan Wallington: *Bangor University, Wales.*

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# **Not a Safety Net: Metaphors of the welfare state in times of austerity in a corpus of British and Polish newspaper articles**

**Malgorzata Paprota**, Maria Curie-Sklodowska University, Lublin (Poland)

## **1. The aim of the research**

The aim of the research is to show what metaphors are used to conceptualise the welfare state in two corpora, one of British, the other of Polish newspaper articles, and to examine ideological effects of these conceptualisations. The corpora were compiled with a keyword search in the LexisNexis database for the British corpus, where the keywords were “welfare” and “welfare state” and the newspapers were the Daily Mail and the Daily Telegraph along with their Sunday sister papers, and in the internet archives of the Polish daily Gazeta Wyborcza, where the keywords were “państwo dobrobytu”, “państwo socjalne” and “państwo opiekuńcze”, all three near-equivalents of “welfare state”. The time bracket - 2008-2012 - was chosen to overlap with (at least the first phase of) the ongoing financial crisis.

## **2. The rationale for the research: the welfare state in times of austerity**

The rationale for the research is that the welfare state in Britain is a contentious notion, both in terms of its scope and evaluation (Jones and Lowe, 2002; Timmins, 2001). The debate over the welfare state could only be expected to intensify during a time of financial crisis and austerity. With even right-wing newspapers at least occasionally conceding (see Aldrick, 2011) that the crisis was caused by irresponsible banking, there was hope among some on the Left for at least a partial de-legitimisation of neo-liberalism (or, as some would have it, of capitalism in general) and a flow of support for an increased role of the state as a regulator and for the welfare state. However, the resulting austerity and the cuts in public spending it entails has led some on the Right to view it as an opportunity to cut back the welfare state. Much of the debate is played out in the print media, which, far from remaining merely the battleground, are a key factor shaping the contest and influencing what discourses attain hegemonic status. For that reason, the newspapers chosen for analysis are those quality papers whose readership remains high; the conservative outlook they share, along with readership figures and opinion polls, would indicate that these newspapers are exponents of hegemonic discourse on welfare in the UK.

In contrast, the welfare state is barely present, let alone debated, in the public discourse in Poland, with neoliberal discourse hardly questioned by the mainstream media. Poland has largely escaped significant austerity measures, and (possibly for that reason) it seems the crisis has not so far led to a re-thinking of the role of the state. The newspaper chosen for analysis is the best-selling quality daily (though newspaper readership is much lower than in the UK), which is best described as liberal, especially in the economic sense; although its outlook on other issues contrasts with those of the Daily Mail and the Daily Telegraph, Gazeta Wyborcza does occupy a similar position as an exponent of hegemonic discourse on welfare.

### 3. Theoretical framework

The research is situated within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis; the methodology applied draws on Jonathan Charteris-Black's Critical Metaphor Analysis (2004); though Charteris-Black bases his research on conceptual metaphor, this research makes references to conceptual blending theory, as expounded by Turner and Fauconnier (2002) as this stresses the flexibility of the blending process, not requiring the principle of invariance to be preserved when mapping from source to target. The research is essentially a qualitative analysis with a quantitative underpinning; the analysis is CDA-informed, with the focus not on the formal features of the metaphors but on their ideological effects: "[m]etaphor is (...) central to critical discourse analysis since it is concerned with forming a coherent view of reality" (Charteris-Black 2004: 28).

### 4. Findings

#### 4.1. Most salient metaphors

A qualitative analysis of the British corpus has found a spectrum of metaphors, ranging from underlying conceptual metaphors, through more explicit conventionalised ones, to ones which are novel, often the result of superimposing other metaphors onto another, and show evidence of a complex blending process. The difference between underlying and conventionalised metaphors may be difficult to note; the rule here is that underlying conceptual metaphors may be less explicit and have more covert realisations, while conventional metaphors are usually articulated explicitly.

Salient examples of underlying conceptual metaphors include:

- WELFARE STATE IS A PERSON, where the person is usually endowed with a quality, which can be moral, intellectual or physical, such as dishonesty, naivety, wastefulness, dementia, care, or kindness (eg "sclerotic welfare state"; "welfare state has nurtured a culture of dependency");
- WELFARE STATE IS A FORCE, where the force is usually destructive (eg "welfare state has eroded the bounds of duty");
- WELFARE STATE IS A BUILDING, where the building is usually dilapidated or overly complex (eg "a rickety infrastructure of benefits is collapsing on the dwellers' heads");
- WELFARE STATE IS A MECHANICAL DEVICE, where the mechanism is usually faulty (eg "our welfare state is broken").

Salient conventionalised metaphors include:

- WELFARE STATE IS A TRAP
- WELFARE STATE IS A SAFETY NET
- WELFARE STATE IS AN EXPENSE

Salient novel blends include:

- WELFARE STATE IS A HAMMOCK, NOT A SAFETY NET
- WELFARE STATE IS A RACKET
- WELFARE STATE IS A FACTORY

A preliminary research on the Polish corpus indicates that the metaphors of welfare state are by far less numerous and less complex. The predominant metaphors are almost exclusively conceptual; the key ones being 'welfare state is a person' and 'welfare state is a building'.

## 4.2. Ideological effects of the metaphors

In many cases, the ideological effect of the most salient metaphors is such that they work to obscure or minimise the role of social actors, be it welfare recipients or welfare professionals. This is the case particularly with the conceptual metaphors quoted above, where no participants are necessary for the image to function. When social actors are present in the frame, they are often construed as passive and/or presented in a negative evaluative frame. This is the case especially with novel blends: the ‘WELFARE IS A SAFETY NET’ metaphor foregrounds the precarious nature of life - a safety net is needed when a fall is likely; if that framing is negated, the net becomes non-essential and begins to serve a recreational purpose, thus aiding the construction of recipients of welfare benefits as not really being in need of help, and quite possibly lazy. There are no salient metaphors where a positive, or even a cooperative, aspect of the welfare state is foregrounded. Instead, the inefficiency and high cost of the welfare state is thrown into relief. Interestingly, the metaphors stressing the central role of the state “WELFARE STATE IS NANNY STATE” are marginal in the corpus.

In the Polish corpus, similar if less variegated ideological effects are appreciable, with the role of social actors in the welfare state similarly obscured. A noticeable difference from the British corpus is the greater proportion of metaphors foregrounding the central, controlling role of the state, where it is cast as a despotic parent or ruler.

Overall, neither corpus shows evidence of a de-legitimisation of neo-liberal discourse, and both seem to indicate that the negative evaluation of welfare state, as evident in the metaphors used to conceptualise it, has now attained hegemonic status.

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# What does austerity ‘look’ like? An analysis of visual metaphors in three newspaper cartoons depicting the Eurozone crisis

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## 1. Introduction

The current global crisis and its devastating effects on the society as a whole have spurred communication scholars’ interest to inquire into political and economic phenomena as social practices and conceptual views of the world we live in. Consequently, metaphorical approaches to the crisis have become very attractive and promising pathways for the study of political and economic discourse. The media coverage of the crisis affecting the EU and the Eurozone provides an excellent corpus for searching metaphors used in relation to the Euro crisis. This paper aims at investigating the metaphorical meanings underlying visual representations of the current Eurozone crisis and of the austerity measures taken to overcome it, as they are found in three cartoons retrieved from the portal presseurop.eu.

## 2. Data

Originally, the three cartoons have appeared in articles published in German, Italian, Greek and Dutch newspapers. The three cartoons focus on Greece and on the effects of the austerity measures imposed on Greece as result of the Eurozone crisis. Greece is depicted differently in the three cartoons: as a sick person confined to a wheelchair, as a skeleton of an ancient warrior and, finally, as a terrified man being shredded by a grinder. The three cartoons were selected from a corpus of 25 published in journals from across Europe and reproduced by the news website presseurop.eu. All 25 cartoons depict the EU and Euro crisis-related themes, but the three discussed here have been chosen because they visually and linguistically (excepting cartoon 3) portray the EU, Greece and the effect of the austerity measures imposed to this country. Furthermore, all cartoons were published in February 2012 when heated debates over the Eurozone crisis, the European Financial Stability Facility and the bail-outs to save Greece were abundant during EU summits and official meetings. This study attempts to thoroughly analyze the metaphorical meanings of these three cartoons depicting austerity-related themes, whereas the rest of the pictures of the corpus will be the focus of a separate future endeavor.



Cartoon 1



Cartoon 2



Cartoon 3

### 3. Methods

I use the main tenets of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Gibbs 1994; Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and multimodal social semiotics (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996; Kress 2010) as a theoretical background for analyzing visual representations of conceptual metaphors. In their seminal work on conceptual metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson claim that metaphors are ubiquitous phenomena in language and thought and that they conceptually structure our experience. Probing the validity of such claims requires a thorough examination of a wide range of metaphorical representations in various types of discourse. Cartoons compress complex ideas into a single image and in order to decipher it similar cognitive processes used in metaphor interpretation are necessary. The argument I follow here is that visual metaphors are not simply pictorial reproductions of verbal metaphors and that the interpretation of a visual metaphor depends heavily on the context in which it is produced and on the effects that the image has on the viewers. Furthermore, this paper seeks to add to previous work (see Bounegru & Forceville 2011; Forceville 1996; El Refaie 2003, 2009) on visual metaphor and to underscore the ubiquity of metaphorical reading in political cartoons depicting the Eurozone crisis, by determining which conceptual metaphors are used to describe the crisis and the austerity measures, in particular, and how these conceptual metaphors receive a novel (visual) realization through the cartoons.

### 4. Analysis

The analysis of metaphors depicted in the three cartoons starts from the premise that the conceptual metaphor STATE/ NATION IS A PERSON is pervasive in representations (verbal, visual, etc.) of the a country. Therefore, NATION IS A PERSON is a higher level conceptual metaphor (Lakoff 1987), and the ILLNESS, DEATH and DECOMPOSITION metaphors associated with austerity are discussed in this framework. This is to say that both higher level metaphors and their related features are pervasive in the political and economic discourse on the Eurozone crisis.

In cartoon 1, austerity measures imposed by the EU are seen as the disease-causing agent that affects the health of one of its member states – Greece. Undoubtedly, the verbal expressions that may be used metaphorically to indicate the presence of the mapping between the austerity/ crisis and the ILLNESS domain (e.g. Greece is *incapacitated* by the burden of the debt) are less powerful than the meaning derived from the visual depiction of the conceptual metaphor. Greece is in a wheelchair whose wheels are represented by two 1 Euro coins, which indicates that its condition is related to the Eurozone crisis and the politics of austerity endorsed by the EU. The huge size of the wheels suggests that austerity is an important threat to the country's health. Drastically cutting public expenditure is the first measure required by the debtors (the EU) to bail-out Greece, therefore (lack of) money contributed significantly to the deterioration of the country's health. An additional reading of this cartoon would be that the burden of austerity measures is too heavy for a country that has gone through many trials and tribulations. This visual depiction of the huge size of the wheels may affect viewers at a more emotional and irrational level than its verbal expression. The Union is not directly presented in the picture, but it is suggested by the use of a symbol (the Euro), which conventionally (to use Peirce's tri-partite classification) signals the EU.

The metaphor that underlies cartoon 2 is AUSTERITY IS DEATH. Austerity measures have been endorsed by Germany, the International Monetary Fund and the European Central Bank as a solution to overcome the Euro crisis. In reality, such measures seem to have led to death in the case of Greece, as it is represented by a skeleton. Nonetheless, prior to death, it seems that the country had fought against the crisis, since the skeleton bears a warrior's armor and weapon (a helmet, a

spear and a shield). Additionally, this may be a reference to the glorious past of the Greek warriors fighting on the Acropolis. The cartoon shows the EU (metonymically suggested by Angela Merkel, one of the most prominent leaders of the Union), the IMF and the ECB representatives (they are visually suggested by the initials of the institutions on their briefcases) fiercely asking Greece to tighten the belt [*Enger Schnallen!*]. This is a very powerful image that encourages the audience to acknowledge the contradiction between the request addressed to Greece and the gravity of the situation that threatens its very existence. This dichotomy between the verbal and the visual modes conveys the potential affective meaning intended by the cartoonist: while the country is economically dead, the EU still authoritatively asks Greece to reduce costs. The caption of this cartoon *Enger Schnallen!* [Tighten that belt!] has a complex function. It is an inactive conventional metaphor; it is similar to the use of “cut” to refer to budget reduction (see Goatly 1997) that is reactivated by a visually striking presentation (a skeleton tightens the belt). In this cartoon, the image of the skeleton is verbally ‘anchored’ (Barthes 1977) by the phrase in the caption. Provided that the viewer is familiar with the context of the Euro crisis (the austerity measures decided in Brussels, the cuts in public spending in Greece and the danger that this country may exit the Eurozone), a complex meaning may be derived from the cartoon. Despite the austerity measures imposed by the EU, Greece has not only failed to recover, but it is economically dead.

The third cartoon offers another example of converting abstract ideas (such as the EU and austerity measures) into something more concrete and familiar (a grinder, the process of cutting up the meat). The EU and austerity, seen as a way of dealing with the Eurozone crisis, are depicted as a meat grinder which is used to transform Greece into shredded pieces of meat. Since the components of a cartoon are not processed in a linear order (Hunig 2002), only the context can help the audience identify the source domain, namely (BODY) DECOMPOSITION, which is visually indicated by the tool used to physically alter the body and by the result of the process, the strips that come out of the machine. The EU and Greece are metonymically presented in the picture through the stars on the handle of the grinder and the meat strips that come out of the grinder in the form of Greece’s flag. Since there is no linguistic feature in this cartoon, the grasping of the meaning it conveys depends entirely on the context.

## 5. Discussion

In addition to the analysis of the visual depictions of conceptual metaphors in the three cartoons, I have conducted a small-scale pilot study of how people actually interpret them and of the impact that these cartoons have in readership. The three cartoons were shown to each of two groups of 6 and 8 Master’s students, respectively; the 6-student group was likely to be more familiar with the EU and the Euro crisis (students are enrolled in a Master’s in Project Management, whose curricula includes several courses on EU-related topics, therefore they supposedly have more specific knowledge on the EU and the crisis), whereas the 8-student group was considered less familiar with EU-related subjects (students in this group are enrolled in a Master’s in Communication, whose curricula does not include any course on a EU-related topic). The results show that, as expected, the students who are enrolled in the program in Project Management are more informed about the EU and the crisis, and, consequently, they recognized the context and the characters in the cartoons and almost all of them were able to point to a conceptual metaphor when interpreting the image. The group enrolled in the MA in Communication had difficulties in providing the context of the cartoon and in identifying the characters depicted. Moreover, they were less inclined than their colleagues in the Master’s in Project Management to offer a metaphorical interpretation of the cartoons. However, the study provides interesting findings concerning the powerful visual impact that the three cartoons metaphorically depicting austerity as illness, death and physical decomposition have

on the viewers. Students' responses indicate that the presentation of Greece (and, by extension, of the whole Eurozone) as a stricken or even a dying body produces a powerful and a highly emotional effect in readership.

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# Interpretation of Metaphors in Four Languages: Some Psycholinguistic Experiments

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## Introduction

Interpretation of metaphors requires not only language fluency but also cultural knowledge and understanding of the context. The study we report here focuses on empirical validation of detection and interpretation of metaphors used in governance-related and economics-related texts compiled from a variety of sources. The studies were conducted by native speakers in four languages: English, Spanish (Mexican), Russian, and Farsi. This work is part of the METAL project at Carnegie Mellon University, which is focused on developing algorithms for automated identification and interpretation of metaphors.

The specific purpose of the research reported here was to evaluate the human understanding of governance and economic metaphors, analyze emotional reactions to metaphors, and compare results across languages. These results will be used as a baseline for evaluating automated processing of metaphors.

We describe three experiments that are part of a larger series of validation experiments, which utilize psycholinguistic methods (paraphrase tasks, rating tasks, ranking tasks, etc.). We conducted the first experiments on *governance* metaphors, which include metaphors related to government and policies of private companies. All of our materials came from published and online news sources, so the metaphor instances were embedded in a meaningful context. We are currently running another round of similar experiments, with a focus on *economic inequality*. In Experiment 1, we sought to generate a set of metaphors representing diverse conceptual themes (e.g., GOVERNANCE IS A BUILDING), and to establish participants' baseline performance at identifying metaphors. In Experiment 2, we determined how people classified metaphors into source domains. In Experiment 3, we investigated the emotions that people say are triggered by metaphors.

## Methods – Governance

Native speakers collected a large corpus of sentences (and their text context) with metaphors about *governance* in each of the four languages (over 200 in English, over 100 each in Spanish and Russian, 50 in Farsi). The examples came from national and international newspapers, news websites, and blog networks. For all experiments, sentences were presented in context and methods were identical across languages.

Participants were recruited from a variety of sites and the eventual participant pool manifested diversity on the main demographic variables (age, sex, education, occupation, and other language expertise). All participants were at least 18 years of age and were native speakers and readers of their respective languages.

## Experiment 1. Identifying metaphors

We used an identification task in which participants identified metaphors in 20 short passages. The passages included sentences (from the large corpora mentioned above) with governance related metaphors that fit common source domains explained below.

Average passage lengths in words were: English 176, Spanish 107, Russian 65, and Farsi 107. On average, each passage had 3–4 phrases that were, by consensus of psycholinguists, clear-case metaphors or metonymies. One of these non-literal phrases was a pre-selected “target” to be used for the detection accuracy analysis. Target metaphors were selected so as to represent four source domains, i.e., major subcategories. Examples of target metaphors from the four source domains in English appear in Table 1. The source domains varied slightly across languages. GOVERNANCE AS A BODY and GOVERNANCE AS A FAMILY were present in all languages. BUILDING (or STRUCTURE) and SEEING were used in all languages except Russian, which used ENVIRONMENT (“the *quagmire* of the crisis”) and MECHANISM (“*levers* of governance”) instead.

**Table 1 (Experiment 1): Examples of target metaphors and source domains for English.**

BODY	FAMILY	BUILDING	SEEING
our <b>economic muscle</b>	security provided by a <b>parent government</b>	<b>cornerstone</b> of the republic	keeping Australians <b>in the dark</b>
<b>morbidly obese</b> federal government	government be a <b>strict father</b> or <b>nurturing parent</b>	governance is based on a <b>solid foundation</b>	<b>invisible achievements</b> of government

Participants were asked to highlight **all** non-literal text and then provide a short explanation of why the highlighted text was not literal in that context. Pilot participants performed this task with paper, pens, and highlighters; subsequent participants used MS Word on computers.

## Experiment 2. Classifying metaphors by source domain

Shorter selections (2–3 sentences in length) from the 20 passages from Experiment 1 were used for this task. In this case, the target metaphor was highlighted in red text. These 20 metaphors were all governance-related and were evenly divided among the four source domains mentioned above. However, for Spanish, the FAMILY domain was changed to CONFLICT (“giving *ammunition* to the enemy”) and BODY to HEALTH (“social *cancer*”). This allowed for equal numbers of acceptable metaphors in each of the domains.

This task also included: 1) five passages with governance-related metaphors from “other” source domains; 2) five passages with non-governance metaphors highlighted in red text; and 3) four passages with non-metaphors highlighted in red text. Table 2 provides examples of these additional target items.

**Table 2 (Experiment 2): Examples of additional types of target items.**

“OTHER” GOVERNANCE	NON-GOVERNANCE METAPHORS	NON-METAPHORS
governments are to <b>play political football</b>	bedbugs can <b>hitchhike</b>	soldiers <b>killed themselves</b>
policy goes <b>up in flames</b>	earning prospects are <b>brighter</b>	pipelines are <b>buried</b>

First, participants were asked to decide if the highlighted text was a metaphor. If yes, they were asked if it was about governance. For the study, governance was defined as the way in which authority is used to regulate a society or other group of people. Finally, if participants said the

highlighted text was a metaphor, they were asked to choose which category (from four source domains plus “other”) the red text referred to. This task was completed online as a web-based program.

### Experiment 3. Emotional response to metaphors

This experiment used the same shortened versions of the 20 passages with governance-related metaphors from Experiment 2. Each passage included one metaphor highlighted in red.

Participants were asked to report any emotions that they felt were triggered by the metaphor, and then indicate the intensity of each emotion on a scale from 1 to 5, using radio buttons in a pre-defined list of 20 emotions. The list was a variation on the expanded emotion list of Ekman (1999). For each metaphor, the participants could select any number of emotions from the list. They could also type in additional emotions if needed and rate these additional emotions on the same scale. This measure is in accord with the action-based emotion analysis of Ortony and Turner (1990). This task was completed online as a web-based program.

### Results - Governance Experiment 1.

Table 3 shows the mean percent of correct identifications for the 20 target metaphors in the passages for each language. (For example, if a participant identified 16 out of the 20 target metaphors, then her performance was 80%.)

**Table 3 (Experiment 1): Target metaphor identification accuracy – mean percent.**

Language	# Participants	Accuracy	
		Mean	Std. Dev.
English	17	76%	14%
Spanish	15	81%	9%
Russian	16	84%	8%
Farsi	16	87%	9%

When analyzed by source domain, the data indicated that metaphors based on BODY were detected consistently across languages. BUILDING or STRUCTURE metaphors were also relatively easily detected. However, SEEING and FAMILY were not as consistently identified.

### Experiment 2.

Table 4 shows the aggregated percent correct for each measure for each language. Table 5 shows the aggregated percent correct by source domain for each language.

**Table 4 (Experiment 2): Aggregated % correct classification of metaphors.**

Language	# Participants	Metaphors vs. Non-metaphors	Governance vs. Non-governance	Classification by Domain
English	39	91%	77%	62.5%
Spanish	11	82%	58%	55%
Russian	9	93%	74%	80%
Farsi	19	92%	67%	47%

**Table 5 (Experiment 2): Aggregated % correct classification by source domain.**

	BODY*	STRUCTURE**	SEEING**	FAMILY*	OTHER
English	60%	65%	44%	81%	78%
Spanish	53%	42%	57%	69%	64%
Russian	81%	87%	80%	72%	53%
Farsi	48%	50%	41%	47%	71%

\*For Spanish, BODY is HEALTH, FAMILY is CONFLICT

\*\*For Russian, STRUCTURE is MECHANISM, SEEING is ENVIRONMENT

### Experiment 3.

Table 6 shows the aggregated percent frequency of emotion term selection across all languages. Most emotion terms were used with relatively high frequency. Specific emotions were used with different frequencies in each language depending on the nature of the metaphors. Interestingly, the Mexican Spanish participants selected many more emotions per metaphor than the other groups, averaging 12 emotions per metaphor compared with 5 for English, 3 for Farsi, and 2.5 for Russian participants.

**Table 6 (Experiment 2): Aggregated percent frequency of emotion term selection.**

	English (n=29)	Spanish (n=15)	Russian (n=16)	Farsi (n=10)
Frustration	53	75	23	29
Disgust	43	61	21	26
Contempt/hatred	43	74	13	22
Anger	41	80	21	23.5
Fear	33	64	13	26.5
Pride	29	57	17	21
Satisfaction	29	57	27	22
Surrender/subservience	25	53	8	6
Content/Calm	24	55	12	10
Pain/agonny	22	64	5	9.5
Relief	22	53	14	11
Sadness	21	62	17	19.5
Surprise	21	54	7	15
Happiness	21	56	16	14
Embarrassment	20	62	3	8
Guilt	19	56	4	10
Excitement	18	55	14	17
Loving/liking	18	51	2.5	11
Pleasure	13	53	9	6.5
Amusement	9	47	21	5.5

### Methods – Economic Inequality

As with the governance corpus, native speakers are collecting large corpora of texts with metaphors about *economic inequality* for the next round of experiments in all four languages. They are primarily using Google and SketchEngine ([www.sketchengine.co.uk](http://www.sketchengine.co.uk)), yielding results from newspapers, news digests, public speeches, books, blogs, newsletters, bulletins, and websites. All samples are entered into a spreadsheet with information on their conceptual metaphor, link, link type, article title, author, and search method. The English corpus has over 3300 entries, Russian has over 1640, Spanish has over 150, and Farsi has over 60. Only Experiment 1 (detection of targeted metaphors in text passages) in English and Russian has been completed to date.

## Results – Economic Inequality

Common conceptual metaphors include PHYSICAL SEPARATION (“gap between rich and poor”, “deepening class divide”), MOTION (“pathways to advance”, “economic stagnation”, “vicious cycle”), (“scales of opportunity”), FOOD (“economic pie”), UPWARD JOURNEY (“climb the ladder”), BETTER IS HIGHER (“top income earners”), LIQUID (“flow of money”), RACE (“pulled farther ahead”, “winners”), STRUCTURE (“economic destruction”), BODY (“weaker economy”, “healthy democracy”).

### Experiment 1.

Table 7 shows the mean percent of correct hits for the 20 target metaphors in the passages for each language.

**Table 7 (Experiment 1): Target metaphor identification accuracy – mean percent.**

Language	# Participants	Accuracy	
		Mean	Std. Dev.
English	15	79%	20%
Russian	10	86.5%	16%

The target metaphor in English that was least well detected was “political instability” (20%). The rest were detected with greater than 50% accuracy. The majority of target metaphors in the Russian passages were identified with at least 80% accuracy. Those that were less well identified in Russian were “poverty threshold” (70%), “tax burden” (50%), and “not allow Russia to stay afloat” (50%)

## Discussion

The same conceptual metaphor domains do not seem to occur with similar frequencies across languages in texts about *governance*. The FAMILY domain was less common in Spanish and, though it was used in Russian, it was used in a way that referenced CHILDHOOD, DEVELOPMENT, and MATURITY more than family relations. BODY was less frequent in Spanish, though a related domain of HEALTH occurred often. In Russian, SEEING metaphors and STRUCTURE metaphors were not frequent, but MECHANISM and ENVIRONMENT metaphors were more productive in governance-related texts.

For the governance metaphor detection task, target metaphors from each passage were detected with relatively high accuracy, ranging from 76% (English) to 87% (Farsi). However, only about 60% of the linguistic metaphors reached the 85% correct detection level stipulated by the Pragglejaz method (Pragglejaz Group, 2007). For the economic inequality metaphor detection task, 55% of the English target metaphors and 60% of the Russian target metaphors reached the 85% level. Thus, even well-educated participants do not recognize and identify certain types of metaphors. Metaphors in the SEEING domain are often not identified as metaphors because SEEING and KNOWING are not really cognitively separate. When we say, *I see what you mean*, people seldom sense the metaphor. The metaphors that were most frequently not identified were those for which the metaphorical phrase filled what was essentially a gap in the literal lexicon. For example, the metaphor *murky foreign policy* expresses a concept that cannot easily be restated tersely. We can say “unclear foreign policy”, but that is still metaphorical. Or we can preserve full literality by referring to “a foreign policy that is not precisely articulated”. A reflection of this is that detection

rate of this metaphor was at 40%. By contrast, the metaphor *obese federal government* was detected at 95%. This metaphor does not fill a lexical gap, because one can refer to “the excessively large federal government” without invoking non-literal language. A method for determining lexical gaps has not been operationalized. Moreover, it is likely that both this factor and the source domain factor interact to make detection difficult in specific cases.

Participants had little difficulty distinguishing metaphors from non-metaphors in Experiment 2 but they did have some difficulty determining the conceptual metaphor domains for linguistic metaphors. Again, the SEEING source domain was the least well identified of all categories in all languages for reasons already discussed. For FAMILY, the problem is that many of the metaphors in this area also relate to COURTSHIP, GROWTH, DEVELOPMENT, and other source domains. The use of Ekman’s extended list of emotion terms proved useful in this experiment. Clearly, the emotions associated with metaphors depend on the text passages, but there was a trend for the Spanish-speaking participants to indicate many more emotions per passage than did the English and Russian-speaking participants.

This research program is exploring three novel aspects of corpus linguistics. First, this is the first program of research that will systematically compare the performance of an automated system to that of humans in terms of detection, interpretation, and affect assignment on an item-by-item basis. Second, this is the first research program to systematically compare judgments regarding metaphors in the same target domain across four languages. Third, this is the first research program to systematically examine the emotional overtones of metaphors through the extended Ekman list.

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# Metaphorical representations of immigrants in the Italian press in times of economic crisis

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## 1. Background

Italy has changed since the 1980s from a traditional country of emigration into a country of immigration, targeted by growing numbers of migrants. The rapid and quite sudden character of this inversion in migratory patterns has demanded efforts of adaptation from both Italian state and society. At an institutional level, relevant policies aiming at regulating inflows and the legal treatment of foreigners started, and at a more symbolic level, a concern with the way immigrants are perceived and represented in the public sphere of this country. The slow shift of public opinion from tolerance to intolerance and fear, including acts of violence, led to the enacting of the first migration law in 1986. This change was also evident in the terms used to categorize the 'other', moving from the word *straniero* (foreigner) to *immigrato* (immigrant). The foreigner, usually perceived positively, was primarily identified as a temporary visitor and rarely perceived as a threat to social cohesion. On the contrary, the immigrant is seen as a heavy economic and social burden, without any positive contribution to the country (Tarter 2001).

Despite recent cuts to work quotas and controversial 'push-backs', Italy remains a major new country of labour migration and asylum. Immigrants are, however, presented as responsible for general social problems and Italy is becoming the example of a very extreme political discourse framing migration as a security issue, and justifying the implementation of very restrictive policies, having huge implications for social inclusion. Although many believe that Italy's quota-driven immigration policies will increasingly strain its already suffering economy, the country seems to be more concerned with protecting itself from the threat of these migrants. Immigration and immigrant integration has been a topic of feverish media and political discussion, an emotive, front-page issue in Italy, and a rallying cry for the Northern League which has been able to garner consensus by blaming the immigrant for social and economic woes.

Indeed, our present reality which is characterized by a moment of growing unemployment and economic insecurity, has greatly aggravated existing social issues and affected the treatment of immigration, particularly in the press. Although some believe that recent expressions of Italian racism are not the direct result of financial instability, and we cannot solely blame the neo-liberal crisis for collective xenophobic outbursts, hostile attitudes towards immigration appear to have been accentuated by the economic crisis. There are examples of how economic hardship can influence people's values and attitudes towards less support to immigration (Jonsson and Petersen cited in Eydal and Ottosdottir 2009). These changing socio-economic and political contexts, and the increasingly problematic representation of migrants in political and media discourses, call for critical reflection.

Against this background, this paper pays attention to the metaphorical expressions and patterns related to immigration and examines if the economic crisis and austerity measures have set their mark on the discourse on immigration in Italy. Specifically, the paper focuses on the metaphorical representation of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers coming into Italy from January 2011

through the end of 2012. This period was marked both by the economic crisis and by the Arab Spring. During this time frame over 62,000 people arrived by sea from North Africa, in particular on the island of Lampedusa, but also on other southern coasts, considerably more than in previous years. This massive arrival of citizens from the countries of North Africa caused the Prime Minister to proclaim a state of emergency on February 12, 2011 which was prolonged until December 31, 2012.

Previous research on the Italian press and immigration has focused on issues of identity as they relate to constructions of the ‘other’, and in particular the representation of ‘foreigners’ coming into Italy. However, no previous study has systematically examined the metaphorical patterns that can emerge from the discourse. It is because of their connection to the pre-conceived images we have, that is, images with which we associate particular emotions, that metaphors have great potential to influence how we think and feel about particular political issues.

## 2. Corpus

Newspapers were chosen for this study, as they play a central role in the social construction of reality, both forming, and conforming to, their readers’ opinions. Journalists select and create news, and readers select and consume newspapers which reflect their world view (Taylor 2009). The relationship between the press and society is a complex one that requires careful conceptualization so that it is possible to understand why texts in general and texts related to immigration in particular are created in the ways they are and not in other ways (Martinez Lirola 2013). Indeed, as shown in other European contexts, discourse in politics and the media increasingly yields to racist rhetoric portraying immigrants as a threat and as scapegoats of the economic crisis (van Dijk in Martinez Lirola 2013).

Articles concerning immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers were downloaded from two national and four regional newspapers over a 2 year period (2011-2012). The articles were examined for examples of metaphor for which the target concept is the immigrant. The newspapers included in the corpus are the two top-selling national dailies: *Corriere della Sera* which averages 544,962 copies a day, and *La Repubblica* which has an average circulation of 525,874 copies. The regional newspapers come from the north: *Il Giornale di Brescia*, with an average circulation of about 49,724 copies and *L’Eco di Bergamo* totaling 51,707 copies. These newspaper represent the voice of the Northern League and their supporters. The other two regional newspapers come from the south: *La Gazzetta del Sud*, with an average circulation of 52,075 copies and *La Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno* averaging 54,761 copies. These newspapers represent the regions with the greatest entry of illegal immigrants.

## 3. Method

This paper primarily makes use of the analysis of concordance lines and collocates, using the software Wordsmith Tools 5.0, and these two notions structure this corpus-based metaphor analysis. The search terms chosen for analysis are based on a study by Taylor (2009). Taylor’s study was a para-replication of the influential work on the representation of immigrants in the UK press which was carried out at Lancaster University. In Taylor’s study no clear metaphorical patterns emerged from the collocation analysis. It is the intention of this study, therefore, to carry out a systematic metaphor analysis of all the concordance lines which include the search terms identified by Taylor.

That is, *rifugiato* and *profugo* (refugee), *richiedente asilo* (asylumseeker), *immigrante* and *immigrato* (immigrant), *extracomunitario* and *clandestino* (illegalimmigrant), *migratore* and *migrante* (migrant). Moreover, the search term *straniero* (foreigner) will also be included in the analysis in order to understand if the positive connotation the term once had still holds or if it has become a synonym of *immigrato*.

The surrounding co-text of the search terms is examined for metaphor using the MIPVU procedure (Steen et al. 2010). A second step involves analyzing the collocates of the identified metaphors in order to investigate how the metaphors are used to evaluate within this particular discourse community.

#### 4. Research so far

The existing research has demonstrated how metaphors can depict refugees and asylum seekers as threatening, or risky. For example, it is not uncommon to encounter terms such as *ondate* (waves), *afflusso* (influx), and *flusso/i* (flow) being used by both journalists and politicians to describe the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers, portraying the situation as being out of control, and therefore legitimizing the response of stopping or blocking their movement. The use of metaphors of water and other liquids in discussions about refugees and asylum creates a powerful image of the country being overcome by waves of people, and its use in Italy could lead to the belief that the country and its resources are in some way under threat from immigrants.

Another dehumanizing metaphor is that of war, *un esercito di*, leading to the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE AN INVADING ARMY. Such metaphors are used to construct relations between immigrants and the government (and the people they represent) as conflicting and potentially violent, thus legitimating practices of exclusion from national borders.

This paper will report if the findings are consistent with those of previous studies or if there is a difference which reflects that the representation of immigrants occurs in a time of economic crisis and austerity measures.

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# “Democracy’s Cradle, Rocking the World”: Figurative Language Regarding the Greek Crisis

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## 1. Introduction: The Greek Crisis

In this paper we aim to show how the debt crisis in Greece is framed or conceptualized in English and Greek journalistic discourse, using corpus linguistics techniques and from the perspective of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Kövecses 2002; etc.). Our study is based on a corpus of authentic English and Greek financial articles compiled from online financial newspapers, magazines, websites and blogs, for the period 2008-2012. The same economic reality is conceptualized in a variety of ways that are common to both languages. Nevertheless, it must be noted that, in the English corpus, mythical characters and historical persons as well as negative connotations for the crisis are more present. “The multiple and multilayered crisis of the financial system inaugurated in 2007–8” (Clarke & Newman, 2012) from the U.S. What should be a local worry about the debt burden of one of Europe’s smallest economies has quickly gone global, due to the fear that a Greek default would reverberate around the globe, since it posed the most significant challenge yet to Europe’s common currency, the euro, and the Continent’s goal of economic unity. Therefore, in 2010, in an unexpected turn of events, Greece was found in the epicentre of global financial anxiety. The figurative language in titles such as “Greek Debt Woes Ripple Outward, From Asia to U.S.” presented Greece as in fact affecting U.S. economy.

According to an article published in *The New York Times*<sup>1</sup>, the fact that triggered the Greek crisis, a deal created by Goldman Sachs, lays back in 2001. That deal, hidden from public view because it was treated as a currency trade rather than a loan, helped Athens to meet Europe’s deficit rules. Some of the Greek deals were named after figures in Greek mythology: Aeolos, Ariadne, Titlos<sup>2</sup>. The names of the deals seem to have sinister meanings, since to “open the bag of Aeolus” in Greek means to unleash terrible powers with unforeseen results, Ariadne recalls the labyrinth – was that deal as complicated as a labyrinth? – and, finally, Titlos, could mean something that only bears a title, something void. Thus, from the very start of the crisis, figurative language had a prominent role in what was to become a crisis.

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<sup>1</sup> Story Louise, Landon Thomas Jr. and Nelson D. Schwartz (13-02-2010) Wall St. Helped to Mask Debt Fueling Europe’s Crisis, *The New York Times*.

<sup>2</sup> *Aeolos*, a legal entity created in 2001 and named after the god of the winds, helped Greece reduce the debt on its balance sheet that year. As part of the deal, Greece got cash upfront in return for pledging future landing fees at the country’s airports. A similar deal in 2000 called *Ariadne* devoured the revenue that the government collected from its national lottery. Greece, however, classified those transactions as sales, not loans, despite doubts by many critics. In 2008, Goldman helped the bank put the swap into a legal entity called *Titlos*.

## 2. Theoretical framework and methodology

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) as a theoretical framework allows us to establish whether different cultures share the same conceptual background as regards the conceptualisations of abstract concepts. Metaphors in economics are a vital part of media language (McCloskey, 1995) and they can help us understand complicated economic concepts (Charteris-Black, 2000; Charteris-Black and Musolff, 2003; White, 2003; White, 2004). A comparison made by Charteris-Black & Ennis (2001: 264) between English and Spanish showed that there is a “high proportion of similarities in conceptual metaphor use between the two languages”. As Koller (2004: 3) states, “by favouring particular metaphors in discourse, journalists can reinforce, or even create, particular mental models in their readers’ cognition”. Thus, metaphors could be a powerful tool in the hands of journalists and politicians.

In this paper, we focus on corpus-based research on conceptual metaphorical mappings. The method used is the ‘metaphorical pattern analysis’ (MPA) (Stefanowitsch, 2006: 2-5): one or more lexical items are selected from the target domain under study and a sample of their hits or occurrences are extracted from the corpus. Then, the metaphorical expressions the lexical items belong to are identified as metaphorical patterns and groups of conceptual mappings are established on the basis of the metaphors they instantiate.

## 3. Corpora

The corpora used for our analysis of the Greece’s status in metaphors are two comparable corpora in English and Greek language (English Corpus = EC, Greek Corpus = GC), comprised of financial texts that have been derived from various sources. Instances of English and Greek figurative language concerning Greece have been compiled from established financial journals (such as *Financial Times*, *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times* for English, *Kathimerini*, *Ta Nea*, and *To Vima* for Greek), magazines, websites and blogs, collected by means of RSS feeders (Google Reader<sup>3</sup> and FeedReader<sup>4</sup>) with keywords Greece and crisis. The time horizon covers a period of four years (2008-2012) containing a total of around 150 articles per language.

## 4. Greece and figurative language in EC and GC

Working with these comparable corpora, we observed similar metaphoric networking processes in both of them. This seems logical, since, in order to establish effective communication, often the same terms and expressions exist in many languages. English is also the lingua franca of business discourse and finance. Moreover, many conceptual metaphors are universal, since they are grounded in human bodily as well as cultural experience (Johnson, 1987). The following conceptual metaphors collected from EC and GC present a timeline of the crisis.

The time before crisis is considered like happy time (THE BEFORE CRISIS ERA WAS A FEAST); the frequency of this metaphor is higher in the GC rather than the EC. The situation in Greece before the financial crisis is perceived as a *party*, a *dance*, an *orgy* or a *feast*, an image schema that in proper context may arouse feelings of guilt. The ideological load of metaphors contributes to the

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<sup>3</sup> <http://www.google.com/reader>

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.feedreader.com/>

creation of intensity. Nevertheless, neither the real economic interests are revealed, nor the persons who really benefit from the situation.

(1) *Yet Athenians were also saying, with wistful smiles, that, for the past ten years or so, it had been a good **party**.*

“After the sad end of the party”<sup>5</sup>, there was a side-effect: sickness. The adverse situation which has affected the country, as well as the attempts to overcome it, are represented by the metaphor GREECE IS A PATIENT. The theme is set by words such as: *diagnosis, patient, ill, sick, operation, comma, breathing, virus, fatal, suffer, injections, medicine, treatment, therapy, health, recovery, death*. This frame is the most frequent and salient one in both corpora, but metaphors may have a positive or negative interpretation:

(2) *Austerity is like a bad medicine for the patient.*

(3) *η Ελλάδα περιέπεσε σχεδόν σε κώμα και διασώθηκε (Greece went into a comma and recovered)*

An extension to the above metaphor is the one presenting Greece as a living being suffocating, suffering asphyxia and yearning for breathing:

(4) *Greece set on artificial respiration*

(5) *'βοηθούν τη χώρα να πάρει μια ανάσα (they help the country to take a breath)*

The pain experienced by the Greek society does not result from physical damage but it is a consequence of economic crisis and austerity measures adopted (AUSTERITY IS PAIN):

(6) *but failed to force the wealthy to share some of the **pain** of the debt crisis*

In EC and outside Greece, the country is viewed as a danger, with a contagious disease. The same effect is created also with domino metaphors (7 in EC and 1 in GC):

(7) *Where once the chancellor saw Greece as the **weakest link in a chain** which would be stronger without it, now she sees it as a **domino** which, if toppled, would put the rest of the set in danger*

CRISIS IS A WAR: The period of the financial crisis in Greece has been identified as a conflict, a war and a fight. Theme words: *loss, hit, kill, strike, clash, blood, landmines, minefield, fire*. Also, austerity is related to natural phenomena or a burden. Words such as *tempest, tsunami, storm, heavy rain* are frequent in both corpora. In both languages the scenery is completed with the proper dark colours. The concept of darkness has a bad aspect and the black colour is associated with negative connotations.

Nevertheless, hope of recovery comes after recession: both corpora abound with the metaphor RECOVERY PLAN IS A JOURNEY. There has been observed a correlation between the concept of a *path* and Greece's efforts leading to recovery plan and development. This path can have an extreme edge that the country should avoid. The theme words are: *path, road, step(s), step back/away, sidestep, way, exit, crossroads, road-map, one-way road*. Furthermore, several different metaphorical mappings, such as RECOVERY PLAN IS COOKING and RECOVERY PLAN IS GAMBLING, highlight the metaphor's complexity.

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<sup>5</sup> (6-5-2010) The Greek crisis: The sad end of the party, *The Economist*.

Apart from the conventional metaphors such as *relief* (ελάφρυνση), *fiscal cliff* and *liquidity* (ρευστότητα), common financial terms like *haircut* (κούρεμα), *extension* (*loan extension*/επιμήκυνση δανείου), and *bubble* (φούσκα) are abundant in press and have entered the general vocabulary, more or less.

Most of the previously mentioned metaphors seem to have an equivalent in both languages, or they could be universal. Nevertheless, there is a great difference as regards metaphors from Greek mythology in the EC. There is an association with the past and history of Greece. It is stated<sup>6</sup> that “ancient myths lend context to the swirl of acrimony and austerity, bailouts and brinkmanship, coalitions and currencies, debt and deadlines that define the social and economic ills of Greece [...]. It turns out the legends have plenty to say about hubris and ruin, order and chaos, boom and bust”.

Persons from Greek mythology or history that are mentioned are Ulysses, Sisyphus, monsters like Scylla and Charybdis, Socrates (e.g. *Greece Drinks the Hemlock*), even Zorba the Greek. There is also an abundance of Greek words, from ancient Greek, such as *tragedy*, *catharsis*, *prognosis*, *diagnosis*, *paralysis*, *oligarchy*, *phoenix*, *hubris*, *chaos*, *abyss*, and *apocalypse*, and also from Modern Greek, such as: *Greek government finds it can't have its moussaka and eat it*.

In the Greek corpus there is significantly lower frequency of words connected to Greek mythology (only 1 occurrence of odyssey in GC vs 7 in EC). Magnus Briem, an Athens-based documentary producer, speculated<sup>7</sup> that, "maybe it's too playful for them [Greek people], to deal with something so serious." It seems that “turning to allegories infused with one-eyed giants and other fantastical creatures to explain the Greek crisis [...] seems like an indulgence at a time when the state, and ordinary citizens, can't pay their bills”.

Moreover, the difference as regards references to Greek mythology seems to have a correlation to stereotypes. There are two stereotypes for Greek people, which are visualized, e.g. in caricatures and cartoons<sup>8</sup>, either wearing ancient tunics, or connected in some way with ancient Greece, or wearing traditional uniforms with rustic shoes and hats (fez)<sup>9</sup>. The first one is connected to a glorious past while the other is easier to relate with harsh times and poverty, as it is connected with the period when Greek was just coming out of centuries under ottoman occupation. In the GC there are also no references to ruins, whereas in the EC there are 5 references, which seem to be related also to another stereotype about Greece, ancient Greek ruins.

## 5. Conclusions

After the compilation of our bilingual corpus and the identification of metaphors, we proceeded to their comparison to see whether there are similarities or differences. Our starting hypothesis has been confirmed: the cognitive background for the metaphors observed is to a large extent shared by English and Greek texts. Nevertheless, we have to take into account that there is no analysis ideologically neutral and the same economic reality may be differently conceptualized. Therefore, we can find metaphors used in a positive or negative way. The negative connotations for Greek crisis have high frequency in the English corpus (e.g. *Greek Troika soap opera*).

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<sup>6</sup> Torchia, C. (24/06/12) Greek Crisis: An Odyssey Seen Through Ancient Myth *Associated Press*.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> We collected and studied 450 cartoons on Greek crisis from newspapers and magazines.

<sup>9</sup> In the same way, Spaniards are depicted as bullfighters or Don Quixote.

We observed that figurative expressions are more often in titles, since journalists have to draw attention using remarkable language, with unexpected expressions, even algorithms, such as *Find “projected debt-to-GDP ratio” where country = “Greece”*; *run eyeroll.exe*.

Ancient Greek mythical characters and historical persons are more present in English texts. Their low degree of explicitness plays a seductive and captivating role for the public (Baicchi, 2004). On the contrary, they can be more easily accessed by the Greek people thanks to their semantic transparency. Further research is needed, since the scene is being set for “more drama in the country where Europe's debt crisis was born”.

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# **Austerity in the Thirties and the Consequences. Examples of Figurative German Language from the AAC Austrian Academy Corpus**

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## **1. Introduction**

On 8 May 1931 the Viennese bank “Credit-Anstalt” crashed, which was once one of the most important financial institutions of the new Republic of Austria as well as of the Austro-Hungarian Empire with extensive industrial holdings. The failure of the “Credit-Anstalt”, founded by Rothschild in 1855 and an integral part of the financial structure of the world, had severe consequences for the entire economic system in Europe and beyond and determined the political developments that followed, which led to the failure of an entire civilization. “Recent economic developments have led to an increased interest in the interwar period and especially in the banking crisis and panics of the 1930s.” (Schubert) The language in which the policies of financial crisis and economic disaster and their corresponding austerity measures were debated at the time is a highly interesting subject which will be investigated on the basis of a corpus based study of the figurative language in these fields, whereby multi-word units will be given special consideration. In the presentation of this study an overview of the methodological considerations and an outline of the research perspectives will be given. The case of the “Credit-Anstalt” and the austerity programs implemented and discussed at that time is just one example of the variety of themes related to the research question in focus.

## **2. The Corpus**

The “AAC – Austrian Academy Corpus” operated by the “Institute for Corpus Linguistics and Text Technology” at the “Austrian Academy of Sciences” provides a corpus research framework for the studies of the German language of the time in focus and for this investigation in particular. The specific use of figurative language will be analysed by making use of a large diachronic text corpus of considerable historical significance. The AAC has established a research environment for language studies of the interwar period focusing on the 1920s and 1930s, with a special emphasis on the year 1933, when the NSDAP came to power in Germany. Corpus-based approaches for analysing the language of the historical periods before National-Socialism have been rare, despite the numerous works in the fields of historical studies as well as in German language studies. The special investigation into this challenging question will make use of the AAC, a diachronic digital text corpus of more than 500 million tokens comprising several thousand German language texts of important historical and cultural significance, with a core stemming from the first half of the twentieth century, thus making the research question of an analysis of the figurative language of austerity of the interwar period highly appropriate. Among the sources of the AAC a large number of texts of the historical period in question have already been collected, digitized, converted into machine-readable text and fully annotated as well as provided with metadata. Structural and thematic mark-up has been applied according to annotation and mark-up schemes based upon XML related standards. Building a diachronic digital text corpus for historical German language studies of this particular kind is a challenging task for various reasons. The technical difficulties of corpus

building in dealing with a historical variety of different text types and genres have to be taken into consideration as well as the specific historical parameters and the methodological scope of such an investigation.

The language of austerity in this historical period is being considered as a historical focal point for which an exemplary corpus-based research methodology for the study of the German language could be developed. The sources cover manifold domains and genres, not only newspapers and political journals and economic magazines, like the famous “Die Weltbühne”, which will be central, but also several other text types representing the communicative strategies of the figurative and metaphorical language use will be included, among them pamphlets, flyers, advertisements, political speeches, but also essays and literary texts as well as administrative, scientific or legal texts. A particular emphasis will also be given to the satirist Karl Kraus, his journal “Die Fackel”, and to his text “Dritte Walpurgisnacht” (Third Walpurgis Night) written between May and September 1933. In this historical period significant changes with remarkable influences on the language and the language use can be observed. The years of the seizure of power of the National Socialists is of specific interest for such language studies, where various documents and significant collocations, lexical items, and figurative linguistic constructions are taken into account.

A corpus based methodological approach is considered as particularly fruitful by means of applying methods of corpus linguistics and by testing new strategies of the application of these methods in the context of historical language studies. The use of metaphorical constructions and idiomatic multi-word units will be given a particular emphasis in this study. Idioms can be regarded as prototypical forms of figurative language and a "gradual figurativeness" can be observed with regard to idioms: "We start with the assumption that idioms are the core category of phraseology and that they are prototypical examples of conventional figurative units. This does not mean however, that the figurativeness of every single idiom is perceptible in the same way." (Dobrovolskij/Piirainen).

### **3. Methods**

For the historical period of the 1930s the AAC corpus holdings provide a great number of reliable resources for investigations into the linguistic and textual properties of the texts in question, which have been lemmatized and provided with POS data (making use of the STTS - Stuttgart-Tübingen Tagset) but also enriched by additional data. “Quantitative corpus linguistics has proved to be a valuable technique in many domains of philological, sociological and historical research. The digitized and linguistically annotated corpus is therefore an interesting source for studies in many fields and facilitates the investigation of changing patterns of language use, and how these reflect underlying cultural shifts.” (Volk). The question is, whether corpus research methods based upon a multidisciplinary combination of corpus linguistics, lexicography, historical studies and cultural studies can be applied in order to gain insights into the textual representations of historical collections. The research will go beyond a quantitative approach and integrate text studies by proceeding from literary and text lexicographic premises. In addition to that, also the historical conditions of Germany and Austria with their cultural and linguistic diversities have to be taken into consideration. One important effect of the presence of linguistic corpora in these fields is that the actual use of the language is under systematic investigation. In the case of text corpora, one is primarily concerned with empirical data of language. One essential implication of corpus research for the methodology of textual research is that the perspective on the analysis how words occur in a text is changed. Statistical analyses of large corpora show that specific combinations of words appear in most cases in fixed patterns and relationships.

#### 4. The Objectives

How can corpus research and corpus linguistic methods be utilised in order to gain insights into specific textual representations of certain historical periods? In order to present the scope and the potential of corpus based text studies, lexical evidence of figurative language use in historical texts of the interwar period in Austria will be analysed. The language in significant texts from various linguistic domains is of specific interest here. A corpus based analysis of the language and the application of corpus research methods is of value for linguistic, literary and cultural studies. The questions of the discursive representation of a certain historical period and its development in a society and language community can be answered by means of corpus research. The first tasks would be to determine in which texts, in which linguistic environments and in which contexts the phenomena to be investigated appear, and how the theme of austerity and of 'economic crisis' is dealt with in various texts. The research focus will be directed at a combined interest in the study of figurative and phraseological language, and in phenomena related to the methodological questions of figurative language as a research topic for corpus research. The cultural and political debates around the questions of 'financial disaster' are manifest in various specific forms by means of linguistic and lexical strategies. The use of idiomatic multi-word units and metaphorical constructions will be analysed. The modifications and transformations as well as the appearance and disappearance of certain concepts, of particular constructions, of certain metaphorical usages, and the characteristics of the lexical inventory of the theme of austerity are to be best investigated by making use of digital text corpora and digital corpus methodologies and technologies.

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# Exploring the embodied basis of political discourse and the use of figurative language

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## 1. Introduction

The present study explores the embodied basis of the discursive construction and ideological presentation of the “self” and the “other” in five political manifestos of the 2010 political campaign. Although the notion of embodiment has not been investigated within the domain of (critical) discourse analysis, Chilton (1996, 2005) proposed that the metaphorical BODY AS A CONTAINER schema functions as a double image of rigid political categories and social membership as well as manifesting a fear of penetration. Additionally, it was predicted that political manifestos with stronger body boundary schemas would construct blame-discourses in which one’s own “good” social group would be represented as victims of another “bad” social group who are positioned as the cause of political and economic issues, such as the debt crisis, unemployment and immigration (Tennen & Affleck 1990). By contrast, political parties with weaker body boundary schemas would engage in solution-focused discourses that acknowledge conflicting interests between social groups (Romer et al., 1997). Particular attention is focused on the use of figurative language that underpins the political discourses and ideologies.

## 2. Method

The entire texts of five political party manifestos from the 2010 election were analyzed in this study: the BNP, the Green Party, the Conservative Party, the Labour Party, and the Liberal Democrats. All manifestos shared common themes such as an introduction to the political party’s ideological disclosure followed by political recommendations relating to everyday life, the economy, the environment and national interests. Particularly, the manifestos focused on the current economic crisis.

The texts were divided into equal text segments (250 words each) (Kilgariff, 1996). The computerized Body Type Dictionary (BTD) (Wilson, 2006) was then applied to all texts to calculate the frequency of semantic items that are classified to measure bodily protectiveness, i.e., barrier lexis (such as ‘covered’, ‘hidden’ and ‘shell’) and vulnerability, i.e., penetration lexis (such as ‘bleeding’, ‘entrance’ or ‘hole’).

## 3. Results

The descriptive statistics show that the BNP, Green Party and Liberal Democrats used higher frequencies of barrier lexis, creating stronger body boundaries than the Conservatives and the Labour Party. The BNP and the Green party also showed a lower frequency of penetration lexis, demonstrating a heightened bodily vulnerability compared to the other political parties (Table 1).

**Table 1. Descriptive statistics of body boundary imagery in the political manifestos**

	Approx. text length in words	Barrier		Penetration	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<b>BNP</b>	29,335	2.24	1.58	1.36	1.29
<b>Conservatives</b>	27,852	1.63	1.59	1.87	1.54
<b>Greens</b>	18,357	2.00	1.69	1.48	1.44
<b>Labour</b>	29,823	1.91	1.71	1.82	1.40
<b>Liberal Democrats</b>	18,833	2.16	1.37	1.84	1.48

A computerized analysis (Rayson, 2009) identified the ten most frequently used keywords in the political manifestos to explore the discursive foci that vary among the political parties (Table 2). Subsequent computerized and manual analyses also identified figurative expressions that underpin the political discourses and ideologies.

**Table 2. Ten most frequent keywords in the political manifestos of British political parties in comparison to the other parties**

<b>BNP</b>	<b>Conservatives</b>	<b>Greens</b>	<b>Labour</b>	<b>Liberal Democrats</b>
BNP (385)	we (707)	green party (55)	we (681)	Liberal Democrat/s (94)
shall (117)	Conservative (60)	would (125)	care (70)	fair (66)
the (2251)	will (657)	item (18)	next (48)	you (50)
British (178)	government (149)	page (16)	will (660)	your (43)
which (200)	give (77)	in particular (20)	continue (51)	works (15)
Muslim (39)	Labour (73)	equal (21)	new (169)	money (36)
immigration (74)	power (64)	rich (15)	tough (26)	scrap (17)
traditional (42)	our (295)	green (40)	more (180)	for (300)
of (1035)	big (30)	walking (9)	to (1179)	believe (40)
foreign (61)	state (41)	raising (20)	parents (40)	unfair (15)

### 3.1 BNP

The *BNP* categorically differentiates between native and non-native British people and between Christians and individuals of other faiths (POLITICS IS BLOOD and RELIGION). The manifesto outlines plans to improve British living conditions and policies, e.g., *we shall restore Britain's fishing industry*, for which figurative expressions motivated by BUILDING, e.g., *the restoration of our civil liberties*, and ENDING schemas, e.g., *we shall also end immigration*, indicate positive processes to reintroduce traditional British values. The use of JOURNEY metaphors of backwards movement and SEPARATION represents Britain as a self-contained entity, e.g., *immediate withdrawal from the European Union*, whereas individuals of the Islamic faith should be situated outside of Britain's boundaries, e.g., *Islamic immigration to be halted and reversed*. *British people* are also depicted as victims of immigration, e.g., *indigenous British people are set to become a minority*, and deceptive politics, such as *asylum swindle*, reinforced by figurative expressions of WAR, e.g., *undeclared cultural war against the British people*, and DESTRUCTION, e.g., *the erosion of British Culture*. *Immigration* is framed as a cause of ecological and political difficulties, e.g., *the destruction of Britain's green belt, caused primarily by housing demand fuelled through mass immigration*.

### 3.2 The Green Party

The *Green Party* propose to raise taxes, encourage walking and cycling, use existing resources, e.g., *renovation of existing dwellings* and end unjust behaviour towards animals and humans, e.g., *oppose discrimination* (PHYSICAL RESISTANCE). The Greens use figurative language in relation to ecological issues, e.g., *renewable energy*, to describe energy that is generated from replenishing

natural resources, such as wind, rain and sun. The Greens construct an ethical discourse in which the comparative concept of *equality/inequality* is perceived as a main cause of current political problems, e.g., *the rising inequality which has so disfigured our society*, whereas *more equal societies do better*. The keyword *rich* is a positive example when combined with the lemma *equal*, e.g., *If you had poor parents, you are more likely to become rich in equal societies like Norway*; however, a dichotomous discourse emerges in which the *rich* are presented as greedy and immoral and the *poor* are depicted as vulnerable and overlooked. Using an inferential chain, *rich* becomes a synonym for *inequality*, which is framed as a disease and ecological hazard, e.g., *inequality also makes you ill*.

### 3.3 Liberal Democrats

The *Liberal Democrats* construct a radical agentic self to address proposed political changes, e.g., *only Liberal Democrats will sort out our rotten political system*. Political changes are represented by expressions that use figurative language. Figurative expressions include LIVING ORGANISM, e.g., *put money into growing businesses*, BUILDING, e.g., *restore the civil liberties*, and CREATION schemas, e.g., *create a new route to provide capital*. Figurative expressions of PHYSICAL DESTRUCTION and PHYSICAL PROTECTION, e.g., *break up the banks...to protect real business*, and REMOVAL and REDUCTION, e.g., *scrap fees for final year students or cutting back burdensome regulation*, represent a positive process to bring about change. The Liberal Democrats construct a religious, e.g., *we believe*, and ethical framework that differentiates between *fair* and *unfair* as a reflection of existing socio-economical dichotomous categories within society that differentiate between the wealthy *at the top* (i.e., *wealth donors and corrupt MPs*) and the forgotten concerns of *ordinary people*, making use of a reversed UP IS GOOD metaphorical schema. The use of the second person pronoun frames potential voters as a central focus and agentic decision makers, e.g., *you have an opportunity to shape the future of our country for the better*.

### 3.4 Conservative Party

The Conservative Party suggests the formation of a *Conservative Government* that would lead a *Big Society* that is given support and responsibilities, e.g., *give strong backing* or *give families more control over their lives*. The manifesto constructs a religious discourse, e.g., *our belief* or *we are committed*, in which Britain's economy is figuratively depicted as a sick LIVING ORGANISM that requires *recovery and growth* (ECONOMIC/POLITICAL IMPROVEMENT IS HEALING). Political changes are outlined by the use of BUILDING, e.g., *building a new economic model*, BATTLE, e.g., *fight back against crime*, and CREATION schemas, e.g., *we will create opportunities*. Figurative expressions of PHYSICAL DESTRUCTION, e.g., *broken society*, reflect the emotional effect of the economic crisis and thus are perceived as negative. Conversely, expressions that are perceived as positive are future political changes using SEEING metaphors, e.g., *vision for our future* or *transparent by publishing information*. Also other positive expressions are REDUCTION and ENDINGS of expenditures and political decisions, e.g., *cut waste in government* or *we will stop central government*, and OPENNESS to services, e.g., *to access effective treatments*. The Labour Party is depicted as a threat to social and economic welfare, e.g., *Labour jobs tax that would kill our economic recovery*.

### 3.5 Labour Party

The Labour Party presents themselves as a united group with shared political goals, e.g., *we believe*. Given the economic crisis and *tough times*, the Labour Party appeals to society's strength and offers practical care and support, particularly to families and *parents*, to build a strong and *new* economic future for an intact society, e.g., *Britain is not broken*. The focus on the *next* government uses JOURNEY metaphors with forward movement, e.g., *we will drive forward our program*, indicating the Labour Party's political commitment, e.g., *we will continue to support the economy*. Backwards movement, however, is negatively perceived, e.g., *slip back into recession*. Political changes are suggested by BUILDING, e.g., *go on to build a strong economic future or solid foundations*, and PHYSICAL PROTECTION metaphors, e.g., *we protect frontline services*. Conversely, the figurative expression of GROWTH, e.g., *sustainable growth*, reflects a creative blend of the domains of LIVING ORGANISMS and MACHINES, e.g., *the engine of growth*. The state systems are personified, e.g., *our closed political system had lost touch with people* (STATE AS A PERSON). The Tories are perceived as a primary threat to economic recovery, e.g., *The Tories would threaten recovery with cuts this year*.

### 4. Discussion and conclusion

The results of this study confirm the research hypothesis. Political parties that used a higher frequency of barrier lexis constructed a blame discourse that identified a culpable "bad" other such as that observed in the manifestos of the BNP and Green Party. The manifesto of the Liberal Democrats also categorically differentiated between fair and unfair political practices as an indirect reflection of socio-economical differences; such an indirect blaming strategy may perhaps be related to an increase of penetration imagery and thus lower defensiveness. The Conservatives and the Labour Party provided a solution-focused discourse without advancing a blameworthy social group; conversely, the Conservatives and Labour Party perceived one another as a threat to economic recovery. Future research should identify under-used keywords and similarities between the political manifestos, as well as exploring figurative language using barrier and penetration imagery.

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# Obese bodies, indebted families, and good students: Metaphors of austerity in the Portuguese press

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## 1. Introduction

This paper analyses the conceptual metaphors that structure the discourse of implementing harsh austerity policies by the Portuguese government aiming to solve the serious financial and economic present crisis in Portugal. In April 2011, Portugal had to seek for external financial assistance and the new Portuguese government has ever since sought to implement harsh successive austerity measures that were recommended by the Troika, i.e. European Commission, European Central Bank and International Monetary Fund. The analysis uses corpus-based methodology and relies on a corpus of press articles extracted from Portuguese national newspapers and published between June 2011 (shortly after the application for financial help and Troika visit to Portugal) and December 2012. It follows the promising convergence between Cognitive Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis (see Chilton 2004 and Charteris-Black 2005, among others) and more specifically it follows the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999) and the current trend of corpus-based approaches to metaphor analysis (Charteris-Black 2004, Stefanowitch & Gries 2006). The paper has two parts. The first part includes the corpus-based identification and interpretation of the conceptual metaphors regarding austerity policies. The second part includes the corpus-based explanation of the rhetorical, explanatory, evaluative and ideological functions of the austerity metaphors.

## 2. Data

Our corpus contains news and opinion articles extracted from three Portuguese important newspapers (daily newspapers *Público* and *Diário Económico* and weekly newspaper *Expresso*), that deal with political, economic and social issues related to austerity. These issues include the implementation of austerity measures, Troika's recommendations and reviews, the performance of Portuguese government, the financial and economic crisis, and impact of social, economic and political austerity (unemployment, recession, demonstrations and protests and threats of political crisis). The corpus has an extension of approximately 40,000 words. We divided the corpus into two subcorpora: one includes articles from the second semester of 2011, after the entry of the Troika and together with the first applications of austerity policies, and another contains articles from September-December 2012 in which protests intensify against the austerity policies and the government and tensions arise in the coalition government of center-right.

## 3. Methods

In order to identify the metaphors of austerity in our corpus and carry out a quantitative analysis, we adopted the "metaphorical pattern analysis" as proposed by Stefanowitsch (2006) and applied by Rojo López & Orts Llopis (2010) in their research about conceptual metaphors of the global

systemic crisis. This method takes the target domains of the metaphors as the starting-point of the analysis. The analysis starts from a set of lexical items belonging to the target domain, and then performs a concordance analysis to identify the metaphorical expressions associated with the relevant target concepts. Afterwards, the metaphorical expressions the lexical items belong to are identified as metaphorical patterns, and groups of conceptual mappings are established on the basis of the metaphors they instantiate. The identification of a metaphorical pattern is based on the syntactic/semantic frame the target lexeme occurs in. Furthermore, it is also supported by the existence of similar patterns in the source domain. For example, in our study, the lexeme *Estado* ('State') was selected as one of the target domain of austerity. A search for its occurrences in the corpus yielded the metaphorical expression *as gorduras do Estado* ('the fat of the State'). This expression is then identified as the metaphorical pattern 'the fat of the NP', in which there are also lexemes from the source domain, such as *as gorduras do corpo* ('the body fat'). The pattern *as gorduras do Estado* ('the fat of the State') is then considered to instantiate the metaphor THE STATE IS A (OBESE) BODY. Stefanowitsch's method offers an important reversal of the perspective for corpus-based metaphor identification, providing a more complete inventory of metaphorical mappings. Specifically, it avoids the double danger that may be involved according to the source domain perspective, namely neglect relevant source domains and ignore the literal references to the target.

In order to increase the potential of the method to identify austerity metaphors, 50 key words from the target domains of economy, finance and politics and associated to austerity policies are searched for in the corpus. The Portuguese words selected are: *avaliação* 'evaluation', *austeridade* 'austerity', *banca* 'bank', *bem* 'goods', *capital* 'capital', *compra* 'purchase', *confiança* 'confidence', *consumo* 'consumption', *conta* 'account', *contração* 'contraction', *controlo* 'control', *corte* 'cut', *crédito* 'credit', *crescimento* 'growth', *crise* 'crisis', *défice* 'deficit', *despesa* 'spending', *dívida* 'debt', *economia* 'economy', *emprego* 'employment', *empréstimo* 'loan', *Estado* 'State', *finanças* 'finance', *fiscal* 'tax', *gasto* 'spend', *gestão* 'management', *governo* 'government', *imposto* 'taxes', *inflação* 'inflation', *investimento* 'investment', *juros* 'interest', *medida* 'measurement', *memorando* 'memo', *mercado* 'market', *meta* 'target', *orçamento* 'budget', *pobreza* 'poverty', *política* 'politics', *poupança* 'saving', *preço* 'price', *previsão* 'prediction', *recessão* 'recession', *reforma* 'retirement', *rendimento* 'income', *resgate* 'redemption', *restrição* 'restrictions', *riqueza* 'wealth', *salário* 'wages', *trabalho* 'work', *Troika* 'Troika'. Each lexeme is searched for all its derivatives; for instance *finanças*, *financeiro*, *financiar*, *financiamento*. Once the metaphorical patterns are identified, we proceed to describe the metaphorical mappings they instantiate. We followed the political metaphors classifications as proposed by Lakoff (1996, 2004), Charteris-Black (2005) and Moreno Lara (2008) in the qualitative analysis of the corpus and of the metaphorical expressions of austerity.

The corpus analysis is organized into three main stages. Firstly, we will isolate all the metaphorical patterns found in the corpus. We gather more than 500 metaphorical expressions. Secondly, every metaphorical pattern is individually analyzed, taking into account the nature of the source domain, the type of motivation and the mappings established across the domains, and is subsequently classified under a specific conceptual metaphor. For instance, the metaphorical expressions *gorduras do Estado* 'fat of the State', *emagrecimento do Estado* 'slimming of the State' and *o Estado tem que fazer dieta* 'the State must go on a diet' are different instantiations of the same specific conceptual metaphor THE STATE IS A BODY, which, in turn, is an instantiation of the higher-level metaphor THE STATE IS A PERSON or THE ECONOMY IS A PERSON. Thirdly, we will compare the articles of both subcorpora that were collected in different timelines (last semester 2011 and the last three months in 2012), in order to detect possible differences in the use of metaphorical language to serve a certain political or economic interest. To this purpose, we will analyze which of these metaphors are used in a positive or negative sense, as well as possible changes in the

positive/negative sense between the two time periods. Our hypothesis predicts that the articles from the first time period will have a higher number of metaphors used in a positive sense, whereas the articles from the second time period will have more metaphors used in a negative sense.

### 3. Results

The corpus-based analysis reveals three main conceptual metaphors used in policy responses to the economic crisis and the implementation and justification of harsh austerity policies. The first conceptual metaphor is the metaphor of diet and slimming. Diet and slimming metaphors are used to conceptualize the drastic cuts addressing the social expenses of the State, billions of Euros refunding, wages reductions, taxes and public services increase. The second conceptual metaphor addresses family debts control: national economy needs to fasten their budgets and reduce expenses likewise in indebted families; it is necessary to reorganize the national and European households. The family metaphor equates the debt problems of a national economy with the debt problems of an individual family. This is the “bad metaphor”, as Paul Krugman explains, because the national budget is not like a family budget, nor economy is like household management. The indebted family metaphor, which is probably the most insidious and misguided of austerity metaphors, is used to conceptualize the budget control policies, deficit and public expenses reduction, wages reduction and fiscal sacrifices. The third conceptual metaphor refers to good students: Portugal must fulfill the Troika goals, must meet the budgetary goals, must be different from Greece, must be regarded as a good example of the austerity measures, and must honor our commitments. Even though it is ironically used, the good student metaphor conceptualizes the fulfillment of the austerity measures, budget goals, Troika advice and EU austerity policies. These three metaphors involve opposite metaphorical moral models (Lakoff 1996, 2004). On the one hand, austerity is metaphorically conceptualized as a moral person. Specifically, austerity is seen as responsibility, moral discipline, necessary punishment, cleansing (the "debt sinners"), and as moral imperative to force Portugal to “not live above its financial possibilities”. This conservative morality gives austerity policies a positive moral connotation. The metaphors of austerity with this positive sense are more frequent in articles written during the first months of implementation of harsh austerity policies and simultaneously during "state of grace" of the new government. On the other hand, austerity is seen as immoral, as it prevents social responsibility and aspiration of the people to have a fulfilled and satisfying life and goes against democracy and the welfare state. Importantly, austerity is not a real economic policy but rather a politics of crime and punishment, sin and atonement. This negative sense of the metaphors of austerity becomes more frequent in recent months, which has been proving the failure of austerity measures.

There are other metaphors in the corpus associated with austerity. Some are specifications, parts or implications of these slimming, indebted family and good student metaphors and the associated family and moral models. For example, think of austerity in terms of household management makes us think of the economic-failure's causes (like the State deficit and debt) and solutions (austerity) in terms of household behavior. Other metaphors are applications or extensions of the metaphors of the financial crisis, including the metaphors of disease, natural disaster and the enemy, already used in the Portuguese press (and other western presses) during the global financial collapse (2008-2009) (see Soares da Silva 2009). It is thus that austerity is also seen as a remedy (which for some can heal, but for others it may make the patient even sicker), as therapy, as neoliberal catastrophe, as brutal attack and as a bomb.

## 4. Discussion

Once the issue of identification and description/interpretation of metaphors of austerity is addressed in our corpus, we move on to the explanatory and functional question of the role and function of these metaphors in political and economic press discourse about the implementation of austerity measures. For this purpose, we will combine the tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis with the Cognitive Linguistics paradigm and develop a critical austerity metaphor analysis (see Charteris-Black 2004 for Critical Metaphor Analysis). The slimming, indebted family and good student metaphors are grounded on *image schemas* (Johnson 1987, Hampe 2005) from bodily experience. The *embodiment* of austerity metaphors turns them into cognitive models with important *ideological* functions (Dirven, Frank & Pütz 2003). The slimming, indebted family and good student metaphors serve the ideological agenda of austerity that was offered by Troika as if they were the only solution to be taken by the Portuguese government. These metaphors establish the idea that budgets deficits are always a problem and foster the belief that austerity policies will help the economies to revert to their long-term growth. These metaphors spread the idea that austerity policies transform citizens and the State into more disciplined and better persons. Consequently, the austerity metaphors legitimize the drastic cuts on State expenses. In the current context of severe recession and without signs of recovery of the Portuguese economy, great popular revolt against austerity revenues imposed by the Troika and the widespread perception that austerity and sacrifices were not worthy, these same metaphors begin to reveal their mischievous and immoral features.

We will argue that the corpus-based and cognitive discourse analysis of metaphor provides empirical evidence about the identification and interpretation of austerity metaphors and about the rhetorical, explanatory, evaluative, ideological and mythic purposes of slimming, indebted family and good student metaphors.

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# The Mechanics of Metaphor

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## 1. Introduction

Open any broadsheet newspaper today (time of writing: Feb./Mar. 2013) and you will probably find at least one article on something to do with the Euro crisis and the various austerity measures that have been, are being, and no doubt will continue to be proposed to deal with it. The specific question addressed in this paper is how do journalists write about the novel circumstances in which we find ourselves: the probable collapse of the Euro in the wake of the unwillingness of the electorate in various countries to believe that harsh austerity measures will yield a satisfactory outcome? In other words, what sort of language do these journalists use, and specifically what role does figurative language play in their reports and feature articles? This question leads on to some more general questions about the nature of figurative language, its structure, and its function.

## 2. Data and methods

Following the best tradition of corpus linguistics and text linguistics, I have analysed in some detail the language of reports and features in a single issue of a broadsheet newspaper (the Guardian of 27 Feb. 2013) relating to the outcome of the Feb. 2013 general election in Italy. I have compared it with empirical evidence of figurative language in the British National Corpus and other texts. And I have also looked at more wide-ranging theoretical work (e.g. Deignan, *passim*; papers in Stefanowitch and Gries, 2006) on corpus-driven approaches to metaphor analysis.

According to the newspaper, most commentators have interpreted the outcome of the February election in Italy as a clear rejection by the Italian electorate of the austerity policies of outgoing prime minister Mario Monti, a technocrat beloved of German bankers and European finance ministers, but not (apparently) of the Italian people. In an analysis on page 17, Nils Pratley commented: “German politicians sounded so shocked [by the result of the election] that their reactions amount to little more than a wish that Italy had a different electorate.”

The front-page news story in this issue is by Ian Traynor, John Hooper, and Phillip Inman. It is headed “EU in turmoil as Italy halts austerity plan”. In addition to the front page, there are background features on the same event by John Hooper (Rome correspondent) and Lizzy Davis (Rome correspondent), Nils Pratley (financial editor), an opinion piece by Simon Jenkins (commentator and leader writer), and a leader under the heading “Austerity challenged”. A question that arises is: how much of the language in these articles (and indeed in the headlines) is figurative? There is very little figurative language in the leader. There is a lot in all the rest – both reportage and opinion.

### 3. Results

It is over thirty years since Lakoff and Johnson observed that “our ordinary conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical in nature.” This important observation could be more accurately phrased by saying that much of our ordinary system of abstract concepts is expressed through conventional metaphors based on physical experiences.

The news story mentions spending *cuts* and tax *rises*. Cuts and rises in this context can be seen as metaphorical, in a Lakoffian sense, but it is important to note that, although these words also have literal, concrete senses, with which the financial terms may resonate, their metaphorical use is entirely conventional. Some people would deny that they are metaphors at all. What makes these conventional expressions metaphorical is the fact that their financial senses in this article resonate with (or, more strictly speaking, have the potential to resonate with) other uses of the same words that have a concrete or physical denotation: cutting off a piece of something; cutting down plants and trees; ground and cakes rising.

Less obvious is the fact that the term *austerity* itself, which in modern English has only an abstract set of denotations, has a figurative origin. The metaphor was already recognized two thousand years ago: the great Roman rhetorician and metaphor theorist Quintilian, writing in the 1st or 2nd century AD, noted that the Latin word *austeritas* was applied metaphorically to severity of government and policy as well as literally to wine (denoting a sour or unsatisfactory taste) and to colours (denoting dullness or dinginess). Quintilian here, as in many other places, anticipated Lakoff and Johnson by nearly two thousand years.

Almost every sentence in the Guardian’s front-page news story report contains a metaphor, but all of them can be classified as conventional, not creative or original. Here is a selection:

1. Italian voters’ rejection of spending cuts and tax rises opened up a stark new fissure in European politics
2. A re-eruption of the Euro crisis
3. Fears that the deadlock will ... spill over into the rest of the Eurozone
4. Deutsche Bank saw almost 5% knocked off its value
5. The cliffhanger vote
6. The narrow victor, Pier Luigi Bersani ...
7. ...claimed the mantle of the premiership
8. It was unclear if he would be able to form a government
9. The withering popular verdict

### 4. Discussion

On the basis of an analysis of these and other figurative expressions, I shall argue that the defining characteristic of metaphor and other figurative language is resonance. Several other criteria for metaphor identification have been proposed, and I shall consider them in turn. In the presentation I shall briefly examine the main ones. In metaphors and similes, a secondary sense of a linguistic expression achieves added semantic force by resonating with a primary, concrete, literal sense. The conclusion to be drawn is that a linguistic expression is a metaphor if and only if the only reasonable interpretation of it requires activation of semantic resonance with another interpretation (the ‘literal meaning’) of the same expression.

My presentation continues with an analysis of other relevant figurative phraseology. I propose that all figurative expressions can be analysed in terms of the following structure:

- **Topic** (typically, a noun phrase): obligatory
- **Eventuality** (event or state—normally a verb): obligatory
- **Comparator**: absent for metaphors; almost always present for similes
- **Vehicle** (noun, verb, or adjective): obligatory
- **Shared property** (typically, an adjective): can be either explicit or implicit

Finally, I turn to functions. I intend to show that one of the main functions of figurative language is to enable writers and speakers to deal effectively with and speak about unfamiliar events and entities. Another is to grab the readers' or hearers' attention. This latter function is a salient aspect of simile.

In this chosen issue of the Guardian, it is left to the commentator Simon Jenkins to exploit the full potential of figurative language, both conventional and creative. In an impassioned anti-Euro article, he tells us that the “dogma of austerity has Europe’s economy by the throat”; that the technocrat Mario Monti, “darling of the bankers’ ramp”, was their “Super-Mario” (a video game puppet); and that (according to austerity dogmatists), the Italian economy had to be “waterboarded”. This is a novel metaphor. Jenkins opines, along with Beppe Grillo, that “leaving the euro is the key that unlocks the prison door.” The message is: “forget Keynes and take the medicine, even if it is poison.” Britons assumes that in Italy all will be well, even as Italy’s “two great institutions, the republic and the catholic church, stumble into corruption and immorality”, but Jenkins believes that “Italian politics will establish a new equilibrium. If lucky, it will be outside the Euro and on the way to recover; if not it will be in lifetime bondage to Eurozone bankers.”

Powerful stuff! But we must not forget that the purpose of this colloquium is to encourage the empirical study of language and metaphor, not to foment political agitation. For this reason, I shall analyse the structure of Jenkins’s metaphors just mentioned here, and go on to argue that two of Jenkins’s similes deserve fuller linguistic analysis, with which I shall conclude my presentation. They are:

10. Sooner or later, austerity becomes an end, not a means: an obsessive self-flagellation. These finance ministers are like Aztec priests at an altar. If the blood sacrifice fails to deliver rain, there must be more blood.
11. Economists are to modern government what doctors were to tobacco companies, as good as the last fee.

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## **Round Table pt 1**

### **Austerity and ageing**

**Rosamund Moon**, University of Birmingham (England)

In my contribution to this round table on figurative language, I will be looking at aspects of the representation of ageing in the context of austerity. The first part of my talk draws on ongoing research, both corpus- and text-based, into discourses of ageing and the labelling of older people. My focus here will be on metaphorical and metonymic description; the evaluative construction of old as bad, young as good; and, in relation to austerity, the connotations attaching to older people, wealth and poverty. In the second part of my talk, I will discuss a small-scale examination, using corpus techniques, of texts relating to housing issues in the UK: these address the imbalances and perceived injustices arising from what is seen as the ‘hoarding’ of houses by older people at the expense of younger people and their aspirations. Metaphor is a key device used to project evaluations here. There are some important implications, not least with respect to a financial divide and deepening intergenerational conflict between baby-boomer haves and Generation Y have-nots in this age of austerity.

#### **Questions for discussion:**

- 1) The othering of the elderly, including the young-old, and the part metaphor plays in this.
- 2) The figurative resonance of ‘the home’ at a time of shifting boundaries and fluid lifestyles.
- 3) The likelihood of change as austerity continues across the West.

## Round Table pt 2

### Metaphors in the ministries revisited: from WAR to the hospital ward.

Gill Philip, University of Macerata (Italy)

#### 1. Introduction

In this study I return to the metaphorical language used by Italian Ministers, revisiting in part research that I conducted about five years ago (Philip 2009, Philip 2010). In the original study, I was investigating the metaphors used by women Ministers to see if their language could be said to reveal particularly feminine traits, including gender stereotyped thematic material. That study was corpus driven, and led me to develop a method for locating potential metaphors in corpus data using corpus tools which can be used for languages which are not supported by metaphor analysis tools such as WMatrix (Rayson 2005). The method uses the Word List, Key Word and Concordance options in WordSmith Tools 4.0 (Scott, 2004) and is described in detail in Philip (2012).

#### 2. Data

The data analysed in the earlier study spanned a 12-month period from mid 2006 to mid 2007, and included five different Ministries, including what was then the Ministry for International Trade and Commerce, headed by one of Italy's foremost female politicians, Emma Bonino. While not deriving directly from the Ministry for Finance, the subject matter in this small corpus was focused on the Italian economy, and in particular on the *Made In Italy* brand and the strategies required to promote it abroad while combating the low-quality imitations produced in China and India.

The study I report on now is based on the year 2010 during Giulio Tremonti's term as Finance Minister under the Berlusconi government. While largely comparable in scope (the corpus consists of letters to newspapers, interviews with the press, speeches delivered in parliament and to public bodies), the dataset is markedly smaller (29,000 words, compared to the 110,000-word Bonino corpus) and also does not contain press releases, because these were not available to the general public via the Ministry site. What I have started doing – because the full study will track metaphor change from the start of the financial crisis in 2009 to the present – is to categorize the metaphors used when the Minister is talking about the crisis and about the reforms being proposed or adopted in order to lessen the blow. In particular – and even though we are dealing with a lot of interview data alongside other text types – it is only the Minister's metaphors that will be examined, never the journalist's (unless, of course, metaphors initiated by the journalist's questioning are picked up and elaborated upon by the Minister). Metaphors relating to party politics and non-Economics topics are also excluded.

Why include only the Minister's metaphors? In the first place, the language that a Minister uses in his or her public interaction is reported verbatim in the press and broadcast media. His/her words are therefore repeated many times and, as a result, become ingrained in the ways in which the press, and then the general public, talk and think about the matter in hand. Analysing the language of politicians, therefore, allows us to appreciate how the financial crisis and its management are being framed politically; and when the language of different Ministers is compared, we may not only find

individual differences (these are to be anticipated) but also differences which reflect the ideology of the ruling party, the nation, and also super-national country groupings (Europe, the West). Additionally, it is important to take the purpose of metaphors into consideration. Journalists often attempt to reframe a politician's discourse, and while this is in itself interesting, I am not interested in examining the co-creation of metaphor nor the role of metaphor in dialogic interaction, but rather how politicians present a reality to the populace via the media (or other channel of communication) using metaphorical language.

Why exclude metaphors dealing with other topics? Interview data inevitably veers off topic, either because of tangential comments, or because the interviewer wants off-the-cuff and spontaneous remarks on side issues. Italian politics over the past decade has hinged largely on the figure of Silvio Berlusconi. Many politicians owe their existence to him – either because he has promoted and sponsored them, or because they have constructed their political existence around plotting his downfall. In the Tremonti interview data, the Minister is often called upon to comment on party politics. I have deliberately excluded all instances of metaphors used when the topic of conversation veers away from the economy and onto Berlusconi or *antiberlusconismo*, since I am only interested in the framing of the financial crisis.

### 3. Findings

Compared to the Bonino data from four years previously, there are a number of differences. This should come as little surprise, especially because:

- i) We are dealing with the output of two individual people, rather than multiple data sources. These two individuals have different professional backgrounds (Bonino is a career politician, Tremonti a university professor) and it is reasonable to expect these backgrounds to have influences their rhetorical styles;
- ii) The Ministerial remits are not identical (Bonino was overseeing the Ministry for International Trade and Commerce, Tremonti the Ministry of Finance);
- iii) The size of the data sets is not comparable; and
- iv) The composition of the data sets, in terms of text type, is only partially comparable.

With these provisos in mind, the following metaphor similarities and differences have been noted. Both corpora featured systematic metaphors drawing on the source domains of WAR, HEALTH, SUFFERING/SUBMISSION, and RISK; though the proportions and relative frequencies, as well as the type-token ratios differed. For instance, within the WAR source domain, the lemmas corresponding to *invasion*, *win* and *penetrate*, all recurrent in the Bonino data, did not occur at all in the Tremonti data. These were all used with reference to entering foreign markets in the chronologically earlier data, and in times of crisis, export strategies lost out to internal survival. We also find that in 2010, *conflict* and *fight* refer to internal strife rather than to the global marketplace: *class conflict* and *fight against tax evasion* are the preferred collocations (the latter term featuring in both corpora).

The HEALTH metaphors are of particular interest. One of the reasons for wanting to revisit Metaphors in the Ministry was from an impression gleaned from reading the daily news that the economic situation was being expressed using HEALTH metaphors. There are a few HEALTH metaphors present in the Bonino data, but they are clearly the dominant source domain found in the Tremonti corpus. The source domain is covered extensively: we are not merely dealing with a sick

patient, but with a more complex situation of general malaise. Medicine and illness are present only in their literal sense, while the metaphorical language concentrates on *trauma* and *suffering*, *antidotes* and *magic potions* (which are wished-for but not forthcoming); and there is a clear preference for vocabulary which describes the *strength*, *resilience*, *resistance*, and *weakness* of the Italian economy, of Italy the nation, and of the Italian people. Finally, there is an interesting grouping of lexis related to taking drugs. This has a markedly negative connotation and occurs when criticizing the availability of credit (and hence, the creation of debt) prior to the crisis.

Systematic metaphors present in the 2006-7 data, but not found in the 2010 data, drew on the source domains of EMOTIONS, HUNTING, BODY PARTS, BIRTH and DEATH. Systematic metaphors not present in the 2006-7 data, but featuring in the 2010 data (despite its much smaller size), drew on the source domains of MEANS OF TRANSPORT, PARENTING, PLANTS, BARRIERS, WEATHER and SPORT. However, in all these cases, and other non-recurrent metaphors (and those which were recurrent but not systematic), we find that this particular Minister, Giulio Tremonti, is a master of rhetoric. Perhaps as a result of his professorial role, he makes widespread use of deliberate metaphor (Steen 2011), analogies, and a noticeable use of the structure *come se* (as if...) to introduce explicit similes. All of these uses of figurative language serve to promote the understanding of a complex topic, but they are also, of course, used to make the public view the financial situation and the Government's actions addressing it from the Minister's standpoint.

#### 4. Points for discussion

As a round-table presentation, the results of this study are intended to stimulate debate. Of the many points, those which are particularly relevant are:

- 1) How does the use of systematic metaphor change to reflect different realities?
  - here related to pre- and post- recession
- 2) When investigating sectorial metaphor use, what data is likely to provide the most accurate and/or reliable picture?
  - here related to politicians' language as opposed to professionals' language, as well as the different text types available
- 3) How useful is it to talk of systematic metaphor within a particular sector when individual lemmas or collocates seem to be restricted to precise aspects of sub-topics within a sector?
  - here related to systematic metaphors common to both corpora.

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