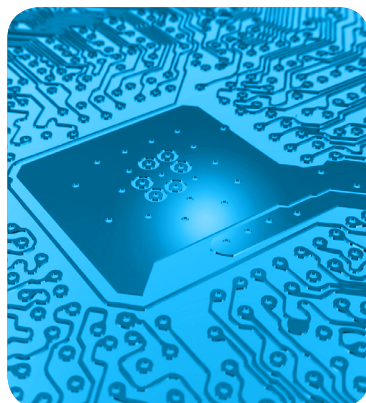
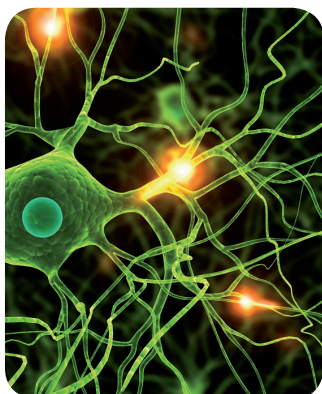


MÁSTERES de la UAM

Facultad de Filosofía
y Letras / 14-15

Lingüística Aplicada
al Inglés



**Conceptual metaphors
in spanish and english
financial reports:
A cross-linguistic and
cognitive approach**
María Muelas Gil

CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN SPANISH AND ENGLISH FINANCIAL REPORTS:

A cross-linguistic and cognitive approach

MASTER'S DISSERTATION

Student: María Muelas Gil

Supervisor: Prof. Manuela Romano

Programme: Master's Degree on Applied Linguistics (MULAI)

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras

Date: 10/06/2015



TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	p. 5
1.1. Outline	p. 7
1.2. Motivation behind research	p. 9
1.3. Terminology	p. 10
2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	p. 11
2.1. CMT and metaphor in discourse	p. 11
2.2. Metaphor in context	p. 13
2.3. Corpus-based approaches to metaphor	p. 14
2.4. Retrieving metaphors from a corpus	p. 15
2.5. Classification of metaphors	p. 19
2.6. Comparative and cross-cultural studies	p. 22
2.7. Metaphor and economy	p. 23
2.7.1. Metaphor and the market	p. 25
2.8. Applications of metaphor in economics discourse	p. 26
2.8.1. Metaphor and ESP	p. 26
2.8.2. Metaphor and Translation	p. 27
3. DATA AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS	p. 29
3.1. Selection of data	p. 29
3.2. Research questions and hypotheses	p. 31
4. METHODOLOGY	p. 33
4.1. Retrieving method	p. 33
4.1.1. Searching for the five domains vocabulary	p. 35
4.1.2. Metaphorical Pattern Analysis	p. 35
4.1.3. Manual search	p. 37
4.2. Generic and specific metaphors	p. 37
4.3. Division Criteria	p. 39
4.4. Conventional in finance discourse?	p. 41

4.5.	Quantitative analysis	p. 41
4.6.	Statistical analysis	p. 42
5.	RESULTS	p. 42
5.1.	Finding metaphorical expressions	p. 42
5.2.	Moreno Lara's division	p. 46
5.3.	Individual analysis of ML's division	p. 48
5.3.1.	The Great Chain of Being	p. 48
5.3.2.	Image Schema – Path	p. 50
5.3.3.	Actions are Events	p. 51
5.4.	Specific relations	p. 53
5.5.	Conventional in finance discourse?	p. 55
6.	ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION	p. 56
6.1.	Generic-level metaphors	p. 56
6.2.	Generic and specific metaphors in each our corpus	p. 57
6.2.1.	The Great Chain of Being	p. 57
6.2.2.	Image Schema – Path	p. 58
6.2.3.	Actions are Events	p. 59
6.3.	Statistical Analysis	p. 60
6.4.	Degree of conventionality	p. 61
6.5.	Answers to research questions and hypotheses	p. 61
7.	CONCLUDING REMARKS	p. 66
7.1.	Limitations of the study	p. 68
7.2.	Future paths	p. 70
8.	BIBLIOGRAPHY	p. 72
9.	APPENDIX	p. 80

ABSTRACT

The present paper contains a study that analyses the explanatory strength of conceptual metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1990, McGlone 2007, Kövecses, 2010) in a domain characterized for its richness in metaphorical creativity: economic and financial reporting. This type of discourse is, in particular, “heavily metaphorical” (McCloskey 1983), for it is full of complicated and specific terms which are difficult to decode by a non-expert eye. The work analyses the most salient metaphorical expressions within this field, showing how experts conceptualize financial constructs and how non-experts are able to process and understand them through specific metaphorical projections in two different languages, English and Spanish. Moreover, as a parallel goal, the results might be used as a tool to enhance the teaching and learning of Lakoffian Conceptual Metaphor Theory in ESP programmes (Charteris-Black and Ennis, 2001).

To this aim, concepts such as *‘situationally, topically and culturally triggered metaphors’* coming from recent studies on metaphors in real discourse (Semino 2008, Kövecses 2008, 2009, 2010, Semino, Deignan & Littlemore 2013), have helped to understand how these financial notions are conceptualized. The data consists of 12 texts of different publications (*Expansión, Cinco días* and *El Economista* –Spanish– and *The Economist, The Guardian* and *The Financial Times* –English). Following Stefanowitsch’s (2006) ‘metaphorical pattern analysis’ (MPA), all the expressions showing reference to a source or target belonging to five target areas were searched in the corpus. These areas were previously set as: ‘market’, ‘economy’, ‘money’, ‘companies/investors’ and ‘products’. Moreover, Moreno Lara’s taxonomy, used by scholars studying metaphor in economics discourse (Silva, 2013, 2014; Rojo López and Orts, 2010) has been applied to divide all the conceptual metaphors of the corpus according to three generic metaphors: the Great Chain of Being, the Image-Schema or Path Schema and the Events metaphor.

In short, the results show similar mappings at a generic level but different at more specific ones and in the inner distribution of each group of generic conceptual metaphors. Finally, this work sheds light on (1) the close relationship between the specific socio-cultural context and the mappings chosen, and (2) how cross-linguistic studies of metaphor should help raise translator’s and L2 teachers’ awareness of the relevance of such intrinsic linguistic component if they aim to obtain a better and more reliable and meaningfully complete outcome. It also opens the door to future extensions of this project.

1. INTRODUCTION

The present work aims to perform a comparative analysis of financial reports selected from 6 online sources in two different languages: English and Spanish. What I intend to compare is the use of metaphors in each corpora, with the aim of studying whether this discourse strategy presents similarities and/or differences among the two languages compared. Moreover, I will try to contextualize or justify such differences and similarities within the contexts where they appear. Therefore, this study's first grounding is the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (explained in detail later) and therefore Cognitive Linguistics (Geeraerts and Cuyckens, 2007).

The purpose of the analysis is threefold: the first goal is the aforementioned one, finding and comparing metaphors in texts of similar nature but written in different languages and, therefore, contexts; the second one will be to apply the results to two different fields in which metaphors are more and more pervasive and need to draw the attention of scholars, namely English for Specific Purposes and Translation; last but not least, the third goal will be to justify the strong explanatory value of metaphor, as it serves as a vehicle that allows the non-expert reader of financial discourse to understand the message of such a complex domain.

Before proceeding with an outline of the study, its very first grounding must be presented. Linguistic metaphor is a device that has been studied in literature for centuries and students all over the world have been taught that when a poet writes that "her lips are roses" he or she is not meaning that his/her mistress has flowers on her face. However, the writer created this similitude due to the red colour and the passion evoked by both elements, and the reader understands that this comparison is made for reasons of parallelism between them. This is just one of the simplest and easiest examples that might be found in years of literature, and one of the components that makes poetry such a rich and unique language. Nevertheless, metaphors are not only a device found in poetry or books, but in all aspects of everyday life and in most conversations and thoughts that humans have. It would be George Lakoff and Mark Johnson who, in 1980, published the very first book dealing with metaphor in everyday language, *Metaphors We Live By*, claiming that

“metaphor is for most people a device of poetic imagination and rhetorical flourish – a matter of extraordinary rather than ordinary language. [...] We have found, on the contrary, that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (1980: 3)

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) created what is known as Conceptual Metaphor Theory, based on these foundations. According to CMT, metaphors are part of not only everyday language but also of everyday thought and action. They exemplified their theory with an extensive list of conceptual metaphors consisting of real examples that people say in normal conversations. By doing so, they defended that by saying things as *“he defeated her arguments”* or *“I attacked every weak point in his argument”*, we are giving linguistic metaphors of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. This occurs because an abstract term or situation as an argument is conceptualized in terms of another one which is not naturally related, as it is war. This relation or mapping happens for reasons of similarity in the inner structure of an argument and that of a war. The speaker considers the argument is a battle that he/she wants to win and to do so he/she must fight the other “army”, which is the other person’s arguments. Like this, they gave many other conceptual metaphors, and this list would be extended by other scholars from that year on. Some of this will be provided in the theoretical review of this paper in order to clarify the processes or mappings being analyzed.

The ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor is found in everyday language, but conceptual metaphors do not only occur in natural discourse but also in specialized texts, as that of economic and financial reports. For example, by referring to brokers in Wall Street as “bulls”, “bears” and many other animals depending on the strategies of investment, a mapping is created beyond such reference, and also a conceptual metaphor as THE MARKET IS AN ANIMAL KINGDOM. Even if this is not a conventional metaphor as the first example given in the previous paragraph, it exemplifies that metaphorical thought and action are also present in most specific areas as the stock market. By comparing investing strategies to animal attack movements, our minds are conceptualizing a concept in terms of a completely different one that would not be naturally found in this domain (it is not very likely to find bulls or bears or any other animal running free in Wall Street). These concepts have become so natural to

everyone that people do not recognize the mapping and the cognitive process behind it unless noticed by a linguist. That is why studies of the nature of the present one are needed, also to understand how metaphors can be retrieved from any type of discourse.

1.1. OUTLINE

After giving an introduction of the main concepts motivating this research, the paper will start by presenting the main theories on which it is based as well as previous studies of the same or similar nature to this one. The aforementioned Conceptual Metaphor Theory will be further explained and complemented with more recent studies and contributions within metaphor in discourse studies (Semino 2008; Kövecses 2008, 2009, 2010; Semino, Deignan and Littlemore 2013). Next, different theories studying corpus-based approaches to metaphor will be summarized (Steen, 1999; Charteris-Black 2004, 2005; Deignan 2005; Stefanowistch and Gries, 2006; Pragglejaz Group 2007; Kövecses 2008; Rojo López and Orts 2008, 2010; Silva 2013a, 2013b) since this study is naturally placed within a corpus study. As such corpus consists of two corpora of texts coming from two different languages and six different sources, and one of the first goals is to compare the use and pervasiveness of metaphors in both languages, comparative approaches to metaphor will also be referred to. Finally, another objective of this project is to shed some more light on studies trying to justify the use and important power of metaphors in specialized discourse, so I will also present previous studies and notions on the field of English for Specific Purposes on the one hand (Henderson 1982; Smith 1995; Charteris-Black 2000, 2001; Marisol Velasco-Sacristán 2004; Littlemore and Low 2006) and Translation on the other (Dobrzynska 1995, Fuertes Olivera 1998, Charteris-Black and Ennis 2001, Fuertes-Olivera and Isabel Pizarro-Sanchez 2002, Serón Ordoñez 2005, Rojo Lopez and Ort 2010, Gallego Hernandez 2012), as these two fields have proved to be appealing for those trying to apply CMT.

Once the theoretical background is presented, all the data that have undergone analysis will be provided in section 3, together with the different sources

from which they were extracted and the reasons for the selection. This will be followed by the research questions, as well as some of the hypotheses formulated prior-analysis, created by the author's own short experience with the discourse of Economics and the Stock Market.

The methodology will be explained in section 4, clarifying all the steps meticulously as this is considered to be a vital part of this research project. This involves the process of selection of data and the method of access to them firstly, followed by the different extraction methods used to retrieve metaphorical expressions of all the texts in both corpora. Different methods have been used after having considered others and the reasons for this final choice must be given and justified. Once all the metaphors were retrieved, they were divided following a three-criterion taxonomy, and this step will also be extensively clarified and defined. The division was used in the comparative and quantitative analysis, which also make use of tables designed for the sake of this project. Finally, the methodology will also explain which statistical data have been used.

Consequently, all the results will be given in section 5, starting with the quantitative analysis. This will be done thanks to tables and figures that will display in the most explanatory way all the numbers obtained; these will be then compared using some percentage analyses and statistical studies, in order to observe the relevance value of the analysis and the degree to which similarities and differences might be due to arbitrary reasons.

The last section of this thesis, section 6, consists in a discussion of all the results that will include real examples of both corpora and of all the criterion of the taxonomy previously mentioned. This will be the longest and most exhaustive part as all the results obtained in the quantitative analysis will be qualitatively analysed in it, as well as their potential justifications and applications.

Finally, the paper will conclude with a summary of what has been done, with a presentation of all the drawbacks that this study might have, together with ideas and suggestions for further extension of the same or for new ones.

1.2. MOTIVATION BEHIND THIS RESEARCH

In March 2014, being a student of the English Department's Master's Degree in English Applied Linguistics at the UAM, and having just started to discover the complex world of cognitive processes and conceptual metaphors, I was reading a Spanish online newspaper (*Cinco Días*) when I saw a headline saying "*La bolsa es un polvorín a punto de estallar*" (Spanish for "*The Stock Market is a powder keg about to explode*"). I immediately recognized the metaphorical expressions that conceptualized the stock market as a warlike place, and once I had read the article I deduced two things: the first one was the difficulty to understand a very complex text written in my native language; the second one was that, thanks to all the metaphorical expressions used by the reporter, I somehow managed to understand the message that he was trying to express. Therefore, I decided to analyze academically this text and a second one of the same newspaper and I retrieved all the metaphors and analyzed them. By doing so, I discovered the pervasiveness of this device in the language of economics and its power when expressing and understanding this type of specialized discourse. This would be the first step in my short career as an analyst of metaphors in discourse, as I have been extending it for months, first by expanding the Spanish corpus, second by comparing finance reports in two different languages (Spanish and English) and third by using some of the numerous approaches to metaphor in discourse that have been developed in the last decades. This paper is in fact a work in process which I wish to develop in my future PhD dissertation.

1.3. TERMINOLOGY

At a general scale, this study is based on the groundings presented in the preceding section, which will be more extensively discussed in forthcoming parts. So far, the main theory on which it is placed has been introduced, but there are some other concepts or terms that need to be defined now as they will be referred to constantly through this dissertation. These are: conceptual metaphor and metaphorical expression, mapping, target domain and source domain, and corpus studies.

For all the terms are directly related to metaphor, I will use another example from Lakoff and Johnson's book in order to clarify it better.

The notion of 'conceptual metaphor' has been already introduced and understood as that expression in which one concept is metaphorically understood in terms of another one. For example, LOVE IS WAR is another conceptual metaphor collected in *Metaphors We Live By*. It is a conceptual metaphor as we conceptualize love as if it were a very different thing, a war. This conceptual metaphor will come with metaphorical expressions as "*he has conquered his heart*" or "*we must fight for our love*". A distinction must be made between conceptual metaphor, which will always follow the pattern "X is Y", and the metaphorical expression or linguistic metaphor, with are the instances found in real language that classify a given sentence within that conceptual metaphor, as the examples that have been just given.

In this dichotomy, "X" and "Y" have a technique definition. In the example above, LOVE IS WAR, LOVE is X, or the target domain, the domain that we want to conceptualize in terms of another, "Y", or source domain. This source domain is the one humans resort to as it is sometimes more familiar or precise and therefore helps them to understand a more abstract or complex one.

To continue, the relations of familiarity created between the target and the source are called 'mappings'. To exemplify this: we sometimes understand love as if it was a battle as we conquer other person's heart, we fight for it, we get hurt by it sometimes, and there might be winners and losers. All these facts, or mappings, can be

applied both to a war and to a relationship and by uniting both under the same conceptualization, one is understood in terms of the other.

Finally, as this is a corpus-based approach to metaphor, there is a need to clarify what corpus studies are exactly. One of the entries of the word 'corpus' in the Oxford Dictionary Online defines it as "*a collection of written or spoken material in machine-readable form, assembled for the purpose of linguistic research*". The present work will consist of two different corpora, English and Spanish, each one of them consisting of six different texts collected for the purpose of linguistic research. Henceforth, these two corpora will be referred to as EnC and SpC, and the combination of both will be referred simply as 'our corpus'.

Having explained the main terminology for the paper, the next section will cover all the theories and studies on which this research project is funded and those of similar nature, together with which I intend to shed some more light on the field.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. CMT AND METAPHOR IN DISCOURSE

In Kövecses's book, *Metaphor: a Practical Introduction* (2010), he gives a very clear example of why metaphors are so important for humans, when recalling the myth of Oedipus, who managed to solve the Sphinx riddle and therefore avoid being killed by means of his metaphorical knowledge and metaphorical perception of the world that surrounded him. It was by conceiving the life of human beings and their ageing as the pass of a day, from morning to night, that he managed to give the right answer. This seems to me a very good example of the meaningfulness of this discourse strategy (a vital mental strategy in the myth).

Since Mark Johnson and George Lakoff introduced the cognitive theory of metaphor with their reference work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), it has been extensively developed over the last decades (Kövecses 1986; Lakoff 1987, 1990; Lakoff

and Johnson 1989; Johnson 1992; Radden 1992; Gibbs 1994). All these scholars shared the defence of the ubiquity of metaphor in everything we think, experience and do every day (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 3). The linguistic metaphor as everyone knew it, as a linguistic and rhetoric device, evolved into the conceptual metaphor, as it is a given concept (target) what is being conceived in terms of another (source) (Kövecses, 2010).

In line with this conceptualization of a largely metaphorical conceptual system, the aforementioned and other studies started by observing and theorizing on the use of metaphors in everyday language, such as that of emotions, a field that has been largely discussed (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987, Kövecses 1986, 1988, 1990; Barcelona 1986; Fussell 2002). The idea of the conventionality of metaphor, or how conventional and pervasive metaphor is at all levels of language, immediately led to its study in conventional spheres of everyday life first, and more specific ones second. For example, Lakoff (1992) studied the use of metaphors and their implications for the nation and politics of the United States, and Hogan (2003), Freeman (2007), and Semino and Steen (2008) look closely at the use and implications of CMT in literature works. Over the last years, many scholars have been studying the use of conceptual metaphors not only in everyday language, but mainly in specific and various types of discourse (Chilton 1996; Deignan 1999; Cameron 2003; Charteris-Black 2004, 2005; Koller 2004, 2008; Musolff 2000, 2004, 2006; Semino 2008). It is the discursive significance of metaphor (Semino 2008) and its explanatory value (McGlone 2007), among other things, that make this discourse element deserve great attention.

A further point that needs to be addressed is that of conventionality in metaphor and, linked to this one, metaphorical creativity. Conventionality refers to “how well worn or how deeply entrenched a metaphor is in everyday language by ordinary people for everyday purposes” (Kövecses, 2010: 33). For example, most of the conceptual metaphors and their metaphorical expressions introduced in Lakoff and Johnson (1980), such as ARGUMENT IS WAR (“*he fought her arguments*”), LOVE IS A JOURNEY (“*we have come so far in our relationship*”) or TIME IS MONEY (“*don’t waste my time*”), are so intrinsically rooted in our society that people do not even realize they are making use of them. Therefore, they are said to be conventional to our

society. Thus, if there are conventional metaphors, the logical thing is to have unconventional ones, or metaphors and metaphorical expressions that are not necessarily rooted in society and might be odd or new to some people. Kövecses refers to the question “*where do we recruit novel and unconventional conceptual materials?*” in an article where he deals with metaphorical creativity. He defines metaphorical creativity as

“the production and use of conceptual metaphors and/or their linguistic manifestations that are novel or unconventional (with the understanding that novelty and unconventionality are graded concepts that range from completely new and unconventional through more or less new and unconventional to well-worn, entrenched and completely conventional cases”. (2010, in *Cognitive Linguistics*, 21-4: 664)

In this article, he suggests five reasons or sources for creativity in metaphor answering the question above. According to him, the physical setting, our knowledge of the major entities of the discourse, the cultural context, the social setting and the linguistic context itself are the five factors that will have an influence over our choice and creation of more or less conventional expressions (2010). Context, then, plays a vital role in the use of metaphorical language.

2.2. METAPHOR IN CONTEXT

The first time that Kövecses discussed the five factors above mentioned would be one year before the publication of that article, in another one where he discussed the contextual factors influencing metaphors in real discourse (2009). Apart from him, several other scholars have studied context in metaphorical language (Aitchinson 1987; Koller 2004; Charteris-Black 2004; Kövecses 2005, 2006; Semino 2008; Semino, Deignan and Littlemore 2013). Semino, Deignan and Littlemore argue that “in order to account for the specific ways in which words are (or are not) used metaphorically [...] it is useful to consider the discourse communities to which writers and readers belong, and the goals associated with the genre under a text can be

subsumed” (2013: 4). Charteris-Black (2004) refers to critical approaches to discourse, such as Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1985) and he extends this to Critical Metaphor Analysis. Moreover, in line with these theories, Musolff (2012) studied metaphor as an intrinsic and necessary component of CDA.

2.3. CORPUS-BASED APPROACHES TO METAPHOR

Let us now turn to the field of Corpus Linguistics. As introduced in the previous section, “corpus” refers to a group of texts gathered for linguistic research purposes, like the one occurring in this study, for which different texts from different sources (albeit of similar nature) were collected for research purposes. Corpus studies have been extensively approached, above all during the last decade (Steen, 1999, Charteris-Black 2004, 2005; Deignan 2005; Stefanowistch 2006; Stefanowistch and Gries, 2006; Pragglejaz Group 2007; Kövecses 2008; Rojo López and Orts 2008, 2010; Orts and Rojo López 2009; Silva 2013a, 2013b). As Veronika Koller (2006) points out, most of the studies carried out in the last decades have tried to “establish the syntactic patterns of metaphorical expressions (Deignan, 1999), to identify those expressions as a stylistic device in fictional texts (Heywood, Semino and Short, 2002) or to ascertain pragmatic phenomena accompanying metaphor usage in spoken discourse (Cameron and Deignan, 2003)”. In short, all studies of metaphor will need to observe the contextual factors and implications, and she defends that corpus approaches will serve as a meaningful and reliable tool for studying metaphor in real discourse as they will be more representative than other studies of isolated samples of metaphorical language (Keller, 2006). This opinion is in line with Steens’ arguments (1999), who claimed that

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

There seems to be general agreement then that corpus studies are a representative and useful tool for metaphor observation. However, it also appears to be the case that the most representative or useful method of extraction of metaphors is not that extensively agreed. This study has used one of the various methods of metaphor extraction and annotation, but some of them are going to be commented.

2.4. RETRIEVING METAPHORS FROM A CORPUS

In 1999, Lynne Cameron and Graham Low published an edited book that would be one of the pioneers in terms of analyzing metaphors in a corpus of texts, as they collected the work of several scholars dealing with metaphor identification and metaphor in general. As part of this compilation book, Gerard Steen continued the line of the linguistic checklist for metaphor (1999), previously introduced by Leech and Short (1981).

More recent approaches to corpus studies of metaphor have been introduced during the last decade, and the most meaningful to this case study are the works of Steen (2008), who performs a highly systematic theoretical exploration of the different aspects surrounding metaphor and metaphor identification. Stefanowitsch (2004, 2006a, 2006b) and Pragglejaz's group Metaphorical Identification Procedure (2007), which seems to enjoy the greatest agreement and most applications among scholars, were considered for this project.

I am going to summarize first the Pragglejaz's group approach (2007) and let the method applied for this study close this section. Pragglejaz group was formed by several scholars who have deeply studied metaphor, metaphor in discourse and corpus approaches to metaphor, and its name derives from the first letters of the first names of the original ten components of the group: Peter Crisp, Ray Gibbs, Alan Cienki, Graham Low, Gerard Steen, Lynne Cameron, Elena Semino, Joe Grady, Alice Deignan, and Zoltan Kövecses. They introduced the Metaphorical Identification Procedure (MIP) in 2007 and Steen et al. extended this into the renewed and redefined version, which they called MIPVU (VU stands for *Vrije Universiteit*, in Amsterdam) and which they applied to different case studies and published in a collective book in 2010. Basically,

MIP focuses on the linguistic analysis of metaphorically used words, or lexical units, in discourse (Pragglejaz Group 2010: 5), and this approach's steps for metaphorical identification are as follows (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3):

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

This detailed approach to corpus-based studies of metaphor was among the first considerations when deciding which method should be applied in this project. However, it was my decision to leave it for future projects, as it requires a lot of time and its nature calls for collective decisions when deciding whether a lexical item is

being metaphorically used or not; as this study has been done individually, it would have been not only eternal but also not as reliable as it is supposed to be. However, it has been included in the theoretical background of this study as it was considered and rejected afterwards for justifiable reasons; moreover, it might be considered as a potential method in future extensions of this dissertation.

Concurrently to MIP, Anatol Stefanowitsch and Stephan Gries (2006) published an edited book where they collected articles by several scholars performing corpus-based studies of metaphor in different contexts or types of discourse, as Elena Semino (2006) on metaphors for speech activity or Veronika Koller (2006) on metaphor in business media discourse. In this book's first chapter, Stefanowitsch summarizes three main strategies for extracting metaphors from non-annotated corpora, being these summarized now in turn, together with their negative aspects or limitations(2006: 2-3):

- Manual searching: as its name indicates, it basically consists on reading carefully through the corpus extracting all metaphors that the researcher finds. Its main drawback is that it limits the size of a given corpus and is a hazardous and time-consuming process.
- Searching for source domain vocabulary: it refers to investigations that select a potential source domain in the context of the corpus, such as a semantic field that usually has a lot of metaphorical expressions, and then look for instances of the same in the texts. The search can be more or less exhaustive or reduced and there are different options to choose among in terms of the list of source domains that are going to be searched. The difficulty here is setting a reliable list of source domains to look for, which requires previous knowledge of common metaphorical fields in the specific discourse the researcher is working with.
- Searching for target domain vocabulary: suggested by a number of researchers (Koivisto-Alanko 2000, Tissari 2003, Stefanowitsch 2004), this approach starts by selecting and searching expressions or lexical items that refer to the target domain in question, and continues by deciding whether or not these items are part of a metaphorical

expression. The main limitation of this approach is, according to Stefanowitsch (same volume), that it “will only identify a subset of metaphorical expressions, namely those that contain target-domain vocabulary”.

Those are the three main approaches, but others summarized in the same chapter are:

- Searching for sentences containing lexical items from both the source domain and the target domain, which combines the two last methods above.
- Searching for metaphors based on markers of metaphor (Goatly 1997)

As for the types of annotation, Stefanowitsch distinguishes two types: (i) extraction from a corpus annotated for semantic fields/domains and (ii) extraction from a corpus annotated for conceptual mappings.

Last, but not least, in a different chapter of the same volume, also by Stefanowitsch (2006: 63-105), he introduces the term of ‘metaphorical pattern’ and defines it as

“a multi-word expression from a given source domain (SD) into which one or more specific item from a given target domain (TD) have been inserted” (2006: 66).

In other words, it recognizes those sentences or expressions in the text where there is a reference to both domains in proximity. For example sentences a and b would be analyzed as metaphorical patterns:

- a. *Your claims are indefensible*
- b. *His criticisms were right on target*

The conceptual metaphor they instantiate is the well-known ARGUMENT IS WAR (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:4), and both expressions contain lexical items from the SD “war” (“indefensible”, “target”) and from the TD “argument” (“claims”, “criticisms”). He coined this approach ‘Metaphorical Pattern Analysis’, as it focuses on

these metaphorical patterns within the corpus. One of the positive aspects of this approach, and among the main reasons why it has been applied to our study, is that it does not only provide us with the general mapping or conceptual metaphor, but also and at first instance with specific relations between elements of the target domain and elements of the source domain. In the very same example of ARGUMENT IS WAR, the metaphorical expression does not only give us this generic metaphor, but also the more specific mapping between the “claim” and “attack” in example a (as if saying that CLAIMS ARE ATTACKS) and between “criticisms” and “missiles” in example b (as if implying that CRITICISMS ARE MISSILES). This is a very important advantage of this method as it permits us “to investigate the correspondences between source and target domain at a level of detail not usually found in studies of metaphor” (Stefanowistch 2006: 67).

Having analyzed the most relevant approaches to extraction and annotation of metaphor in a corpus study, the next sub-section will comment on studies dealing with the next step after having extracted the metaphors: their classification.

2.5. CLASSIFICATION OF METAPHORS

There are different types of classifications of metaphors, or, in other words, they are classified at different levels. One of them ranges them from specific to generic, terms that have just been introduced in the previous sub-section. This distinction was introduced by Lakoff and Turner (1989). In short, generic-level metaphors are those that can be filled with many instantiations or metaphorical expressions. For example, in our corpus, EVENTS ARE ACTIONS would be a generic-level metaphor, as it can be filled with many different instances and in many different contexts; however, if we say that THE MARKET IS A RACE, it would be a specific-level metaphor that belongs to the generic one; the former cannot be filled with as many metaphorical expressions as the latter. This distinction is very important to our analysis so it must be clarified and understood from the beginning.

As already said, there are different levels of classifications apart from the generic-specific dichotomy. Kövecses (2010) summarizes an original classification (introduced by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980) that divides them according to the cognitive functions that they perform: structural, ontological and orientational metaphors.

“Structural metaphors map the structure of the source domain onto the structure of the target and in this way allow speakers to understand one domain in terms of another. Orientational metaphors have primarily and evaluative function. They make large groups of metaphors coherent with each other. Ontological metaphors provide extremely fundamental but very crude understanding for target concepts [...] (that) often serve as the bases of structural metaphors” (Kövecses, 2010: 46).

María Ángeles Moreno Lara (2008) presents a different classification of metaphor in a corpus study of metaphors in politics discourse in American newspapers. Her division has been taken as a model as it was applied in consequent works of similar nature to this paper (Rojo López and Orts 2008, 2010; Orts and Rojo López 2009; Silva 2013a, 2013b) and it provided with organized and reliable results. This taxonomy (Moreno Lara, 2008: 108) divides the conceptual metaphors extracted from the corpus into the next three generic levels:

- THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
- IMAGE SCHEMA
- ACTIONS ARE EVENTS

THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING was firstly introduced by Lakoff and Turner (1989) and later extended by Musolff (2005). It parts from the basis of the next chain of natural beings: humans, animals, plants and complex and natural objects; and it accounts for those metaphorical expressions that attribute natural beings characteristics and behaviour to other animate or inanimate elements. For example, in the language of the Stock Market it is very common to hear of “bulls” and “bears” in Wall Street, albeit these are not animals but investors. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor INVESTORS ARE ANIMALS would be classified according to the Great Chain. In fact, Kövecses (2010:

153) includes the more generic-level metaphor of HUMAN IS ANIMAL in this category, among many other examples.

The IMAGE SCHEMA follows the same basis as Lakoff and Johnson's ontological metaphors (1980), and it was in fact firstly introduced by Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987) and lately extended and applied by numerous researchers and scholars (Talmy1988, Sweetser 1990, Hampe 2005, Moreno Lara 2008, among others). This type of metaphors has a skeletal structure, and defends they derive from our experience and interaction in the world (Kövecses, 2010: 43). Some examples are "in-out", "front-back" or "up-down". Our experience and interaction with the world make our conceptual system conceptualize what we perceive in relation to those structural elements. Within the IMAGE SCHEMA there is the more concrete PATH SCHEMA, which conceptualizes the target as a path with a final destination and includes all the components of that path. In Orts and Rojo Lopez (2009) they apply this structure to financial operations, sub-dividing it into four types of metaphor based on this one (verticality, source-path-goal, container schema and journey), including then the path image and other additional elements "such as the trajectory, his/her intended goal, the trajectory he/she describes, his/her position at a given time, his/her direction,..." (2009).

Finally, the ACTIONS ARE EVENTS structure was firstly introduced by Lakoff (1990, 1993) and applied by Radden (1995), among others. Kövecses (2010) equally offers an extended list of examples of this type of generic metaphor. It conceptualizes two very different events due to the similarity between their inner structures. For example, in our corpus we will find metaphorical expressions that are part of the conceptual metaphor THE MARKET IS A RACE. This and similar conceptual metaphors where one event is conceptualized in terms of another one would be analyzed in this group, as the structure of what occurs in a race (competition, speed, winners and losers, etc.) is compared to that of what happens inside the Stock Market.

2.6. COMPARATIVE AND CROSS-CULTURAL STUDIES OF METAPHOR

One of the motivations of the present study was to compare two different corpora in different languages, in order to observe similarities and differences occurring in economic discourse. That is why it is emplaced within the scope of comparative studies of metaphor.

A previous study comparing corpora was presented by Deignan et al (1997), who compared a corpus of English and Polish texts and introduced four types of comparison between languages: i) having the same conceptual metaphor and equivalent linguistic expression, ii) having the same metaphor but different linguistic expression, iii) having different conceptual metaphors used in the two languages and iv) having words and expressions with similar literal meanings but different metaphorical meanings.

Also in 1997, Boers and Dechemeleer compared corpora in English, French and Spanish within the field of economic discourse and found that, in general terms, the same source domains occurred in the three corpora, but with different frequency. This shall be taken as a reference point as one prediction is that this might happen in this study. In 1999, and also within the field of economics, Gómez Parra, Márquez Llinares and Pérez Hernández focused on metaphorical expressions that instantiated the generic metaphor THE STOCK MARKET IS A MOVING OBJECT in a corpus made of texts in English and in Spanish.

Equally, Charteris-Black and Ennis (2001) took a corpus of Spanish and English financial reports published during the October 1997 Stock Market crisis, and they developed the idea of cognate metaphors between languages. They arrived to similar conclusions to those of Boers and Dechemeleer (1997), obtaining similar results in terms of typology of metaphor but differences in terms of preference. They claim there is a “need for awareness of the metaphorical nature of the subject, as well as the ways in which conceptual metaphors are typically realized in English and Spanish” (2001, in *English for Specific Purposes* 20: 249-266).

Charteris Black also co-worked with Andreas Musolff (2003), this time comparing different metaphors used to refer to the euro in German and Spanish, while this currency suffered a crisis in 2000. Their study showed mainly similarities between corpora in terms of typology and frequency, but also included some unique metaphors, as those referring to a combat in the English corpus.

Rojo Lopez and Orts collaborative works (2008, 2010) have already been referred to in preceding sections and the only detail that is going to be clarified here is that for their comparative studies they employed Stefanowitsch's MPA, contrasting financial texts in English and in Spanish extracted from the Spanish newspaper *El Economista* and the English journal *The Economist*.

Since comparative studies, as the very name indicates, compare corpora from different languages, there is a factor that is likely to have an effect on the choice and use of metaphors, as already explained a few pages ago: context in general, and cultural context in particular. That is why all these studies and more (Schmidt 2002; Littlemore 2003; Deignan 2003; Kövecses 2003, 2005, 2006; Barcelona and Soriano 2004, among others) are also coined as cross-cultural studies, as they are comparing more or less conventional and more or less universal metaphors (Heine 1995, 1997; Heine and Kuteva 2002; Kövecses 2008- universality and variation article) used and created in different countries, cultures and, consequently, contexts, as the one taken for the study that concerns us.

2.7. METAPHOR AND ECONOMY

The study of metaphor in real discourse (Semino 2008; Kövecses 2008, 2009, 2010; Semino, Deignan and Littlemore 2013), has proliferated considerably over the last fifteen years or so, as it started to be seen not only as part of everyday oral language or literature, but also as a main element in specific and real types of discourse. Metaphor in specialized discourse has also gained momentum, above all in areas of abstract language, which makes sense following Lakoff's words (1993: 244): "metaphor is the main mechanism through which we comprehend abstract concepts and perform abstract reasoning". Some of the areas where metaphor has been studied

are Science (Salager-Meyer 1990, Goatly 1996) Politics (Chilton and Ilyin 1993, Charteris-Black 2000, Musolff 2004) Health (Sontag 1979; Knowles 1996, Semino et al. 2015) and even Mathematics (Lakoff and Núñez 2000).

Economics is equally a very abstract field with very abstract notions to understand; Henderson (1982) and Jeffreys (1982) approached this field from the metaphorical scope for the first time, and the former suggested that three types of metaphor are widespread in economic discourse: image metaphor, generic-level metaphor and specific-level metaphor (1982: 110-111).

McCloskey (1983) referred to the discourse of economics as “heavily metaphorical” and claimed that economists use metaphors to violate the rules of reality, presenting, instead, their own models and hypotheses; from those years on, many studies have been carried out analyzing the role of metaphor in the world of economics (Henderson 1986; Dudley-Evans and Henderson 1990; Mason 1990; White 1996, 2004; Fuertes Olivera 1998, Charteris-Black 2000; Charteris Black and Ennis 2001; Cortés de los Ríos 2001; Fuertes Olivera and Pizarro Sánchez 2002; Charteris-Black and Musolff 2003; White 2003; Charteris-Black 2004, Herrera Soler 2009).

Augusto Soares da Silva is one of the scholars that have been working on the use of metaphors in the discourse of economics over the last few years. In one of his studies, he claims that economic discourse is full of metaphors of competition, conflict and hostility, factors that are characteristic of free market (Eubanks 2000, Koller 2004, Rojo Lopez and Orts Llopis 2010, Herrera-Soler and White 2012). He also justifies that the years of economic recession and finance bailout are naturally prone to create metaphorical thought, communication and action (2013a). His works have been taken as inspiration for the present study not only because they study metaphors in economics discourse, but also because he applied the classification model explained above and obtained a very clear and structured analyses (2013a,2013b).

2.7.1. *Metaphors and the market*

The previous studies analyzed the use of metaphor in economic discourse in general, and most of them obtained similar results in terms of common sources in economics (game, war, hostility, competition, illness, health...). However, there is an even more abstract domain of economics: the world of finance and the Stock Market, where money is not palpable but abstract. It is my belief that the more abstract a domain is, the greater chance there is to find metaphors and the greater opportunity it gives to use them. As the present study analyzes the use of metaphors in financial reports, some background must be given as well.

Some recent approaches to studies on metaphorical language in financial discourse include Page (1999), analyzing the use of metaphors in dialogues and debates on financial reporting; Charteris-Black and Ennis (2001), comparing metaphors in Spanish and English newspapers in 1997; or Schmidt (2002), contrasting universal metaphorical constructs in Stock Market exchanges, using a corpus made of three different languages (German, Finnish and Swedish) or Bielenia-Grajewska (2009). Moreover, Charteris-Black (2004: 153 – 137), extracted conceptual metaphors specific of the Market from conceptual keys of the more general language of economics, as THE ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM – THE MARKET IS A PERSON or ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE NATURAL DISASTERS – DOWNARD MARKET CHANGES ARE DISASTERS. Morris, Sheldon, Ames and Young (2007) observed agent and object metaphors in the Stock Market.

In more recent years, Rojo López and Orts (2010) observed the different use of metaphors in financial reports in the English journal *The Economist* and the Spanish newspaper *El Economista*. They did not only compare both corpora in terms of typology and frequency of metaphorical expressions, but also in terms of their polarity as they compared positive and negative metaphorical language varying according to different socio-political factors (the study analyzed reports collected in 2007 and 2008). Their work has also been taken as model and inspiration, like that of Soares da Silva (2013a, 2013b) as they applied the same extraction metaphor (MPA) and division

criteria (The Great Chain, the image-schema and the events metaphor) that was used in this study.

O'Mara, Guillén-Parra and Ortega-Larrea (2014) have recently published an article studying how pre-established conceptual frameworks influence the consumer's behaviour and the financial decisions they make, exploring the relationship between editorial positioning and ideology in financial news; the frame for their study was the Stock Market crash of 2008 in online news media.

2.8. APPLICATIONS OF METAPHOR STUDIES IN ECONOMICS DISCOURSE.

2.8.1. Metaphor and English for Specific Purposes

The field of English for Specific Purposes, as its name indicates, encompasses studies of English in technical fields, as Science, Technology, Medicine, Tourism or Economics, among many others. If it is accepted that metaphor is a pervasive element in all types of discourse, it is natural to think that it will be present in specific discourse and it will play an important role too. Littlemore and Low (2006) explore the importance of figurative thought in language learning generally; and other scholars apply their studies to the field of grammar (Kövecses 2006, Langacker 2008, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibañez and Uson 2007).

The relevance of metaphorical language in English for Specific Purposes has been gaining momentum and more and more scholars have defended the inclusion of this element of discourse in the curriculum of programs of Business English. One of the first scholars studying metaphor as a potential element in ESP, Henderson (1982: 110-111), divided the metaphor used in economics discourse into three types: (i) those that are used for textual decoration or illustration, (ii) those which occur as a central organising principle of all language and (iii) those which aid in exploring specific economic problems. Smith (1995) claims that metaphor plays a key role when defining essential economic terms and it facilitates the comprehension of abstract economic terms, and that the inclusion of real texts coming from newspaper reports into ESP

programmes, considering its relevance, could be greatly beneficiary. Charteris-Black (2000, 2001) adds that by basing the teaching of basic vocabulary on lexis that shows important metaphors in economy, the students of ESP are provided with tools that improve their comprehension. In addition, Boers (2000) seems to prove through a small experiment that if students of ESP are drawn their attention to metaphorical expressions in economic texts, this will improve their comprehension ability and their retention of metaphors that are not familiar to them.

Finally, Marisol Velasco-Sacristán (2004), a Spanish scholar who performed and application of this approach at the University of Valladolid, as part of a course on Business English taught at the Business School, came to the conclusion that “a better understanding of the metaphor use in L2 business discourse will lead to better L2 business comprehension and reading on the part of the non-native English speaking student and better translation” and that “it is worthwhile to draw L2 ESP instructors’ attention to the important role of metaphor as a teaching device”. (Velasco-Sacristán, 2005, in *Iberica*: 115-131).

2.8.2. *Metaphor and Translation*

Last but not least, metaphorical language has also proved to be of great importance within the field of Translation. Dobrzynska (1995), following Newmark (1982), summarises three different possibilities in the translation of metaphors, which can be applied to all types of discourse: (i) using an exact equivalent of the original method; (ii) looking for another metaphorical phrase which would express a similar sense; and (iii) replacing an untranslatable metaphor of the original with its approximate literal paraphrase.

Many translators and economists are unaware of the ubiquity of metaphor in the discourse they translate, and this has sometimes led to misunderstandings. To exemplify this, Fuertes Olivera (1998) analysed the Spanish translation of several English metaphors related to inflation, and he concluded that some of the translations were so unnatural that they resulted unintelligible to Spanish readers.

Charteris-Black and Ennis (2001) strongly agree with the need for awareness of metaphors at all levels. They claim that “a lack of awareness of metaphor use in a student’s L1 may lead to literal translation which may produce a marked effect, or even render a text unintelligible” (Bahns, 1993). It follows that “a better understanding of the similarities and differences in metaphor use between language pairs will lead to better understanding on the part of students, and better L2 writing on the part of the non-native English speaker economist, financial expert as well as better translation” (2001, *English for Specific Purposes*: 253)

In her case study of metaphors Serón Ordoñez(2005) added that the fact that most students are aware of and familiar with literature figures as linguistic metaphor, should pave the road to make comprehension easier, as metaphors allow them to see abstract terms through concrete notions of general domains as health or plants.

Other Spanish researchers on translation in specialised languages and finance are, among many: Gallego Hernandez (2012), who performed an analysis of translation of collocations in French and in Spanish; and Fuertes-Olivera and Isabel Pizarro-Sanchez (2002), who focused on the translation of metaphors related to inflation from English economic texts into Spanish and the different translation strategies. They came to the conclusion and suggestion that “any theory on the translation of metaphor in specialized texts must take into consideration that metaphorical terms have two basic functions: they are cognitive tools, thus translator should reproduce metaphorical expressions perfectly understood under the metaphorical scenarios originally developed by the author of the text; they are also aesthetic devices, hence translators should contribute to revitalizing the metaphor in the target text”. Rojo Lopez and Ort’s work (2010) on metaphor, translation and comparative uses of both has already been introduced and discussed several times in preceding sections.

3. DATA AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

3.1. SELECTION OF DATA

Since the core objective of this research was (i) to study the use of metaphor and its implications in the language of the stock market and (ii) to compare two different languages in order to observe potential discrepancies or similarities, the first step was to find sources with samples of this language. The original and ideal plan was to use newspapers or publications specialized in economics and the world of finance. However, this was difficult to find in the online, so there was no other choice but to look for this language in generic newspapers, within the section of economy. As justified above, this is not considered to be a significant drawback for the study as what we are analysing is the content, not the container. Should we analyse style, format or frequency of metaphors within the same language, or the polarity of the metaphors used, it would be a necessary variable to consider.

Thus, the six different sources were chosen following the advice of a linguist and economist, and the criteria considered for such selection were the circulation of the printed version publication and its national and international influence and recognition.

The three publications that formed the EnC were:

- *The Economist*, which is a business periodical publication
- *Financial Times*, an economic newspaper, entirely dedicated to finance.
- *The Guardian*, a general newspaper of which only the Economy section was used.

Before presenting the Spanish sources of financial reports, it must be clarified that it was easier to find three important economic newspapers in this case as there is a wide variety of publications specialized in economy and finance in this language. The criteria followed have been the same, though, to those used for the EnC,

and these are the three newspapers whose printed version is among the top five according to the last control of the OJD (Oficina de Justificación de la Difusión):

- *El Economista*, whose digital version is the first online portal according to the ranking of Alexa.
- *Expansión*, with a circulation of 55.971 in 2012 according to the OJD and of centre-right stance.
- *Cinco Días*, the oldest business newspaper in Spain and with a left-liberal stance.

All these newspapers were followed and read for a period of four months and several articles were randomly selected during the months of November and December 2014, having a final selection of 12 finance reports, six of each language. These are the headlines:

- English corpus:
 - o *The Economist*: 'European equity markets: Spoiling for a fight' and 'Oil and the markets: Black gold Friday'
 - o *Financial Times*: 'Stocks firm as commodity volatility fades' and 'Oil rallies as weak data weigh on stocks'
 - o *The Guardian*: 'Euro hits two year low as ECB tells staff to prepare more measures' and 'Stock markets hit by global growth fears'
- Spanish corpus:
 - o *El Economista*: 'Desde el año 2008 el Ibex 35 da un 'aguinaldo' todos los diciembres' and 'El Ibex 35 cayó un 0,91%, hasta los 10.672'
 - o *Expansión*: 'El Dax alemán supera los 10.000 puntos y roza récords históricos' and 'El Ibex 35 corrige un 0,9% ante la debilidad de los datos macro'
 - o *Cinco Días*: 'El discurso de Draghi del jueves decidirá el' and 'El rebote de Wall Street anima al Ibex 35'

The total amount of words of the English corpus was 4285 words while that of the Spanish one was 3214 reaching a total of 7499 words.

3.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

In forthcoming sections, I will explain extensively the process of analysis. However, in order to present the research questions that this study is trying to answer, it is necessary to clarify further points now. The previous section has summarized several methods of metaphor extraction, and it has explained why Stefanowisch's MPA was used for this study. However, it needed to be complemented with other methods, and the very first one was selecting a list of five domains to look for within both corpora in order to form a final list of conceptual metaphors, both generic and specific. Such list was the same for both languages, and it included the next five substantives:

- The Market / El Mercado
- Money / El Dinero
- The Economy / La Economía
- Companies and Investors / Compañías e Inversores
- Productos / Products

This taxonomy has been presented as it is needed to understand the research questions of the present work, which are:

- i) Will this pre-selection of five domains provide with numerous and meaningful outcomes?
- ii) If the five domains are found, which one(s) will be the most frequently instantiated in each corpus?

- iii) Which generic conceptual metaphors will be found in each language? How will they be expressed in the corpus (specific conceptual metaphors and metaphorical expressions of the same)?
- iv) Will all conceptual metaphors be the same in both languages, and with the same frequency of occurrence?
- v) Will the study allow us to classify the conceptual metaphors in standard or natural of the economic discourse and non-standard or non-conventional?
- vi) To what extent will the use of CM mean the comprehension of the text for a non-expert reader?
- vii) Will different non-expert readers conceptualize this abstract language and field equally? Will their background have an effect on this conceptualization?
- viii) How can we, as linguists, justify the teaching of CMT in programs of ESP purposes and Translation? Can this study serve as support for this?

The coming sections are going to provide an answer to all these questions, whether it is of positive or negative nature. Prior to that, I have formulated certain hypotheses of what is likely to be found in the analysis, which are:

- i) I expect to find instances belonging to the five domains selected in both languages, as the nature of the texts itself is already about the market and therefore about money, investors and companies that make up the market, the products bought and sold and, at a broader scale, economy.

- ii) Whichever conceptual metaphors are found, at the generic level, the frequency of all will probably vary between languages, as the context is expected to have an effect on their creation and interpretation.
- iii) Some of the CM found will be in line with already established CM in the discourse of economics, so there will be (standard) CM; however, it is also expected to find others that are not exactly proper of this discourse.
- iv) The frequency and type of specific metaphors will vary and this will lead to some statistical calculations, to observe relevance levels of the study. However, this is just a complementary step in the study.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. RETRIEVING METHOD

For retrieving all the metaphorical expressions and consequently make a list of all the conceptual metaphors both at a generic and a specific level, different methods of extraction have been combined.

The first consideration for this study was, as explained in section 2, MIP method (or Metaphor Identification Procedure), developed by the Pragglejaz group in 2007, as it has been applied recently to other studies and their results have turned positive and reliable. One of its benefits is that, by checking word by word in a monolingual dictionary, there is a general agreement as to which words are understood metaphorically or not; however, it also presents as all methods some drawbacks. To start with, a lot of metaphors are so conventional that the metaphorical use of a given word is sometimes included in one of the entries of the dictionary and is considered to be conventional language, not metaphorical or rhetoric. To exemplify this, I personally looked for the meaning of a word that is found in metaphorical expressions instantiating the CM 'LOVE IS WAR', "conquer" (as in "*he conquered her heart*"), both in Spanish and in English. For the English terms, I firstly used Longman

Dictionary online, and there was no entry for it that defined the word “conquer” in terms of gaining someone’s love. Thus, this would be considered metaphorical according to MIP method. However, it also uses Oxford Dictionaries Online, and when I searched the same term, its fourth entry was that of “*gain the love, admiration or respect of a person or a group of people*”. Then, the metaphorical use of it would be non-existent as the dictionary gives a definition for it that is conventional enough not to be metaphorical. A similar case would occur with the Spanish term. For this one, I used the Diccionario de la Real Academia Española, or DRAE (the most authoritative dictionary of the Spanish language), in which the fourth entry also defines it as “*lograr el amor de alguien, cautivar su ánimo*” (or “get someone’s love, captivate their mood”). Therefore, an expression containing this word would not be considered metaphorical either. What I have exemplified here is the first reason why I did not apply MIP in my study, all its positive outcomes and advantages notwithstanding. The second one is the amount of time that an exhaustive analysis of all the entries of all the words of both corpora would have taken. Should this study have been performed by various scholars or allow them an extended period of time to perform the analysis, this method would have been very likely used. However, it was not feasible to apply it in a reliable and productive way, as it was the case with Stefanowistch’s ideas.

As exposed in section 2, Stefanowistch (2006) suggested a threefold method to find metaphors in discourse: (i) manual search, (ii) looking for instances that belong to the target domain and (iii) looking for instances that belong to the source domain. As these presented some limitations as the hardship of going through the same text repeated times or the need for previous knowledge of the vocabulary that was going to be searched, he then presented a new method: Metaphorical Pattern Analysis (henceforth, MPA), also presented in section 2.

For the sake of this dissertation, a combination of three different approaches was used, and it is going to be detailed in turn:

4.1.1. *Searching for vocabulary related to the five domains.*

Trying to find metaphors in any type of text and discourse without setting a more or less criterion first becomes a hard task, as it is a blind search where the researcher does not really know what to look for or where to look for it. For this reason, I designed a five-item list of nouns that are conventional in the world of finance and banking: MARKET, MONEY, ECONOMY, COMPANIES/INVESTORS, and PRODUCTS. Considering I am not an expert reader of economic discourse, I composed this list out of some general knowledge that we all share and that allows us to easily recognize these five (six if we consider one of them is twofold) terms and link them more or less directly to the stock market and the financial world. Moreover, as one of the goals of this study is to observe potential applications of CMT to explain the differences in terms of conceptualization between the expert and the non-expert eye, this makes this list logical and a great facilitator.

In similar studies, the researchers set an exhaustive list of a given number of words typical of the field in case, sometimes having 20 words to look for, plus all their derivatives. However, this also requires considerably deep knowledge of the specific purpose of the field the texts are on. For, in my case, I started to have this knowledge after months of reading financial reports, setting such an exhaustive and specific list was simply not possible, so I decided to start from a short list and then amplify it with all the CM found.

4.1.2. *Metaphorical Pattern Analysis*

Once the list was settled, I went on to read each text and use Stefanowitch's MPA with each one of them, retrieving all the metaphorical expressions where I found a word (or more than one) that belonged to the "familiar scope" of the original five targets, or even the very same word. Sentences a and b are examples from our corpus:

- a. *"London Stock Exchange Group (LSEG) proved to be one of the best performers on its own market."*
- b. *"The FTSE 100 finished down 153.74 points or 2.35% at 6388.46."*

Both of them were retrieved for the analysis as they contain a word that is exactly one of the five target domains (“market”), or one that is not exactly in the list but is within the familiar scope of one of the five (“The FTSE 100” is an index of reference, and indexes are the indicators of the state of the economy in the market, and “market” is one of the five target items). A similar thing occurred with the next sentence. It was also be taken for analysis because even if it does not contain the word “product”, it is talking about one of the products that are part of the stock market and banking industry.

- c. *“Copper touched its lowest in more than four years before rebounding to close 1.5 per cent higher in London.”*

Simultaneously to this reading-for-selection process, I composed a table in which I divided all the metaphorical expressions into the five categories or domains. Table 1 below shows a very small sample of what the table looks like (it will be later explained in the analysis section and all complete tables can be found in the Appendix section).

MARKET	MONEY	ECONOMY	INVESTORS/COMPANIES	PRODUCTS
Just two days ago, there was market news about giving out an explicit target	Euro falls below launch price	A falling oil price is a positive for the global economy, acting as a tax cut for western consumers.	Another is better technology and a growing preference among investors for mimicking indices rather than picking individual winners.	Of course, oil's weakness may in part be due to weaker global demand but the rise of fracking ...
Mejor se ha comportado el mercado de deuda, con la rentabilidad del bono español a ...	La divisa rusa vuelve a anotar hoy nuevos mínimos históricos frente al dólar a causa de la caída reciente del precio del petróleo	La desaceleración de la economía alemana se ha visto compensada en parte por los efectos de las caídas del euro frente al dólar	En Lisboa, PortugalTelecom se ha desplomado más de un 7%	En la subida acompañaron otras materias primas,...

Table 1: sample of table created to organize metaphorical expressions

4.1.3. *Manual search*

This third method was also used as the corpus under study was not too large and there was enough time to allow several readings of the texts. This was not the first method used as there would be limitations and it would have been easier to miss some metaphorical expressions that could have only been found, possibly, if looking for the target domains. However, I considered it could be used as a complementary method to try to find any potential CM that the other two methods had missed.

Therefore, the texts were read again once the table was made (as exemplified in Table 1), and if there was a sentence with any type of metaphorical discourse, it would also be included in the table within the category of the target domain it belonged to.

Figure 1 below depicts the process of extraction so far:

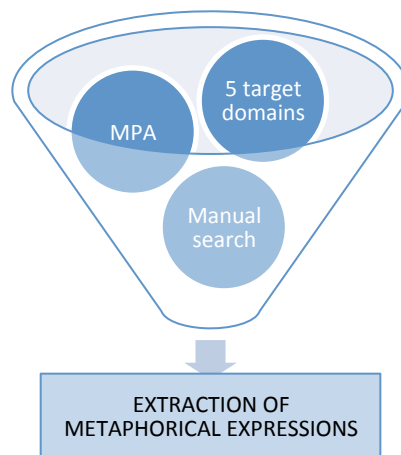


Figure 1: Process of extraction of metaphorical expressions.

4.2. GENERIC AND SPECIFIC METAPHORS

Once all the metaphorical expressions were extracted and divided following the target domain they were related to, the next step was to obtain the conceptual

metaphors they instantiated, both those that were more conventional and those that seemed to be new or not specific of the field of economics.

One of the positive aspects of using Stefanowistch's MPA is that it allows the researcher to extract the specific and the generic conceptual metaphor, making it easier to organize both lists. To exemplify this, we shall observe the following examples (bold letters added for highlighting purposes):

d) *"LSEG is not the only exchange group **with big ambitions**"*

e) *"...el **selectivo** (Ibex 35) ha **subido** en los últimos treinta días del año en torno a un 3% (**destacando** de forma individual, 2010 sería el **ganador** con un **repunte** del 6,39%)."*

In example d), there is a reference to a company, LSEG, so this metaphorical expression would be placed in the column of "investors/companies" within the EnC. Once this is done, we can observe there are human attributes being given to a company (having ambitions is something humans do consciously), so this metaphorical expression is an instance of the conceptual metaphor "COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE". However, there is no sub-layer of metaphors here as a specific one is not found, so this one would be directly considered as a generic one.

As for example e), saying that *"the selective (referring to the Spanish IBEX 35) has gone up during the last thirty days of the year about 3% (standing out individually, 2010 would be the winner with an upturn of 6.39%)"*, both the generic metaphor and a specific relation are found. First of all, this expression is talking about an index, and indexes were placed within the domain of "market", as they are the indicators of the economic and financial activity in the market of each country. Second of all, the expression would belong to the generic conceptual metaphor THE MARKET IS A RACE, as there are references to going up, being the winner and having an upturn.

However, in this case there is also the specific relation within the generic one, or INDEXES ARE RACERS, since they are portrayed as the competitors within a race between all the indexes. This idea will be exemplified further in section 6.

Figure 2 below depicts the next step in the process, consequent to the one shown in Figure 1:

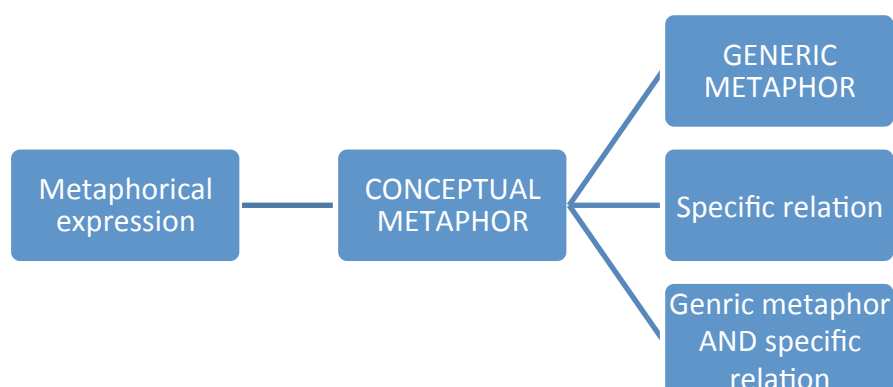


Figure 2: classification of metaphorical expressions

4.3. DIVISION CRITERIA – MORENO LARA’S TAXONOMY

The next step in the study would be to organize all the conceptual metaphors, both generic and specific and both conventional and non-conventional ones, following a division criteria that has been introduced in section 2, the one used by scholars performing similar studies (Orts and Rojo López 2009; Rojo López and Orts 2008, 2010; Silva 2013a, 2013b 2014). This model, firstly introduced by Moreno Lara (2008), albeit in the context of political discourse, was chosen for several reasons. First of all, political and economic discourses share many characteristics and metaphors as that of the game or the race, or that of the fight. Thus, it was considered to be an appropriate selection taxonomy. Besides, if it worked not only in the discourse of politics but also in that of finance when applied by Soares da Silva (2014) and/or Orts and Rojo López (2008, 2010) and it provided clear and organized results, this should be considered as proof enough that it could be applied positively to my case.

This taxonomy then divides the conceptual metaphors into three different categories:

- THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING (Lakoff and Turner 1989, Musolff 2005)
- PATH SCHEMA or IMAGE SCHEMA (Lakoff 1987, Johnson 1987)
- ACTIONS ARE EVENTS (Lakoff 1990,1993)

It has been said that all conceptual metaphors were considered separately for the study. The reason behind this decision is the multiple nature of the very same CM. For example, observing the next example:

f) *Spain's Ibex **ended** 0.15% at 10,261.8*

It is seen that the metaphorical expression is an instance of the specific relations INDEXES ARE RACERS, which belongs to the generic one THE ECONOMY IS A RACE. This CM that conceptualizes an event in terms of another that is more familiar to the reader would be placed in the third group of the three-element taxonomy, ACTIONS ARE EVENTS (the theoretical underpinnings for each component of the division have been extensively explained in section so no further theoretical explanation is going to be given henceforth).

However, if the index is said to be a racer, and racers are usually human beings, then human characteristics are also being attributed to this index, and according to what has been said, giving human attributes to an inanimate or abstract element would imply classifying that expression within the category of THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING.

The critical reader might argue that this classification is messy or illogical as it separates again all the generic and specific metaphors. Nevertheless, each part of the analysis corresponds to a different research question, so this parallel analysis is perfectly in line with the purpose of the study as a whole.

Finally, this third step in the analysis is summarized in Figure 3 below:

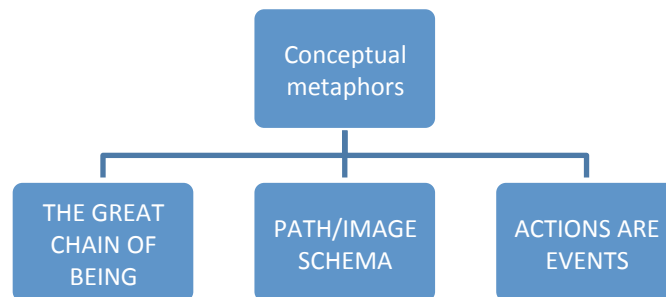


Figure 3: division according to Moreno and Lara's taxonomy

4.4. CONVENTIONAL IN FINANCE DISCOURSE?

After dividing them into generic metaphors and specific relations following Moreno Lara's model, I took the former for the next step in the analysis: deciding whether they are specific to the language of finance or have at least a given conventionality. To this aim, I compared them to other studies of similar nature, both comparative and not-comparative ones analyzing metaphors in financial discourse, and the criterion was as follows: if a conceptual metaphor also appeared in more than one of those studies, it would be considered conventional in finance and if it did not appear, at all or only once, it would be considered new of the present study and therefore non-conventional in finance discourse.

4.5. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

So as to facilitate the comparison between corpora in numerical terms, tables were designed following the taxonomy summarized in Figure 3. For such tables, only the generic metaphors were considered for comparison at a first level, and all of them, both generic and specific, at a second level. This was done to observe separately

the potential differences and similarities between languages both at a generic level and then at a more specific one. The purpose was first to observe if those conventional metaphors occurred with similar frequency in both corpora and, second, to see whether the specific relations were also the same or not. Whichever the result was, it would allow the author to perform a qualitative analysis or comment on them, taking into account the possible effect of context. In order to avoid repetitiveness, these tables will not be presented until next section.

4.6. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The last step in the procedure was a statistical analysis of all the results. In fact, several analyses were carried out. In all cases, a *chi-square* test was applied comparing the three types of generic level metaphors found in both corpora (English and Spanish), in order to observe similarities and differences in terms of frequency.

Second, the same statistical test was applied individually within each generic level, comparing the types of CM instantiated in both cases. This analysis aimed to find differences/similarities in terms of frequency as well, but it was expected to provide results that would give place to a qualitative comment on them.

All in all, four relevance tests were used, and the results will be commented individually, whether they proved to be significant or not.

5. RESULTS

This section contains a clear and deep explanation of the analysis and the results obtained. To this aim, they are going to be explained separately, following the order of the procedure introduced previously in this paper.

5.1. FINDING METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS

Once the five targets were set, the first reading was performed, and all those expressions containing vocabulary related to these five domains or items were

retrieved. To do so, however, it was necessary to read both corpora several times, above all the English one as it contained difficult constructions.

Having retrieved all the metaphorical expressions, they were included in different tables, exactly three per corpus, each one corresponding to one newspaper. All the tables are attached in the Appendix section, but some examples are shown below so as to clarify the way they were divided.

As it can be shown in tables 2 and 3, the fact that the word or multi-word expression in the text belonged to a given target of the five selected does not mean it instantiates, at least at the generic level, a conceptual metaphor of that target. The examples in the tables are numbered as in the complete table, in order of appearance in each corpus.

SOURCE	METAPHORICAL PATTERN	TARGET DOMAIN	GENERIC CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	SPECIFIC RELATION	MORENO LARA'S TAXONOMY
FINANCIAL TIMES	1. The uptick in volatility on commodity and foreign exchange markets is not something that markets like	THE MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
THE ECONOMIST	55. Europe's big stock-exchange groups have different strategies for growth	COMPANIES	THE MARKET IS A STRATEGY GAME	COMPANIES ARE PLAYERS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
THE GUARDIAN	71. Italy and Spain, however, were an exception, ending the day slightly lower.	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	MARKETS ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH

Table 2: Sample of the table gathering metaphorical expressions and their classification.
English corpus.

SOURCE	METAPHORICAL PATTERN	TARGET DOMAIN	GENERIC CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	SPECIFIC RELATION	MORENO LARA'S TAXONOMY
EXPANSIÓN	6. Mejor se ha comportado el mercado de deuda, con la rentabilidad del bono español a diez años en el 1,84% y la prima de riesgo cerca de los 110 puntos básicos	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
CINCO DÍAS	51. En la subida acompañaron otras materias primas, lo que permitió que muchos mercados asiáticos, muy vinculados a las materias primas, cerrasen al alza	PRODUCTS	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	PRODUCTS ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
EL ECONOMISTA	60. De este modo, de media en los últimos seis ejercicios el selectivo ha subido en los últimos treinta días del año en torno a un 3% (destacando de forma individual, 2010 sería el ganador con un repunte del 6,39%).	THE MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH

Table 3: Sample of the table gathering metaphorical expressions and their classification.

Spanish corpus.

Example 1 in table 2 and example 6 in table 3 are somehow similar in that the target domain MARKET/MERCADO was found in the texts and the generic conceptual metaphor they instantiated was also THE MARKET/EL MERCADO. What is more, in both cases it was MARKETS ARE PEOPLE, as human attributes as liking something and behaving properly, which are things that can only be done by humans

(or, in any case, by animals), are given to an inanimate entity as a market. However, no specific relation, or more specific than MARKETS ARE PEOPLE, was found.

Example 55 in table 2 and 52 in table 3 represent the case that has been mentioned above. As it is seen, the expressions found in both corpora belong to one of the five targets. In example 55, *“Europe’s big stock-exchange groups”* belongs to the target COMPANIES (it is a paraphrase of the same), and the specific relation it corresponds to is COMPANIES ARE PLAYERS. However, this specific relation needs a more generic one, a more generic domain, being this THE MARKET IS A STRATEGY GAME. In the case of the Spanish example in table 3, *“en la subida acompañaron otras materias primas”* it refers to the vertical path conceptualization of the market. The expression retrieved here is *“materias primas”* (Sp. for “raw materials”) which is part of the lexical domain PRODUCTS/PRODUCTOS, and the specific relation it is instantiating is PRODUCTS ARE CLIMBERS of that vertical path. Therefore, it needs again a generic one: THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH. Thus, the target that helped us retrieve the metaphorical expression (PRODUCTS) is not the same as the generic conceptual metaphor it belongs to (THE MARKET).

Examples 71 in table 2 and 60 in table 3 have been included to show different types of extractions. To start with example 71, there is reference to *“Spain”* and *“Italy”*. These expressions are part of the target THE MARKET since the writer does not refer to the countries *per se*, but to the stock markets of these countries. This is an example of metonymy in financial discourse, another rhetoric device which is often studied simultaneously with metaphor in discourse, where the whole is used to represent the part (*id est*, THE WHOLE FOR THE PART, where the entire nation here actually represents an institution, the Stock Market). Thus, the metonymical relation here is taken as part of the target domain THE MARKET; the specific expression is the same as the one in example 52 in the previous paragraph: MARKETS ARE CLIMBERS and it therefore needs the more generic one, THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH. As for example 60 in the Spanish corpus, it is a very similar case, where the expression contains a reference to a target domain, THE MARKET. In fact, it is also peculiar as it gives another different case of analysis. To be more concrete, there is a reference to *“el selectivo”*, but no specification of the market. This is because the context is needed,

more concretely the previous sentence (in which “*Ibex 35*” appears) to understand what it is referring to and consequently place it within the domain of THE MARKET. Once again, another discourse device, in this case anaphora, plays an important role when disintegrating texts and messages.

Something needs to be clarified at this point of the analysis. A critical reader would say that if the generic metaphor is THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH, the specific relation it instantiates would need a source that referred to a walker in that vertical path. And vice versa, when finding INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS or MARKETS ARE CLIMBERS, the natural relation would be having a wall they can climb on. However, while all the expressions included in this category conceptualized an image of verticality and a vertical route, it was not always clear whether it was a wall or simply a hilly path. As the division criteria undertook for the analysis was that of IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH, it was decided to include them all under the same scope, that of the vertical path. In any case, those cases were more direct reference to “climbing” is made can also conceptualize a greater or more pronounced inclination of the path.

5.2. MORENO LARA’S TAXONOMY

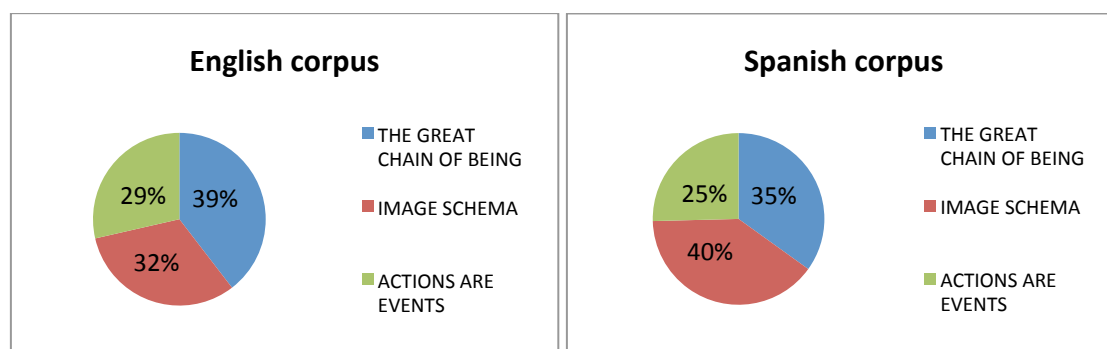
After retrieving all the metaphors and selecting whether they represented a generic or a specific metaphor, or both, the next step was to divide all the generic metaphors according to the threefold division of the Great Chain of Being, Image schema o Path, and the Events metaphor.

Table 4 below summarizes numerically all the instances found belonging to each of these categories.

	ENGLISH CORPUS	SPANISH CORPUS
THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING	36	22
IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH	29	25
ACTIONS ARE EVENTS	26	16
Total	91	63

Table 4: summary of results of ML’s division.

As already introduced in the Data and methodology section, the Spanish corpus was smaller than the English one, as the articles were selected randomly and most of them were considerably shorter than the average length of the English reports. For this reason, percentages were calculated for each corpus so that the distribution of the three parts of the taxonomy can be better observed and compared. These percentages are depicted in Figures 4 and 5.



Figures 4 and 5: percentage of instances belonging to each group in ML's taxonomy.

When I explained the different steps of the procedure, I referred to the statistical calculations as the last step. However, for logical and esthetical reasons, the results of each *chi-squared* will be given individually after each table and figure. Each calculation was performed using *Microsoft Office Excel 7* and double-checked using Preacher's online calculator (2001). To start with, the results of such analysis for the threefold comparison of The Great Chain/Image schema/Events metaphor are summarized in Table 5. All comments and interpretations on these and other results will be included in the Discussion section.

Data			Chi-squared test results
THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING	Enc. 36	SpC. 22	Chi-sq = 0.99 df: 2 p = 0.6
IMAGE SCHEMA	29	25	
ACTIONS ARE EVENTS	26	16	

Table 5: summary of chi-squared results. ML's division

5.3. INDIVIDUAL ANALYSIS OF ML'S DIVISION IN OUR CORPUS

An individual analysis then was performed in each category, to observe the types and frequency of more specific relations occurring in each group. The results will be summarized in tables, depicted in individual circular graphs as the size of each corpus is different, and finally included in a statistical analysis. Once more, statistics were not the main objective of this study, but they were included to serve as further supportive reason.

5.3.1. *The Great Chain of Being*

To start with the first generic level within the highest division of the study, the total number of each specific relations belonging to The Great Chain of Being is summarized in Table 6 below.

Specific relation	ENGLISH	SPANISH
MARKETS ARE PEOPLE	9	11
THE ECONOMY IS A BODY	5	3
MONEY IS A PERSON	8	2
COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE	10	5
COMPANIES ARE ANIMALS	1	-
PRODUCTS ARE PEOPLE	1	-
THE MARKET IS A NATURAL FORCE	2	1
Total	36	22

Table 6: summary of specific relations of The Great Chain of Being

Figures 6 and 7 show the percentage that represents each of the examples collected in Table 6. As it is seen, two of them (COMPANIES ARE ANIMALS and PRODUCTS ARE PEOPLE) are not found in the Spanish corpus. This and other relevant comments will be discussed in the next section.

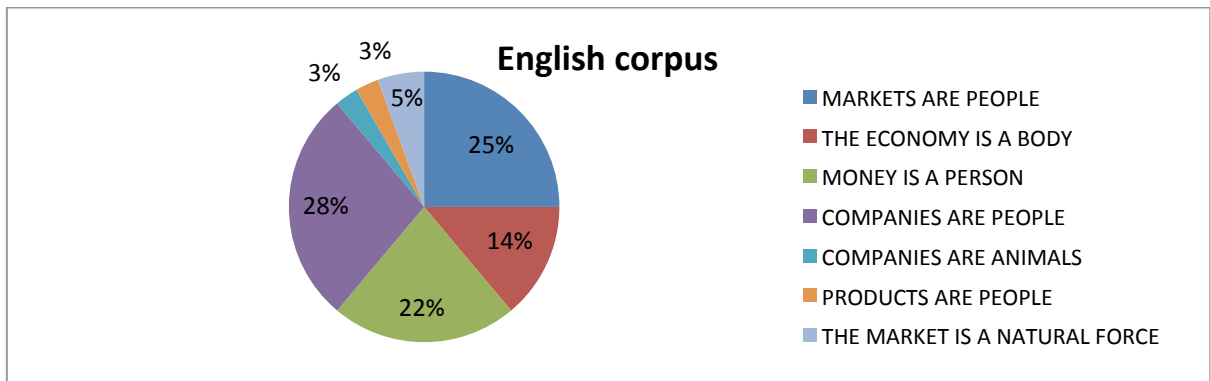


Figure 6: Specific relations in The Great Chain of Being, English corpus

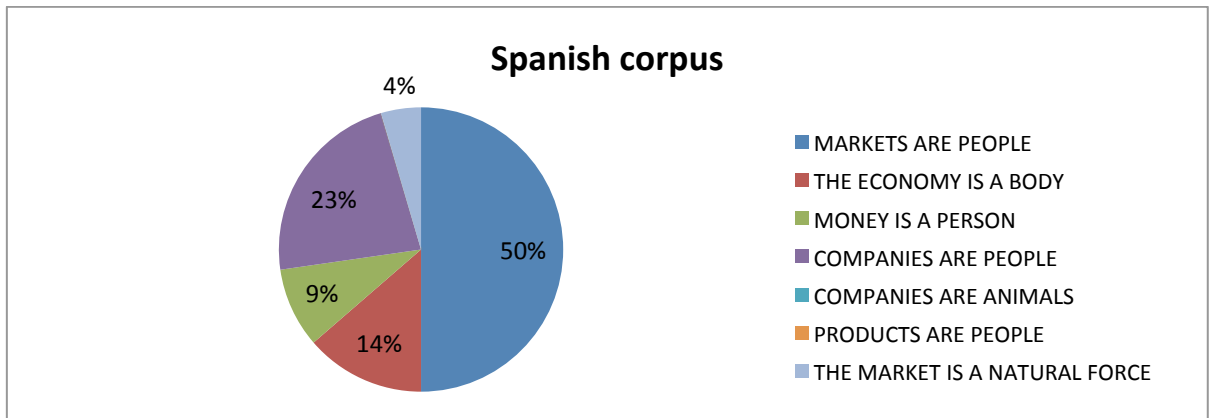


Figure 7: Specific relations in The Great Chain of Being, Spanish corpus

As it is seen, the distribution or percentage of each specific conceptual metaphor is visually different and while in the English corpus there is greater variation, the Spanish corpus has fewer types of specific-level metaphors but a greater predominance of one of them over the others (MARKETS ARE PEOPLE).

Finally, the statistical results of the *chi-squared* test applied to this part of the analysis are as follows:

Data			Chi-squared test results
	EnC.	SpC.	Chi-sq = 5.23 df: 6 p = 0.51
MARKETS ARE PEOPLE	9	11	
THE ECONOMY IS A BODY	5	3	
MONEY IS A PERSON	8	2	
COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE	10	5	
COMPANIES ARE ANIMALS	1	0	
PRODUCTS ARE PEOPLE	1	0	
THE MARKET IS A NATURAL FORCE	2	1	

Table 7: chi-squared test results for The Great Chain of Being

5.3.2. Image-schema

Table 8 shows the total number of metaphorical expressions being part of the second category in our taxonomy. As it can be seen at first sight, there are much fewer instances of this type than in the previous one, in spite of it being the most instantiated in the Spanish corpus and the second in the English one (see Table 4 above). It also shows a sub-domain of the path schema where the path is not earthlike but aquatic. An example of this type will be included in the next section, as well as the high frequency but low degree of variation of this category.

Specific relation	ENGLISH	SPANISH
THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	20	20
THE MARKET IS A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	7	5
THE MARKET IS A TRAVESY	2	-
Total	29	25

Table 8: summary of specific relations of the Image schema - Path

Once more, due to the fact that the English corpus is larger than the Spanish one, separate percentages are needed in order to see the frequency of each type in each corpus more clearly. Figures 8 and 9 show these percentages:

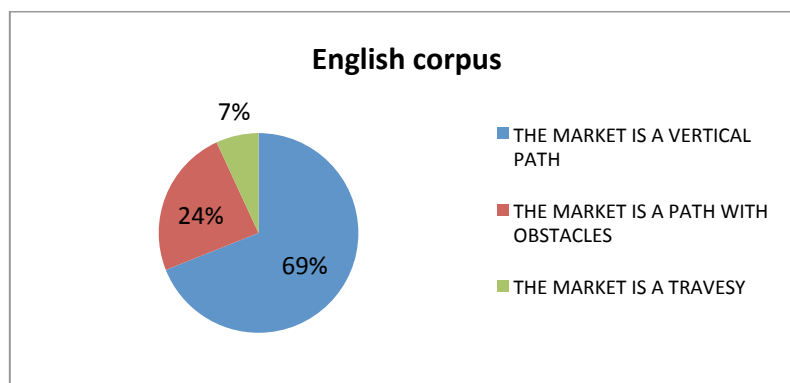


Figure 8: Specific relations in the Image schema – Path metaphor. English corpus

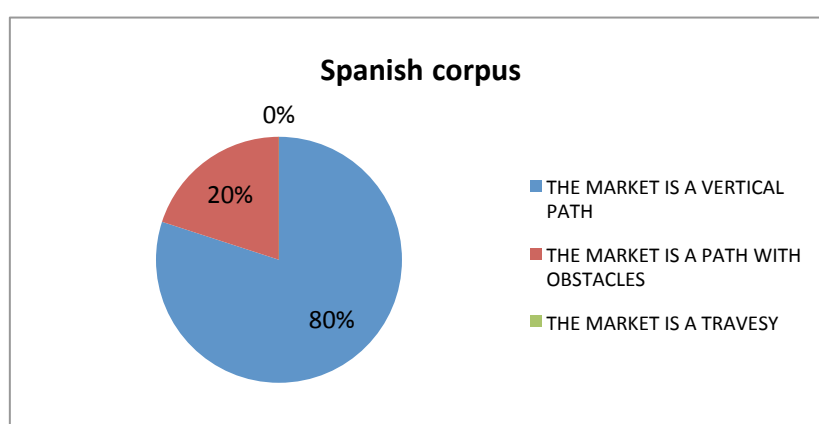


Figure 9: Specific relations in the Image schema – Path metaphor. Spanish corpus

Finally, in line with the procedure applied to all the steps and all categories, Table 9 gathers the result of the statistical analysis applied to this part of the study.

Data			Chi-squared test results
THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	Enc. 20	Spc. 20	Chi-sq= 2.05 df= 2 p= 0.35
THE MARKET IS A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	7	5	
THE MARKET IS A TRAVESY	2	0	

Table 9: chi-squared test results for the Image schema-Path metaphor

5.3.3. Actions are events

Last, but not least, the specific relation of the Events metaphor, where one common event is used to conceptualize a more abstract one, are collected in Table 10.

It shows a similar variation to the one observed in the Great Chain of Being, but only as a whole, as there are four specific relations in the English corpus and five in the Spanish, and three of them are barely represented. It is observed as well that all the events used as a source in this category are of similar nature, being of a competitive event or a warlike one. Comments on this will be discussed in turn.

Specific relation	ENGLISH	SPANISH
THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION	8	6
THE MARKET IS A SHOW	3	-
THE MARKET IS A FIGHT	11	6
THE MARKET IS A STRATEGY GAME	4	1
THE MARKET IS A RACE	-	2
THE MARKET IS A WAR	-	1
Total	26	16

Table 10: summary of specific relations of the Events are Actions metaphor

Individual percentages are shown in Figures 10 and 11, and the statistical results of the chi-squared test applied to this part are summarized in Table 11.

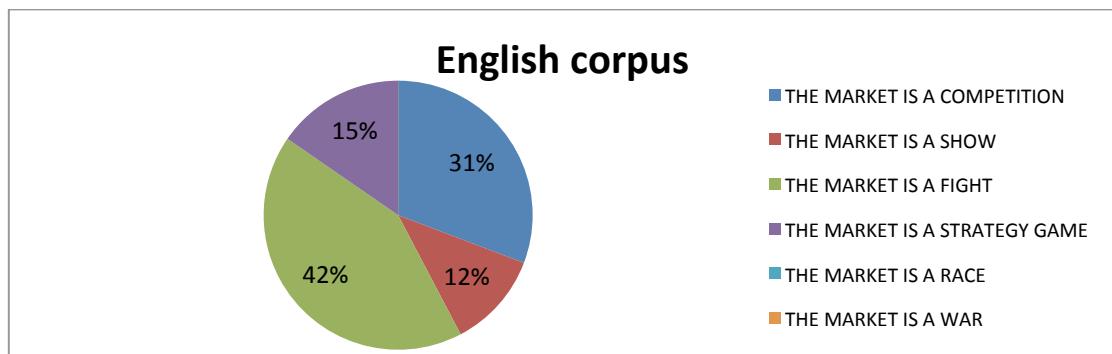


Figure 10: Specific relations in The Events are Actions metaphor, English corpus

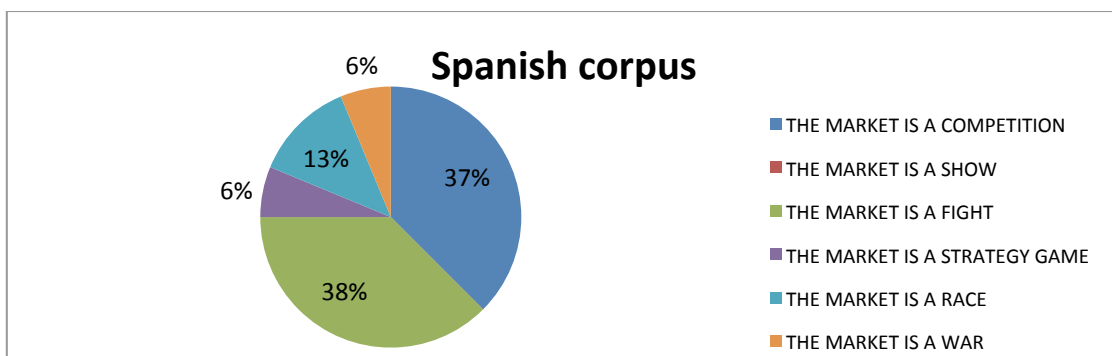


Figure 11: Specific relations in The Events are Actions metaphor, Spanish corpus

To finish, Table 11 includes the statistical result for this category.

Data			Chi-squared test results
	EnC.	SpC.	
THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION	8	6	Chi-sq. = 7.61 df=5 p= 0.09
THE MARKET IS A SHOW	3	0	
THE MARKET IS A FIGHT	11	6	
THE MARKET IS A STRATEGY GAME	4	1	
THE MARKET IS A RACE	0	2	
THE MARKET IS A WAR	0	1	

Table 11: chi-squared test results for the Actions are Events metaphor

Having presented all the tables and figures summarizing the results, it can be observed that the statistical analyses have proved to be non-relevant in all cases. Although possible reasons will be detailed in section 6 of the paper, it must be claimed now that the original purpose of this study was not to observe relevant differences in numerical terms. In fact, it was unknown whether differences or similarities were more likely to be found, the hypotheses notwithstanding. Considering it is a reduced corpus, the results might have turned different if more reports had been included in both corpora. In any case, this factor will be considered for future research, yet for the present one it does not need to be a drawback or a negative aspect.

5.4. SPECIFIC RELATIONS

As observed in tables 2 and 3 and in the complete table in the Appendix, most of the generic-level metaphors were retrieved together with the most specific ones. Table 12 collects all of them, dividing them according to the corpus they belong to at the most generic level. It can be seen that most of them use the same sources as the generic ones, although they were selected as specific-level metaphors for they can be filled with fewer instantiations.

ENGLISH CORPUS	SPANISH CORPUS
<p>The Great Chain of Being</p> <p>INDEXES ARE PEOPLE</p> <p>ACTIVITY DOWNWARD IS ECONOMY SICKNESS</p> <p>BANKS ARE PEOPLE</p> <p>COMPANIES ARE FOOD</p> <p>DEVALUATION IS AN ILL BODY</p>	<p>The Great Chain of Being</p> <p>INDEXES ARE PEOPLE</p> <p>ACTIVITY DOWNWARD IS ECONOMY SICKNESS</p>
<p>Image schema - Path</p> <p>INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS</p> <p>PRODUCTS ARE CLIMBERS</p> <p>PRODUCTS ARE VEHICLES (BOAT)</p> <p>MONEY IS A VEHICLE (SPACESHIP)</p> <p>ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES ARE OBSTACLES IN THE PATH</p> <p>THE ECONOMY IS A PATH WITH SHELTERS</p> <p>CURRENCIES ARE WALKERS IN A PATH WITH OBSTACLES</p>	<p>Image schema – Path</p> <p>INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS</p> <p>PRODUCTS ARE CLIMBERS</p> <p>MARKETS ARE CLIMBERS</p> <p>COMPANIES ARE CLIMBERS</p> <p>CURRENCIES ARE CLIMBERS</p> <p>COMPANIES ARE WALKERS ON A PATH WITH OBSTACLES</p>
<p>Actions are events</p> <p>MARKETS ARE COMPETITORS</p> <p>COMPANIES ARE COMPETITORS</p> <p>INVESTORS ARE FIGHTERS</p> <p>CURRENCIES ARE FIGHTERS</p> <p>COUNTRIES ARE PERFORMERS OF THE SHOW</p> <p>CURRENCIES ARE PEOPLE</p> <p>BANKS ARE STRATEGY PLAYERS</p> <p>INVESTORS ARE PLAYERS</p> <p>COMPANIES ARE PLAYERS</p> <p>COMPANIES ARE VEHICLES</p> <p>THE MARKET IS A VEHICLE</p>	<p>Actions are Events</p> <p>MARKETS ARE COMPETITORS</p> <p>COMPANIES ARE COMPETITORS</p> <p>INDEXES ARE FIGHTERS</p> <p>MARKETS ARE FIGHTERS</p> <p>INVESTORS ARE FIGHTERS</p> <p>CURRENCIES ARE FIGHTERS</p> <p>MARKETS ARE RACERS</p> <p>THE ECONOMY IS A VEHICLE</p> <p>INDEXES ARE VEHICLES</p> <p>INDEXES ARE COMPETITORS</p>

Table 12: summary of specific-level metaphors

5.5. CONVENTIONAL IN FINANCE DISCOURSE?

Once all the comparisons were performed and all the metaphors were classified according to the group they belong to, the last analytical step was to observe if the generic level metaphors of each group of Moreno Lara's taxonomy were finance specific or if, on the contrary, they represented cases of metaphor creativity within a given language or context.

It has been explained in section 2 that Silva's (2013, 2014) and Orts and Rojo López's (2008, 2009, 2010) works were taken as models and inspiration as they applied the very same taxonomy to similar corpuses. Moreover, this comparison has also covered works of other scholars using different methods of metaphor identification, as the purpose was to observe normality and creativity in general, not just when using MPA or Moreno Lara's taxonomy. These included Charteris-Black and Ennis (2001), Serón (2005) Herrera Soler (2008) and O'Mara, Guillén-Parra and Ortega-Larrea (2014).

All in all, the most instantiated metaphors in this collection of works matching the ones found in this study belong to the next domains. Despite the fact that not all of them use the same conceptual metaphor to conceptualize the same notion, they do conceive the same image or structure and exemplify the same mapping. They have been organized in order of frequency and, therefore, specificity to finance discourse:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Source-path-goal /nautical-ground-air way | 7. Difficulties are obstacles in the way |
| 2. Physical health and illness | 8. War |
| 3. Natural force | 9. Competition game |
| 4. Human behavior | 10. Show business |
| 5. Animal behavior | 11. Physical conflict / fight |
| 6. Verticality/Up-down | |

Therefore, the majority of conceptual metaphors retrieved in our corpus coincide with others obtained in previous studies on metaphorical discourse in the language of economy and finance. This seems to suggest, then, that most of the metaphors in our corpus are conventional in this field and this study is in line with others. Only two metaphors have not been found in this reference studies: “the market is a strategy game” and “the market is a race”. However, both of them are very similar to the conventional ones, as even though the strategy factor is not conventional, but the game is; or, the race is not specified in these works, the competition is, and after all a competitive game and a race share a lot of structural elements.

6. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This section will comment on the results obtained from the analysis separately and deeply. Tables and figures are not going to be included again but constant reference to them will be required.

6.1. GENERIC-LEVEL METAPHORS

Recalling the size of the corpora (4285 words in the English one and 3214 in the Spanish), the different percentages have to be commented.

To start with, the frequency of metaphors in each corpus varies; while the most common one in the English corpus is The Great Chain of Being, it occupies the second place in the Spanish corpus. Equally, the Image Schema is the most instantiated one in the Spanish and the second most instantiated in the English group. In both cases, then, the least frequent generic-group in Moreno Lara’s taxonomy is that of the Actions are Events.

In other words, the English texts of our study tend to have a preference for attributing human and animal characteristics to inanimate entities (39% of the cases), being these in most cases the markets, money and companies. This could be a strategy

of the writer (more or less consciously) to make the texts closer to the reader. Meanwhile, the Spanish corpus has a tendency to use the structural schema of a path with a final goal and a vertical path with obstacles (in 40% of the cases).

With studies of bigger size, such differences in percentages should be taken, in my opinion, as a case of study for translators, designers of curricula and teachers and students of ESP (Business English). In our study, however, the statistical test showed that the differences are not relevant and therefore they could be due to arbitrary reasons. In spite of this, it was argued before that the purpose of this study was not numerical and even if looking for a potential reason for the results obtained would be interesting, this must not be taken as a validity marker. Moreover, some possible solutions to this will be suggested later.

In any case, the three groups of our taxonomy need to be individually commented as well, as some interesting results have been found in terms of metaphor creativity.

6.2. GENERIC AND SPECIFIC METAPHORS FOUND IN EACH GROUP.

6.2.1. The Great Chain of Being

In terms of human attributes being given to inanimate objects, there are some curious results. To start with, looking at figures 6 and 7, a clear predominance of **MARKETS ARE PEOPLE** is seen in the Spanish corpus (50% of the metaphors create this mapping); besides, there are only four more types of this generic group and one of them (the one using natural forces as SD) is barely represented. However, a much higher variety can be observed in the English corpus, with seven different types of conceptual metaphors (**COMPANIES ARE ANIMALS** and **PRODUCTS ARE PEOPLE** are unique to this corpus). The analysis has also proved that the most common in the Spanish one by large is not even the most common in the English corpus; in fact, the largest percentage (28%) belongs to **COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE** and the rest of percentages are not higher than 25%.

Thus, it is observed that in both languages there are five CMs that can be considered relatively conventional: MARKETS ARE PEOPLE, THE ECONOMY IS A BODY, MONEY IS A PERSON, COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE and, albeit only found once or twice, THE MARKET IS A NATURAL FORCE.

The English corpus has resulted more creative or varied in this category. Both corpora agree, however, in the representation of CMs that are conventional in the economics discourse, as seen in subsection 5.5.

The statistical analysis has proved to be non-relevant again. I recall the arguments for this not being an important drawback of the study, although it has to be acknowledged and justified in any case, which will be done once all the results and statistical values have been commented.

6.2.2. Image Schema – Path

The Image Schema or Path Schema portrays the markets as a path where there is a final goal. This is, to me, a very explicative and reflective metaphor as most humans will be familiar with the Black screen in markets, full of lines going up and down. This line is portrayed metaphorically as a path, and the abstract activities that motivate the ups and downs of such line are conceived as obstacles or inclinations of the path.

Being it the most represented in the Spanish corpus and the second most common in the English, the results obtained from the individual analysis are also interesting in a different way. As seen in table 8 and figures 8 and 9, mainly similarities are found in terms of both frequency and typology.

The vertical path is the most common source in both English and Spanish reports, representing 69% of the cases in the English corpus and 80% in the Spanish one. It is followed in both cases by THE MARKET IS A PATH WITH OBSTACLES (24% of the total of English CM of the Image schema structure and the remaining 20% in the Spanish case). The critical reader could argue that both cases use the same source, the

path, and could be taken as the same conceptual metaphor; however, those cases of the path with obstacles where there was no specific reference in the expression to verticality were considered different and representative of a different source domain. After all, the “path” is the common element of this generic group.

Finally, the value obtained with the chi-squared analysis was 0.35, therefore not significant again.

6.2.3. Actions are Events

Finally, the least represented generic metaphor is the Events metaphor, where the inner structure of one event, such as a game, is similar to that of the target and therefore the mapping is created and used to conceptualize the latter in terms of the former. In this case, the reverse case to that observed in the Great Chain is seen. Table 10 and figures 10 and 11 summarized the results, showing the different degrees of typology within each corpus. In general, six types of conceptual (generic) metaphors are found within the category of the Events metaphor; however, they are distinctively found in each language. Out of this six, only four of them are instantiated in the English corpus, while the Spanish texts show to be higher variance in this CM, contrary to what occurred with the Great Chain, and show five different types of Events generic metaphors. It turns out curious that none represents the six of them, and that one of the four found in the English reports (THE MARKET IS A SHOW) is not present in the Spanish one.

Thus, the results show that both corpora are similar in terms of typology at the most generic level, since the Events metaphor is the least frequent in both, but within this group there is higher variety than in the rest.

Aside from the variety, the most frequent CM of this category in both languages is THE MARKET IS A FIGHT (42% of the cases in the English corpus and 38% in the Spanish), together with THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION (31% and 37% respectively), so similarity is again found in the most instantiated CM, which has

proved to be conventional if contrasted with previous studies of similar nature. Further details need to be clarified at this point of the discussion. At the first stages of the analysis, it was considered to name the CM of the competition as THE MARKET IS A RACE/GAME instead, as games and races share a lot of inner and outer characteristics and there was not always a clear specification as to which one of them was being used as a source. As both share the competitive spirit, then, it was eventually decided to leave it as THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION, and only include the expressions where there was a clear reference to a game or a race in a new CM (as it happened, for example, with *“indeed, central bank strategy continues to dominate investors’ thinking”*, where there is a clear reference to the strategic nature of the “game”).

To finish, the value of the statistical study of the results proved to be irrelevant as it resulted in 0.09. It was, however, the most relevant of all the results in statistical terms.

6.3. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

This section is not going to be given a lot of space in this paper as it has been individually commented within each category in the previous subsections and because it was not the focus of the study. Needless to say, the results obtained must be acknowledged and they could suggest two different things: (i) they might have turned out relevant if the corpus had been larger and therefore more instances of all categories had been found, and (ii) the method used for metaphor identification and extraction might not have been the most exhaustive and selective one and a different approach could provide different results. In any case, these are only hypotheses that will be part of the suggestions for further research studies of similar corpora.

6.4. DEGREE OF CONVENTIONALITY

The study has proved to be in line with previous research on the field of metaphor in finance and economic discourse. The vast majority of conceptual metaphors (at the generic level at least), with the exception of two of them, have the exact same or similar nature than those found in these reference works. Therefore, this seems to suggest that there is in fact a clear list of conventional CM in finance discourse and they should be consequently an intrinsic part of Translation programmes and courses of ESP and Business English. If rooted in one specific type of language, any scholar or student working with that language should be aware of them, for it can definitely suppose a time saving tool that will at the same time pave the road for both writers and readers of this discourse when creating or reading it.

Concerning the two conceptual metaphors that are not found exactly as they are in those works, namely THE MARKET IS A STRATEGY GAME and THE MARKET IS A RACE, we shall recall what has just been said in subsection 6.2. Both sources have a lot in common in terms of inner structure and they share the characteristics of a competition. Although they are not found in other studies, the competition is; thus, it can be argued that all the conceptual metaphors of the corpus under study are conventional and natural of the language of finance.

6.5. ANSWERS TO RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND ORIGINAL HYPOTHESES

Each of the questions asked in section 3 will be answered in turn. Some of them referred to the same aspect of the study and they are going to be answered together if that is the case:

- *Will this pre-selection of five domains provide with numerous and meaningful outcomes? If the five domains are found, which one(s) will be the most frequently instantiated in each corpus?*

It can be answered that all five items selected for the first step of the metaphor identification process have been helpful when finding metaphorical

patterns, as they all have been instantiated and drawn the attention of the reader at first sight, independently of which conceptual metaphor they were encapsulating.

The most common in all texts has been “market”, as logically expected taking into account all reports dealt with news on the Stock Market, followed by “companies” and “investors” (where “companies” was much more frequent) also in both. The other three are also found but less frequently and not in the same order.

- *Which generic conceptual metaphors will be found in each language? How will they be expressed in the corpus (specific conceptual metaphors and metaphorical expressions of the same)?*

In both corpora, the three generic level metaphors included in the taxonomy of division have been found, so the typology is the same at this level, although the preference is not. As just explained, the Great Chain is the favourite in the English corpus while Spanish texts instantiate the Image Schema the most frequently. As for how they are expressed in the corpus, this question has been answered deeply in sections 5 and 6.

- *Will all conceptual metaphors be the same in both languages, and with the same frequency of occurrence?*

Also in sections 5 and 6 it has been seen that the answer to this question is twofold. On the one hand, the same conceptual metaphors have been found, or at least most of them coincide in both languages (except for some few cases). Concerning the frequency of all, this has turned out negatively answered in the case of the Great Chain and the Events metaphor, and positively in the case of the Image schema, where the distribution within corpus was very similar in both languages.

- *Will the study allow us to classify the conceptual metaphors in standard or natural of the economic discourse and non-standard or non- conventional?*

The answer to this question is 'yes'. As practically all of them have also been found in studies analysing larger corpuses and in different languages, it seems to be justifiable enough to say that the conceptual metaphors of our study are conventional in the finance discourse.

- *To what extent will the use of CM mean the comprehension of the text for a non-expert reader?*

This turns as a very interesting question at this point of the discussion. One of the original purposes and motivations of my study was to observe if and how a non-expert reader of finance discourse could understand what these texts were saying. Due to the high metaphorical charge of the texts and to the metaphorical construction of our cognitive system, non-expert readers manage to disintegrate the meaning within the text and the abstract reality it is dealing with. To exemplify this better, all humans are familiar with competitions as they are pervasive in all humans' life at one point or another. If a normal human being is trying to conceptualize what happens in the market and he or she is explained it in terms of a competition, it is very likely that this person understands everything not only more clearly but also faster.

Let me clarify this better; if we compare the process of reading of a finance report to a child asking his parents what a given abstract term is, we might see the explanatory value of metaphor even better. When parents have to explain something to children and need to avoid difficult terminology to avoid further confusion and questions, they try to use subjects and objects that are familiar to the child or present in the child's surrounding. It is thanks to this familiarity that the child is most likely to understand and process the new concept. Something similar happens with conceptual metaphor. We might not have our parents or anyone else explaining what the market is, but our cognitive system plays the role of the parents instead, as it unconsciously

creates mappings that help us link the unknown to the known, the unfamiliar to the familiar.

- *Will different non-expert readers conceptualize this abstract language and field equally? Will their background have an effect on this conceptualization?*

In relation to the previous question, I am going to use the same example to answer this one. If we take the child and his parents again trying to explain something unfamiliar to him in two different moments of time (when the child is 3 years old and when he is 8), the sources used by the parents will probably be different as the child's knowledge of the world will be different as well as his background. This will make the parents choose one source or another.

If applied to our case, the same process will occur. Two people reading the same corpus might conceptualize the abstract terms differently (NB., we are talking about understanding metaphors, not creating them) due to contextual factors. In fact, a real case can be used as an example. Once I finished organizing all the conceptual metaphors found in the corpus, I held a conversation with some members of my family and explained to them the function of metaphor and the types of relations found. Out of curiosity, I asked them if they understood the metaphors in the same way I did, and two of them, both of them boys aged 26 and 29, gave a different interpretation of the competition source. While for me it was not clear whether the source being used was a race or a game in many cases, and I saw the image of the vertical path very clear, they seemed to interpret it very easily in football terms instead:

the economy is an international league (or World Cup) in which all countries compete; within each country, there is another league (the index of each country) in which different teams (the companies) participate and try to beat their rivals and occupy the first place in the league, being supported by their fans (investors) and having to face difficult moments in which they will go down in the league

This is a clear example of how context influenced in the conceptualization of the metaphorical language. As I am not a football fan, there is no chance that this football background could influence or affect my interpretation; on the contrary, it did with readers that are supporters of this sport. Finally, even if this interpretation cannot be representative as it was only given by two people, it has served as inspiration and motivation for the expansion of this dissertation that, among many things, will perform a study of subjects by asking non-expert readers how they interpret the metaphors in whichever corpus they are given.

- *How can we, as linguists, justify the teaching of CMT in programs of ESP purposes and Translation? Can this study serve as support for this?*

Taking into account that each part of the analysis has given different results in what type and frequency of metaphor are concerned, the critical reader might argue that it has to be difficult for teachers and students to organize such varied results and apply them. However, it is my opinion that an organized corpus of common/conventional metaphors in each language could be of much help in ESP programs, as the students would familiarize with abstract target domains in the target language through source domains that are familiar to them. In case they are not because culture plays its role and affects the use of a given source, it will be the role of the teacher then to provide them with exhaustive examples of that source domain in the target language until the students are familiar with it.

As for translation studies, this study also supports other scholars' claims that awareness is needed in this sphere if more reliable outcomes are desired. Giving the case that the translator knows deeply the metaphorical constructions of the language he is translating to or from, this will inherently help him or her to translate a given expression. If the conceptual metaphor is similar in both languages, the task will be easier, and if it is not, the task of finding the equivalent might be tough in some cases, but using annotated corpora formed from studies like the present one might be a very useful tool.

To finish with this section, the hypotheses are going to be briefly commented. The first one, which expected to find instances of the five target domains selected, is positively answered, as commented in previous paragraphs and as it can be seen in the complete tables in the Appendix. This was the logical thing to find, though, as they were very general domains and of general knowledge.

It was also predicted that the frequency of appearance of generic metaphors would vary between corpora, and this can be answered positively as well. However, it was expected to find justification for such differences in the context and this cannot be answered from this analysis, as the statistical analyses have given irrelevant values.

In terms of standard or conventional metaphors, the prediction was to find mainly conventional metaphors as the nature of the text was the same to those used in similar studies; this has been the case for all metaphors, if we consider that the two instances that were not found in the exact same form in previous studies share a lot of structural elements with others that do appear frequently.

Finally, the results of the qualitative comparative analysis have given place to statistical results, which, on the contrary, have not provided meaningful and interpretable conclusions (in terms of relevance and potential reasons to justify the different distribution in each group).

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This work started from the premises of Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory and further studies on Metaphor in Discourse (Semino 2008; Kövecses 2008, 2009, 2010; Semino, Deignan and Littlemore 2013) as well as theories within the field of economic discourse in general, and finance reports in particular, and performed a corpus-based approach and comparative study of English and Spanish texts. Apart from observing and comparing two different corpora extracted from six online newspapers (three for each language), another aim was to try to support awareness of conceptual metaphor in Translation and Business English programmes, in

line with other studies of similar nature and aiming to shed some more light on this field. To this aim, 12 different texts underwent analysis, having 6 Spanish reports and 6 English reports, with a final corpus of 7499 words. Such texts were selected randomly over a period of several weeks at the end of the year 2014, and the six sources were: *The Economist*, *Financial Times* and *The Guardian* in English and *El Economista*, *Cinco Días* and *Expansión* in Spanish.

The paper has started by presenting the objectives of the study and its motivations and by explaining the basic terminology included in the project. It has continued by summarizing the principal theories and studies that were needed for this study and on which it is framed. This section has covered reference works that would be the pioneers in CM and metaphor in discourse, as well as more recent approaches to corpus-based studies and different theories concerning different methods of extraction of metaphor. It has also included different proposals of metaphor classification as well as more or less recent works dealing with metaphor applications to Translation and Business English or ESP studies. Once the theory was reviewed, the data used for the analysis was presented in turn, followed by the list of research questions that the study aimed to answer and several hypotheses claimed prior-analysis. The next step in the paper was to explain the methodology and procedure applied for the present case, and it has tried to present it in the clearest way since several methods of extraction were applied and the process was highly structured. Consequently, the process of analysis and all the results obtained have been presented following the same schema as in the section detailing the procedure: it has started by the first step of the analysis (extracting metaphorical expressions and dividing them according to Moreno Lara's taxonomy); then, it has presented the individual results of each of the three groups in the taxonomy, including all the generic relations found in each language and summarizing them in tables and figures, ending each part with a statistical calculation made with a *chi-squared* test. Finally, the specific relations have also been summarized in a different table; the last part of this section has observed how conventional our metaphors were compared to previous studies on the field. The last section before the present one has discussed and interpreted all the results obtained and has answered all the research questions

and referred to the original hypotheses of the study; finally, it has discussed how the results can serve as proof to support claims calling for awareness and inclusion of CMT in Translation and ESP courses and programmes, as well as for the role of teachers as vehicles of the same.

As for the results of the study, they have been interesting whatsoever. In terms of frequency, for example, the least common conceptual metaphor in both English and Spanish has been the Events actions, the most frequent in the English corpus has been the Great Chain, whereas the Image Schema is the most frequently preferred in the Spanish texts. Within each group, further distinctive results have been obtained. Concerning the Great Chain of Being, for example, the English corpus has proved to be more creative as it makes use of seven different conceptual metaphors, while the Spanish one only uses five of them, and the vast majority of the cases give human attributes to the market (50% of them). The Image Schema seems to be the most similar of all cases, as the percentage of appearance of the two main conceptual metaphors is similar in both corpora. Finally, the least resorted one, the Events metaphor, seems to evoke more creativity in the Spanish texts this time. Considering the texts are in line with previous studies in that the metaphors they contain are conventional, both the similarities and differences found in this study seem to support all their claims. Moreover, a higher degree of creativity in discourse has been proved when observing the most specific metaphors of each generic level.

The fact that statistical analyses have provided with negative results, or at least irrelevant values, has been commented several times so far, and it is now going to be considered as a drawback of the study, possibly caused by its limitations, and used for suggestions for future research projects or extensions of the present one.

7.1. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

There are several limitations of the study that need to be acknowledged and that will give place to suggestions concerning future paths.

To start with, the difficulty in finding economics newspapers in English was the first obstacle in the way. The ideal purpose was to use the exact same type of source in both languages but this was impossible to find. Fortunately, I had the help of a colleague at the University of Castilla-La Mancha who holds a double degree in Economics and English and he kindly guided me when choosing my sources.

The language itself was an extra impediment while reading the corpus. Not only the one used in the English texts, which were very complicated at some points, but also with the Spanish ones. Finance discourse has proved to be of extreme difficulty in terminological terms, and my lack of deep knowledge on the field meant a delay in time as it required me to go through the texts several times and check some of the terms used on finance dictionaries. For this reason, I believe this type of analysis could be much reliably performed if co-done with an economist or an expert mind on the field of Economy and Finance.

This leads me to the next limitation in the study. On some occasions, a given linguistic metaphor evoked confusing mappings, and I had to decide on my own which one was stronger or, on other occasions, if it was in fact metaphorically used or not. Although this did not happen very frequently and in case of doubt or double mapping I decided to analyze it as a twofold expression, this problem could have been solved if this analysis had been performed with more linguists with whom to discuss and co-decide in case of doubt.

Finally, the statistical results, if not decisive for our study, need to be commented. Once again, a possible reason for them not being relevant in statistical terms might be the size of the corpus. If a larger number of reports had been included, numbers might have turned different, at least in the distribution of metaphors within each generic level of the threefold division. This is just a hypothesis to try to find a reason for these turnouts. It can also suggest that the method of extraction used is not the most adequate or precise one, and this might suggest that other methods might give different outcomes. One of them is Pragglejaz's MIP, which was originally considered as an extraction tool. This leads us to the next subsection, where I will finish this paper by giving some suggestions for future paths.

7.2. FUTURE PATHS OF THIS STUDY AND SUGGESTIONS

It is my intention to extend this master's dissertation if I have the chance to do a PhD program on the same research domain. In such extension, what I have presented and done in this project would only be a small part of it. To start with, the corpus under study will be much larger, and I am in fact collecting parts of it nowadays. It is my intention to compare finance reports as well, but this time they will be extracted during periods of time that will probably have an effect on the types of metaphors used. To exemplify, the reports extracted for the English corpus have been retrieved from newspapers during the national elections of May 2015 in the United Kingdom; the Spanish ones will be retrieved in the next few months, as the national elections will not take place until December 2015. The number of reports per source is considerably larger (about 20 reports per source, which makes a total of 60 reports per language and 120 as a whole), and this will only be a part of the corpus under study. As the period of time should be longer than what I have had to do this study, I am considering adding Pragglejaz's MIPVU method for my study, but not as the unique one. Instead, I intend to follow the same process I have used for this small part and then apply MIPVU once all the conceptual metaphors have been extracted and divided according to Moreno Lara's taxonomy. This might result in a minor number of conceptual metaphors in the end, but there would be no doubt as to whether a given expression or word is being metaphorically used or not.

Another suggestion for future studies similar to this is a collective process of study in which more than one or two linguists participate when taking "metaphorical decisions". Metaphorical language is so pervasive in all types of language that we do not realize when we are making use of it or even reading it. Equally, such pervasiveness may cause that a given expression is not considered metaphorical anymore as it has gained its own entry in the dictionary. For this reason, I believe that discussion and collaborative work might solve these impediments. Equally, if this collaborative work included economists or experts, the outcomes could be potentially better, since they would save the linguist a lot of time when facing difficult terminology natural of this type of discourse.

In the discussion of this paper, I have commented on different interpretations of the same linguistic expressions depending on the contexts when I have given the example of family members interpreting them using football and its components as a source. This is an inspiration for the potential extension of this project. I aim to present a group of subjects, from different sex, age and cultural background with a list of linguistic expressions extracted from my corpus and observe if and how they interpret the same linguistic expression depending on their context. They would all be non-expert readers of economic discourse and this could shed some more light on claims highlighting the explanatory value of conceptual metaphor.

Finally, if this project was to be extended, the corpus under study would not only be verbal, but also pictorial and multimodal. It is a common practice to include cartoons in newspapers depicting different situations, and economics discourse is not strange to this, as depicted in Figure 12, which has been included as an example. Some scholars have performed analysis of multimodal and pictorial metaphors in economics discourse (Cienki and Müller 2008) and by including these in my analysis, I intend to give a broader scope of metaphorical language in reports dealing with finance news of the country and the world, as well as recalling the pervasiveness of metaphorical language in all types of discourse.

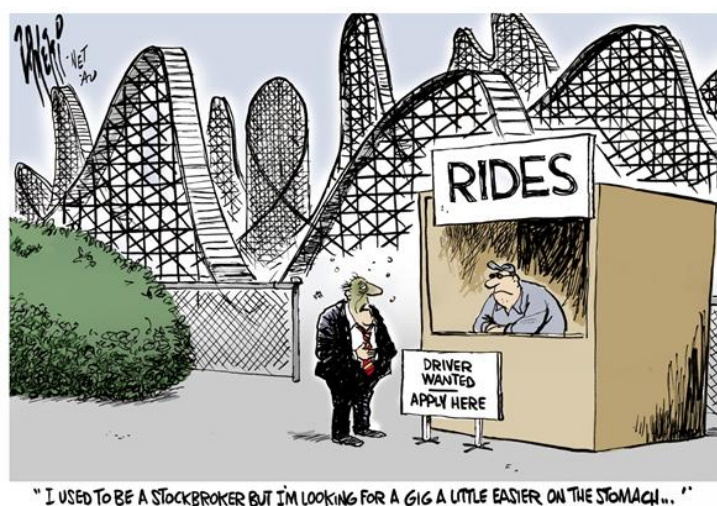


Figure 12: example of pictorial metaphors in finance

To sum up, and concluding this paper, these ideas are simple suggestions for the extension of this or other projects of equal or similar content. Having presented my study, I am aware of the limitations it has had, but I also conclude that since the

results here obtained are similar in terms of typology to other studies that are academically recognized, this project seems to be on the right track

8. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aitchison, J.** (1987). *Words in the mind*. London: Blackwell.
- Bahns, J.** (1993). Lexical collocations: A contrastive view. *ELT Journal*, 47, 56-63
- Barcelona, A.** (1986). On the concept of depression in American English: A cognitive approach. *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses*, 12, 7-33.
- Barcelona, A. and Soriano C.** (2004). Metaphorical conceptualization in English and in Spanish. *European Journal of English Studies*, 8, 295-307.
- Bielenia-Grajewska, M.** (2009). The role of metaphor in the language of investment banking. *Iberica*, 17, 139-156
- Boers, F.** (2000). Metaphor awareness and vocabulary retention. *Applied Linguistic*, 21, 553-571.
- Boers, F. and Demecheleer, M.** (1997), A few metaphorical models in (Western) economic discourse. In W.A. Liebert, G. Redeker and L. Waugh (eds.), *Discourse and Perspective in Cognitive Linguistics*. (pp. 115-129). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Cameron, L.** (2003). *Metaphor in educational discourse*. London: Continuum.
- Cameron, L. and G. Low** (1999). *Researching and applying metaphor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cameron, L. and Alice D.** (2003). Combining large and small corpora to investigate tuning devices around metaphor in spoken discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 18, 149–160.
- Charteris-Black, J.** (2000). Metaphor and vocabulary teaching in ESP economics. *English for Specific Purposes*, 19 (2), 149–165.
- Charteris-Black, J. and Ennis, T.** (2001). A comparative study of metaphor in Spanish and English financial reporting. *English for Specific Purposes*, 20, 249–266.
- Charteris-Black, J.** (2004). *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Charteris-Black, J.** (2005). *Politicians and Rhetoric. The persuasive power of metaphor*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Charteris-Black, J. and Musolff, A.** (2003) 'Battered hero' or 'innocent victim'? A comparative study of metaphors for euro trading in British and German financial reporting. *English for Specific Purposes*, 22 (2), 153-176.

- Chilton, P.** (1996). *Security Metaphors: Cold War Discourse from Containment to Common European Home*. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang.
- Chilton, P. and Ilyin, M.** (1993) Metaphor in political discourse: The case of the "Common European House". *Discourse and Society* 4 (1), 7-31
- Cienki, A. and C. Müller** (2008). *Metaphor and Gesture*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Cortés de los Ríos, E.** (2001). *Nuevas perspectivas lingüísticas en la publicidad impresa anglosajona*. Almería: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Almería.
- Deignan, A.** (1999). Corpus-based research in metaphor, in L. Cameron and G. Low (eds.) *Researching and Applying Metaphor* (pp. 177-199). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Deignan, A.** (2003). Metaphorical expressions and culture: an indirect link. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 18, 255-272.
- Deignan, A.** (2005). *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Deignan, A., Gabrys, D. and Solska, A.** (1997). "Teaching English metaphors using cross-linguistic awareness-raising activities". *ELT Journal*, 51, 352-340.
- Dobrzyńska, T.** (1995). .Translating metaphor: Problems of meaning. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 24, 595-604.
- Dudley-Evans, A., & Henderson, W. (Eds.).** (1990). *The Language of economics: the analysis of economics discourse*. ELT Documents, No. 134. London: Modern Publications in Association with The British Council.
- Eubanks, P. (2000).** *A War of Words in the Discourse of Trade: The rhetorical constitution of metaphor*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1985).** *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman
- Freeman, M.** (2007), Cognitive Linguistic approaches to literary studies: State of the art in cognitive poetics. In D. Geraerts and H. Cuyckens (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, 1175-1202. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fuertes Olivera, P. A.** (1998). Metaphor and translation: A case study in the field of Economics, in P. Fernández Nistal and J. M. Bravo Gozalo (eds.) *La Traducción: Orientaciones Lingüísticas y Culturales*, (pp. 79-95). Valladolid: Servicio de Apoyo a la Enseñanza.
- Fuertes-Olivera, P. A. and Pizarro-Sánchez, I.** (2002). Translation and similarity-creating metaphors in specialized languages. *Target*, 14, 43-73.
- Fussell, S.** (2002). *The Verbal Communication of Emotion*. Mahwah, N.J.: Erlbaum
- Gallego Hernandez, D.** (2012). Traducción en tiempos de crisis: estudio comparativo de la traducción francés-español de colocaciones en el lenguaje de los negocios. *Panemía*, 21, 151-162.

- Geeraerts, Dirk & Hubert Cuyckens** (eds.) (2007). *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gibbs, R. W.** (1994). *The poetics of mind: figurative thought, language and understanding*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Goatly, A.** (1996). Green Grammar and Grammatical Metaphor, or language and the Myth of Power, or Metaphor We Die By. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 25, 537-560.
- Goatly, A.** (1997). *Critical Reading and Writing*. London: Routledge.
- Gómez Parra, E., Márquez Linares, C. F. and Pérez Hernández, C.** (1999) La metáfora en los clichés del mundo bursátil. Un estudio contrastivo inglés-español. *Paremia*, 8, 237-242.
- Hampe, B.** (ed.) (2005). *From Perception to Meaning. Image schemas in Cognitive Linguistics*. Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Heine, B.** (1995). Conceptual Grammaticalization and prediction. In John R. Taylor and Robert E. MacLaury (eds.) *Language and the Cognitive Construal of the World* (pp. 119-135). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Heine, B.** (1997). *Cognitive Foundations of Grammar*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Heine, B. and T. Kuteva** (2002). *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Henderson, W.** (1982). Metaphor in economics. *Economics*, 18 (4), 147–153.
- Henderson, W.** (1986). Metaphor in economics, in M. Coulthard (ed.) *Talking about Text*, (pp. 109-127). Birmingham: University of Birmingham English Language Research. Discourse Monograph No 13.
- Henderson, W.** (2000). Metaphor, economics and ESP: some comments. *English for Specific Purposes*, 19 (2), 167–173.
- Herrera Soler, H.** (2009). A metaphor corpus in business press headlines. *Iberica*, 15, 51-70.
- Herrera-Soler, H. and M. White** (eds.) (2012). *Metaphor and Mills. Figurative language in Business and Economics*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter
- Heywood, J. E., Semino, E. and Short, M. H.** (2002). Linguistic Metaphor identification in two extracts from novels, *Language and Literature* 11 (1), 35-54
- Hogan, P.** (2003). *The Mind and Its Stories: Narrative Universals and Human Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jeffreys, D.** (1982). Metaphor in economics—an illustrative appendix. *Economics*, 18 (4), 154–157.
- Johnson, M.** (1987). *The Body in the Mind: The bodily basis of meaning, imagination, and reason*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- Johnson, M.** (1992). Philosophical Implications of Cognitive Semantics. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 3-4, 345-366.
- Knowles, F.** (1996). Lexicographical aspects of health metaphor in financial text. In Martin G et al. (eds.) *EURALEX '96 Proceedings I-II* (pp. 789–796).
- Koivisto-Alanko, P.** (2000). *Abstract Words in Abstract Worlds. Directionality and Prototypical Structure in the Semantic Change in English Nouns of Cognition*. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.
- Koller, V.** (2004/2008). *Metaphor and Gender in Business Media Discourse: A Critical Cognitive Study*. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave.
- Koller, V.** (2006). Of critical importance: Using electronic text corpora to study metaphor in business media discourse. In A. Stefanowitsch and S. Th. Gries (eds.), *Corpus-based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy* (pp. 237-266). Berlin/NewYork: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kövecses, Z.** (1986). *Metaphors of Anger, Pride, and Love. A Lexical Approach to the Structure of Concepts*. Amsterdam et al: John Benjamins.
- Kövecses, Z.** (1988). *The language of love: the semantics of passion in conversational English*. London: Associated University Presses.
- Kövecses, Z.** (1990). *Emotion Concepts*. New York: Springer Verlag.
- Kövecses, Z.** (2003) Language, figurative thought, and cross-cultural comparison. *Metaphor and Symbol* 18 (4), 311–320.
- Kövecses, Z.** (2005). *Metaphor and culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Kövecses, Z.** (2006). *Language, Mind and Culture. A Practical Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Kövecses, Z.** (2008). Conceptual metaphor theory: some criticisms and some alternative proposals. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 6, 168-184
- Kövecses, Z.** (2008). Universality and Variation in the Use of Metaphor. Selected papers from the 2006 nd 2007 Stockholm Metaphor Festivals, eds. N.-L. Johannesson and D.C. Minugh, (pp. 51-74). Stockholm: Department of English, Stockholm University.
- Kövecses, Z.** (2009). The effect of context on the use of metaphor in discourse. *Iberica* 17, 11-24.
- Kövecses, Z.** (2010). A new look at metaphorical creativity in cognitive linguistics. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 21-4, 663-697
- Kövecses, Z.** (2010). *Metaphor: a Practical Introduction* (2nd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lakoff, G.** (1987). *Women, fire and dangerous things*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Lakoff, G.** (1990). .The Invariance Hypothesis: is Abstract Reason Based on Image-Schemas? *Cognitive Linguistics* 1 (1), 39-75.

- Lakoff, G.** (1992). Metaphors and war: The metaphor system used to justify was in the Gulf. In Martin Putz (ed.) *Thirty Years of Linguistic Evolution*, (pp. 463-481). Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Lakoff, G.** (1993). The contemporary theory of metaphor. In A.Ortony (ed.), *Metaphor and Thought* (2nd ed.), (pp. 202-251). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M.** (1980). *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M.** (1989). *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*. Chicago, University Press.
- Lakoff, G. and Z. Kövecses** (1987). 'The cognitive model of anger inherent in American English' in Holland, D. & N. Quinn (eds) *Cultural models in language and thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G., & Turner, M.** (1989). *More than cool reason. A field guide to poetic metaphor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. and R. Núñez** (2000). *Where Mathematics Comes From: How the Embodied Mind Brings Mathematics into Being*. New York: Basic Books
- Langacker, R.** (2008). *Cognitive Grammar: A Basic Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Leech, G. and M.H. Short** (1981). *Style in Fiction: A Linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose*. London: Longman
- Littlemore, Jeannette.** 2003. The effect of cultural background on metaphor interpretation. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 18 (4), 273–288.
- Littlemore, J. and Low, G.** (2006). Metaphoric competence, second language learning, and communicative language ability. *Applied Linguistics*, 27, 68-294.
- Mason, M.** (1990). Dancing on air: an analysis of a passage from an economics text book. In A. Dudley-Evans, and T. Henderson (eds.), *The language of economics: the analysis of economics discourse*(pp. 16–28). London: Modern English Publications in Association with the British Council.
- McCloskey, D.** (1983). The rhetoric of economics. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 21, 481-517.
- McGlone, M.** (2007) What is the Explanatory Value of a Conceptual Metaphor? *Language and Communication*, 27, 109-126
- Morris, W., O. J. Sheldon, D.R. Ames and Maia J Young** (2007). Metaphors and the market: Consequences and preconditions of agent and object metaphors in stock market commentary. *Organizing Behaviour and Human Decision Processes*, 102, 174-192

- Moreno Lara, María Angeles** (2008). *La Metáfora en el Lenguaje Político de la Prensa Americana. Modelos cognitivos y formación de significado*. Granada: Comares.
- Musolff, A.** (2000). Political Imagery of Europe: A house without exit doors? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 21 (3), 216-229
- Musolff, A.** (2004). *Metaphor and Political Discourse: Analogical Reasoning and Debates in Europe*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Musolff, A.** (2005). Cross-language metaphors: parents and children, love, marriage and divorce in the European family. In J. Cotterill and A. Ife (eds.), *Language Across Boundaries*, (pp. 119-134). London: Continuum.
- Musolff, A.** (2006). Metaphor scenarios in public discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 21 (1), 23-28.
- Newmark, P.** (1982), *Approaches to Translation*. Oxford: Pergamon Press
- O'Mara-Shimek, M., Guillén-Parra, M. and Ortega-Larrea, A.** (2015). Stop the bleeding or weather the storm? Crisis solution marketing and the ideological use of metaphor in online financial reporting of the stock market crash of 2008 at the New York Stock Exchange. *Discourse and Communication*, 9 (1), 103-123
- Orts Llopis, M.A. and A.M. Rojo López** (2009). Metaphor framing in Spanish economic discourse: a corpus-based approach to metaphor analysis in the Global Systemic Crisis. Paper Delivered at the First International Conference of AELINCO (Corpus Linguistics Spanish Association). University of Murcia, 7-9 May
- Page, M.** (1999). The Conceptual Underwear of Financial Reporting. *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal*, 12 (4), 489-501
- Pragglejaz Group** (2007). MIP: A method for identifying metaphorical used words in discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 22, 1-39
- Preacher, K.J.** (2001, April) Calculation for the chi-square test. An interactive calculation tool for chi-square tests of goodness of fit and independence [computer software]. Available from: <http://quantpsy.org>
- Radden, G.** (1995). Motion metaphorized: the case of *coming* and *going*. In E. H. Casad (ed.) *Cognitive Linguistics in the Redwood*, (pp. 423-458). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Radden, G.** (1992):The Cognitive Approach to Natural Language. In M. Pütz (ed.), *Thirty Years of Linguistic Evolution. Studies in Honour of René Dirven on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* (pp. 513-541). Philadelphia u.a.: John Benjamins.
- Rojo López, A.M. and M.A. Orts Llopis** (2008). Conceptual Metaphors and Translation: A Comparative Study of Metaphors in English and Spanish Financial Reports. In P. Sánchez-Hernandez, P. Pérez-Paredes, P. Aguado Jiimenez and R. Criado Sanchez (eds.) *Researching and teaching specialized languages: New contexts, new challenges* (pp. 424-434). Murcia: Editum.

- Rojo López, A. M. and M. A. Orts Llopis** (2010). Metaphorical pattern analysis in financial texts: Framing the crisis in positive or negative metaphorical terms. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42, 3300-3313.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibañez, F.J. and R. Uson** (2007). High-level metaphor and metonymy in meaning construction. In G. Radden, K. Kopcke, M. T. Berg and P. Siemund (eds.) *Aspects of Meaning Construction*, (pp. 33-51). Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Salager-Meyer, F.** (1990). Metaphors in Medical English prose: A comparative study with French and Spanish. *English for Specific Purposes*, 9, 145-159.
- Schmidt, C.** (2002). Metaphor and cognition: a cross-cultural study of indigenous and universal constructs in stock exchange reports. *Intercultural Communication* 5. Available from <http://www.immi.se/intercultural/NR5/Schmidt.doc>
- Semino, E.** (2006). A corpus-based study of metaphors for speech activity in British English. In Anatol Stefanowitsch & Stephan Th. Gries (eds.), *Corpus-based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy* (pp. 36-62). Berlin/NewYork: Mouton de Gruyter
- Semino, E.** (2008). *Metaphor in Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Semino, E. and G. Steen** (2008). A method for annotating metaphors in corpora. In John Barden, Mark Lee, and Katja Markert (eds). *Proceedings of the Workshop on Corpus-based and Processing Approaches to Figurative Language*, (pp. 59-66). Lancaster: University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language
- Semino, E., A. Deignan and J. Littlemore** (2013). Metaphor, Genre, and Recontextualization. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 28, 1–19.
- Semino, E., Demjén, Z., Demmen, J., Koller, V., Payne, S., Hardie, A. and Rayson, P.** (2015). *The Online Use of Violence and Journey Metaphors by Patients with Cancer, as compared with Health Professionals: A Mixed Methods Study*. In BMJ Supportive and Palliative Care.
- Serón Ordoñez, I.** (2005). La Traducción de la metáfora en los textos financieros: estudio de caso. Available from: isg.urv.es/cttt/cttt/research/seron.doc
- Silva, Augusto Soares da** (2013a). O que sabemos sobre a crise económica, pela metáfora. Conceptualizações metafóricas da crise na imprensa portuguesa. *Revista Media & Jornalismo*, 23 (1), 11-34.
- Silva, Augusto Soares da** (2013b). Obese bodies, indebted families and good students: Metaphors of austerity in the Portuguese press. In: G. Philip, J. Barnden, M. Lee, R. Moon, A. Wallington and C. Shank (eds.), *Corpus-Based Approaches to Figurative Language: Metaphor and Austerity*. (pp. 29-32). Birmingham, UK: The University of Birmingham
- Silva, Augusto Soares da** (2014). The persuasive power of metaphor in 'austerity' discourse: Embodied and moral metaphors of austerity in the Portuguese Press. Paper delivered at the 47th Annual Meeting of *Societas Linguistica Europaea*, Adam Mickiewicz University Poznan, Poland, 11-14 Sept.

- Smith, G. P.** (1995). How high can a dead cat bounce? Metaphor and the Hong Kong Stock Market. *Hong Kong Papers in linguistics and language teaching*, 18, 43–57.
- Sontag, S.** (1979). *Illness as Metaphor*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux
- Steen, G. J.** (1999): From Linguistic to Conceptual Metaphor in five Steps. In R. Gibbs, JR and G. J. Steen(eds.): *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics* (pp. 57-77), Amsterdam, John Benjamins.
- Steen, G. J.** (2008). *Finding Metaphor in Grammar and usage: a Metaphorical Analysis of Theory and Research*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Steen, G., Dors, , Herrmann, A.G, Kaal, J.B.,. Krennmayr, T.A.A. and Pasma, T.** (2010) *A Method for Linguistic Method Identification*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Stefanowitsch, A.** (2004). Happiness in English and German: A metaphorical-pattern analysis. In M. Achard and S. Kemmer (eds.) *Language, Culture and Mind*, (pp. 37-149). Standford: CSLI
- Stefanowitsch, A.** (2006). Corpus-based approaches to metaphor and metonymy. In: Anatol Stefanowitsch & Stephan Th. Gries (eds.), *Corpus-based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy* (pp. 1-16). Berlin/NewYork: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Stefanowitsch, A. and Gries, S. Th.** (2006). *Corpus-Based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Sweetser, E.** (1990). *From etymology to pragmatics: Metaphorical and cultural aspects of semantic structure*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Talmy, L.** (1988). Force dynamics in language and cognition, *Cognitive Science* 12, 49-100.
- Tissari, H.** (2003). *Love scapes: Changes in prototypical senses and cognitive metaphors since 1500*. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique
- Velasco-Sacristán, M.** (2004). Metaphor and ESP: metaphor as a useful device for teaching L2 Business English Learners. *Iberica*, 10, 115-31
- White, M.** (1996). *La metáfora en el tratamiento de la crisis monetaria en la prensa británica*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense. Servicio de Publicaciones de la UCM, CDRom.
- White, M.** (2003) Metaphor and economics: the case of *growth*. *English for Specific Purposes*, 22 (2), 131-151.
- White, M.** (2004). *Turbulence and turmoil* in the market or the language of a financial crisis. *Ibérica*, 7, 71-86.

9. APPENDIX

Appendix 1: LIST OF REPORTS

ENGLISH CORPUS

European equity markets: Spoiling for a fight. [<http://www.economist.com/news/business-and-finance/21632831-europes-big-stock-exchanges-flex-their-muscles-spoiling-fight>] 14/11/2014

Oil and the markets: Black gold Friday.
[<http://www.economist.com/blogs/buttonwood/2014/11/oil-and-markets>]. 28/04/2014

Stocks firm as commodity volatility fades.
[<http://finance.mpoedjamboel.com/2014/12/markets-pm-stocks-firm-as-commodity.html>] 05/12/2014

Oil rallies as weak data weigh on stocks [<http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/406fb88c-790b-11e4-b518-00144feabdc0.html>] 01/12/2014

Euro hits two year low as ECB tells staff to prepare more measures
[<http://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2014/nov/06/german-factory-orders-morrisons-ecb-bank-of-england-live>] 06/11/2014

Stock markets hit by global growth fears.
[<http://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2015/jan/14/european-court-of-justice-rules-on-ecb-bond-buying-programme-business-live>]

SPANISH CORPUS

Desde el año 2008 el Ibex 35 da un 'aguinaldo' todos los diciembres
[<http://www.eleconomista.es/mercados-cotizaciones/noticias/6291836/12/14/Desde-el-ano-2008-el-Ibex-35-da-un-aguinaldo-todos-los-diciembre.html>] 02/12/2014

El Ibex 35 cayó un 0,91%, hasta los 10.672 [<http://www.eleconomista.es/mercados-cotizaciones/noticias/6289125/12/14/El-Ibex-35-arranca-con-un-descenso-del-05-sobre-los-10700-puntos.html>] 01/12/2014

El Dax alemán supera los 10.000 puntos y roza récords históricos
[<http://www.expansion.com/2014/12/02/mercados/1417510303.html>] 01/12/2014

El Ibex 35 corrige un 0,9% ante la debilidad de los datos macro
[<http://www.expansion.com/2014/12/01/mercados/1417416907.html>] 01/12/2014

El discurso de Draghi del jueves decidirá el 'rally' bursátil de fin de año
[http://cincodias.com/cincodias/2014/11/28/mercados/1417199439_650759.html] 01/12/2014

El rebote de Wall Street anima al Ibex 35.

Appendix 2: TABLES CREATED FOR STUDY. ENGLISH CORPUS

SOURCE	METAPHORICAL PATTERN	TARGET DOMAIN - ITEM	GENERIC CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	SPECIFIC RELATION	MORENO LARA'S TAXONOMY
--------	----------------------	----------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------	------------------------

FINANCIAL TIMES	2. The uptick in volatility on commodity and foreign exchange markets is not something that markets like	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	3. Stock benchmarks are mostly firmer	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE	INDEXES ARE PEOPLE	THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	4. The improved mood in commodity markets allowed risk markets to rebound after a very soft start to the week	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION	MARKETS ARE COMPETITORS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	5. On Wall Street, the S&P 500 is adding 8 points to 2,061 following a broadly upbeat Asian session	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A SHOW	COUNTRIES ARE PERFORMERS OF THE SHOW	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	6. Spain's 10-year falling 8 basis points to a record 1.85 per cent	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION	COUNTRIES ARE COMPETITORS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	7. while Italy's shed 2bp to 2.01 per cent.	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	8. The German 10-year Bund yield touched a record low of 0.69 per cent.	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION		ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	9. Germany's Dax touched a new record of 10,038 before profit takers nudged it down 0.2 per cent to 9,941.	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A FIGHT	INVESTORS ARE FIGHTERS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	10. But the broader FTSE Eurofirst 300 remains up 0.5 per cent as the oil and gas production sub-index climbs 2.6 per cent	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	11. Fresh evidence of the fragile state of the region's economy came from the final reading of the November eurozone manufacturing purchasing managers' index.	ECONOMY	THE ECONOMY IS A BODY	ACTIVITY DOWNWARD IS ECONOMY SICKNESS	THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	12. "Final manufacturing PMIs (Purchasing Managers' Index) for November confirm that global growth is slowing, with activity weaker in the eurozone, Japan and China,"	ECONOMY	THE ECONOMY IS A BODY		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	13. ...further stimulus measures to bolster eurozone growth and halt a recent fall in inflation.	ECONOMY	THE ECONOMY IS A BODY		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	14. The sector slumped 8.9 per cent over the previous six sessions...	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES ARE OBSTACLES IN THE PATH	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	15. the recent extreme volatility in the sector abates.	MARKET	THE ECONOMY IS A BODY		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	16. Oil prices managed to stage a sharp rebound that	MONEY	MONEY IS A PERSON	CURRENCIES ARE PEOPLE	THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

	helped the rouble trim an early slide that took it to a record low against the dollar, although the Russian currency was still some 1.6 per cent weaker on the day. The Australian dollar touched a four-year low against its US namesake before recovering.				
	17. Oil prices managed to stage a sharp rebound that helped the rouble trim an early slide that took it to a record low against the dollar, although the Russian currency was still some 1.6 per cent weaker on the day. The Australian dollar touched a four-year low against its US namesake before recovering.	MONEY	THE ECONOMY IS A FIGHT	CURRENCIES ARE FIGHTERS	ACTIONS ARE AVENTS
	18. The price action on equities seems to have shifted to a more cautious tone from the prior optimism that lower oil prices will be good for growth.	MONEY	MONEY IS A PERSON		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	19. The calmer tone is reducing demand for some fixed-income havens, though many sovereign yields, which move inversely to bond prices, are still close to record lows as central banks are seen remaining ultra-accommodative	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE	BANKS ARE PEOPLE	THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	20. The calmer tone is reducing demand for some fixed-income havens, though many sovereign yields, which move inversely to bond prices, are still close to record lows as central banks are seen remaining ultra-accommodative	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A FIGHT	THE ECONOMY IS A PATH WITH SHELTERS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	21. The dollar index is up 0.6 per cent to a four-year high of 88.50, reflecting softness for its major peers, notably the yen – which is at a fresh 7-year trough – the pound and euro.	MONEY	MONEY IS A PERSON	CURRENCIES ARE PEOPLE	THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	22. The dollar index is up 0.6 per cent to a four-year high of 88.50, reflecting softness for its major peers, notably the yen – which is at a fresh 7-year trough – the pound and euro.	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A FIGHT	CURRENCIES ARE FIGHTERS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	23. The relapse for crude is delivering a reversal for the Russian rouble, pushing it down 5.2 per cent to Rbs53.84, just a whisker away from Monday's	MONEY	MONEY IS A PERSON		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

	record intraday low of Rbs53.86.				
	24. The relapse for crude is delivering a reversal for the Russian rouble, pushing it down 5.2 per cent to Rbs53.84, just a whisker away from Monday's record intraday low of Rbs53.86	MONEY	THE MARKET IS A FIGHT	CURRENCIES ARE FIGHTERS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	25. However, the further slump in the oil price, to around \$70 per barrel, and continued strength of the US mean that fears of a sharp downturn look overdone."	MONEY	THE MARKET IS A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	CURRENCIES ARE WALKERS ON A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	26. ...global equities began the month on a cautious note as participants digested further worrying reports on the health of the Chinese and eurozone manufacturing sectors.	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	27. ...global equities began the month on a cautious note as participants digested further worrying reports on the health of the Chinese and eurozone manufacturing sectors.	ECONOMY	THE ECONOMY IS A BODY	ACTIVITY DOWNARD IS ECONOMY SICKNESS	THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	28. Indeed, central bank strategy continues to dominate investors' thinking.	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A STRATEGY GAME	BANKS ARE STRATEGY PLAYERS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	29. The Shanghai Composite jumped 3.1 per cent to a fresh three-year high after traders reasoned that the recent soft data...	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE	COMPANIES ARE COMPETITORS	THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	30. Hong Kong's Hang Seng, which stumbled 2.6 per cent ..., rebounded 1.2 per cent.	COMPANIES	THE MARKET IS A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	COMPANIES ARE WALKERS ON A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	31. ...as the oil and gas production sub-index climbs 2.6 per cent.	PRODUCTS	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	PRODUCTS ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	32. Copper touched its lowest in more than four years before rebounding to close 1.5 per cent higher in London.	PRODUCTS	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	PRODUCTS ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	33. Gold fell as low as \$1,143 an ounce after Swiss... But it too enjoyed a remarkable bounce as it then reached \$1,211, a gain of \$44, or 3.8 per cent, on the day.	PRODUCTS	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	PRODUCTS ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	34. ... a supply glut caused a collapse in the price of crude, which in turn triggered a broader rout in industrial and precious metals.	MONEY	MONEY IS A PERSON		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

	35. Brent initially sank to \$67.53 a barrel	PRODUCTS	THE MARKET IS A TRAVESY	PRODUCTS ARE VEHICLES - BOAT	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	36. Many products rebounded sharply from intraday lows on Monday but are looking weaker again on Tuesday as concerns linger over slowing global ...	PRODUCTS	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	PRODUCTS ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	37. Brent is down 1.9 per cent at \$71.15 a barrel, copper is easing 0.9 per cent to \$6,388 a tonne and gold is off \$13 to \$1,197 a troy ounce.	PRODUCTS	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	PRODUCTS ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH

SOURCE	METAPHORICAL PATTERN	TARGET DOMAIN - ITEM	GENERIC CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	SPECIFIC RELATION	MORENO LARA'S TAXONOMY
THE ECONOMIST	38. London Stock Exchange Group (LSEG) proved to be one of the best performers on its own market.	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A SHOW	MARKETS ARE PERFORMERS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	39. Stock exchanges nowadays are not just marketplaces where securities such as stocks, bonds and derivatives are bought and sold. Clearing and settling trades, managing collateral[...], is the name of the game these days for many exchanges	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A STRATEGY GAME		ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	40. If it had happened in a stockmarket, we would be talking about a crash (the equivalent decline for the Dow would be more than 1000 points).	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	THE MARKET IS A VEHICLE	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	41. But it may not be so helpful for the high-yield market since frackers have been big issuers of debt	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	42. Though trading in the domestic cash securities market was lacklustre, derivatives did better	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A SHOW		ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	43. A falling oil price is a positive for the global economy, acting as a tax cut for western consumers.	ECONOMY	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	PRODUCTS ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	44. Currencies linked to oil, such as the Norwegian krone and the Canadian dollar, took a hit.	MONEY	MONEY IS A PERSON		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

45. Total revenues at the outfit grew by 6% in the nine months until September	MONEY	MONEY IS A PERSON		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
46. Its shares rocketed when the group, which includes the Borsa Italiana, a Milan-based exchange, ..	MONEY	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	MONEY IS A VEHICLE – SPACESHIP	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
47. Another is better technology and a growing preference among investors for mimicking indices rather than picking individual winners.	INVESTORS	THE MARKET IS A STRATEGY GAME	INVESTORS ARE PLAYERS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
48. LSEG is not the only exchange group with big ambitions.	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
49. DBG also made a lot of money settling transactions and selling information.	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
50. On November 6th Euronext produced its first quarterly results since floating free of Intercontinental Exchange in late June	COMPANIES	THE MARKET IS A TRAVESY	COMPANIES ARE VEHICLES - BOAT	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
51. The group, ..., has had its work cut out to cut costs after seven years in the maw of bigger organisations.	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE ANIMALS	COMPANIES ARE FOOD	THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
52. And it has come up with an avalanche of new derivative products to tempt investors.	INVESTORS	THE MARKET IS A NATURAL FORCE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
53. On October 27th Deutsche Börse Group (DBG), which has been struggling to grow over the past few years, revealed its results	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
54. ... as DBG was hit by a fine for allegedly violating American sanctions against Iran during the third quarter of 2013.	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
55. ... as DBG was hit by a fine for allegedly violating American sanctions against Iran during the third quarter of 2013.	COMPANIES	THE MARKET IS A FIGHT		ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
56. Europe's big stock-exchange groups have different strategies for growth	COMPANIES	THE MARKET IS A STRATEGY GAME	COMPANIES ARE PLAYERS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
57. London is pinning its hopes on its acquisition of Frank Russell, as well as continued expansion in America.	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
58. DBG, which has already been burnt by a disappointing investment in America and its failure ...	COMPANIES	THE MARKET IS A NATURAL FORCE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
59. Euronext itself is focusing—for now, at any rate—on	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

	sprucing up its existing core businesses by broadening the range of products and improving transparency, liquidity, innovation and customer service.				
	60. The London Stock Exchange is a close second, with good organisation and innovation, but it does not have a derivatives exchange.	COMPANIES	THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION	COMPANIES ARE VEHICLES	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	61. Euronext is the weakest now, but with a very motivated management team and good plans	COMPANIES	THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION	COMPANIES ARE COMPETITORS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	62. Euronext is the weakest now, but with a very motivated management team and good plans	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	63. Oil's 6.7% fall yesterday was all the more remarkable in that the event that triggered it - ...	PRODUCTS	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	PRODUCTS ARE VEHICLES	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	64. A low oil price is on balance positive for equities; since 1970, in the 12 months following a 25% crude fall, global equities have returned 19% in real terms, according to HSBC	PRODUCTS	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	PRODUCTS ARE VEHICLES	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	65. Of course, oil's weakness may in part be due to weaker global demand but the rise of fracking ...	PRODUCTS	PRODUCTS ARE PEOPLE	DEVALUATION IS AN ILL BODY	THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

SOURCE	METAPHORICAL PATTERN	TARGET DOMAIN - ITEM	GENERIC CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	SPECIFIC RELATION	MORENO LARA'S TAXONOMY
THE GUARDIAN	66. Just two days ago, there was market news about giving out an explicit target	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A FIGHT		ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	67. Despite recent quarrels, the introductory statement repeated the Governing Council's unanimous commitment to using additional unconventional instruments within its mandate	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A FIGHT		ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	68. Stock markets hit by global growth fears	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A FIGHT		ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	69. European markets slump on	MARKET	MARKETS ARE		THE GREAT CHAIN

	global growth fears		PEOPLE		OF BEING
	70. Gloomy World Bank forecasts and disappointing US retail sales end the FTSE 100 down 180 points, or 2.8%	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	71. Weak US retail sales shock markets	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	72. Italy and Spain, however, were an exception, ending the day slightly lower	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	MARKETS ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	73. The Bank of England governor has told the Treasury Select committee that the low oil price has increased the chance of an emerging market sovereign defaulting.	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	74. It was a sea of red as investors sent markets tumbling, spooked by renewed fears of a global slowdown	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A PATH WITH OBSTACLES		IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	75. The FTSE 100 finished down 153.74 points or 2.35% at 6388.46, the index dominated as it is by commodity companies	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	76. The FTSE 100 finished down 153.74 points or 2.35% at 6388.46, the index dominated as it is by commodity companies	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A FIGHT		ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	77. The FTSE 100 finished 12.01 points or 0.18% higher at 6551.15	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	78. Germany's Dax dropped 1.25% to 9817.08	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	79. France's Cac closed 0.46% higher at 4227.68	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	80. Italy's FTSE MIB dipped 0.73% to 19,285.76	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	81. Spain's Ibex ended 0.15% at 10,261.8	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION	INDEXES ARE COMPETITORS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	82. Italy's FTSE MIB lost 1.59% to 18,410.68	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION	INDEXES ARE COMPETITORS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	83. Spain's Ibex ended down 1.2% at 9846.0	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	84. Euro hits two year low as ECB tells staff to prepare more measures	MONEY	MONEY IS A PERSON		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	85. the ECB is determined to find an XXL version of its current monetary happy meal.	MONEY	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE	MONEY IS FOOD	THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

	86. Euro falls below launch price	MONEY	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	CURRENCIES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	87. Disappointing US retail sales added to the negative mood, while the euro dropped as a ruling from the European Court of Justice seemed to pave the way for the European Central Bank to consider quantitative easing at next week's meeting	MONEY	THE MARKET IS A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	CURRENCIES ARE WALKERS ON A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	88. ... Friday's non-farm payroll numbers. The final scores showed:...	ECONOMY	THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION		ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	89. As expected the ECB kept its ammunition dry at today's meeting.	COMPANIES	THE MARKET IS A FIGHT	COMPANIES ARE FIGHTERS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	90. Instead, the ECB is preparing the XXL version of its monetary happy meal.	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE	MONEY IS FOOD	THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	91. It was a sea of red as investors sent markets tumbling, spooked by renewed fears of a global slowdown	MARKETS	THE MARKET IS A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	MARKETS ARE WALKERS ON A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
	92. As for oil, Brent crude initially tried to move ahead, but higher than expected US inventory figures saw it back on the slide, down 1.42% to \$45.93 a barrel.	PRODUCTS	THE MARKET IS A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	PRODUCTS ARE WALKERS ON A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH

Appendix 3: TABLES CREATED FOR STUDY. SPANISH CORPUS

SOURCE	METAPHORICAL PATTERN	TARGET DOMAIN -	GENERIC CONCEPTUAL	SPECIFIC RELATION	MORENO LARA'S TAXONOMY
--------	----------------------	-----------------	--------------------	-------------------	------------------------

		ITEM	METAPHOR		
EXPANSIÓN	1. La Bolsa alemana está a un paso de renovar los máximos históricos que logró el pasado mes de junio.	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION	MARKETS ARE COMPETITORS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	2. la Bolsa alemana se ha movido cerca de los niveles de cierre de 2013, y sólo su reciente racha de más de diez subidas consecutivas ha permitido afianzar el balance positivo en 2014	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	MARKETS ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
	3. la Bolsa alemana se ha movido cerca de los niveles de cierre de 2013, y sólo su reciente racha de más de diez subidas consecutivas ha permitido afianzar el balance positivo en 2014	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	4. Mejor se ha comportado el mercado de deuda, con la rentabilidad del bono español a diez años en el 1,84% y la prima de riesgo cerca de los 110 puntos básicos	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	5. En el mercado de deuda pública, el interés exigido al bono español repite cerca de sus niveles más bajos de la serie histórica, relajándose hacia el 1,8%,	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	6. El ránking de las mayores subidas del Dax alemán en lo que va de año lo lideran ThyssenKrupp y Baye	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION	COMPANIES ARE COMPETITORS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	7. La reciente remontada bursátil de la dos grandes energéticas alemanas ha sido determinante en la escalada del Dax hasta los 10.000 puntos	COMPANIES	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	COMPANIES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
	8. La reciente remontada bursátil de la dos grandes energéticas alemanas ha sido determinante en la escalada del Dax hasta los 10.000 puntos	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
	9. El Dax alemán ha roto su racha de 12 sesiones al alza, pero ha cerrado con mínimos descensos	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
	10. La desaceleración de la	ECONOMY	THE MARKET IS A	CURRENCIES	IMAGE SCHEMA –

	economía alemana se ha visto compensada en parte por los efectos de las caídas del euro frente al dólar, lo que supone todo un estímulo para las grandes empresas exportadoras germanas.		VERTICAL PATH	ARE CLIMBERS	PATH
11.	La desaceleración de la economía alemana se ha visto compensada en parte por los efectos de las caídas del euro frente al dólar, lo que supone todo un estímulo para las grandes empresas exportadoras germanas.	ECONOMY	THE MARKET IS A RACE	THE ECONOMY IS A VEHICLE	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
12.	Hay nuevos síntomas de desaceleración en China.	ECONOMY	THE MARKET IS A RACE	THE ECONOMY IS A VEHICLE	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
13.	Diciembre se estrena con recortes ante la debilidad de los datos macroeconómicos conocidos hoy en las principales economías del mundo	ECONOMY	THE ECONOMY IS A BODY	ACTIVITY DOWNWARD IS SICKNESS	THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
14.	Con estas referencias macroeconómicas, los principales índices de la bolsa neoyorquina acabaron con caídas.	ECONOMY	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
15.	En su remontada, el índice Dax ha superado el umbral de los 10.000 puntos	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
16.	El índice bursátil de referencia de la mayor economía de la eurozona vuelve a moverse por encima de la barrera de los 10.000 puntos.	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A FIGHT	INDEXES ARE FIGHTERS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
17.	En su remontada, el ansiado rally de fin de año podría deparar nuevos récords históricos	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
18.	El sector automovilístico ha apuntalado las subidas de la Bolsa de Fráncfort	COMPANIES	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	COMPANIES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA - PATH
19.	los inversores comienzan diciembre recogiendo beneficios ante la debilidad de los datos macroeconómicos conocidos hoy	INVESTORS	THE ECONOMY IS A BODY	ACTIVITY DOWNWARD IS SICKNESS	THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
20.	El sector manufacturero alemán ha entrado en	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

	contracción				
	21. Las empresas energéticas siguen estando en el ojo del huracán	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A NATURAL FORCE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	22. <u>Técnicas Reunidas</u> ha cedido un 3,86% y <u>ArcelorMittal</u> , un 1,53%.	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	23. Sin embargo, las caídas han estado encabezadas, una sesión más, por Abengoa (-7,06%).	COMPANIES	THE MARKET IS A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	COMPANIES ARE WALKERS ON A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
	24. El sector bancario también ha lastrado al selectivo español, con <u>Bankia</u> (-3,40%) a la cabeza de los retrocesos	COMPANIES	THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION	COMPANIES ARE COMPETITORS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	25. Las presiones bajistas también han afectado a la Bolsa española	INVESTORS	THE MARKET IS A FIGHT	INVESTORS ARE FIGHTERS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	26. En la Bolsa de Londres ha destacado un peso pesado como Vodafone, que se ha dejado casi un 3% ante la posibilidad de que prepare una opa sobre Liberty Global	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A FIGHT	COMPANIES ARE FIGHTERS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	27. En la Bolsa de Londres ha destacado un peso pesado como Vodafone, que se ha dejado casi un 3% ante la posibilidad de que prepare una opa sobre Liberty Global	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	28. En Lisboa, PortugalTelecom se ha desplomado más de un 7%	COMPANIES	THE MARKET IS A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	COMPANIES ARE WALKERS ON A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
	29. En Lisboa, PortugalTelecom se ha desplomado más de un 7%	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
	30. La energética alemana, además de anunciar la venta de sus activos en España, ha avanzado una escisión del grupo	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

SOURCE	METAPHORICAL PATTERN	TARGET DOMAIN - ITEM	GENERIC CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	SPECIFIC RELATION	MORENO LARA'S TAXONOMY
CINCO DÍAS	31. Contrasta la extrema	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A		ACTIONS ARE

	inestabilidad del mercado del petróleo y las materias primas con la calma que viven las Bolsas en este final de año		FIGHT		EVENTS
32.	las principales Bolsas habían terminado la jornada con leves retrocesos	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	MARKETS ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
33.	Entre miedo a la desaceleración y estímulos monetarios, las Bolsas europeas se mantienen cautas.	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE	THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
34.	El gran riesgo de decepción radica en realidad en que la expresa oposición del presidente del Bundesbank, JensWeidmann, a un programa semejante podría hacer saltar por los aires el buen tono que propicia en los parques la mera posibilidad de que un plan así pueda ponerse en marcha.	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A WAR		ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
35.	Pero la apertura positiva de Wall Street, que parece haber superado los débiles datos del Black Friday, han animado a las plazas del Viejo Continente y el Ibex 35 gana en torno a un 0,7%, colocándose en los 10.750 puntos	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
36.	Pero la apertura positiva de Wall Street, que parece haber superado los débiles datos del Black Friday, han animado a las plazas del Viejo Continente y el Ibex 35 gana en torno a un 0,7%, colocándose en los 10.750 puntos	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION	INDEXES ARE COMPETITORS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
37.	Está la atención del mercado en el petróleo.	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
38.	...lo que permitió que muchos mercados asiáticos, muy vinculados a las materias primas, cerrasen al alza.	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	MARKETS ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
39.	son los factores que el mercado tiene que digerir	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

40.	El pulso de los mercados europeos late a menudo al ritmo que marca Mario Draghi	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
41.	Aunque de momento el mercado parece haber obviado sus recelos, Weidmann ha sugerido que la compra de deuda roza la ilegalidad	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
42.	En la subida acompañaron otras materias primas, lo que permitió que muchos mercados asiáticos, muy vinculados a las materias primas, cerrasen al alza	PRODUCTS	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	PRODUCTS ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
43.	En la subida acompañaron otras materias primas, lo que permitió que muchos mercados asiáticos, muy vinculados a las materias primas, cerrasen al alza	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A RACE	MARKETS ARE RACERS	
44.	El futuro inmediato del Ibex, que arranca diciembre por encima de los 10.700 puntos [...] %, ...	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION	INDEXES ARE VEHICLES	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
45.	En Alemania, el índice PMI manufacturero de noviembre, para sorpresa de los analistas, ha entrado en contracción, al bajar hasta los 49,5 puntos	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE	INDEXES ARE PEOPLE	THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
46.	la economía de Rusia se contraerá un 0,8% el próximo año	MARKET	THE ECONOMY IS A BODY		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
47.	Mucho peor le están yendo las cosas al rublo ruso, que no gana para disgustos	MONEY	MONEY IS A PERSON		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
48.	La divisa rusa vuelve a anotar hoy nuevos mínimos históricos frente al dólar a causa de la caída reciente del precio del petróleo	MONEY	MONEY IS A PERSON		THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING
49.	La divisa rusa vuelve a anotar hoy nuevos mínimos históricos frente al dólar a causa de la caída reciente del precio del petróleo	MONEY	THE MARKET IS A FIGHT	CURRENCIES ARE FIGHTERS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
50.	La divisa rusa vuelve a anotar hoy nuevos mínimos históricos frente al dólar a causa de la caída	PRODUCTS	THE MARKET IS A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	PRODUCTS ARE WALKERS ON A PATH WITH	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH

	reciente del precio del petróleo			OBSTACLES	
	51. la expectativa es que Draghi espere hasta el próximo año para lanzar su gran as en la manga	ECONOMY	THE MARKET IS A STRATEGY GAME		ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	52. Ayer el Brent cayó por debajo de 67 dólares para, por la tarde, repuntar casi en vertical, un 3,4%, un típico movimiento de cierre de posiciones cortas...	PRODUCTS	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	PRODUCTS ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
	53. las principales Bolsas habían terminado la jornada con leves retrocesos	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	MARKETS ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH

SOURCE	METAPHORICAL PATTERN	TARGET DOMAIN - ITEM	GENERIC CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	SPECIFIC RELATION	MORENO LARA'S TAXONOMY
EL ECONOMISTA	54. Recogida de beneficios en las principales plazas europeas, que abordaron la primera sesión de diciembre a la baja	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A FIGHT	MARKETS ARE FIGHTERS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS
	55. Los descensos fueron ayer generalizados en la renta variable europea y también en Wall Street, donde las caídas generan dudas sobre si se trata del comienzo de una corrección en los principales índices estadounidenses o un simple retroceso para continuar con las subidas.	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH		IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
	56. En el peor de los casos, añaden estos expertos, "entendemos que los índices podrían formar lo que se conoce en análisis técnico como <i>pull back</i> , o vuelta atrás, a probar la solidez de antiguas resistencias que ahora se han convertido en soportes	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
	57. Y es que de manera ininterrumpida desde el ejercicio de 2008, el Ibex 35 ha dado su particular	MARKET	MARKETS ARE PEOPLE	INDEXES ARE PEOPLE	THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

	aguinaldo a los inversores, cerrando el mes de diciembre con saldo positivo				
	58. El índice de referencia español <i>pinchó</i> ayer al retroceder un 0,91% hasta los 10.672,8 puntos.	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	INDEXES ARE VEHICLES	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
	59. Si se tienen en cuenta las valoraciones más optimistas el índice cuenta con un recorrido del 30%	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A PATH WITH OBSTACLES	INDEXES ARE VEHICLES	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
	60. “[...] entendemos que la corrección de corto podría acabar siendo una vuelta atrás para probar la solidez de antiguas resistencias, que ahora se han convertido en soportes, como son los 10.475”	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
	61. Así, en el caso de retomarse las alzas el índice se iría a buscar las resistencias de los 10.950 en primer lugar y posteriormente los 11.200 (máximos anuales), un nivel que ha intentado superar en anteriores ocasiones a lo largo de 2014 sin mucho éxito.	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
	62. De este modo, de media en los últimos seis ejercicios el selectivo (Ibex 35) ha subido en los últimos treinta días del año en torno a un 3% (destacando de forma individual, 2010 sería el ganador con un repunte del 6,39%).	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A VERTICAL PATH	INDEXES ARE CLIMBERS	IMAGE SCHEMA – PATH
	63. De este modo, de media en los últimos seis ejercicios el selectivo (Ibex 35) ha subido en los últimos treinta días del año en torno a un 3% (destacando de forma individual, 2010 sería el ganador con un repunte del 6,39%).	MARKET	THE MARKET IS A COMPETITION	INDEXES ARE COMPETITORS	ACTIONS ARE EVENTS