Metaphor and metonymy
A study of figurative language in newspapers
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Abstract

The aim of this study is to investigate possible differences between one tabloid and one broadsheet paper in terms of use of metaphor and metonymy. The data was collected from the news section of two online newspapers, The Sun and The Telegraph. Over a period a five days, a total of ten articles were chosen - five from each newspaper. The categorization of the data was carried out on the basis of Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory, and their discussion of metonymies and structural, orientational and ontological metaphors. The results show that there is a small, rather insignificant difference between the two newspapers when it comes to the total number of metaphors. Moreover, the use of metaphor seems to differ more between different articles within each newspaper than between the two different kinds of newspaper. There is no significant difference in terms of the use of metonymy. When it comes to the relative use of the three different kinds of metaphor, the pattern is very similar in both newspapers. The results also suggest that the two newspapers sometimes differ in their use of metaphor when describing the same piece of news, although the topic of the articles could be claimed to be only superficially the same. Finally, a large part of the total number of metaphors occurs in only two of the ten articles, which deal with the topic of economics. This would indicate that the topic at hand plays an important role when it comes to the use of metaphor.

Keywords: tabloid, broadsheet, structural metaphors, orientational metaphors, ontological metaphors
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1. Introduction

Figurative language is used by everyone, both consciously and subconsciously. The most common kind of figurative language is probably metaphor. Metaphors are used to enrich language or to understand something abstract in more straightforward terms (Lindquist 2009:112). Interestingly, many of the expressions that are defined as metaphorical are so conventional and well established that we no longer recognize them as metaphors at all. For example, when we say that we *spend time* doing something, we may not realize that this is a way to express the metaphor *TIME IS MONEY*. Moreover, metaphor is only one kind of figurative language. A phenomenon with which it is related is metonymy. This type of figurative language is probably less well known by people in general than metaphor, but metonymies are also likely to be used by most people.

Arguably, figurative language is used for different reasons and in many different contexts. One area in which it is used is articles in newspapers. The present paper deals with the use of figurative language, in the form of metaphor and metonymy, in articles from two different kinds of newspaper; articles from the tabloid The Sun and the broadsheet The Telegraph, respectively.

2. Aim and Scope

Due to the general differences between tabloids and broadsheet papers (which will be explained in more detail in section 4.3) the two kinds of newspaper’s use of metaphor and metonymy might also differ to some extent. The aim of this essay is therefore to survey possible differences between a tabloid, the Sun, and a broadsheet paper, The Telegraph, in terms of their use of metaphor and metonymy. Aspects that will be analyzed are differences in frequency and kind. The different kinds of figurative language analysed are metonymies and structural, orientational and ontological metaphors, discussed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). All of these will be described in detail in sections 4.1 and 4.2.

Focus will be on the use of the different kinds of metaphor and metonymy, how and why they are used, and how the possible differences between the two newspapers and the different articles can be explained and interpreted. More specifically, the research questions that are addressed in this study are:

- How do The Sun and The Telegraph compare in terms of use of metaphor and metonymy with regard to frequency and kind?
• Are the possible differences between the tabloid and the broadsheet, in terms of use of metaphor and metonymy, down to the fact that they are two different kinds of newspaper, or are the differences better explained in terms of the topic at hand?

In order to get a broad picture of the use of figurative language in newspaper articles, both metaphor and metonymy will be analysed and discussed. As regards metaphor alone, there are many different kinds of metaphorical expressions that must be taken into account. This fact alone is a reason to limit the kinds of figurative language analysed. By adding metonymy, however, we can get an idea of how a kind of figurative language that is quite different from metaphor is used in newspaper articles. Any other kind of figurative language is outside the scope of this investigation. It seems reasonable to assume that analysing two major kinds of figurative language, metaphor and metonymy, as well as, in turn, distinguishing between three different kinds of metaphor, would provide a broad enough picture of the use of different kinds of figurative language in newspaper articles within a study of this limited size.

3. Design of the study

The data on which the analysis in this paper is based was collected from articles in one tabloid, The Sun, and one broadsheet paper, The Telegraph, respectively. The articles were found in the news sections of the online versions of the two newspapers. A comparison between different sections in the newspapers could not be included within the limited scope of this essay. Moreover, the goal was to find articles with somewhat varied topics, and this is arguably most easily accomplished within the news section. The reason for choosing articles with varied topics was to see if and, in that case, how the use of metaphor and metonymy differs between different news topics. One article was chosen each day from The Sun and The Telegraph respectively, during the period 19 September to 23 September 2011. This led to a total of ten articles – five from the Sun and five from The Telegraph. Although the articles dealt with varied topics, the two articles chosen each day dealt with the same news topic. Keeping the subject matter constant in this way means that it is possible to investigate how the two newspapers differ in their use of metaphor and metonymy when describing the same piece of news. Considering the limited size of the material, the results can probably not be generalized, but they can hopefully show some interesting tendencies.
The first reading of the articles aimed at finding the most obvious metonymies and colourful metaphors, and subsequent readings were made in an attempt to find and distinguish the less obvious metaphorical expressions as well. The organization of the data was carried out on the basis of the theory presented by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980). They describe the differences between metonymy and metaphor, and also distinguish between three different kinds of metaphor, namely structural, orientational and ontological metaphor. Additional support and inspiration was collected from Hans Lindquist (2009), John Oakland (2006) and David Crystal and Derek Davy (1969). For further details on these sources, see section 4.

One thing that must be commented on here is the fact that the counting and categorization of the metaphors and metonymies in the data is based on my own way of interpreting the article texts. The way in which the metaphors are categorized here is just that: my own interpretation. Others might have looked at it differently, and distinguished other metaphors and categorized them in another way. Also, many of the metaphors found in the articles are not as clear as the examples given in many background sources on the topic, for example those given by Lakoff and Johnson. As will be discussed in more detail in section 4.1, what Lakoff and Johnson (1980:6) call metaphors are not commonly used as such, neither in language in general nor in the articles in particular. Instead, metaphorical expressions that reflect these metaphors are used. This means that it is a matter of interpreting all the expressions that can possibly be seen as metaphorical. It is rather hard to distinguish and categorize all the expressions that can be seen to reflect a conceptual metaphor. Consequently, the counting and categorization of metaphorical expressions is always to some extent subjective. However, since the organization of the data is based on Lakoff and Johnson’s theory, and the three types of metaphor they discuss, much attention has been paid to their description of the different kinds, in order to put all the metaphorical expressions in the appropriate category.

4. Theoretical background

The following sections constitute a theoretical background to metaphor and metonymy, as well as a comparison between tabloids and broadsheet papers. Section 4.1 is a description of Lakoff and Johnson’s Conceptual Metaphor Theory, followed by a categorization of the metaphors they discuss. Section 4.2 is a theoretical discussion of metonymy, and after this is a
brief description of the main differences between tabloids and broadsheet papers, in section 4.3.

4.1 Metaphor

Metaphor is a topic within linguistics that has been studied in great detail. Two of the leading researchers within this field are George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. Their Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) revolutionized the study of metaphors and has been the foundation for much other research.

Most people view metaphor as characteristic of language alone, and also as a matter of extraordinary rather than ordinary language. However, the fundamental principle behind Conceptual Metaphor Theory is that metaphor is part of our everyday life and deeply rooted in our conceptual system. It is not only a matter of language, but also of thought and action. The theory argues that our concepts structure the world and how we function in it. By claiming that our conceptual system to a large extent is metaphorical, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3) also suggest that metaphor is a major part of our everyday functioning. This, however, does not mean that they deny its role in language. Instead, they view language as a source of evidence for what our conceptual system is like, since communication is based on that same system (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:3). Furthermore, they argue that our conceptual system is grounded in the world and our experiences in it, which leads them to claiming that metaphors are grounded in our constant interaction with our environment, in both physical and cultural terms (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:119).

Conceptual metaphors function at the level of thought. These conceptual metaphors are repeatedly referred to by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:6) as metaphors. An example of this is HAPPY IS UP. This metaphor is realized in language by what Lakoff and Johnson (1980:7) call metaphorical (linguistic) expressions. Examples of such expressions are I’m feeling up and My spirits rose (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:15). In other words, it is not metaphors (as this word is used within Conceptual Metaphor Theory), but metaphorical expressions, that are most commonly used in written and spoken language. In the metaphor HAPPY IS UP, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:15) argue for the existence of a conceptual link between the ideas HAPPY and UP. However, we seldom use the exact metaphor HAPPY IS UP when writing or speaking. Instead, we use expressions that reflect this metaphor, such as those mentioned above.
Lakoff and Johnson (1980) differentiate between three main kinds of metaphors, namely structural, orientational and ontological metaphors. Structural metaphors are instances where we metaphorically structure one concept in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:14). This phenomenon is exemplified with the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. In this example, the concept of ARGUMENT is metaphorically structured in terms of the concept WAR. This conceptual metaphor is realized in language by expressions such as *He shot down all of my arguments*. Moreover, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:4) claim that we do not only talk about arguments in terms of war, but the metaphor also partially structures the way we act when we argue. For example, we can actually win or lose an argument and we see the other person in the argument as an opponent.

Orientational metaphors, next, are more extensive than structural ones, in that they organize a whole system of concepts with respect to one another (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:14). These kinds of metaphor have to do with spatial orientation, such as up-down and in-out, and Lakoff and Johnson (1980:14) argue that these orientations arise from the fact that our human bodies look and behave the way they do in the physical environment in which we exist. An example of an orientational metaphor is the above-mentioned HAPPY IS UP. Accordingly, there is also a conceptual metaphor with the opposite meaning, namely SAD IS DOWN (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:15).

The third type of metaphor within the Conceptual Metaphor Theory is ontological metaphor. This is claimed to be the most basic kind when it comes to comprehending and understanding our experience (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:219). Ontological metaphors are about understanding our experiences in terms of entities and substances, and alternative names for them are therefore *entity* and *substance metaphors*. They allow us to treat parts of our experience as uniform entities or substances, which means that we can refer to them, quantify them, categorize them, and reason about them, in ways otherwise impossible (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:25). Understanding our experiences in terms of entities also entails viewing them as containers. These *container metaphors* are also based on the fact that we view our own bodies as entities or containers. They are realized when we impose boundaries on for example woods, which enables us to use expressions such as *into the woods* (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:29). Some experiences and objects around us are easily treated as entities or substances, but we also impose imagined boundaries on things that are not, such as the mind. The ontological metaphor THE MIND IS AN ENTITY is an example of this. This metaphor can be elaborated and provides us with other metaphors such as THE MIND IS A MACHINE and THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:27-28).
Moreover, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:33) claim that the most obvious ontological metaphors are cases when we specify a physical object as being a person; when we see something nonhuman as human. This is called personification, and covers a wide range of metaphors, each of which focuses on different aspects of, or ways of looking at, a person (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:34). Personification is realized by expressions such as *This fact argues against the standard theories* (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:33). In this expression, we impose a human quality, the ability to argue, on a nonhuman phenomenon, a fact.

Although Lakoff and Johnson distinguish between several different kinds of metaphor, they still have a common definition for the function of all these kinds. They claim that metaphor is about “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:5). This was also the basis on which the counting of the metaphors in the data of this study was carried out. Lakoff and Johnson’s view of metaphor is not unlike the one presented by Lindquist (2009:112): “in metaphor, language from one semantic sphere is used to describe something in a different sphere”. Lindquist also states that for a metaphor to work, some aspects of the processes in the two spheres must be similar. Furthermore, Lindquist explicitly describes two different motivations for using a metaphor. These are either to express something common and mundane in a more colorful way, or to explain something complicated or abstract which is hard to understand by means of something more straightforward and concrete (Lindquist 2009:112).

### 4.2 Metonymy

So far we have looked at metaphor. Let us now move on to the second kind of figurative language that the present paper deals with, namely metonymy.

Metonymies are cases when we use one entity to refer to another to which it is related (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:35), or, as Lindquist (2009:118) puts it: metonymy is based on association, while metaphor is based on similarity. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:36) also claim that the primary function of metonymy is referential, in that we use one entity to refer to another. The primary function of metaphor, on the other hand, is understanding - that is, we use one entity to understand another. As with metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:37) claim that metonymies are also part of our ordinary, everyday life, and not just a matter of language. Metonymies, as well as metaphors, are grounded in our experiences in the world. We organize our thoughts, actions, attitudes and language in terms of both metaphor and metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:39). An example of a metonymy is *The ham sandwich is waiting for*
his check, in which the ham sandwich is used to refer to the person ordering the sandwich, rather than to an actual ham sandwich. In this example, it is clear that metonymy is based on association rather than similarity, as mentioned above. In this metonymy, the ham sandwich is associated with, not similar to, the person ordering it. Another example of metonymy is when we use the word bottle instead of water, as in the phrase He drank the whole bottle. In this case, we understand that he drank the water in the bottle, and not the actual bottle. Yet other examples are when we use wheels when we refer to car, Sweden when we refer to the Swedish national hockey team, and The White House when we refer to the president of the US (Lindquist 2009:118).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980:35) also stress the importance of not confusing metonymies with personifications. With personifications, we impose human qualities on things that are not human, which is not the case with metonymies. In metonymies, such as the one above, the ham sandwich is not ascribed human qualities, but is instead used to refer to an actual person: the person ordering the ham sandwich.

Related to metaphor and metonymy is the concept simile. This kind of figurative language is very similar to metaphor, and therefore there is a need to clearly sort out the differences. Lindquist (2009:114) gives the following examples to illustrate the differences: He is a lion is a metaphor, while He is like a lion is a simile. Lindquist also distinguishes between metaphors and similes by stating that metaphors are always untrue. Similes, on the other hand, can be either true or false and they always contain a word that explicitly shows that there is a comparison, e.g. resemble or like, as in the example above. Furthermore, metaphors are considered to be more powerful than similes, since with metaphors you omit the comparison element; it is more powerful to hear that you are something than that you resemble something (Lindquist 2009:114).

4.3 Tabloids and broadsheet papers

There are two main kinds of newspapers, tabloids and broadsheets. Today these are often referred to as popular and quality, respectively (Oakland 2006:235). The names tabloid and broadsheet derive from the historical format of the newspapers. Populars were called tabloids due to their small-sheet format, while qualities had a large-sheet format and were referred to as broadsheets. To a large extent, the differences in format have disappeared as broadsheets have become more compact in form (Oakland 2006:235). However, the traditional way of distinguishing between the two types of newspapers still exists, and the names tabloid and
broadsheet are still used. Another reason that we use different names to refer to these two types of newspaper is their difference in content. Tabloids tend to treat events in a superficial way, their material is often trivialized and sensationalized, and they tend to avoid ‘hard news’ stories (Oakland 2006:235). Oakland also argues that tabloids cannot be described as instructive or as concerned with raising the readers’ critical consciousness. In contrast, broadsheets deal with national and international news and analyse current events in depth (Oakland 2006:235). The trivialized and sensationalized content in tabloids might suggest that the language in these kinds of newspaper would also be more colourful and emotive than that of broadsheets, which, in turn, would suggest that they would make use of more figurative language.

However, Oakland (2006:236) also mentions that critics have argued that the traditional broadsheets have become ‘tabloidized’ in content, in the sense of being more superficial and sensational. Hence, it may be the case that the differences in content, and therefore also in language, between tabloids and broadsheets are decreasing. The proposed tendency for different kinds of newspapers to be similar in content and language is also discussed by Crystal and Davy (1969). They claim that certain aspects of newspaper reporting are similar, independent of the type of newspaper. Examples of these are the need to compress the information of an article into a limited space, the need to be as clear as possible and the need to avoid ambiguity (Crystal & Davy 1969:174). Although Crystal and Davy made this claim more than 40 years ago, it is arguably still valid since these aspects of newspaper articles have not changed that much over this period of time.

5. Results

So far we have looked at a theoretical background on metaphor and metonymy, as well as a description of the main differences between tabloids and broadsheet papers. Let us now move on to the results of the investigation reported on in the present paper.

The results are presented in Tables 1 and 2, in accordance with the categorization presented in section 3. In Table 1, we see the frequencies of metonymies and structural, orientational and ontological metaphors, in the articles from The Sun. Table 2 presents the corresponding frequencies from the articles in The Telegraph. To be able to compare the results from the two newspapers and the different articles, the frequencies are given per 100 words. One limitation here is that these are somewhat rough estimations. Each
of the metaphors and metonymies is counted as one, although they vary in length. Some of them consist of only a couple of words, while others are longer. This is perhaps not ideal, but it is arguably the best option available. When presenting the frequencies like this, and comparing them with the total number of words in the articles, we can still compare the results from the two newspapers and the different articles, and try to distinguish differences, similarities and patterns.

Table 1. Frequency of structural, orientational and ontological metaphors, and metonymies in The Sun (per 100 words)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Structural metaphors</th>
<th>Orientational metaphors</th>
<th>Ontological metaphors</th>
<th>Total number of metaphors</th>
<th>Metonymies</th>
<th>Total number of metaphors and metonymies</th>
<th>Total number of words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Article 1</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>4.72</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 2</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 3</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>1070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 4</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 5</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>5.03</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>6.42</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>2918</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Frequency of structural, orientational and ontological metaphors, and metonymies in The Telegraph (per 100 words)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Structural metaphors</th>
<th>Orientational metaphors</th>
<th>Ontological metaphors</th>
<th>Total number of metaphors</th>
<th>Metonymies</th>
<th>Total number of metaphors and metonymies</th>
<th>Total number of words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>5.88</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>2110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned above, the metaphors and metonymies have been counted with regards to the way Lakoff and Johnson define the overall function of metaphor, and their definition of metonymy. Then the metaphors have been categorized in terms of how Lakoff and Johnson describe the three different kinds, namely structural, orientational and ontological metaphors. For a list of all the metaphors and metonymies distinguished in the data, see Appendix 1.

One common structural metaphor in the articles is the realization of the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY. This is seen in expressions such as *Davis spent his last hours praying* (The Telegraph, ‘Troy Davis executed in Georgia after last-minute plea fails’) and *with just minutes to spare* (The Sun, ‘Troy Davis is executed’). Most of the orientational metaphors in the articles have to do with up-down orientation, illustrated by the following examples: *a 4.7 per cent drop* and *the height of the banking crisis* (The Sun, ‘PM’s stark Euro warning to EU’). Many of the ontological metaphors concern viewing things as containers, as in *his behavior was full of infidelity and lies* (The Sun, ‘Lindo given life for killing fiancée’) and *in an argument* (The Telegraph, ‘Troy Davis executed in Georgia after last-minute plea fails’). Finally, the most common type of metonymy is cases when we use the institution to
refer to the people responsible, as in *Interpol believe* (The Sun, ‘First snap of boy lost in the woods’). All this will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

6. Discussion

Now that we have seen the results of the study, as presented in Tables 1 and 2, it is time to move on to a more in-depth discussion of these results. What do the figures in the tables tell us about the use of metaphor and metonymy in the articles in the two different newspapers?

6.1 Metaphor

As we can see in Table 1, the number of metaphors in The Sun is 1.82 per 100 words, and in Table 2 we see that the corresponding number for The Telegraph is 1.37. These figures suggest that the articles in The Sun make use of slightly more metaphor than those in The Telegraph. However, considering the fact that the numbers of metaphor per 100 words are very low in both newspapers, the difference is not very significant, although The Sun has almost twice as many metaphors as The Telegraph when looking at total figures (53 in The Sun and 29 in The Telegraph). In other words, the suggestion that the trivialized and sensationalized content in tabloids would lead them to make use of more figurative language than broadsheets is perhaps not applicable to the material discussed here, even though there is a slight difference. Instead, the use of metaphor seems to be highly idiosyncratic, and there is no clear difference between the two kinds of newspaper within the limited material of this study. However, it might have been easier to draw conclusions and distinguish norms concerning the two newspapers’ use of metaphor if the material had been larger.

When looking at the results for the individual articles then, we can see that the frequency sometimes differs greatly between the different articles. Some of the articles use a fairly high number of metaphors, while others use less, and this goes for articles in both The Sun and The Telegraph. This makes it hard to distinguish whether the differences and similarities follows a certain pattern. As mentioned, the use of metaphor seems to be highly idiosyncratic, both with regard to differences between the two kinds of newspaper, and between the different article topics. Of course, it might be the case that some of the differences between the articles are simply down to the fact that they have different authors. However, when taking a closer look at the results, some tendencies can be distinguished.
First, the frequency of metaphors seems to differ more between the different articles within each newspaper, than between the two newspapers. This would indicate that the use of metaphor is more dependent on the topics of the articles than on general differences between the newspapers. Although the frequencies differ between the two newspapers with all the article pairs, the differences are not consistent (with some article pairs, The Sun uses more metaphor than The Telegraph, and vice versa). The fact that the difference between the newspapers in terms of total number of metaphor is fairly small would also support the suggestion that the dependence on topic seems to be greater than the dependence on differences between the two newspapers.

Second, there are some articles that stand out from the rest when it comes to the use of metaphor. One example of this is article 1 in The Sun (‘First snap of boy lost in woods’) which has a relatively high frequency of metaphor, especially compared to the frequency in the corresponding article in The Telegraph. Article 1 in The Sun has 3.15 metaphors per 100 words, while article 1 in The Telegraph has only 0.58 metaphors per 100 words. Moreover, the article in The Sun is the shortest article in the material of this study, with only 127 words. The article in The Telegraph has 862 words, which makes it one of the longest articles. It is hard to distinguish why there is such a big difference in use of metaphor between these two articles. They deal with the same topic and have almost the same number of metaphors (4 in The Sun and 5 in The Telegraph). The best available explanation for the difference could perhaps be that the two articles convey the same information but the article in The Sun does this in much fewer words. Since the two articles describe the same event, many of the metaphors are of the same type and about the same things in both of them. The additional information in The Telegraph, which is not available in The Sun, does not contain many metaphors. Although it is quite hard to distinguish why, this is an example of a case when the two newspapers differ in their use of metaphor when describing the same piece of news.

Other articles that stand out from the rest when it comes to the use of metaphor are articles 5 in both The Sun and The Telegraph. These articles are on the topic of economics. More precisely, they describe David Cameron’s warning to other EU countries concerning the Euro debt. As can be seen in the tables, the frequency of metaphor per 100 words is relatively high in both these articles (5.03 in The Sun and 3.53 in The Telegraph). There are a total of 82 metaphors in all ten articles, and 24 of these occur in these two articles. In other words, almost a third of the total number of metaphors was found in these two articles, which are rather short compared to the other ones. Together they only cover
approximately a tenth of the total number of words in all the articles. In addition to the high frequency of metaphor in these articles, they furthermore contain several metaphors that can be viewed as more colorful than those found in the other articles. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(1) [...] failure to act swiftly over eurozone indebtedness would "lengthen the shadows of uncertainty" looming over the global economy.

(2) His grim alert came after a jaw-dropping £64billion was wiped off the value of our top firms.

(3) [...] they have to find a fundamental and lasting solution to the heart of the problem [...] 

The above figures and examples suggest that the differences in use of metaphor is not primarily down to the fact that The Sun and The Telegraph are two different kinds of newspaper, but could perhaps be better explained by the topic at hand. They suggest that metaphor, more or less colorful ones, is a rather common feature within the topic of economics. Whether this is true concerning economics in general or only a pattern distinguishable in the data analysed in this study is not a conclusion that can be drawn here. The results of this study do imply that metaphor is a common feature within economics, but it is hard to draw valid conclusions and generalize, considering the limited amount of material. However, there are certain aspects in the literature that suggest that this implication is correct. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) do not state explicitly that metaphor is common within economics. However, the fact that they repeatedly return to examples of metaphorical expressions concerning economics, especially inflation, in several different parts of their book could possibly be seen as evidence for this (see for example p. 16,23,26,33 and 170). In addition, two of the few examples of metaphors given by Lindquist (2009:111,113) also deal with economics.

There is another way in which we can distinguish that the topic at hand plays an important role when it comes to the use of metaphor. This can be seen in the many metaphors that are used when the articles describe time. In one way or another, time is mentioned in many of the articles, and when it is, it is often described in metaphorical terms. Out of the total 82 metaphors in all articles, 11 refer directly to time. Almost all of these are realizations of the metaphors TIME IS MONEY and TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:9). The examples below (from the articles ‘First snap of boy lost in woods’, The Sun,
‘Lindo given life for killing fiancée’ The Sun, ‘Troy Davis is executed’, The Sun, and ‘Troy Davis executed in Georgia after last-minute plea fails’, The Telegraph illustrate the point that time is often described in metaphorical terms and the fact that some of the differences in use of metaphor are perhaps primarily down to the topic or subject described:

(4) The teen spent two weeks following a compass north out of dense woods […]
(5) A jury took just 55 minutes to convict Lindo […]
(6) The case had been temporarily delayed by the US Supreme Court with just minutes to spare […]
(7) Davis spent his last hours praying and talking to his family and supporters.

After having compared the two newspapers in terms of total number of metaphors, and discussed differences and similarities between some of the articles, we now proceed to a discussion of the articles’ use of the three different kinds of metaphors, namely structural, orientational and ontological.

When it comes to these three kinds of metaphor, there is a rather clear similarity between the two newspapers. We can tell from the two tables that the most common kind of metaphor in both newspapers is structural, while the least common kind is orientational. Ontological metaphor falls in between these two in both The Sun and The Telegraph. Since the same pattern is clear in both the newspapers, we can conclude that there is no noticeable difference between the tabloid and the broadsheet in terms of their relative use of these three different kinds of metaphor. This similarity between the two different kinds of newspaper is in accordance with Crystal and Davy’s (1969:174) claim that content and language in different kinds of newspaper tend to be fairly similar due to certain pressures on the authors of the articles. This result is further supported by Oakland’s (2006:236) claim that broadsheets have become ‘tabloidized’ in content, which would suggest that the two different kinds of newspaper are becoming more similar in content, and therefore also in language. To conclude, there is a small, fairly insignificant difference between the two newspapers in terms of total number of metaphor, and a clear similarity when it comes to the pattern of structural, orientational and ontological metaphors.

In addition to the similarity between the two newspapers in terms of the three categories of metaphor, both newspapers seem to consist of mostly conventional, well established metaphors rather than creative and colorful ones. This could arguably be seen as
evidence for Crystal and Davy’s (1969:174) claim that all newspaper reporting is expected to be as clear as possible. The use of many colorful and emotive metaphors might perhaps lead to ambiguity and misunderstandings, and this would be a reason for authors of newspaper articles to avoid those aspects of language.

With regards to the three different kinds of metaphor they discuss, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:219) claim that “ontological metaphors are among the most basic devices we have for comprehending our experience”. This claim suggests that ontological metaphors should be the most common type in the newspaper articles. As mentioned above, this is not the case. In the data of this study, structural metaphors were found to be the most common type. This, however, can be explained by another suggestion made by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:219), namely that most structural metaphors have subparts which are made up by ontological metaphors. To illustrate the point, here are two examples from article 3 in The Sun (‘Lindo given life for killing fiancée’):

(8) The jury rejected Lindo's claim that he lost control after a row with Marie […]
(9) Lindo put scented candles in the hallway of his home to try to hide the smell from Marie's body […]

These expressions have been categorized as structural metaphors. In example 8, the state of being out of control is structured in terms of losing something concrete, and in example 9, not letting people sense the smell of something is structured in terms of hiding something concrete. In other words, the things we lose and hide are usually something concrete, and in these examples, this is used to structure our understanding of something more abstract. This is also discussed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:59), as they claim that “we typically conceptualize the nonphysical in terms of the physical”. However, both of the structural metaphors exemplified above have ontological metaphors in them. To be able to lose control and to hide smell, this fairly abstract state of mind and sense must be viewed as entities. Hence, they are examples of ontological metaphors. This pattern is true for many of the structural metaphors distinguished in the articles. Consequently, although ontological metaphor may be the most common type at the most basic level, many of them are not recognized as such, since they in turn make up other metaphors which are instead categorized as structural. In other words, it is not surprising that structural metaphor was found to be the
most common type when the data of this study was categorized, since many of the ontological metaphors were instead recognized as structural ones. The fact that structural metaphor is the most common type is also supported by the suggestion that structural metaphors, both new and conventional, “can be based on similarities that arise from ontological and orientational metaphors” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:152), so that many basic ontological and orientational metaphors are elaborated and instead make up structural ones. Moreover, both ontological and orientational metaphors serve a limited range of purposes, and they are therefore often elaborated and tend to become parts of other, structural metaphors, which can serve a wider range of purposes (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:27).

Although structural metaphors are the most common kind of metaphor and orientational the least common, in both The Sun and The Telegraph, there is one rather interesting result when it comes to the pattern of the three different kinds of metaphors. Out of the total 10 occurrences of orientational metaphors, 7 were found in only one article; article 5 in The Sun (‘PM’s stark euro warning to EU’). As mentioned above, this article deals with the topic of economics, and all the occurrences of orientational metaphors in this article are visible in the following three sentences:

(10) Every stock on the FTSE 100 fell yesterday, with the index down 246.80 to 5041.61, a 4.7 per cent drop.
(11) The crash was the biggest points fall since the height of the banking crisis in November 2008.
(12) […] Lloyds plunged ten per cent and Royal Bank of Scotland dropped six per cent.

As can be seen in these examples, all the metaphorical expressions are realizations of orientational metaphors that have to do with up-down orientation. They are realizations of the conceptual metaphors MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN and GOOD IS UP/BAD IS DOWN (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:15-16). For example, when a stock decreases in value, it is said to fall or drop, which is a realization of the metaphor LESS IS DOWN. Considering the fact that economics deals much with stock markets and prices and such going up and down, it is perhaps not very surprising that orientational metaphors are a common feature here. As discussed above, metaphor seems to be a common feature within economics. In addition, orientational metaphor seems to be more common within this topic than within others. Interestingly, there are no examples of orientational metaphors in the article dealing with economics in The
Telegraph (‘David Cameron: Euro debt ‘threatens world stability’’). Hence, in this case, as well as in articles 1 discussed above, the two newspapers differ in their use of metaphor when describing the same piece of news. This would indicate that the difference in use of metaphor is due to general differences between the newspapers. However, the difference can possibly be explained by the fact that the article in The Telegraph is a bit shorter than the one in The Sun, and that it therefore does not go into describing the “ups and downs” of specific stock markets and firms in the same direct and detailed way. Consequently, in one sense, the two articles do not deal with the exact same topic. This would suggest that the difference in use of orientational metaphor may still be down to a difference in topic, rather than general differences between the two kinds of newspaper.

Finally, as mentioned in section 4.1, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:35) discuss a special case of ontological metaphor, namely personification, in which we ascribe human qualities to something nonhuman. One of the personifications distinguished in this study occur in article 4 in The Telegraph (‘Troy Davis executed in Georgia after last-minute plea fails’), and is shown in example 13:

(13) A last ditch appeal [...] questioned the ballistics evidence in the case [...]  

In this example, the appeal is given the human ability to question the ballistic evidence in the case. As mentioned in section 4.2, Lakoff and Johnson stress the importance of not confusing personification with metonymy. In this example, the appeal is not a metonymy, since it is not used to refer to an actual person questioning something. Instead, we see something nonhuman as having human qualities, and therefore this is an example of personification rather than metonymy.

6.2 Metonymy

Now that we have made a comparison between the different newspaper articles in terms of number of metaphors and patterns of different kinds of metaphors, we proceed to the other kind of figurative language dealt with in this paper, namely metonymy.

As can be seen in tables 1 and 2, the number of metonymies in The Sun is 0.58 per 100 words and in The Telegraph the number is 0.81 per 100 words. This would suggest that The Telegraph makes use of slightly more metonymy than The Sun in relation to the total number of words. However, since the number of metonymies is very low compared to the
total number of words and since they are quite evenly distributed between the different articles, it is hard to distinguish a pattern and draw any valid conclusions. What we can do, however, is to look at how and why the metonymies are most commonly used.

By far, the most common kind of metonymy in the ten articles is what Lakoff and Johnson (1980:38) call INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE. This can be seen in the following examples (from the articles ‘First snap of boy lost in woods’ and ‘Troy Davis is executed’, The Sun):

(14) *Global police force Interpol* believe the 17-year-old [...] may have been reported missing in Britain years ago.

(15) [...] *the US Supreme Court* rejected a dramatic last-minute appeal.

In these examples, the metonymies are used because it is not very important which people are part of Interpol and the US Supreme Court. Instead, what is important is to explain which institutions are responsible for the belief and the rejection described. The wish to stress the importance of the institution is also described by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:36) as one of the major reasons for using these kinds of metonymy. There are a total of 34 metonymies in the articles, and 26 of these can be categorized as realizations of the metonymy INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE. However, some of the cases of this metonymy are less clear than others, and could perhaps instead be called INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE CONCERNED. This is illustrated by the following examples (from the articles ‘Troy Davis is executed’ and ‘PM’s stark euro warning to EU’, The Sun):

(16) But Mr MacPhail's widow, Joan MacPhail-Harris, told *The New York Times* that Davis was not the victim.

(17) In a tough speech to *the Canadian Parliament*, the PM described the world economy as being at crisis point.

In these examples, the institutions (The New York Times and the Canadian Parliament) are not *responsible* for anything as such. This has to do with the fact that in these examples, the institutions mentioned function as objects in the sentences, while in the former examples they function as subjects. However, although the institutions are not *responsible* for anything, the metonymies are still used in order to stress the importance of the institutions, rather than the actual reporter from The Times and the members of the Canadian Parliament.
7. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to compare articles from one tabloid, The Sun, and one broadsheet, The Telegraph, in terms of their use of metaphor and metonymy. This section contains a conclusion of the discussion on metaphor, followed by a brief conclusion of the metonymy discussion.

As can be seen in tables 1 and 2, there is a slight, rather insignificant, difference between the two newspapers with regard to the total number of metaphors. The metaphors are spread over the different articles - some of the articles use many metaphors and others significantly fewer. The pattern concerning the differences between the articles is not very clear when it comes to the total number of metaphor. However, some tendencies can be distinguished. Most importantly, the use of metaphor seems to be more dependent on the topics of the articles than on general differences between the two newspapers. Moreover, while there is a slight difference between the tabloid and the broadsheet with regard to the total number of metaphor, the pattern is very similar in both the newspapers when it comes to the relative use of the three different kinds of metaphor. Structural metaphors are the most common type in both the newspapers, while orientational are the least common. This is explained by Lakoff and Johnson’s claim that both orientational and ontological metaphors are often elaborated into structural metaphors, which would suggest that structural metaphor is more common than other kinds of metaphor. Furthermore, the majority of the orientational metaphors occur in only one article in The Sun, which is on the topic of economics. Interestingly, the article in The Telegraph dealing with the same topic has no orientational metaphors. In addition to articles 1 in both newspapers, which differ quite much in their use of metaphor, this is the clearest example within the material of this study of a case where the two newspapers differ in their use of metaphor when describing the same piece of news. However, it could be claimed that the topics of these two articles are only superficially the same, and then the difference in use of metaphor may still be down to a difference in topic.

Moreover, although one of them has no orientational metaphors, the two articles dealing with economics together contain almost a third of the total number of metaphors found in the ten articles. This suggests that metaphors, and not only orientational ones, are common within the topic of economics, and it can also be seen as evidence for the suggestion that the topic at hand plays an important role when it comes to the use of metaphor. Another result that supports this is the continual use of metaphor when the articles describe time.
When it comes to the use of metonymy in the articles, the difference between the two newspapers is even less evident than with metaphor. Both newspapers have rather few metonymies, spread over the different articles, and there is a very small difference in terms of number of metonymies per 100 words. This means that it is quite hard to distinguish a pattern and draw relevant conclusions. What can be said about the metonymies in the articles is that the most common type is what Lakoff and Johnson call INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE, in which the institution rather than the people representing them is important.

In conclusion, there is a slight difference between the two kinds of newspaper with regards to the total number of metaphor. The difference is even less evident when it comes to the use of metonymy. Moreover, the relative use of structural, orientational and ontological metaphors is similar in both newspapers. The results also show that some of the differences between The Sun and The Telegraph may not primarily be down to the fact that they are two different kinds of newspaper, but could perhaps be better explained by the topics of the articles. The results of this study also suggest that the two newspapers sometimes differ in their use of metaphor when describing the same piece of news, though the topics can be said to be only superficially the same. Of course, some of the differences between the two newspapers and the different articles may be down to the fact that they have different authors.

Finally, there are some limitations of this study that may have influenced the results to some extent. One limitation is that the categorization is based on my own interpretation of the language in the articles, and the metaphors could have been viewed differently by someone else. An example of this is the multiple metaphors that have been categorized as structural ones but are, in turn, made up by ontological metaphors. Moreover, the study reported on in this paper is based on only ten articles from one tabloid and one broadsheet paper, and the results are therefore very tentative. It may be the case that the results can be generalized to a larger context and newspaper articles in general, but that was not the aim of this study. What the results can do, however, is to give a brief view of the use of metaphor and metonymy in tabloids and broadsheet papers, and inspire other studies within the topic of figurative language. Future studies can deal with, for example, a more in-depth investigation of the use of metaphor within economics, or an analysis of other kinds of figurative language in newspaper articles.
Appendix 1 – list of metaphors and metonymies

The Sun

Article 1: First snap of boy lost in woods (19 September 2011)

Structural metaphors (1)

The teen *spent two weeks* following a compass north […]

Orientational metaphors (0)

Ontological metaphors (3)

First snap of boy lost *in woods*

[…] turned up after apparently living *in a German forest* […]

[…] *out of dense woods* […]

Metonymies (2)

*Global police force Interpol* believe […]

The teen spent two weeks following *a compass* north […]

Article 2: Rebecca Leighton: I begged cops to find the real killer - Cleared saline deaths nurse speaks out on TV (20 September 2011)

Structural metaphors (2)

A police officer asked if I wanted a solicitor but because I had *nothing to hide* I didn't know why I needed one.

[…] I couldn't *string a sentence together*.

Orientational metaphors (0)
Ontological metaphors (0)

Metonymies (2)

Rebecca also said in an interview with ITV's This Morning […]

[...] she was horrified to learn the media had branded her […]

Article 3: Lindo given life for killing fiancée (21 September 2011)

Structural metaphors (11)

A jury took just 55 minutes to convict Lindo […]

Lindo spent the night with Angela […]

[…] I spent the night with Andrew.

[…] they spent the day with his daughter.

To cover his tracks after the killing […]

[…] he lost control after a row with Marie […]

[…] his web of lies was getting too much to handle.

Her sister Katie, 27, burst into tears.

Lindo told Marie's family that she was "living the dream" […]

Candles to hide the 'smell of death'

[…] to try to hide the smell from Marie's body […]

Orientational metaphors (0)

Ontological metaphors (6)

His behaviour was full of infidelity and lies.
He duped the women into feeling sorry for him […]

[…] in the weeks before killing Marie.

The vile details […] would harm Lindo's chances of a fair trial. (personification)

[…] duped her family into celebrating Christmas just feet from her corpse.

He told cops he never found time […]

Metonymies (2)

Lindo given life for killing fiancée

 […] Andrew Lindo has been given life with a minimum of 22 years for murdering his fiancée Marie Stewart.

Article 4: Troy Davis is executed (22 September 2011)

Structural metaphors (5)

[…] so that you really can finally see the truth.

Davis then asked his family and friends "to continue to fight this fight".

For those about to take my life […]

[…] with just minutes to spare […]

Davis' lawyer Thomas Ruffin slammed the execution as […]

Orientalional metaphors (0)

Ontological metaphors (7)

[…] despite the situation you are in […]

[…] Mr MacPhail's son and brother watched in silence.

[…] that you look deeper into this case […]
 […] the case is *riddled with doubt*.

His mum Anneliese MacPhail said *in a telephone interview* […]

 […] seven of nine key witnesses *in the case* […]

There was a *heavy police presence* at the vigil […]

**Metonymies (6)**

 […] *the US Supreme Court* rejected a dramatic last-minute appeal.

The case had been temporarily delayed by *the US Supreme Court* […]

Hundreds of thousands of people signed petitions on his behalf and his supporters included […] *the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)* […]

Everyone who looks a little bit at *the case* knows that there is too much doubt […]

Troy Davis has impacted *the world* […]

 […] Joan MacPhail-Harris, told *The New York Times* that […]

**Article 5: PM’s stark euro warning to EU (23 September 2011)**

**Structural metaphors (9)**

 […] European leaders to *get to grips* with their debts […]

And he said it could soon be "staring down the barrel" of another *meltdown*.

 […] failure to act swiftly over eurozone indebtedness would "*lengthen the shadows of uncertainty*" looming over the global economy.

 […] a *jaw-dropping* £64billion was *wiped off the value* of our top firms.

*The crash* was the biggest points fall since […]

The FTSE 100 *slide* was matched by […]

 […] with a *knock-on effect* for other euro nations.
[…] it makes the problem worse, lengthening the shadows of uncertainty that loom over the world economy.

**Orientational metaphors (7)**

Every stock on the FTSE 100 fell yesterday, with the index down 246.80 to 5041.61, a 4.7 per cent drop.

The crash was the biggest points fall since the height of the banking crisis in November 2008.

[…] Lloyds plunged ten per cent and Royal Bank of Scotland dropped six per cent.

**Ontological metaphors (2)**

*In a tough speech* to the Canadian Parliament […]

*The problems* in the eurozone are now so big they have begun to threaten the stability of the world economy. (personification)

**Metonymies (5)**

PM’s stark euro warning to *EU*

In a tough speech to the Canadian Parliament […]

[…] failed to help *Greece* cope with debts […]

*Eurozone countries* must act swiftly.

*They* [the Eurozone countries] must demonstrate they have the political will […]

**The Telegraph**

**Article 1: German forest boy's first words: 'I'm all alone in the world, please help me' (19 September 2011)**

**Structural metaphors (3)**

He *had only a few words* of German […]
He [...] had *taken several weeks* to walk here [...] 

[...] before the *next step* in the investigation could proceed.

**Orientalational metaphors (0)**

**Ontological metaphors (2)**

[...] he lived rough for five years *in a German forest* [...] 

[...] he later described how he had been living *in a forest* [...] 

**Metonymies (4)**

A civil servant [...] has told *the Daily Telegraph* [...] 

[...] he had followed his *compass* north. 

The civil servant contacted *child welfare services* [...] 

Berlin police have made an appeal to *Interpol* [...] 

**Article 2: Cleared saline poisoning nurse 'afraid to leave home' (20 September 2011)**

**Structural metaphors (1)**

[...] the Crown Prosecution Service *dropped charges* against her.

**Orientalational metaphors (0)**

**Ontological metaphors (0)**

**Metonymies (2)**

[...] *the Crown Prosecution Service* dropped charges against her.

Speaking to *ITV1's This Morning*, she said [...]
Article 3: Music teacher jailed for life for murdering fiancée and hiding body in suitcase (21 September 2011)

Structural metaphors (3)

[…] then *spent the night* with her in the bedroom […]

He claimed he *lost control* following a row with Miss Stewart […]

A jury *took less than an hour* to reject his claim yesterday.

Orientational metaphors (0)

Ontological metaphors (0)

Metonymies (1)

Sentencing him to *life* at Bradford Crown Court […]

Article 4: Troy Davis executed in Georgia after last-minute plea fails (22 September 2011)

Structural metaphors (6)

For those about to *take my life* […]

He also asked his supporters to “*dig deeper*” into the case […]

[…] so they could “*find the real truth.*”

[…] there was no other physical evidence, such as blood or DNA, to *tie Davis to the crime.*

Davis *spent his last hours* praying and talking to his family and supporters.

[…] his sister Martina Correia, who is *battling breast cancer* […]

Orientational metaphors (3)

[…] his request to take a polygraph test was also *turned down.*
but was turned down by the five-member Georgia Board of Pardons. Davis had received support from high profile figures […]

**Ontological metaphors (5)**

[…] “dig deeper” into the case […]

[…] in an argument over a beer.

A last ditch appeal by Davis's lawyers questioned the ballistics evidence in the case […] (personification)

A last ditch appeal by Davis's lawyers questioned the ballistics evidence in the case in the case […]

[…] ordered a highly unusual hearing into the case […]

**Metonymies (6)**

[…] a last minute appeal to the US Supreme Court […]

The appeal to the US Supreme Court […]

[…] but was turned down by the five-member Georgia Board of Pardons. But the murder conviction was repeatedly upheld by state and federal courts.

Last year, the US Supreme Court ordered a highly unusual hearing […]

[…] Troy Davis has impacted the world.

**Article 5: David Cameron: Euro debt ‘threatens world stability’ (23 September 2011)**

**Structural metaphors (3)**

[…] failure to act swiftly over Eurozone indebtedness would "lengthen the shadows of uncertainty" looming over the global economy.

[…] so that struggling countries could begin exporting more.
[...] it will help the deficit countries to grow [...] 

**Oorientational metaphors (0)**

**Ontological metaphors (3)**

*Euro debt 'threatens world stability' (personification)*

[...] find a fundamental and lasting solution to the heart of the problem [...] 

More *spending by surplus countries* will not on its own deal with the debt [...] (personification)

**Metonymies (4)**

*Eurozone countries* must act swiftly to resolve the crisis.

*They* [the Eurozone countries] must implement what they have agreed.

*They* [the Eurozone countries] must demonstrate the have the political will [...] 

[...] *they* [the Eurozone countries] have to find a fundamental and lasting solution [...]


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