Book review
METAPHOR IN TIMES OF CRISIS:
METAPHORICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE GLOBAL CRISIS IN THE FINANCIAL TIMES AND IL SOLE 24 ORE 2008
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Publisher: Canterano: Arcane Editrice, 2019.

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The role of metaphor and figurative language in specialized discourse has been a fast developing strand of inquiry, especially with the growing amalgam of theories and approaches coming to intersect with metaphor study since the turn of the century (cf. Musolff 2012, Semino 2008). Antonella Luporini's new book provides a fresh and engaging take on the topical and methodological synergies, whereby, specifically, she traces the developments of financial metaphor from the global financial crisis outbreak to the emergence of cryptocurrency. The book weds methodological rigour, theoretical innovativeness and clarity of presentation to discuss metaphorical language use in media contexts and two languages, English and Italian. True to its focus, the linguistic data present a set of insights potentially useful for English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and language pedagogy, even if this is beyond the author's other ambitious aims within this work. Most notably, her biggest contribution lies in merging the perspective of conceptual metaphor in the cognitive linguistic tradition (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and the grammatical metaphor as developed within Systemic Functional Linguistics (e.g. Halliday and Mathiesen 1999), on the grounds of their shared aspects of adding semantic tension in shifts towards the concrete. This is not only the first extensive analysis that pays attention to both forms of metaphor, but also the first empirical work that traces their interaction and potential reinforcement, opening important theoretical avenues for future research.

The book is divided into an Introduction, four chapters and a Conclusion. The Introduction (pp. 13-19) explains the author's own motivation and research path, but also sets the scene for the analysis by situating it within existing trajectories of research. The first two chapters present the theoretical and methodological framework, namely developments in the study of metaphor (Chapter 1, pp. 19-43) and in approaches to metaphor from the corpus perspective (Chapter 2, pp 43-69). The following two chapters present analyses and their respective findings in English and Italian contexts: an analysis of metaphors for the global crisis in newspaper data (Chapter 3, pp. 69-101) and an analysis of metaphors to do with cryptocurrency in social journalism data (pp. 101-141). The Conclusions section (pp. 141 - 143) sums up the overall findings and gives an outlook for the future.

Chapter 1 presents an account of developments in metaphor study, from the "ornamental to the cognitive view" (p. 19). While going back in time to sketch old understandings of metaphor as merely a figure of speech has become somewhat tiring in its repeated presence in contemporary accounts, the exhaustive presentation in relation to the

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history of thought and emergence of the epistemic perspective on metaphor gives it a fresh gaze, and will serve as a fine introduction to the history of metaphor study for all those who are new to the field. The account then turns to the interest in metaphor that culminated in the late 20th century. This includes an overview going from the cognitive view of metaphor and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory of Lakoff and Johnson, to the "grammatical side of metaphor" (p. 38) in Systemic Functional Linguistics. The latter, less explored aspect of metaphor is discussed with references to examples concerning nominalisation in particular, tracing the way nominalised processes and qualities are reified, or in Thompson's (2014) words 2014, *thingified*, i.e. metaphorically portrayed as things, thus becoming atemporal, and de-personalized through agency deletion.

Chapter 2 turns to practical issues of combining metaphor study and corpus linguistic techniques. The author is well aware of the growing popularity of this methodological synergy over the past two decades, and she presents a comprehensive look into the developments in automatic extraction of metaphors from texts. At the same time, the description makes it clear that the complex nature of metaphor means there are no ideal solutions for computational metaphor extraction, as metaphor remains difficult to model and systematise. Challenges and options of manual analysis with the aid of corpus tools are subsequently presented in similar detail. Methods of metaphor identification, namely the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) and its successor MIPVU, are discussed with respect to the goals of the study; the discussion is also one of the yet scarce accounts of combing the MIPVU procedure and corpus analysis. Finally, a discussion of linking corpus linguistics and nominalusation studies is presented, described as much less developed to date, but not depriving the reader of relevant details needed to follow the analyses that follow.

Chapter 3 opens the core of the analysis itself, an investigation of the metaphors of the global financial crisis using two corpus sources: *The Financial Times* for English and *Il Sole 24 Ore* for Italian. The approach used is part-automatic and part-manual, as discussed in Chapter 2. The quantitative corpus analysis relies on common techniques, presenting wordlists, collocations and word sketches for the lemmas *crisis/crisi*; from these, a set of concordances are marked as metaphorical either containing conceptual metaphor or nominalisation. Manual concordance analysis reveals a range of source concepts that are mapped onto the target of CRISIS, such as HEALTH, JOURNEY, HUMAN BEING, MACHINE. The study generally finds great similarities between the English and Italian data, with just three source concepts discussed as potentially culturally specific for Italian. Importantly, patterns of synergy of conceptual metaphor and nominalisation are identified in this stage of analysis, clearly showing co-occurrence and complementary functions of use. The Discussion part of the Chapter then offers a more discourse-oriented analysis of the findings in context, illustrated with concrete examples. Those more interested in specialized language and terminology may also, on the whole, make use of the examples to implement them in ESP class methodologies along the lines of e.g. Rodriguez (2003), even if the author clearly does not have this practical purpose in mind in her discussions. Moving on, Chapter 4 applies a similar approach to the topic of cryptocrrrency, going forward ten years in time. A fresh aspect of this analysis is that it looks at social journalism, i.e. articles published on the article platform *Medium*. A wordlist, a keywordlist, and a list of collocates for the lemmas *cryptocurrency* and *cryptocurrencies* are presented first, with further analysis of collocates and word sketches. The main source concepts for the target of CRYPTOCURRENCY again include a set of productive source concepts such as HUMAN BEING, CONTAINER, JOURNEY, HEALTH, WAR/CONFLICT OR BUILDING. The

Discussion segment zooms in on these in more contextual detail, while also taking into account the nominalisations when present. The findings overall point to the significance of metaphorical language in the discourse observed, and again highlight the synergistic co-occurrence of conceptual metaphor and nominalisation. The metaphorical nominalisation tendencies themselves provide an important avenue for understanding patterns in the specialized discourse of finance and economics - for teachers from the language use perspective, for analysts from the semantic-with-lexico-grammatical structure realignment perspective.

On the whole, the book certainly presents some insights into the language and lived experience of the 2008 crisis and its outcomes, as indicated at its outset. The detailed metaphorical examples themselves give a useful look into ESP figurative language and its metaphorical vocabulary, even if the author does not aim to distinguish specialised language metaphors. One thing the work may leave desired for the more discourse-oriented analyst is a broader discussion of the historical, political and economic implications of the findings, such as the e.g. briefly mentioned outlook that justifies the drastic austerity measures implemented in the following years. However, the lasting value of the book is likely to lie in breaking new ground on several levels, the most evident one being the treatment of lexical and grammatical metaphor on shared grounds. The methodology itself, secondly, while following the existing developments, highlights a range of insights, possibilities and technique combinations that can enrich applications of corpus approaches to metaphor in practice. Thirdly, the very data choice of news media and social journalism brings metaphor study another step further into the explorations of the increasing convergence of media content that is currently transforming the public sphere into yet unpredictable ways - from the micro plain of linguistic forms to the macro plains of language and communication. For each of these important directions of investigation, Luporini's book presents an example of a solid case study, which will be a valuable resource for students and experienced scholars alike.

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