SVEUČILIŠTE U ZAGREBU

FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET

Odsjek za anglistiku

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KONCEPTUALNA METAFORA U NOGOMETNOM DISKURSU

Diplomski rad

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Zagreb, travanj 2017.

UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR IN FOOTBALL DISCOURSE

Diploma Thesis

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Zagreb, April 2017

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1. Introduction

With the rise of the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor, there has been an increase in the number of metaphor studies which was facilitated by the newly found, more prominent role of the phenomenon, not only in language, but also in the human mind. There has been a number of studies into the metaphoricity of various registers, specifically, Steen et al (2010) studied the percentage of metaphorical expressions in conversation, fiction, news and academic texts. Given that sports discourse overall seems to be relatively metaphorical and that there have been few studies into the language of football, I decided to identify metaphorical linguistic expressions of conceptual metaphors structuring football discourse. The aim of this paper is to compare quantitative results from a specific type of news texts, namely, football match reports, with the more generic sample of news texts analyzed by Steen et al (2010). After identifying all of the metaphorical liguistic expressions, I will look at the most common types of conceptual metaphors used in football match reports in order to provide a qualitative analysis of the discourse. In addition, the procedure used for identifying metaphorical lexical units, called MIPVU will be explained in detail and its effectiveness evaluated.

The second section of the paper provides the theoretical background to the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor. The third section presents the methodology employed in this research, with a description of the corpus and MIPVU's procedure. Detailed examples of the procedure in practice are illustrated in the following part with comments about encountered issues and problems. Section 5 presents the quantitative results of the research which will be compared to MIPVU's results from the news register and section 6 shows us the most common conceptual metaphors identified in the corpus. The final section is the conclusion.

2. Theoretical Background

Traditionally, metaphor has been viewed as a shortened simile, that is, a figure of speech in which one thing is compared to another by claiming that the first one *is* the other without explicit comparison achieved using the words *like*, *as* and so on. A new view that opposed the traditional concept of metaphor gained ground after the publication of George Lakoff's and Mark Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* in 1980. It is congruous with cognitivist linguistic theories and is known as the *cognitive linguistic view of metaphor*. The ground-breaking idea and the most important achievement of *Metaphors We Live By* is the fact that "Lakoff and Johnson showed convincingly that metaphor is pervasive both in thought and everyday language" (Kövecses 2010, x), which facilitated the rise and unification of the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor. They claim that "our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003, 3). Those concepts govern our thought and everyday functioning, structure our perception and orientation in the world, and how we relate to other people. In short, our conceptual system plays a central role in defining our everyday realities, which is what Lakoff and Johnson meant by saying that we *live by metaphors*.

Although ideas about the cognitive nature of metaphors had existed before, cognitive linguistic view of metaphor is important, because it is a "comprehensive, generalized and empirically tested theory" (Kövecses 2010, xii). It is comprehensive because it addresses a large number of issues regarding metaphor, such as the universality or culture-specificity of metaphor, the acquisition of metaphor, the nonlinguistic realization of metaphor in various areas and so on. The theory is regarded as generalized because of the fact that it tries to bring together our insights into metaphor, the language system, the human conceptual system, and different cultural contexts. It opposes the traditional view of metaphor as arbitrary and

unmotivated, and proposes that it is rooted in the bodily experience of humans, which is also known as *embodiment*, a major concept in cognitive linguistics. Lastly, a number of researchers carried out various experiments to test the validity of the theory. The experiments proved that metaphor has a psychological reality, that is, "it can be seen as a key instrument not only in producing new words and expressions but also in organizing human thought, and that it may have useful practical applications, for example, in foreign language teaching" (Kövecses 2010, xii).

The cognitive linguistic view defines metaphor as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain, while a conceptual domain is any coherent organization of experience. It can also be expressed in the following way: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B, which is what we call a conceptual metaphor (Kövecses 2010, 4). Metaphorical linguistic expressions, on the other hand, are linguistic expressions that emerge from the language of the more concrete conceptual domain, which is domain B.

The two domains that constitute a conceptual metaphor are the source domain and the target domain. The former is the more concrete or delineated domain that we draw linguistic expressions from, while the latter is the more abstract and less delineated conceptual domain that is understood in this way. It is important to note that in most cases these two domains are not reversible. This principle is known as unidirectionality and, as I had stated, it refers to the fact that the "metaphorical process typically goes from the more concrete to the most abstract and not the other way around" (Kövecses 2010, 7). In (1) we can see the noun *flank* which is a linguistic expression of the conceptual metaphor A FOOTBALL PITCH IS A HUMAN BODY in which the source domain is the human body and the target domain is the football pitch:

(1) *Vladimir Petkovic's side were quick to show their greater experience, and had already made inroads down the **flanks** before the opener.*

In this example, the principle of unidirectionality pertains to the fact that we typically compare a football pitch to the human body, not the other way around.

The most common source domain is the human body, which is clearly delineated and well known. In his research about most common source and target domains, Kövecses (2010, 18) found that "out of twelve thousand idioms, well over two thousand have to do with the human body". These findings reflect the fact that meaning is *embodied*, which means that metaphorical meaning is derived from our own bodily experience. Other common source domains are health and illness, animals, plants, buildings and construction, machines and tools, games and sport, business, cooking and food, heat and cold, light and darkness, various forces and movement and direction (Kövecses 2010). On the other hand, emotion, desire, morality, thought, society, politics, economy, human relationships, communication, time, life and death, religion and various events and actions are the most common target domains (Kövecses 2010). It is important to note that different target domains "prefer" different sources, for example time is mostly understood in terms of movement.

We have seen that sport is one of the common source domains, but how is it structured as a target domain, considering that the principle of unidirectionality is not entirely universal and the fact that some metaphors are asymmetrical in this respect (Stanojević 2013, 89)? The most prominent conceptual metaphor used to understand sport and, of course, football is SPORT IS WAR. Indeed, even George Orwell claimed that sport mimics warfare and that "serious sport has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence: in other words, it is war minus the shooting" (1945). Kövecses believes that this metaphor is culturally rooted since "many sports evolved from war and fighting, and here again, the target domain took its historical origin as its source domain" (2010, 85). The similarities between these concepts are fairly evident in their shared elements: control of territory, winning and

losing, strategic thinking, teamwork, the need for physical and mental strength as well as training, and the fact that, in principle, both are governed by some sort of rules (Charteris-Black 2004, 125-126). Although this is the most prominent and most studied conceptual metaphor pertaining to sport, it does not mean it is the only one considering that other target domains draw meanings and expressions from a variety of sources.

It is important to distinguish linguistic metaphoric expressions from literal linguistic items in order to identify conceptual metaphors. A group of researchers, called the Pragglejazz Group, devised an "explicit, reliable, and flexible method for identifying metaphorically used words in spoken and written language" (Pragglejazz Group 2007, 2). This procedure has been further refined by a group of researchers at the university in Amsterdam. MIPVU (Metaphor Identification Procedure *Vrije University*) was used to identify metaphor related words across four different registers: academic, news, conversation and fiction. The method, which I also used in this research, will be described in detail in the following sections as will their results in the news register. They have found that 13.6 % of all lexical units in these registers, or one in seven in a half words are related to metaphor, with the academic discourse having the highest proportion, followed by news, fiction and conversation (Steen et al. 2010).

3. Methodology

In this section I will describe the methods and materials used in this research. The first part will describe the selection and preparation of the corpus for analysis, while the procedure for the analysis itself will be presented in the second part.

3.1. The Sample

The source of the analysed texts were match reports from the 2016 UEFA European Championship, gathered from various sports portals and web pages of printed newspapers. The choice of match reports and not live commentary, for example, was mostly influenced by the desire to cover a fairly well constructed discourse with full sentences and more room to freely and creatively use language, while at the same time maintaining a certain standard of writing. Another important factor was the fact that MIPVU had already covered the news register, so in that case I would have a reference point for my own findings which would, hopefully, shed some more light on the issue of metaphoric language in use and on the procedure itself. I decided to arbitrarily select five match reports from five different web sites in order to get a wide and representative sample. Those websites were *bbc.com* (the tournament's opening match between Albania and Switzerland), *skysports.com* (the final between Portugal and France), *espnfc.us* (Germany vs. France semifinal), *goal.com* (group D match between Croatia and Spain) and *theguardian.com* (last 16 match between Iceland and England). The initial sample contained 4298 lexical units.

The next step was to prepare these texts for analysis by parsing them and assigning the lexical units with their appropriate part-of-speech tags. MIPVU regards single words as units of metaphorical analysis because "words activate concepts which apply to referents in direct ways (non-metaphorically) or in indirect ways via cross-domain comparison (metaphor)" (Steen et al. 2010, 167). There are, however, three exceptions to this rule. Namely, phrasal verbs, compounds and polywords which are multiword linguistic forms that should be analysed as single lexical units according to MIPVU but, luckily, it also provides us with clear instructions on how to deal with these cases (Steen et al. 2010, 27-32). While Steen and his colleagues used texts from the British National Corpus which had already been marked with POS tags, I had to parse and tag the collected texts myself using the Stanford CoreNLP's

tagger. It is a set of natural language analysis tools licensed under the GNU General Public License and is available for online use at http://nlp.stanford.edu:8080/corenlp/. It uses the Penn Treebank tag set which is different than the one used in BNC but it proved to be more than adequate for this research. There were 83 detected cases of wrong POS tags which were corrected later on.

After the texts were tagged, they were fed into an Excel table for further preparation and subsequent identification of metaphoric linguistic expressions and statistical analyses. Punctuation marks were tagged as separate units by the Stanford CoreNLP, which goes against the MIPVU standards so they were moved by hand to the ends of cells already containing proper lexical units, as were the possessive endings of nouns. Another issue were the multiword expressions mentioned above. Most of the compounds, and all of the polywords defined as such by the BNC and phrasal verbs were tagged as separate lexical units so they had to be rechecked and moved into single cells. I removed the POS tags of the split phrasal verb particles so they would not be counted as separate lexical units and deducted them from the final word count when applying the statistical analyses. There were also two cases of foreign words which were discarded for metaphor analysis (DFMA) as instructed by MIPVU (Steen et al. 2010, 173). After all the necessary steps in cleaning up the data were made, the final number of lexical units in the corpus amounted to 3867.

3.2.   The Procedure

The database was now ready for linguistic metaphor identification. As I had already mentioned, this whole research and its methodology are based on MIPVU which gives precise instructions for analysing texts in search of metaphor related words (MRW). I will provide

concrete examples of the procedure in practice in the following section but for now here are

the basic guidelines:

1. Find metaphor-related words (MRWs) by examining the text on a word-by-word basis.
2. When a word is used indirectly and that use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning of that word, mark the word as metaphorically used (MRW).
3. When a word is used directly and its use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text, mark the word as direct metaphor (MRW, direct).
4. When words are used for the purpose of lexico-grammatical substitution, such as third person personal pronouns, or when ellipsis occurs where words may be seen as missing, as in some forms of co-ordination, and when a direct or indirect meaning is conveyed by those substitutions or ellipses that may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning, referent, or topic, insert a code for implicit metaphor (MRW, implicit).
5. When a word functions as a signal that a cross-domain mapping may be at play, mark it as a metaphor flag (MFlag).
6. When a word is a new-formation coined, examine the distinct words that are its independent parts according to steps 2 through 5. (Steen et al. 2010, 25-26)

The basic tools for identifying contextual and basic meanings used by the method are

the McMillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners as the primary source, the Longman

Dictionary of Contemporary English as the secondary source, and the Oxford English

Dictionary used as a last resort, mainly to look up the historical development of a lexical

unit's meaning, which is something MIPVU generally tries to avoid (Steen et al. 2010). I have

also used these tools but found the Online Etymology Dictionary (www.etymonline.com)

useful in cases when difficulties in contrasting the basic and contextual meanings arose.

Furthermore, when resolving borderline cases of metaphor related words, I tried to emulate the inter analyst agreement principle employed by MIPVU researchers by consulting my advisor about these issues. In addition to this practice, I referred to the VU Amsterdam Metaphor Corpus (www.vismet.org/metcor) which is the full annotated corpus created by MIPVU researchers. The corpus allows keyword-in-context searches and I used this feature to find similar examples which might be helpful with my dilemmas.

The final Excel table is comprised of five columns. The first column contains the lexical units and the second their POS tags. The third column contains codes indicating the metaphoricity of the lexical unit. The codes are MRW (metaphor related word) and WIDLII (when in doubt leave it in, which is used for borderline cases). The final two columns are reserved for additional comments about the lexical units and the reasons for their potential borderline status.

Lexical unit	POS	Code	Comment about lexical unit	Comment about borderline status
By	IN	MRW		
that	DT	MRW		
stage	NN	MRW		
Hodgson	NNP			
had	VBD			
brought	VBN			
on	IN	WIDLII		ON the pitch or ON the team?
Jamie	NNP			
Vardy	NNP			
in place of	IN		polyword	
Sterling.	NNP			

Table 1: Excerpt from the database

4. MIPVU in Practice

To illustrate the procedure utilized in this research I will provide concrete examples of its use. The best way to start would be with the borderline cases, and one such example appears in the table above:

(2) **By that stage** *Hodgson brought **on** Jamie Vardy in place of Sterling.*

In (2) we see three clear-cut cases of metaphor related words (*by*, *that* and *stage*) and one borderline case (*on*). MIPVU proposes these four steps to identifying indirectly used metaphorical words:

1. Identify the contextual meaning of the lexical unit.

2. Check if there is a more basic meaning of the lexical unit. If there is, establish its identity.

3. Determine whether the more basic meaning of the lexical unit is sufficiently distinct from the contextual meaning.

4. Examine whether the contextual meaning of the lexical unit can be related to the more basic meaning by some form of similarity.

If the results of instructions 2, 3, and 4 are positive, then a lexical unit should be marked as a metaphor-related word ('MRW'). (Steen et al. 2010, 33)

Let us now see why these words were coded as metaphor related or borderline. The preposition *by* used in this context means "before or until", and its basic meaning, which is always the most concrete, specific or human-oriented sense, according to MIPVU (Steen et al. 2010, 35), is "beside or close to someone or something". These two meanings can be found as two separate, numbered senses in the dictionary so they should be perceived as sufficiently

distinct. When we compare them, we can also conclude that there is some sort of similarity between the basic and the contextual meaning, with the latter, temporal sense being more abstract and vague so we mark it as a metaphor related word. Let us now turn to the determiner *that*. The contextual meaning is "the one that is known about" and the basic, deictic sense is "the one you are looking at" so we can see this is a fairly straightforward case of a cross-domain mapping. This is a typical example of text cohesion in which demonstratives or other words with basic spatial senses are used to refer to previous topics in the text (Halliday and Hasan 1976). The noun *stage* is also obviously metaphorically used: the basic sense is "the part of a theatre where the actors or musicians perform" and the contextual sense is "a particular point in time during a process or set of events". Finally, let us consider the borderline preposition *on*. Its basic sense is "touching a surface or an object" while its potential contextual meaning would be "if someone is on a team, committee etc, they are a member of it". In this particular case, the ambiguity stems from the fact that we do not know if the author of the article refers to a player being brought on the team, in which case the preposition would be metaphorically used, or bringing him on the pitch, which would make it non-metaphorical. Generally, MIPVU encourages tagging cases like these with the WIDLII code so as not to overlook any potentially metaphorically used words.

Having demonstrated the procedure, I am now going to focus on some more borderline or problematic cases. Firstly, consider this example of a borderline verb:

(3) *With the likes of Perisic and Rakitic increasingly influential, Pjaca* **saw** *a penalty appeal turned down but Kuipers did point to the spot at the other end as Silva tumbled under Sime Vrsaljko's tackle.*

This is an example of contextual ambiguity. The basic meaning of the verb *to see* is "to notice someone or something using your eyes" which could be the case if Pjaca actually saw his penalty appeal waved away by the referee. Another possible explanation would be a

metaphorical one, stemming from the KNOWING IS SEEING conceptual metaphor, that is the contextual meaning of the verb might be "to find something out". This left me with only one choice – marking the lexical unit as borderline.

Let us move on to the final ambiguous case:

> (4) *A shock equaliser came just before the interval as Perisic turned Juanfran inside out on the left flank before **crossing** for Kalinic to finish with an improvised flick with the outside of his right boot.*

The verb *to cross* in its basic sense means "to go from one side of something such as a road or river to the other" while the separate, contextual sense is "in sports such as football, to kick or hit the ball from one side of the field to someone in the middle or on the other side". So far, so good, but when we think about the nature of their semantic relationship, we see that the act of crossing in the first sense is human-oriented. However, in the contextual sense the action is again carried out by a person, but it is the ball that is moving and crossing to the other side of the pitch which may indicate that this particular meaning might be rooted in metonymy. Steen claims (2007, 59) that both metaphor and metonymy are distinct parameters which can be present at the same time and whose values can be approximately equal, so it is possible that their semantic relation can be both metaphoric and metonymic. Consequently, we have no choice but to mark the lexical unit as a borderline case.

I have presented all of the ambiguous examples and now I will show some of the resolved ones which still presented quite a challenge.

> (5) *And so it fizzled to its close with Gary Cahill galloping around as an extra centre-forward, mutinous chants of "you're not fit to wear the shirt," from the England **followers** and Hodgson's media staff announcing he would not take any questions.*

In (5) the noun *followers* refers to "someone who is interested in the progress or development of something, especially a sport". The basic sense is "someone who believes what a religion or system of ideas teaches, or who supports the person who established them". They are separate, numbered entries in the McMillan dictionary, and indeed, they are similar. But after careful consideration, I decided that they did not fulfill the criterion of sufficient discreteness and regarded the word as non-metaphorical.

In (6), the issue is with the preposition *from*:

> (6) *Laurent Koscielny headed over **from** a corner as France looked for the second goal that would give them some breathing space* […]

From has a clearly spatial meaning: "starting at a particular point and moving away" but the context is ambiguous. If the noun *corner* referred to a position, that is the corner of the pitch, the preposition would be regarded as non-metaphorical. But in this case, it refers to a set-piece, an event based on metonymy, incidentally. This means that the word should be coded as metaphorically used.

Finally, I will present some examples of metaphorical language which constituted a very small part of the final number of identified metaphor-related words in this corpus, namely direct and implicit metaphors. MIPVU differs from MIP in this respect. While MIP disregards this sort of metaphorical language, MIPVU examines these types of expressions.

Direct metaphors are basically similes and analogies and according to MIPVU these should also be perceived as potential cross-domain mappings. They can be recognized by lexis which is incongruous with the rest of the text (Cameron 2003; Charteris-Black 2004). They can also be marked by words which imply some sort of comparison, such as *like* or *as* (Goatly 1997).

> (7) […] *a country that likes to see itself **as football royalty***.

In (7) the preposition *as* is coded as a metaphor flag (Mflag) while the construction *football royalty* is coded as a direct metaphor (MRW, direct). It is important to note that, while we mark the whole stretch of incongruous text as such, it is still regarded and counted as a single instance of a metaphorical linguistic expression.

Implicit metaphors, on the other hand, are not metaphorical by themselves. Instead they carry metaphorical meaning by referring to lexical units which are truly metaphorical. This can be achieved through substitution using pro-forms or ellipsis; that is through non-existent words which may be inserted into grammatical gaps (Halliday and Hasan 1976).

(8) *Switzerland face Romania on Wednesday 15 June at Parc des Prince in Paris as they aim to seal **their** passage to the second round* […]

In (8), the implicit metaphor is the pronoun *their*, referring to the noun *passage* which is metaphorically used in this context.

4.1.   Comments

We can see that MIPVU provides a rigorous framework for identifying metaphorical linguistic expressions which is a prerequisite for potential statistical analyses. But this rigour can also be too constraining in certain situations, which is not very problematic considering the procedure was developed with this goal in mind and the issues it faces are resolved in the majority of cases. For example, the problem of contextual ambiguity is something that cannot be influenced by the procedure itself but it offers an effective solution by introducing the category of borderline cases. As we have seen this category is helpful in other situations like cases in which both metaphor and metonymy are at play. It relies on dictionaries to provide a certain standard of quality and consistency in contrasting basic and contextual meanings but sometimes those tools are not precise enough and it is up to the analyst to resolve these rare

issues. Regarding basic and contextual meanings, MIPVU's view of spatial prepositions like *after*, *before*, *by* etc. used for referring to time are perhaps too narrow, considering they can be perceived as largely conventional in this context. Then again, considering the need for concrete delineation in statistical analyses, this stance is understandable. Other issues in contrasting meanings that arose during the research were eventually resolved by looking up the historical development of relevant lexical units. Finally, the inclusion of implicit and direct metaphors into the framework's focus is significant. Although such cases are extremely rare, it is important to take as much manifestations of conceptual metaphor into account in order to get a more complete picture of the phenomenon.

5. Quantitative Results

Out of 3867 lexical units in the database 634 or 16.4 % were identified as metaphor related with four instances of direct metaphor and four implicit metaphors. Each of those make up 0.63 % of all metaphor related words or 0.1 % of the whole corpus. Since these two types of metaphor constituted a very small number of both the whole corpus and metaphor related words, they were not looked at in detail. There were only three instances of metaphor flags (0.47 % of MRW's and 0.08 % of the whole corpus) so I followed MIPVU's example and moved them to the Non-MRW dataset (Steen et al. 2010, 194). There were twenty one instances of personification or 3.31 % of all metaphor related words and the number of borderline cases was six, or 1.65 % of the MRW dataset.

The number of complex lexical units in the corpus amounted to 60 (1.55 % of the whole corpus) with 9 polywords, 27 compounds and 24 phrasal verbs. Three polywords, one compound and twelve phrasal verbs were coded as metaphor-related which makes up 2.52 %

of all metaphor related words or 26.6 % of all complex lexical units. MIPVU's percentage of complex lexical units in the MRW dataset of all four registers was 1.8 % while they made up 1.6 % of the whole corpus. They concluded that such a marginal number did not warrant a separate analysis so they were analyzed together with the simple lexical units (Steen et al. 2010, 194). Given that the football corpus contained an almost identical percentage of complex lexical units with only a slightly higher number of them used metaphorically, I decided to follow MIPVU's example in dealing with them.

The most interesting and relevant information gained by this research might be the distribution of metaphor across word classes. In absolute numbers, prepositions, verbs and nouns are most frequently related to metaphor. Prepositions exhibit 205 metaphor related cases, verbs 189 and nouns 128 which is 522 of all 634 MRW's (or 82.33 %) and 13.5 % of the whole corpus. The largest part of the remaining 17.77 % MRW's is made of adjectives with 44 metaphorical cases, adverbs with 22 cases and determiners with 18 cases. The data is presented in Figure 1.
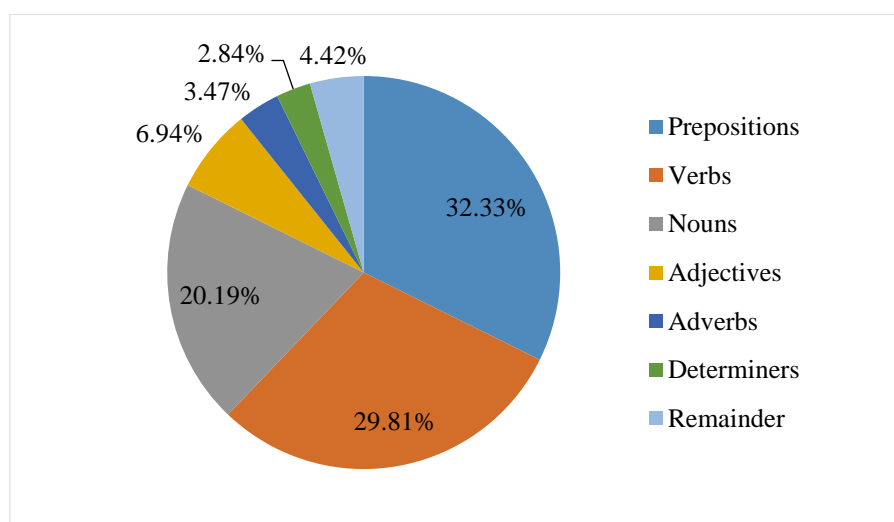

Figure 1: MRW's by word class

Prepositions have the highest percentage of metaphor related cases: 38.32 %. They are followed by verbs with 31.55 % instances and adjectives which are some way off with 13.46 % metaphorical cases. Other most common word classes and their percentage of MRW's are:

adverbs 11.64 %, nouns 10.04 % and determiners 4.25 %. Raw numbers presenting the number of MRWs and their relation to the overall counts are presented in Figure 2.
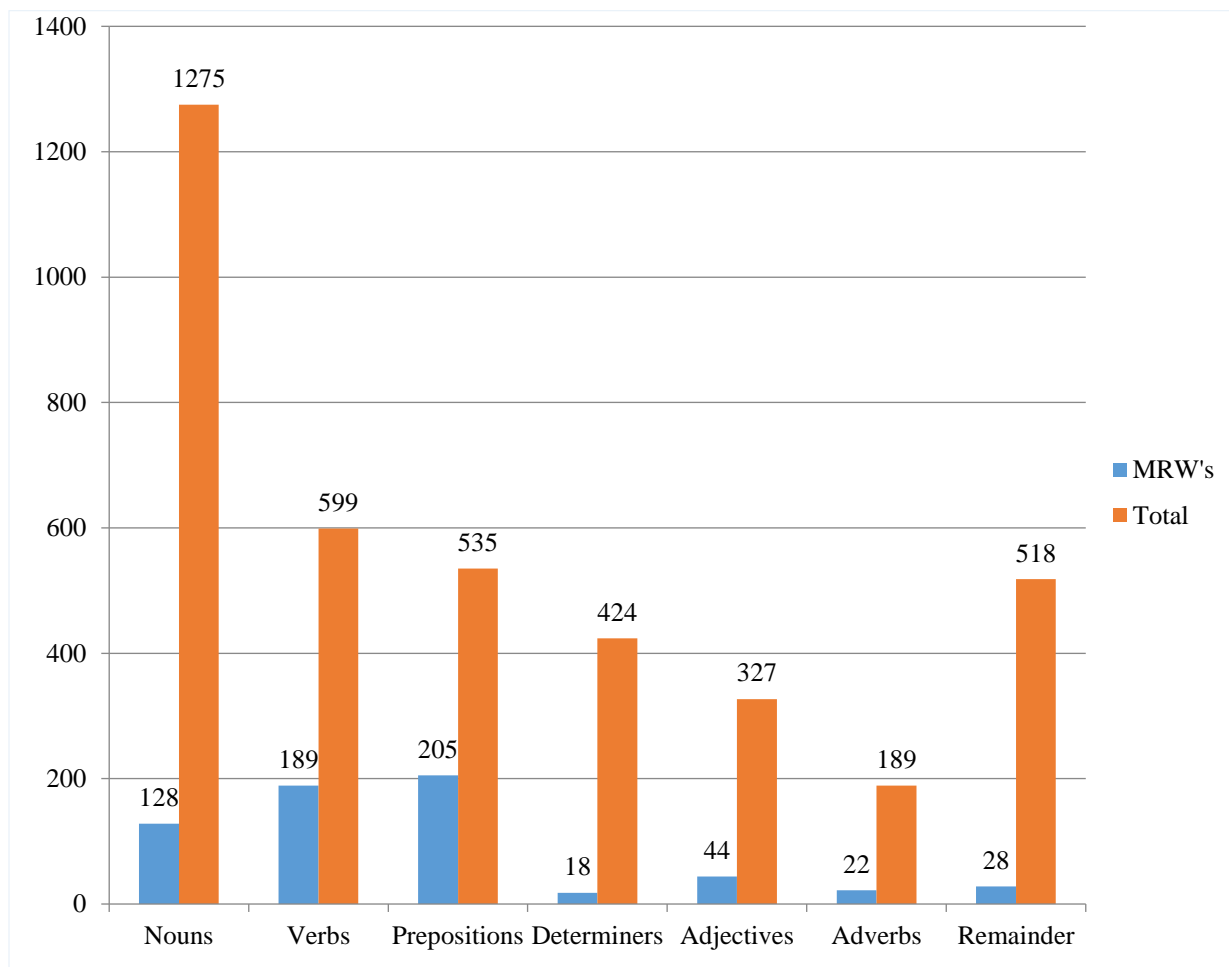

Figure 2: Number of lexical units and the number of MRW's by word class

Finally, let us compare these results with MIPVU's results from the news register presented by Steen et al (2010). Although their research was carried out on a wider scope of news reports, while this one focused solely on football match reports, the results should be easily comparable and more or less similar. In fact, in terms of the total number of metaphor related words, they are identical, with 16.4 % of both corpora used metaphorically. Word classes most frequently associated with metaphor are the same as in this research: verbs, prepositions and nouns make up 79.42 % of all MRW's and 13.02 % of the whole corpus while in our research these same word classes make up 82.33 % of all MRW's and 13.5 % of

the whole football corpus. Word classes with the highest percentage of metaphorically used instances are again the same: 38.1 % of prepositions are related to metaphor, while 27.6 % of all verbs and 21 % of all adjectives are used in this manner. Figures 3 and 4 provide an overview of MIPVU's results in the same relations between word class, the complete corpus and the MRW dataset.
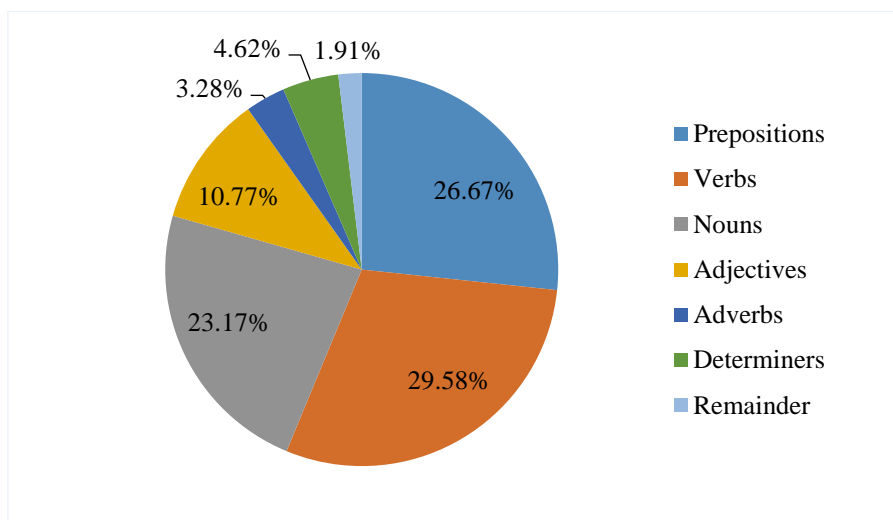

Figure 3: MIPVU's MRW's by word class

We can see that although the top three word classes related to metaphor are the same, the top spot in our results is taken by prepositions while in MIPVU's research that place is taken by verbs. It is also fairly evident that the percentage of all the word classes in this dataset is very similar. In the vast majority of cases the differences between the distributions do not exceed the four percent mark and the percentage of verbs is almost identical with 29.81 % in this research and 29.58 % in MIPVU's. There are 20.19 % metaphor related nouns in our corpus and 23.17 % in MIPVU's. Their MRW dataset contains a slightly higher number of adjectives with 10.77 % while our has 6.94 %. The remaining word class distribution is as follows: 3.28 % of adverbs, 4.62 % of determiners and 1.91 % of other lexical units in MIPVU's results, while ours contained 3.47 % adverbs, 2.84 % determiners and the other word classes have taken up 4.42 % of our dataset. The greatest difference pertains to prepositions which make up 26.67 % of MIPVU's MRW's and 32.33 % of ours – a

discrepancy of almost six percent. I conducted a chi square test to check for statistical significance. The results show that there is a statistically significant difference between the two samples (χ^2=21.56, df=4, p=0.0002), but Cramer's V of 0.0535 is smaller than 0.2 standard deviations, which is why the difference may be considered trivial.
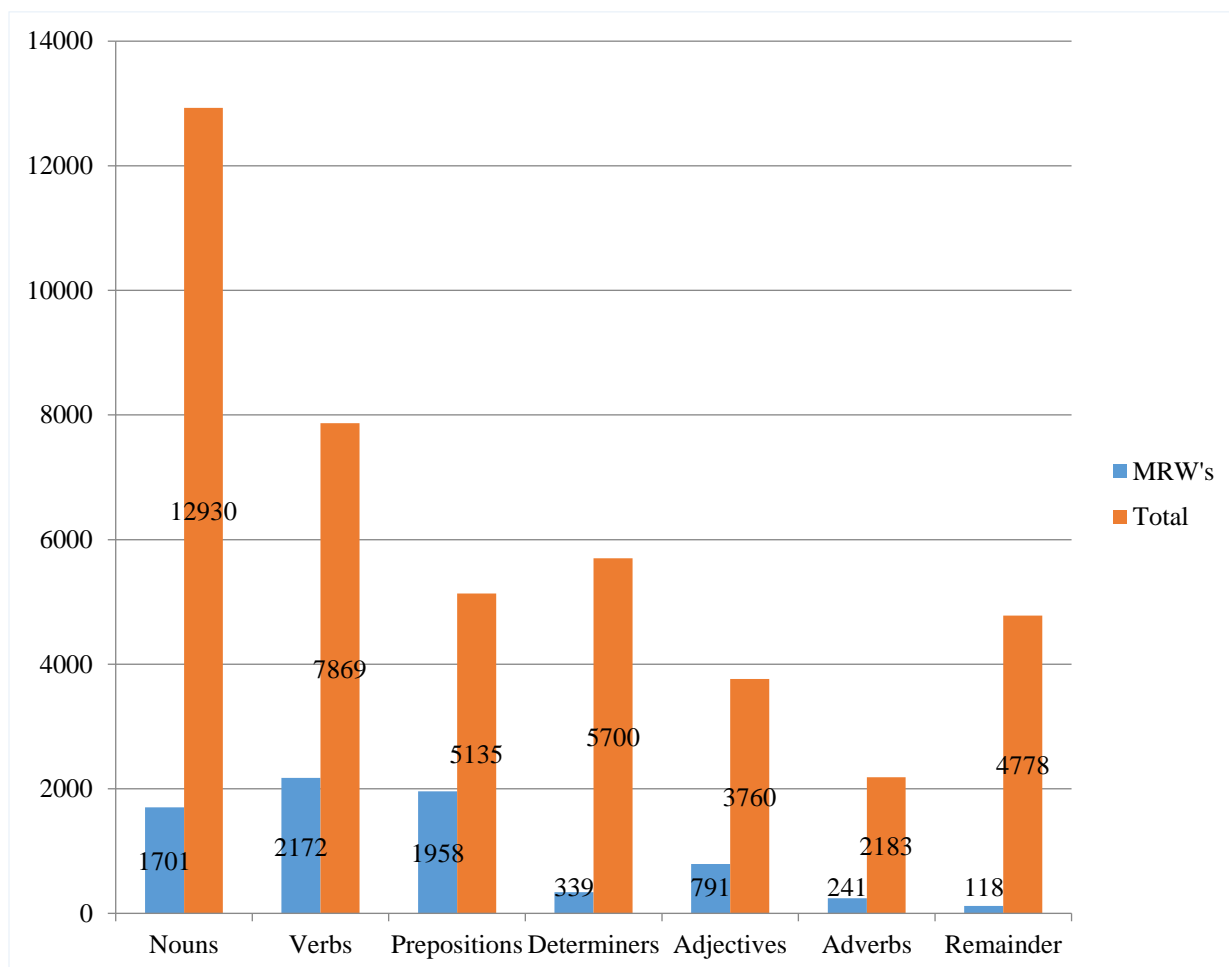

Figure 4: MIPVU's number of lexical units and MRW's by word class

Figure 4 shows that the general distribution of word classes in MIPVU's corpus is similar to ours, with nouns having the largest and adverbs the smallest share in them with the only difference being that it contains more determiners than prepositions. As I have mentioned 38.1 % of prepositions are metaphor related, while 27.6 % of all verbs, 21 % of all adjectives, 13.16 % of all nouns, 11.04 % of all adverbs and 5.95 % of all determiners were coded as MRW's. Again, the general pattern is very similar, the word class with the highest

percentage of metaphorically used instances are prepositions, followed by verbs, adjectives and so on, with the only difference being that nouns and adverbs have switched places in MIPVU's corpus, with nouns having a higher percentage of MRW's in their research. Percentage-wise the situation is again very similar with just one significant deviation, namely the percentage of metaphor related adjectives in the football corpus amounted to 13.46 % while in MIPVU's corpus it was 21 %, a difference of almost seven percent.

5.1. Discussion

Although there are not that many differences between these two sets of results, we should try to look into some larger discrepancies. Given the fact that the overall percentage of metaphorically used words in both corpora is the same, we can interpret it as proof of the validity of MIPVU as a procedure which yields reliable results. As we have seen the largest deviation between these two samples pertains to the proportion of prepositions in the MRW dataset and the percentage of metaphorically used adjectives. I would ascribe these and other details to the fact that I have researched a specialized corpus of news articles, while MIPVU's sample contained a much wider range of texts dealing with many different topics, which should have some influence on the frequency and nature of lexical units within those texts. For example, nouns have a slightly higher share in our overall corpus but they are used metaphorically to a lower degree than in MIPVU's sample. This could be accounted for by the fact that football match reports contain a lot of proper nouns like the names of players, competitions, teams etc. Indeed, a quick search for proper nouns in the database returned 550 cases, which is a very large proportion (43.14 %), considering the sample contains a total of 1275 nouns.

Prepositions have a larger part in our MRW dataset than in MIPVU's. At the same time, the percentages of them used metaphorically in relation to their total numbers are roughly the same in both corpora. This fact disproved my initial hypothesis that their dominance in the MRW dataset is a result of the prominent use of spatial prepositions referring to time, various events like games or competitions, and sequences of events and actions which are key components of a football match. On the other hand, it did confirm the cohesive nature of prepositions in texts and their role in information packaging which makes them an ubiquitous presence in news writing (Biber 1988). They are, after all, the word class with the highest percentage of metaphorically used instances in both studies and their prominent role in our MRW dataset may be explained by the lower number of metaphorical cases of other word classes, especially adjectives.

According to Steen et al. metaphorical use of adjectives in news texts might be the result of journalists deliberately wanting to pimp up their texts (2010, 216). Although this motivation can affect the metaphoricity of verbs, and indeed, we do have a large number of metaphor related verbs, I do not believe this is the case in match reporting. It is evident that they are cases of cross-domain mappings, but they are not purposely used in this manner. They have become conventionalized in this discourse which is not the case with adjectives. Of course, there are instances in which they are used stylistically, but the vast majority of them refer to concrete situations on the pitch and around it. We know that "…different registers exhibit different relations between metaphor and word class, both in absolute as well as in relative terms. Different word classes similarly exhibit different relations between metaphor and register" (Steen et al. 2010, 208). Considering this fact, we can argue that it can also be applied to different types of texts in the same register, although to a lesser degree. The general patterns of word class and metaphor coincide in our and in MIPVU's corpus and the details

that differentiate them are most likely caused by the fact that MIPVU investigated the entire news register, while this research dealt with a very narrow and specialized type of news texts.

6. Conceptual Metaphors in Football Discourse

Having identified all the metaphorical linguistic expressions, we can now try to identify the most common conceptual metaphors associated with football. Bearing in mind what had been said, we should expect a large number of FOOTBALL IS WAR metaphors, while trying to find some less common ones.

Indeed, this corpus is also dominated by the conflict lexicon. Apart from the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor, we can add the FOOTBALL IS A PHYSICAL FIGHT metaphor to this group. I will provide some examples below:

FOOTBALL IS WAR

(9) […] *a fit,* ***firing*** *and unaltered Spain* ***attack***.

(10) *Six of Switzerland's 23-man* ***squad*** […]

(11) […] *to take* ***command*** *on the left flank,* ***charging*** *towards goal before smashing a* ***shot*** *past De Gea* […]

(12) […] *up stepped Griezmann to* ***fire*** *the spot kick* […]

(13) […] *the Lille striker* ***battled off*** *the challenge of Koscielny* […]

(14) […] it *must have been startling to Hodgson to see the way they* ***capitulated.***

(15) *England, Hodgson had told us, knew all about this trick and would be **drilled** to **guard** against it.*

These are just some of the examples since many of similar expressions are conventionalized and well known in this discourse, such as *shoot*, *defend*, *captain* etc.

FOOTBALL IS A PHYSICAL FIGHT

(16) *Antoine Griezmann double **beats** Germany* […]

(17) *Atletico Madrid striker sealed France's victory, **stabbing** the ball home* […]

(18) *Germany suffered a major **blow*** […]

(19) *[…] Ronaldo's fitness was heavily speculated on before the **clash*** […]

(20) *Rooney could be seen **slashing** wildly at a volley* […]

(21) *They gave everything to **protect** their lead* […]

Apart from these, a well-known and often heard expression stemming from this domain is *knockout*, used to refer to teams getting eliminated from a competition or referring to latter stages of competitions.

Let us move on to some non-violent source domains. It seems that football matches and competitions are events which can be understood as journeys:

A FOOTBALL MATCH / COMPETITION IS A JOURNEY

(22) *We will be mentally stronger after **coming through** this.*

(23) *We had to change our **approach**.*

(24) *[…] they aim to seal their **passage** to the second round* […]

(25) *Both sides knew they would **go through**...*

(26) *The opening period changed the **course** of the game* […]

(27) *England, in stark contrast, dramatically lost their **way** once their lead had been wiped out* […]

(28) *One moment typified England's inadequacies **midway** through the second half.*

Another example can be linked to the MORE IS UP conceptual metaphor:

SCORING IS CLIMBING / WINNING IS CLIMBING

(29) *[…] Shkelzen Gashi almost **levelled** late on.*

(30) *[…] finishing **bottom** of their group* […]

(31) *Granit **on top** as Xhaka brothers make history*

(32) *Croatia shock Spain **to top** group D*

(33) *But they could have gone three **down*** […]

(34) *[…] victory **over** hosts France* […]

The next conceptual metaphor is also based on the domain of spatial relations:

THE WINNING TEAM IS AHEAD

(35) *[…] second in group A **behind** hosts France* […]

(36) *[…] in first **ahead** of the holders* […]

(37) *[…] Iceland did not simply retreat once they were **ahead**.*

Matches and competitions are perceived as concrete places or containers:

A COMPETITION IS A PLACE / A COMPETITION IS A CONTAINER

(38) *[…] **at** tournaments in 1996, 2004 and 2008.*

(39) […] **at** *the European Championships* […]

(40) […] **in** *this tournament* […]

(41) *Croatia were assured of their place* **in** *the last 16* […]

A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A PLACE / A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A CONTAINER

(42) *Switzerland ran out winners* **in** *a hotly contested game* […]

(43) […] *allowed them back* **into** *the game.*

(44) *Spain's errors* **spilled into** *the second half* […]

(45) […] **on** *their Euros debut* […]

(46) […] **throughout** *the match.*

Physical contact between the teams is a conventionalized way of representing matches:

A FOOTBALL MATCH IS PHYSICAL CONTACT

(47) […] *final* **against** *Portugal.*

(48) […] *winless streak* **against** *the French* […]

(49) […] *win* **against** *Germany* […]

When a team scores more than their opponents, it takes the lead, indicating that it is a possession:

A LEAD IS A POSSESSION

(50) *I was not afraid of* **losing** *our lead* […]

(51) […] *almost* **took** *the lead* […]

(52) […] *the penalty that* **gave** *England their early lead* […]

Champion's titles are also perceived as possessions and current champions are referred to as holders:

A CHAMPION'S TITLE IS A POSSESSION

> (53) […] *who qualify in first ahead of the **holders***.

> (54) *Eder strike **hands** Portugal first-ever tournament win*

> (55) […] *to **hand** Portugal their first major tournament crown* […]

(55) is also part of another source domain used to talk about football, namely skilled teams are perceived as royalty and a title is a crown bestowed upon the heads of kings, that is the best team in a competition:

SKILLED TEAMS ARE ROYALTY

> (55) […] *to hand Portugal their first major tournament **crown*** […]

> (56) […] *a country that likes to see itself as **football royalty*** […]

We should proceed to some less common but very interesting examples:

FOOTBALL IS FINANCE

> (57) […] *when Sadiku's close-range effort was saved by Sommer, it proved **costly*** […]

> (58) […] *Switzerland did not **capitalize** on their numerical advantage* […]

> (59) *But Germany came close to **reducing the arrears*** […]

PASSING IS SEWING

> (60) […] ***threading** a perfect reverse ball* […]

> (61) *Pogba **threaded** a pass through to Giroud* […]

(62) […] *an opportunity that looked **tailor-made** […]*

A FOOTBALL PLAY IS A STRUCTURE

(63) *The midfielder **set up** three different chances […]*

(64) […] *Emre Can **set up** Thomas Muller […]*

A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A MUSICAL PIECE

(65) […] *marking his 50th cap with a **virtuoso performance** […]*

(66) *Hart's carelessness has become a **recurring theme**.*

Finally, a football pitch is often perceived as a human body and its sides are referred to as flanks, a conceptual mapping which is also used in war discourse. A fine performance by a player can be seen as light: (67) […] *France's **brightest** player in the first half* […]; or a mixture of ingredients (in this case skills) when we say that a player has (68) *a **balance** to his game*. A match can also be perceived as a mix of ingredients (in this case various events and actions): (69) *The red card really changed the **balance** of the game*. If it is a particularly entertaining match, it can be equaled to food: (70) […] *a **mouthwatering** repeat of the 2012 final*.

6.1. Discussion

This research has confirmed that war and physical violence are the most conventional ways of understanding and representing football and sport in general. Although they are the most common source domains, we have seen that they are by no means the only ones. Using spatial relations, concrete places, objects and container metaphors are ways of making various events, actions and interactions between players and teams more obvious and relatable. Furthermore, we should take into account the fact that

the choice of one metaphor rather than another has consequences for how a particular issue is 'framed' or structured, which aspects are foregrounded and which back-grounded, what inferences are facilitated, what evaluative and emotional associations are triggered, what courses of action appear to be possible and so on (Semino 2008, 91).

With this in mind, we can conclude that the violence metaphors highlight the struggle, risks and potential gains in a football match. The journey metaphor, on the other hand, emphasizes a certain destination which should be reached by overcoming various obstacles, be it a goal or a champion's title. Speaking of football in financial terms also infers risks and gains entailed by certain actions. Football royalty should be respected and feared as real life kings and queens. Sewing requires a lot of precision and patience, as does a pinpoint pass. Setting up a structure requires skill and hard work, qualities which are also necessary for a goal-scoring play. Finally, lovers of the game can indeed perceive an entertaining match as a work of art or delicious food.

7. Conclusion

The application of MIPVU to football match reports proved to be an arduous but ultimately very successful task. Its rigour and attention to detail make identifying metaphorical linguistic expressions hard but rewarding work. This is understandable since statistical analyses of linguistic data, which are one of the main reasons for MIPVU's development, demand complete and accurate language samples. Apart from its efficacy in detecting metaphor related words, this research has also confirmed MIPVU's success in yielding consistent results.

These quantitative results are in large part congruous with MIPVU's results in the news register, while the total percentage of metaphor related words is identical in both corpora with 16.4 % of all lexical units used in this manner. The differences observed in some details should be attributed to the fact that this research focused on a specialized corpus of texts, while MIPVU analyzed texts dealing with a wide range of topics. Considering the fact that similar but more significant variations have been observed across registers, it could mean that they can occur across different topics within a single register. In order to prove or disprove this claim, more extensive research should be carried out on a variety of specialized texts.

Finally, we have confirmed the ubiquity of the SPORT IS WAR conceptual metaphor in football discourse. Apart from violent source domains, the game and its elements can be structured by many other concepts which highlight its various aspects. Orientational metaphors, journey and container metaphors, and physical representations of non-physical concepts are used to convey a more immediate experience of a football match or competition. We have also seen that metaphorical language can be used in text management, which may very well be a pragmatic realization of its role in organizing human thought.

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