

# Appendix: Corpus Data

## Corpus A (Marketing and sales)

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Table A.1 Metaphoric expressions in marketing and sales corpus per publication

Lemma	Lexeme	Total				Publication			
		BW	EC	FO	FT				
CAMPAIGN	campaign/campaigner, to campaign	39	18	22	73				
LAUNCH	launch, to launch, pre-/post-launch	36	26	12	53				
TARGET	target, to target	28	18	11	32				
PLAY	play/player, to out/play, playful	13	3	16	4				
BATTLE	battle/-field/-ground, to battle, embattled	10	4	11	3				
WAR	war/warfare/warrior, warlike/warring	15	4	6	1				
FIGHT	fight/-er, to fight	7	4	8	5				
GAME	gambler/game, to gamble	8	1	9	3				
SURVIVAL	survival/survivor, to survive	10	4	3	4				
BET	bet, to bet	7	4	6	1				
JUMP	jump, to jump	11	0	4	3				
ARMS	arms (weapons)/armour/army, to arm	3	4	6	3				
GOAL	goal	8	1	4	3				
KILLER	killer/killing, to kill	3	3	8	1				
FAST	fast	6	3	2	3				
FAIRNESS	fairness, un/fair	1	4	7	1				
BLITZ	blitz, to blitz	7	2	2	1				
RUN	run/runner, to run, runaway	1	2	5	2				
RACE	race, to race, racy	5	1	1	2				
SPEED	speed, to speed, speedy	5	3	1	0				
CATCH	catch, to catch	5	1	1	1				
FIERCE	fierce	4	0	1	3				
THROW	throw, to throw	0	2	5	1				
BOMB	bomb/-shell, to bomb/bombard	2	2	1	2				

Table A.1 Continued

Lemma	Lexeme	Total	Publication			
			BW	EC	FO	FT
SCORE	score, to score	7	3	1	1	2
SHOOT	shootout/shot/-gun, to shoot	7	2	2	2	1
TIRE	to tire, tired/tireless/tiresome	7	1	2	3	1
TRENCH	trench, to en/retrench	7	4	0	3	0
FIELD	field, to field	5	2	0	2	1
FRONT	front	5	1	1	0	3
STAKES	stakes	5	1	3	1	0
ASSAULT	assault, to assault	4	2	1	1	0
BRUISE	bruise, to bruise	4	2	1	1	0
CHAMPION	champion, to champion	4	0	3	0	1
CHIP	chip	4	2	1	0	1
HEAD-TO-HEAD	head-to-head	4	1	1	1	1
PUNCH	punch, to punch	4	2	0	2	0
RIP	rip-off, to rip off	4	0	0	1	3
TRUMP	trump, to trump	4	2	0	2	0
VETERAN	veteran	4	1	1	2	0
ATTACK	attack, to attack	3	1	1	0	1
CARD	card	3	1	1	1	0
ENEMY	enemy, inimical	3	0	1	1	1
GUARD	to guard	3	1	1	0	1
KICK	kick-off, to kick off	3	2	0	0	1
LUCK	luck, lucky	3	0	0	2	1
PACK	pack	3	1	1	1	0
TURF	turf	3	0	2	1	0
BALL	ball	2	1	0	1	0

BANKROLL	bankroll, to bankroll	2	1	1	0	0
BLOOD	blood, to bleed, bloody	2	1	0	1	0
CASUALTY	casualty	2	0	1	0	1
COMBAT	combat, to combat, combative	2	1	0	1	0
GAMBIT	gambit	2	2	0	0	0
HAND	hand	2	1	1	0	0
MANOEUVRE	manoeuvre, to manoeuvre	2	1	0	1	0
SURRENDER	surrender, to surrender	2	0	1	1	0
TROOPS	troops	2	1	1	0	0
VICTORY	victory, victorious	2	0	0	2	0
WEAPON	weapon/-ry	2	1	0	1	0
BACKFIRE	to backfire	1	0	0	0	1
BRUTALITY	brutality, brutal	1	0	0	1	0
CHEAT	cheat, to cheat	1	0	0	1	0
CONQUEROR	conqueror/conquest, to conquer	1	0	1	0	0
CUT-THROAT	cut-throat	1	0	1	0	0
DEFEAT	defeat, to defeat	1	1	0	0	0
ENDGAME	endgame	1	1	0	0	0
JACKPOT	jackpot	1	0	0	1	0
LEAGUE	league	1	0	0	0	1
OPENING	opening	1	1	0	0	0
PAWN	pawn	1	1	0	0	0
POKER	poker, to poker, pokerfaced	1	0	0	1	0
TIME-OUT	time-out	1	1	0	0	0
<b>Totals</b>		<b>845</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>227</b>
		<b>100%</b>	<b>33.25%</b>	<b>17.16%</b>	<b>22.72%</b>	<b>26.86%</b>

Note: No relevant metaphorical occurrences of ace, to beleaguer, blank, breathless, casino, checkmate, chess, coach/to coach, to deal, die/to dice, to double down, draw/to draw, to dribble, foul/to foul/foul, full house, grand slam, joker, lottery, match, pass/to pass, pikier, pole position, raffle/to raffle, red/yellow card, roulette, to shuffle, soldier/soldierly, volley, winning/losing streak.



Table A.2 Metaphoric expressions in marketing and sales corpus per word class

Lemma	Lexeme	Total	Word class		
			Noun (56.18%*)	Verb (29.90%*)	Adjective/adverb (13.92%*)
CAMPAIGN	campaign/campaigner, to campaign	152	99NN, 51NNS/1NNS	1VBZ	-
LAUNCH	launch, to launch, pre-/post-launch	127	33NN, 5NNS	20VB, 21VBD, 15VBG, 27VBN, 4VBZ	2JJ
TARGET	target, to target	89	27NN, 11NNS	15VB, 13VBG, 19VBN, 4VBZ	-
PLAY	play/player, to out/play, playful	36	4NN/1NN, 14NNS	8VB, 5VBG, 3VBN, 1VBZ	0
BATTLE	battle/-field/-ground, to battle, embattled	28	18NN, 1NNS/0/3NN	1VB, 2VBG, 1VBZ	2JJ
WAR	war/warfare/warrior, warlike/warring	26	11NN, 10NNS/2NN/1NN, 1NNS	-	1JJ
FIGHT	fight/-er, to fight	24	7NN/1NNS	3VB, 10VBG, 2VBN, 1VBZ	-
GAME	gambler/game, to gamble	21	17NN, 3NNS/0	1VBG	-
SURVIVAL	survival/survivor, to survive	21	4NN/1NNS	12VB, 2VBG, 2VBN	-
BET	bet, to bet	18	10NN	2VB, 6VBG	-
JUMP	jump, to jump	18	1NN	8VB, 5VBD, 3VBG, 1VBN	-
ARMS	arms (weapons)/armour/army, to arm	16	3NNS/0/2NN, 2NNS	1VBG, 8VBN	-

GOAL	goal	16	12NN, 4NNS	-	-	-
KILLER	killer/killing, to kill	15	5NN/1NN	-	3VB, 3VBG, 2VBD, 1VBN	-
FAST	fast	14				3JJ, 11RB
FAIRNESS	fairness, un/fair	13	1NN	-		12JJ
BLITZ	blitz, to blitz	12	7NN, 1NNS	-	1VB, 1VBD, 2VBN	-
RUN	run/runner, to run, runaway	10	2NN, 1NNS/1NNS		1VB, 2VBG, 1VN	2JJ
RACE	race, to race, racy	9	7NN		1VBN, 1VBZ	0
SPEED	speed, to speed, speedy	9	3NN		5VB, 1VBG	0
CATCH	catch, to catch	8	1NN		4VB, 1VBD, 2VBG	-
FIERCE	fierce	8		-		7JJ, 1RB
THROW	throw, to throw	8	1NN		3VB, 2VBG, 2VBN	-
BOMB	bomb/-shell, to bomb/bombard	7	1NN/0		1VB, 1VBG/3VBN, 1VBZ	-
SCORE	score, to score	7	1NNS		2VB, 2VBD, 1VBN, 1VBZ	-
SHOOT	shootout/shot/-gun, to shoot	7	0/4NN, 1NNS/0		1VB, 1VBN	-
TIRE	to tire, tired/tireless/tiresome	7		-	2VB	1JJ/1JJ/3JJ
TRENCH	trench, to en/retrench	7	1NN		5VBN/1VBG	-
FIELD	field, to field	5	4NN		1VBD	-
FRONT	front	5	5NN		-	-
STAKES	stakes	5	5NNS		-	-
ASSAULT	assault, to assault	4	3NN		1VBG	-
BRUISE	bruise, to bruise	4	1NNS		3VBG	-
CHAMPION	champion, to champion	4	1NN		1VB, 1VBG, 1VBN	-
CHIP	chip	4	3NN, 1NNS		-	-
HEAD-TO-HEAD	head-to-head	4		-		1JJ, 3RB
PUNCH	punch, to punch	4	4NN		0	-
RIPE	rip-off, to rip off	4	1NN		2VB, 1VBN	-
TRUMP	trump, to trump	4	2NN		2VB	-

Table A.2 Continued

Lemma	Lexeme	Total	Word class		
			Noun (56.18%*)	Verb (29.90%*)	Adjective/adverb (13.92%*)
VETERAN	veteran	4	2NN, 2NNS	-	-
ATTACK	attack, to attack	3	1NN, 1NNS	1VBD	-
CARD	card	3	1NN, 2NNS	-	-
ENEMY	enemy, inimical	3	1NN, 2NNS	-	0
GUARD	to guard	3	-	1VB, 2VBN	-
KICK	kick-off, to kick off	3	1NN	1VB, 1VBD	-
LUCK	luck, lucky	3	0	-	3JJ
PACK	pack	3	3NN	-	-
TURF	turf	3	3NN	-	-
BALL	ball	2	2NN	-	-
BANKROLL	bankroll, to bankroll	2	0	1VB, 1VBG	-
BLOOD	blood, to bleed, bloody	2	1NN	0	1JJ
CASUALTY	casualty	2	1NN, 1NNS	-	-
COMBAT	combat, to combat, combative	2	2NN	0	0
GAMBIT	gambit	2	2NN	-	-
HAND	hand	2	1NN, 1NNS	-	-
MANOEUVRE	manoeuvre, to manoeuvre	2	2NN	0	-
SURRENDER	surrender, to surrender	2	0	1VB, 1VBN	-
TROOPS	troops	2	2NNS	-	-
VICTORY	victory, victorious	2	2NN	-	0
WEAPON	weapon/-ry	2	2NN/0	-	-

BACKFIRE	to backfire	1	-	-	1VB	-	-
BRUTALITY	brutality, brutal	1	0	-	-	1JJ	-
CHEAT	cheat, to cheat	1	1NN	0	0	-	-
CONQUEROR	conqueror/conquest, to conquer	1	0/1NN	0	0	-	-
CUT-THROAT	cut-throat	1	-	-	-	1JJ	-
DEFEAT	defeat, to defeat	1	0	-	1VBD	-	-
ENDGAME	endgame	1	1NN	-	-	-	-
JACKPOT	jackpot	1	1NN	-	-	-	-
LEAGUE	league	1	1NN	-	-	-	-
OPENING	opening	1	1NN	-	-	-	-
PAWN	pawn	1	1NNS	-	-	-	-
POKER	poker, to poker, pokerfaced	1	0	-	0	1RB	-
TIME-OUT	time-out	1	1NN	-	-	-	-
<b>Totals</b>		<b>845</b>	<b>475</b>		<b>313</b>	<b>57</b>	
		<b>100%</b>	<b>56.21%</b>		<b>37.04%</b>	<b>6.75%</b>	

Notes: No relevant metaphoric occurrences of ace, to beleaguer, blank, breathless, casino, checkmate, chess, coach/to coach, to deal, die/to dice, to double down, draw/to draw, to dribble, foul/to foul/foul, full house, grand slam, joker, lottery, match, pass/to pass, piker, pole position, raffle/to raffle, red/yellow card, roulette, to shuffle, soldier/soldierly, volley, winning/losing streak.

Zero value (0) indicates that instances were looked for but not found in the corpus. A dash indicates that the corpus was not scanned for a particular lemma. Abbreviations are taken from the Bank of English tag set: NN = singular noun, NNS = plural noun; VB = verb base form, VBD = past tense, VBG = -ING form, VBN = past participle, VBZ = 3rd person singular present; JJ = adjective; RB = adverb.

\*percentage in lexical fields.

Table A.3 Alternative metaphoric expressions in marketing and sales corpus

Lemma	Lexeme	Total				Publication				Word class		
		BW	EC	FO	FT	Noun (55.88%*)	Verb (20.59%*)	Adjective/adverb (23.55%*)				
WOOER	wooer, to woo	9	8	1	0	0	0	0	6VB, 1VBD, 2VVG	1VBD, 1VVG	0	-
LOVE	love/lover, to love, lovable	8	2	2	3	1	1	2NN/ 1NNS	4VB, 1VBD	0	0	0
DESIRE	desire, to desire, desirable	6	2	0	0	4	4	2NN, 3NNS	1VBN	0	0	0
FRIEND	friend/friendship, friendly	5	0	1	0	4	4	3NNS/1NN	-	1JJ	0	0
FAMILY	family	4	0	3	0	1	1	4NN	-	-	0	-
HEART	heart	3	2	0	1	0	0	1NN, 2NNS	-	-	0	0
COURT	courtship, to court, courtly	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	1VB, 1VVG	0	0	0

EMBRACE	embrace, to embrace	2	0	0	1	1	0	2VB	-
AFFAIR	affair	1	0	1	0	0	1NN	-	-
AFFECTION	affection, affectionate	1	0	1	0	0	1NNS	-	0
FAITHFUL	faithful	1	0	1	0	0	-	-	1JJ
LUST	lust, to lust, lustful	1	1	0	0	0	1NN	0	0
MARRIAGE	marriage, to marry	1	1	0	0	0	0	1VB	-
SEX	sex, sexual/sexy	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1JJ
WIFE	wife	1	0	0	0	1	1NN	-	-
<b>Totals</b>		<b>46</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>3</b>
		<b>100%</b>	<b>36.96%</b>	<b>23.91%</b>	<b>13.04%</b>	<b>26.09%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>43.48%</b>	<b>6.52%</b>

Notes: No relevant metaphoric occurrences of arms (body part), altar, bed/-fellow, bride/bridegroom/bridal, consummation/to consummate, dalliance/to dally, divorce/to divorce, fiancé(e), flirt/flirtation/to flirt/flirtatious/flirty, honeymoon, husband, infatuation/infatuated, kiss/to kiss, mate/to mate, nuptials/nuptial, passion/passionate, romance/romantic, spouse, suitor, wedding/to wed.

Zero value (0) indicates that instances were looked for but not found in the corpus. A dash indicates that the corpus was not scanned for a particular lemma. Abbreviations are taken from the Bank of English tag set: NN = singular noun, NNS = plural noun; VB = verb base form, VBD = past tense, VBG = -ING form, VBN = past participle, VBZ = 3rd person singular present; JJ = adjective; RB = adverb.

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Table A.4 Metaphoric expressions in mergers and acquisitions corpus per publication

<i>Lemma</i>	<i>Lexeme</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Publication</i>			
			<i>BW</i>	<i>EC</i>	<i>FO</i>	<i>FT</i>
TARGET	target, to target	91	24	10	5	52
HOSTILITY	hostility, hostile	71	15	27	5	25
BATTLE	battle/-field/-ground, to battle, embattled	49	25	12	7	5
WAR	war/warfare/warrior, warlike/warring	36	16	5	8	7
DEFENCE	defence, to defend, defensive	34	9	13	0	12
MARRIAGE	marriage, to marry	34	10	16	3	5
FIGHT	fight/-er, to fight	30	5	10	10	5
RELATIONSHIP	relationship	20	7	5	3	5
PREDATOR	predator, predatory	18	4	9	0	5
RAID	raid/raider, to raid	18	12	1	3	2
SURVIVAL	survival/survivor, to survive	17	4	6	3	4
VULNERABILITY	vulnerability, vulnerable	14	4	7	0	3
ATTACK	attack, to attack	12	5	3	2	2
VICTORY	victory, victorious	12	2	5	4	1
SUITOR	suitor	11	6	2	0	3
SHOOT	shootout/shot/-gun, to shoot	10	4	1	5	0
COURT	court/-ship, to court, courtly	9	1	3	3	2
DIGESTION	in/digestion, to digest, digestible	9	2	1	2	4
FIERCE	fierce	9	1	3	4	1
GOBBLE	to gobble (up)	8	1	4	2	1
TROOPS	troops	8	6	0	2	0
BED	bed/-fellow	7	0	6	0	1
DEFEAT	defeat, to defeat	7	2	4	0	1
KILLER	killer/killing, to kill	7	1	1	5	0
SWALLOW	to swallow	7	3	2	2	0

Table A.4 Continued

Lemma	Lexeme	Total	Publication			
			BW	EC	FO	FT
PREY	prey, to prey (up)on	7	2	1	1	3
ARMS	arms (body part)	6	1	4	1	0
ARMS	arms (weapons)/armour/army, to arm	6	0	3	3	0
BRUISE	bruise, to bruise	6	3	1	2	0
AFFAIR	affair	5	2	3	0	0
ASSAULT	assault, to assault	5	1	0	0	4
BLOOD	blood, to bleed, bloody	5	0	2	0	3
DESIRE	desire, to desire, desirable	5	0	1	1	3
ENEMY	enemy, inimical	5	0	2	1	2
LOVE	love/lover, to love, lovable	5	1	2	2	0
SEX	sex, sexual/sexy	5	2	1	2	0
APPETITE	appetite/-izer	4	1	1	1	1
BRUTALITY	brutality, brutal	4	2	1	0	1
COMBAT	combat, to combat, combative	4	2	0	1	1
VETERAN	veteran	4	2	0	2	0
VICTIM	victim	4	0	2	1	1
WOOPER	wooper, to woo	4	2	0	2	0
ALTAR	altar	3	1	2	0	0
DIVORCE	divorce	3	1	2	0	0
FLIRT	flirt/-ation, to flirt, flirtatious/flirty	3	0	3	0	0
FRONT	front	3	0	0	3	0
GREED	greed, greedy	3	0	3	0	0
KISS	kiss, to kiss	3	0	0	3	0
MATE	mate, to mate	3	1	2	0	0
BELEAGUER	to beleaguer	2	0	1	1	0

CONSUMMATION	consummation, to consummate										
DALLIANCE	dalliance, to dally	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
HUNGER	hunger, to hunger, hungry	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
LUST	lust, to lust, lustful	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
MANOEUVRE	manoeuvre, to manoeuvre	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
NUPTIALS	nuptials, nuptial	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
SURRENDER	surrender, to surrender	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
WEDDING	wedding, to wed	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
AFFECTION	affection, affectionate	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
BITE	bite, to bite	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
BOMB	bomb/-shell, to bomb/bombard	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CASUALTY	casualty	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
CONQUEROR	conqueror/conquest, to conquer	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
DEVOUR	to devour	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
FOOD	feeder/food, to feed	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GULP	gulp, to gulp	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
JUICY	juicy	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
NIBBLE	nibble, to nibble	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
PALATABLE	un/palatable	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ROMANCE	romance, romantic	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
SOLDIER	soldier, soldierly	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SPLIT	to spit out	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WEAPON	weapon/-ry	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
<b>Totals</b>		<b>686</b>	<b>202</b>	<b>203</b>	<b>29.45%</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>29.59%</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>15.89%</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>25.07%</b>

*Note:* No relevant metaphorical occurrences of to backfire, bride/-groom/bridal, chew, course, delicious, diet/to diet/dietary, dinner/to dine, dish, eat/(un)eatable, (in)edible, embrace/to embrace, faithful, feast/to feast, fiancé(e), glutton/-y/gluttonous, to gorge, helping, honeymoon, husband, infatuation/infatuated, maiden (n.), meal, morsel, nourishment/to nourish, passion/passionate, rape/to rape, ravenous, (in)satiable, spouse, starvation/to starve, taste/fastening/to taste/tasty, wife.

Table A.5 Metaphoric expressions in mergers and acquisitions corpus per word class

Lemma	Lexeme	Total	Word class		
			Noun (52.43%*)	Verb (26.70%*)	Adjective/adverb (20.87%*)
TARGET	target, to target	91	56NN, 25NNS	1VB, 2VBCG, 5VBN, 2VBZ	-
HOSTILITY	hostility, hostile	71	8NN, 1NNS	-	62JJ
BATTLE	battle/-field/-ground, to battle, embattled	49	38NN, 7NNS/1NN/2NN	1VBCG	0
WAR	war/warfare/warrior, warlike/warring	36	23NN, 10NNS/2NN/1NN	-	0/0
DEFENCE	defence/defender, to defend, defensive	34	10NN, 4NNS/0, 1NNS	4VB, 1VBD, 4VBCG, 1VBN	9JJ
MARRIAGE	marriage, to marry	34	27NN, 3NNS	2VB, 1VBD, 1VBCG	-
FIGHT	fight/-er, to fight	30	12NN, 2NNS/0NN	5VB, 2VBD, 7VBCG, 1VBN, 1VBZ	-
RELATIONSHIP	relationship	20	14NN, 6NNS	-	-
PREDATOR	predator, predatory	18	7NN, 10NNS	-	1JJ
RAID	raid/raider, to raid	18	2NN, 1NNS/4NN, 10NNS	1VBCG	-
SURVIVAL	survival/survivor, to survive	17	2NN/5NN	7VB, 1VBCG, 1VBN, 1VBZ	-
VULNERABILITY	vulnerability, vulnerable	14	0	-	14JJ
ATTACK	attack, to attack	12	2NN, 1NNS	3VB, 2VBD, 2VBCG, 2VBN	-
VICTORY	victory, victorious	12	11NN, 1NNS	-	0
SUITOR	suitor	11	8NN, 3NNS	-	-

SHOOT	shot/-gun/shootout, to shoot	10	2NN/3NN/INN	2VB, 2VBZ	-
COURT	court/-ship, to court, courtly	9	2NN/2NN, 3NNS	0	2JJ
DIGESTION	in/digestion, to digest, digestible	9	INN	2VB, 5VBG, 1VBN	0
FIERCE	fierce	9	-	-	6JJ, 3RB
GOBBLE	to gobble (up)	8	-	3VB, 1VBD, 2VBG, 2VBN	-
TROOPS	troops	8	8NNS	-	-
BED	bed/-fellow	7	6NN/1NNS	-	-
DEFEAT	defeat, to defeat	7	3NN	1VB, 1VBG, 2VBN	-
KILLER	killer/killing, to kill	7	2NN/0	4VB, 1VBG	-
PREY	prey, to prey (up)on	7	7NN	0	-
SWALLOW	to swallow	7	-	3VB, 1VBD, 3VBN	-
ARMS	arms (body part)	6	1NN, 5NNS	-	-
ARMS	arms (weapons)/armour/-y, to arm	6	4NN	1VBG, 1VBN	-
BRUISE	bruise, to bruise	6	1NNS	4VBG, 1VBN	-
AFFAIR	affair	5	1NN, 4NNS	-	-
ASSAULT	assault, to assault	5	5NN	0	-
BLOOD	blood, to bleed, bloody	5	5NN	0	0
DESIRE	desire, to desire, desirable	5	3NN	0	2JJ
ENEMY	enemy, inimical	5	4NN, 1NNS	-	0
LOVE	love/lover, to love, lovable	5	5NN	-	0
SEX	sex, sexual/sexy	5	1NN	-	4JJ/0
APPETITE	appetite/-izer, appetizing	4	3NN, 1NNS	-	0

Table A.5 Continued

Lemma	Lexeme	Total	Word class		Adjective/adverb (20.87%*)
			Noun (52.43%*)	Verb (26.70%*)	
BRUTALITY	brutality, brutal	4	0	-	4JJ
COMBAT	combat, to combat, combative	4	1NN	2VB	1JJ
VETERAN	veteran	4	1NN, 3NNS	-	-
VICTIM	victim	4	2NN, 2NNS	-	-
WOOPER	wooper, to woo	4	0	3VB, 1VBN	-
ALTAR	altar	3	3NN	0	-
DIVORCE	divorce, to divorce	3	3NN	-	-
FLIRT	flirt/-ation, to flirt, flirtatious/flirty	3	2NN	1VBG	0/0
FRONT	front	3	1NN, 2NNS	-	-
GREED	greed, greedy	3	2NN	-	1RB
KISS	kiss, to kiss	3	3NNS	0	-
MATE	mate, to mate	3	2NN	1VBG	-
BELEAGUER	to beleaguer	2	-	2VBN	-
CONSUMMATION	consummation, to consummate	2	0	1VB, 1VBN	-
DALLIANCE	dalliance, to dally	2	1NN	1VBG	-
HUNGER	hunger, to hunger, hungry	2	0	0	2JJ
LUST	lust, to lust, lustful	2	1NN	1VBZ	0
MANOEUVRE	manoeuvre, to manoeuvre	2	1NN	1VBG	-



NUPTIALS	nuptials, nuptial	2	2NNS	-	0
SURRENDER	surrender, to surrender	2	INN	1VBD	-
WEDDING	wedding, to wed	2	INNS	1VBN	-
AFFECTION	affection, affectionate	1	INNS	-	0
BITE	bite, to bite	1	INN	0	-
BOMB	bomb/-shell, to bomb/bombard	1	0/1NN	0	-
CASUALTY	casualty	1	INNS	-	-
CONQUEROR	conqueror/conquest, to conquer	1	0/1NN	0	-
DEVOUR	to devour	1	-	1VBN	-
FOOD	food/feeder, to feed	1	0	1VB	-
GULP	gulp, to gulp	1	INN	0	-
JUICY	juicy	1	-	-	1JJ
NIBBLE	nibble, to nibble	1	INN	0	-
PALATABLE	un/palatatable	1	-	-	0/1JJ
ROMANCE	romance, romantic	1	INN	-	0
SOLDIER	soldier, soldierly	1	INNS	-	0
SPLIT	to spit out	1	-	-	-
WEAPON	weapon/-ry	1	1NN/0	1VBG	-
<b>Totals</b>		<b>686</b>	<b>449</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>113</b>
		<b>100%</b>	<b>65.45%</b>	<b>18.08%</b>	<b>16.47%</b>

Notes: No relevant metaphorical occurrences of to backfire, bride/-groom/bridal, to chew, course, delicious, diet/to diet/dietary, dinner/to dine, dish, eat/(un)eatable, (in)edible, embrace/to embrace, faithful, feast/to feast, fiancé(e), glutton/-y/gluttonous, to gorge, helping, honeymoon, husband, infatuation/infatuated, maiden (n.), meal, morsel, nourishment/to nourish, passion/passionate, rape/to rape, ravenous, (in)satiable, spouse, starvation/to starve, taste/tasting/to taste/tasty, wife.

Zero value (0) indicates that instances were looked for but not found in the corpus. A dash indicates that the corpus was not scanned for a particular lemma. Abbreviations are taken from the Bank of English tag set: NN = singular noun, NNS = plural noun; VB = verb base form, VBD = past tense, VBG = -ING form, VBN = past participle, VBZ = 3rd person singular present; JJ = adjective; RB = adverb.

Table A.6 Additional metaphoric expressions in mergers and acquisitions corpus

Lemma	Lexeme	Total				Publication			Word class		
		BW	EC	FO	FT	Noun (59.65%*)	Verb (14.03%*)	Adjective/adverb (26.31%*)			
EMPIRE	empire/emperor/ empress, imperial/ imperious	21	9	8	4	0	14NN, 4NNS/ 1NN/0	-	0/2JJ	-	
CHIEF	chief/chieftain	13	4	1	8	0	9NN, 3NNS/ 1NNS	-	-	-	
TERRITORY	territory, territorial	8	1	1	4	2	6NN, 2NNS	-	0	-	
COUP	coup	7	1	3	2	1	7NN	-	-	-	
KING	king/kingdom	7	2	0	5	0	7NN/0	-	-	-	
COURT	court/courtier, courtly	5	1	0	4	0	3NN/0	-	2JJ	-	
MOGUL	mogul	4	1	2	1	0	3NN, 1NNS	-	-	-	
ARISTOCRACY	aristocracy, aristocratic	3	0	3	0	0	0	-	3JJ	-	
BOUNDARY	boundary	3	1	1	1	0	2NN, 1NNS	-	-	-	
QUEEN	queen	3	0	0	3	0	3NN	-	-	-	

RULE	rule/ruler, to rule	3	2	0	1	0	0	2VB, 1VBN	-
HEIR	heir/heirress apparent	2	0	1	0	1	2NN/0	-	-
CROWN	crown, to crown	1	0	1	0	0	1NN	0	-
PRINCE	prince/princess, princely	1	0	0	1	0	1NN/0	-	0
REALM	realm	1	0	0	1	0	1NN	-	-
REGALIA	regalia, regal	1	0	0	1	0	0	-	1RB
THRONE	throne, to enthroned/ dethrone	1	0	0	1	0	1NN	0	-
<b>Totals</b>		<b>84</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>
		<b>100%</b>	<b>26.19%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>44.05%</b>	<b>4.76%</b>	<b>86.9%</b>	<b>3.57%</b>	<b>9.52%</b>

Notes: No relevant metaphoric occurrences of abdication/to abdicate, border/to border/cross-border, caesar/caesarian (adj.), colony/to colonize, czar, highness, lady, lord, majesty/majestic, monarch/monarchic, reign/to reign, royal, sceptre, sovereign/sovereign, sycophant/sycophantic, tribe/tribal, tyranny/tyrant/tyrannical, usurper/to usurp.

Zero value (0) indicates that instances were looked for but not found in the corpus. A dash indicates that the corpus was not scanned for a particular lemma. Abbreviations are taken from the Bank of English tag set: NN = singular noun, NNS = plural noun; VB = verb base form, VBD = past tense, VBG = -ING form, VBN = past participle, VBZ = 3rd person singular present; JJ = adjective; RB = adverb.

\*percentage in lexical field (not reproduced)

Table A.7 Alternative metaphoric expressions in mergers and acquisitions corpus

Lemma	Lexeme	Total			Publication			Word class		
		BW	EC	FO	FT	Noun (50.77%*)	Verb (41.54%*)	Adjective/adverb (7.69%*)		
DANCE	dance/dancer, to dance	1	1	2	0	3NN/0	1VBG	-		
STEP	step, to step	1	0	2	1	3NN	1VBG	-		
ROUND	round, to round	2	0	0	1	3NN	0	-		
BEAT	beat	0	0	1	0	1NN	-	-		
BOOGIE	boogie, to boogie	0	0	1	0	0	1VB	-		
FOLLOW	to follow	0	0	0	1	-	1VBD	-		
HARMONY	harmony, harmonize, harmonious	0	1	0	0	0	1VB	0		
LEAD	lead, to lead	0	0	0	1	1NN	0	-		
RUMBA	rumba, to rumba	0	0	1	0	0	1VB	-		
SWING	swing, to swing	0	0	1	0	0	1VBG	-		
SWIRL	swirl, to swirl	1	0	0	0	0	1VBG	-		
TURN	turn, to turn	0	0	1	0	1NN	0	-		
<b>Totals</b>		<b>20</b> <b>100%</b>	<b>5</b> <b>25%</b>	<b>2</b> <b>10%</b>	<b>9</b> <b>45%</b>	<b>4</b> <b>20%</b>	<b>8</b> <b>40%</b>	<b>0</b> <b>0%</b>		

Notes: No relevant metaphoric occurrences of ball/ballroom, ballet, cheek-to-cheek, choreographer/choreography/to choreograph, circle/to circle/circular, figure, foxtrot/to foxtrot, pirouette/to pirouette, polka/to polka, promenade/to promenade, rhythm/rhythmic, rock('n'roll)/to rock, samba/to samba, spin/to spin, to sway, to swivel, synchronicity/synchronize/synchronous, tango/to tango, tempo, twirl/to twirl, twist/to twist, verve, waltz/to waltz.

Zero value (0) indicates that instances were looked for but not found in the corpus. A dash indicates that the corpus was not scanned for a particular lemma. Abbreviations are taken from the Bank of English tag set: NN = singular noun, NNS = plural noun; VB = verb base form, VBD = past tense, VBG = -ING form, VBN = past participle, VBZ = 3rd person singular present; JJ = adjective; RB = adverb.  
\*percentage in lexical field.

# Notes

## 1 Introduction: masculinized metaphors

1. Proof of how deeply the notion of man-as-warrior is ingrained in patriarchal society is the fact that even the various groups that can be associated loosely under the umbrella term 'men's movement' (especially the so-called 'mythopoeitics') criticize militarism but still embrace the warrior archetype to construct masculinity (Bly, 1991; Keen, 1991; Lorentzen, 1998).
2. In 1998, 11.1 per cent of all seats on US boards were held by women (Brancato and Patterson, 2001), with female CEOs accounting for less than 1 per cent (Lavelle, 2001). In the UK in 2001, 10 per cent of all board members of the FTSE 100 companies were female, with just one of those companies being headed by a woman managing director (Daily Telegraph, 2001).
3. However, Eubanks (2000) also notes that women, while using the WAR metaphor as much as men, tend to focus on its attenuated strategy rather than on its confrontation aspect (p. 163).

## 2 Theory: a critical cognitive framework for metaphor research

1. The example shows that it is not always the competition that is conceptualized as the enemy, but that prospects can also be the object of aggression (see section 4.2).
2. Inverted commas indicate that the example features as a quotation in the article it is taken from.
3. The input space of TAKEOVER is obviously the more complex one since it is itself constituted by a metaphor.
4. Halliday and Hasan (1985, p. 29) sub-divide the ideational into 'experiential meaning' and 'logical meaning'.
5. The objection of an unidentified 'spokesman' to the WAR metaphor ('Cyber Wars', 1996, para. 30) is not taken up at all by the other participants.
6. To break down the definition further, social practices are 'relatively stabilized form[s] of social activity' (Chiapello and Fairclough, 2002, p. 193).
7. The primary and secondary discourse of marketing merge in the hybrid genre of the advertorial.
8. Examples have been taken from the spoken part of the British National Corpus.
9. A somewhat different account of the socio-cultural function of metaphor is by Goatly (1997), who integrates Sperber and Wilson's (1986) relevance theory into CDA (in particular, Fairclough, 1989).
10. Such a purpose can, for example, be found in the example of *jail bait* provided by Turner and Fauconnier (1995, paras. 37–42). Used to denote an under-age girl whom an older man finds sexually attractive, this metaphoric

blend is achieved by drawing on particular social models highlighting particular features (ibid., para. 42). Thus, *jail bait* as a concept is constructed from a male perspective which presupposes an intention on part of the girl, thereby shifting the blame for sexual exploitation away from the perpetrator.

11. This view is similar to Kövecses' (2000, pp. 183–6) notion of 'body-based constructionism'. However, while Kövecses' focus is on the perceived physical constraints on cultural models, the argument is here reversed by stressing the socio-cultural influences on originally embodied concepts.
12. As the emphasis in this book is on how dynamic cognitive models such as metaphors interact with their socio-cultural environment in the form of discourse, metaphor is viewed not so much as a social schema but as, strictly speaking, a social representation (Moscovici, 2000).
13. An earlier formulation of this idea can be found in Richards (1936/2001): 'The processes of metaphor in language . . . are superimposed upon a perceived world that is itself a product of earlier or unwitting metaphor' (p. 73).
14. Clausewitz (1952, p. 178) regards the relationship between the fight and strategy aspects of war as one of sequence rather than blending when he traces the development of war from medieval fistfights to armed conflicts between states.
15. Although quite a few metaphoric expressions are triggered by the topic of the text in which they occur (for example, *Opel takes unusual marketing route* [MS FT 4], or *Cadbury-Schweppes has a nibble at some salty snacks* [MA FT 9]), those cases will not be dealt with in this context.
16. On a general note, Gramsci (2000) reasons that if

every language contains the elements of a conception of the world and of a culture, [then] from anyone's language one can access . . . his conception of the world. (p. 326)

17. One form of such subordinated masculinities is, for example, represented by gay men. The fact that both non-hegemonic masculinities and femininity are subordinated in patriarchal societies betrays the structural link between homophobia and misogyny.
18. Private communication with Peter Döge (Institute for Application-orientated Innovation and Future Research, Berlin), 30 June 2000.
19. But see Augoustinos and Walker (1995, pp. 45–7) for a discussion of circumstances favouring data-driven categorization.
20. Note that 'cluster' here does not refer to Lakoff's (1987, pp. 74–6) use of the term as combining models with different degrees of prototypicality into one cluster model.
21. Seen as such, syncopation is blending theory's rephrasing of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) highlighting and hiding function of metaphor, with part-whole compression closely resembling *synecdoche*.
22. The demand that CDA should incorporate the study of the cognitive determinants of discourse has not been met with universal approval. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), albeit supporting the idea that 'social life [is] produced in thought' (p. 28), claim that, since cognitive phenomena cannot be studied directly, any account would necessarily be mediated. Yet, while

researchers should be aware of the fact that all research on cognitive models is represented in the form of new cognitive models – just as all writing on ideology is itself ideologically vested – this fact should not be taken to *preclude* any further research.

### 3 Method: quantitative and qualitative analyses of metaphor

1. This relatively high number can be traced back to the magazine's love of the MATING metaphor: A stunning 43.48 per cent of its occurrences appears in *The Economist* (see Tables A.4 and 5.2 on pp. 120 and 209).
2. This information was kindly provided by Heike Brodersen, International Sales, Fortune Europe.
3. Information on circulation and reader profile was kindly made available by Sarah Griffiths, Advertising FT newspaper, UK edition.
4. A short note on terminology seems helpful here: contrary to Crystal's use of the term *lemma* ('Lemma', 2003), the term is here employed to mean a headword (for example, *prey*) that can be split up into several lexemes, including phrasal ones (for example, *prey*, *to prey [up]on*). These lexemes in turn comprise various word forms (for example, *preying*, *preys*, *preyed*) (see also Lipka, 1992, pp. 73–4).
5. Boundaries between active and inactive metaphoric expressions are very much blurred in any synchronic language system and, consequently, some inconsistencies have to be admitted. Thus the fields include *campaign*, *launch* and *target* but not *slogan*, which should diachronically be seen as being derived from the WAR metaphor as well: etymologically, the unit comprises the Gaelic *sluagh* 'army' and *ghairm* 'cry', denoting a war cry of the old Highland clans (Ammer, 1999, p. 225; Wilkinson, 1993, p. 44), with this military sense persisting until 1879 ('Slogan', 1999). As a technical term in marketing, it can be found seven times in the corpus.
6. Kittay's (1987, p. 9) concern whether 'metaphor can be given a computable realization' has occupied researchers into artificial intelligence (AI) for quite some time. An anthology covering recent developments in the by now quite substantial area of metaphor and AI is Barnden and Lee (2001). Interest in computational models of metaphor seems to be growing, constituting perhaps another indication of the shift towards a more natural science-orientated paradigm in metaphor research, as problematized in Chapter 2. Still, AI research should perhaps not forget totally about Lakoff's (1993) caveat that image schemas are by definition not amenable to algorithmic processes (p. 249), and Eubanks' (2000) additional reservation that rule-governed computational models cannot account for the social dimension of metaphor (p. 132). On a more practical note, despite the headway it has made, AI research has yet to produce and market any off-the-shelf software for metaphor researchers.
7. Data from the Bank of English sample, sub-corpus of media texts.
8. There is one marked instance of *shotgun marriage* in the Bank of English; however, this is itself an example of a metaphor from mergers and acquisitions discourse. The respective concordance line runs as follows: 'mind,

amongst them the idea of a “shotgun marriage” between companies if . . .’. Note also that the marked metaphoric expression is hedged by means of quotation marks.

#### 4 Business media on marketing: metaphors of war, sports and games

1. While *launch* also has nautical collocations, corpus research has shown that its most frequent usage is with abstract nouns involving military plans (Stubbs, 2001, p. 307).
2. Bryson (1990, p. 174) identifies football as a key sport, in which 81 per cent of Australian males and 61 per cent of Australian women over 16 years of age declare themselves to be interested. Similarly, Messner (1992, p. 8) lists football, basketball and baseball as being among ‘the U.S. “major sports”’.
3. Although of no synchronic relevance, it should still be noted that the term *match* is a first hint at the cognitive model relating romance and aggression (see Chapter 5). Having its origins in the Indo-European root \**mag-*, ‘to knead, to fit together’, it later came to mean ‘spouse’ (compare the expression *a perfect match*). The notion of counterparts was subsequently transferred to the semantic domain of contest (Malszecki, 1995, p. 300).
4. While it could be argued that *shot, to shoot* is already a metaphor in a sports context, its inclusion in the ball game glossaries consulted (First Base Sports, 2001; Sydney Storm, 1998) suggests that it is lexicalized up to the point where it can be considered a technical – if not ‘dead’ – metaphor.
5. For the conceptual relations between war and chess, see also Ritchie (2003). In addition, Green (1982, p. 342) quotes chess champion Bobby Fisher characterizing his game as ‘limited warfare’. Beyond that, chess not only provides a link between games and war but also between games and sports, as it is officially classified as a sports discipline.
6. Because of cross-classification of the lemmas *play, game, shoot, field* and *ball*, the number of tokens for the three domains totals 918, thus exceeding the number of 845 metaphoric expressions given in Tables A.1 and A.2 (see pp. 191 and 194).
7. It comes as no surprise that authors writing for the *Financial Times* should betray a very pronounced tendency to use highly conventionalized metaphoric expressions. Because of the particular conditions of high-pressure newspaper production, the three most frequent expressions account for a stunning 70 per cent of all metaphoric expressions searched for in that publication.
8. However, users of the metaphor seem to be aware of it being a metaphor, as evidenced by visual representations such as the one in Greene (2002), which consists of a collage showing a Microsoft top executive aiming at targets with a bow and arrow.
9. See Reardon (1985, p. 48) for the allegedly ‘feminine’ nature of guerrilla warfare.
10. Please note that the numbers in both lines and columns have been added, whereas percentages have been calculated across lines only. Because of cross-classifications of the lemmas *play, game, shoot, field* and *ball*, figures in Table



- 4.5 differ from those in Table A.2 in three cases: the total number of nominal metaphoric expressions, the total number of verbal metaphoric expressions and, consequently, the overall number of metaphoric expressions in the corpus.
11. This view is corroborated quantitatively by the BNC yielding 38 instances of the collocation *state of war* compared to 138 tokens of *to wage war*.
  12. See Koller and Mautner (forthcoming) for a discussion of this 'loss in semiotic richness'.
  13. This US flavour of the GAMES metaphor is corroborated by Köves' (2002) comparative study on metaphors for life among US and Hungarian informants. One possible explanation the author gives is the importance of card games in the quintessentially US Frontier experience.
  14. The expression *red chip* for a Hong Kong state company is in fact an analogical extension of *blue chip*, which, of course, derives from casino terminology and denotes a big company guaranteeing crisis-proof investment. As a novel extension, *red chip* is more recognizable as a metaphoric expression than the rather entrenched *blue chip*.
  15. The phenomenon that one metaphoric expression or scenario can unconsciously trigger another has elsewhere been dubbed 'parapraxis' (Cameron, 2002).
  16. In doing so, the writer is in line with advocates of Relationship Marketing (Searls, 1997; Sheth and Parvatiyar, 2000).
  17. The term *trenches* can, moreover, feature as a metaphoric expression in the realm of football, as observed by Howe (1988, pp. 95–6).
  18. For evidence of the ORGANISM metaphor in the neighbouring field of economics, see Charteris-Black and Ennis, 2001. For its extension to COMPANIES ARE ORGANISMS, see Morgan (1997, pp. 33–71).
  19. This instance of the MACHINE metaphor could well be motivated by the article being about a company producing loudspeakers. However, while the fact that both persons quoted are engineers may explain the creative metaphor extension, it does not weaken it.
  20. In this context, another (indirect) conceptual link between the domains of war and sports is conveyed by Messner's (1992) empirical observation that male athletes tend 'to experience their own bodies as machines' (p. 151).
  21. This view of the ambiguity of the GAMES metaphor is by no means universal. Hunt and Menon (1995), for example, rather understand it as

emphasizing and promoting either sportsmanship or gamesmanship norms which have starkly different ethical frameworks. Sportsmanship emphasizes fairness and civility over victory and outcomes . . . In contrast, gamesmanship emphasizes victory through Machiavellian maneuvering.  
(pp. 87–8)

22. Eubanks refers in particular to Ries and Trout's (1986) *Marketing Warfare*. Similar works include Cohen, 1986; Durö and Sandström, 1988; Michaelson, 1987; and Rogers, 1987; as well as a related video series ('Great Marketing Wars', 1983), making for a 1980s fad in the field of marketing handbooks. For a critique of this kind of handbook, see Winsor (1996). By contrast, a defence of the WAR metaphor in marketing is Michaelson (1989). In any case,

- the WAR metaphor in marketing discourse has obviously outlived both short-term fashion and critique.
23. The two schemata mesh in the term *arms race* (Chilton and Lakoff, 1995, pp. 48–50). For a feminist critique of the notion, see Strange (1989).
  24. American football is a case in point, being masculinized to a degree where it functions as one of the ‘flag carriers of hegemonic masculinity’ (Bryson, 1990, p. 174). In his discussion on WAR and SPORTS metaphors in US political discourse, Howe (1988) similarly notes that football, in contrast to basketball or baseball, was traditionally played only by men, which may have contributed to its success as a metaphor in the comparably masculinized sphere of politics (p. 92). As very much the same holds true for the sphere of business, it should come as no surprise that it is the FOOTBALL metaphor that is spelt out so explicitly in the *Fortune* sample (FO, lines 13–14).
  25. One of these links is constituted by the fact that stardom is not only granted to sports champions but was also extended to – mostly male – CEOs during the heady days of the Internet boom in the latter half of the 1990s.
  26. While men may, of course, lack first-hand experience of war or even competitive sports, the two spheres continue to define masculinity and hence exert an influence on male identity construction (Bryson, 1990, p. 173). This is not to say, however, that men embrace WAR and SPORTS metaphors unambiguously. For a male reader voicing criticism of metaphoric expressions of sport in the *Financial Times*, see Finney (1998).
  27. This notion is strongly reminiscent of Habermas’s (1981) concept of money and power substituting language (vol. 1, p. 458; vol. 2, p. 232).
  28. Against the backdrop of finite game theory, Hunt and Menon (1995) rather see the GAMES metaphor as holding potential for notions of teamwork and co-operation.

## 5 Business media on mergers and acquisitions: metaphors of evolutionary struggle

1. Both *embattled* and *infatuated*, although formally past participles, count as adjectives, as they either have no infinitive form (\*to infatuate) or are used in their (attributive) participle form in the overwhelming majority of cases (In the BoE, the exclusive word form of *embattled* is the participle, with 121 out of 122 tokens being attributive, whereas the BNC records one third-person-singular token as opposed to 114 participle tokens, 113 of which show attributive function).
2. The numbers in both lines and columns have been added, whereas percentages have been calculated across lines only.
3. A related case is the etymologically metaphoric expression *vagina*, a translation of the Latin word for *sheath* (Wilkinson, 1993, p. 39).
4. If company A (the *black knight*) threatens to take over company B against the will of the latter’s board, a third company C may act as a *white knight* by agreeing to a friendly takeover with company B (that is, one involving the consent of B’s board). (Hirsch, 1986, p. 830, offers a different definition of a *black knight*, namely company C making another hostile bid.) A *grey knight*, by contrast, is defined as

a second, unsolicited bidder in a corporate takeover who enters the scene in order to take advantage of any problems between the first bidder and the target company. (Investopedia, 1999–2002, n. par.)

Finally, a *yellow knight* denotes a company A trying to attempt a takeover of company B but ultimately finding itself in merger negotiations instead. Gendered fairy tale vocabulary is also represented by the term *sleeping beauty*, to denote a company that is a valuable takeover target but has not yet been approached.

5. Relevant metaphoric expressions deriving from *(to) follow* and *(to) lead* are restricted to the sense of ‘physically following/leading in a dance’.
6. See also the MATRIMONY–ROYALTY/ARISTOCRACY–MILITARISM cluster that Pieper and Hughes (1997) identify in media discourse on M&A. Given the democratic history of the USA, it is an astonishing finding that the EMPIRE metaphor and its monarchic overtones are most popular with US publications. This phenomenon can probably best be accounted for by the fact that the EMPIRE metaphor lends an exotic flavour to US texts, and therefore functions as an attention-getter.
7. The authors there refer to ARGUMENT IS WAR. However, they later revised the notion of ARGUMENT IS DANCE as a completely novel metaphor, regarding it rather as an extension of the existing conceptual metaphor THINKING IS MOVING (Lakoff, 2002; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999, pp. 236–8).
8. This article (MA FT 44) accounts for no less than a third of the 91 occurrences of *target*. Again, it can be seen that conventionalized language is most prominent in the *Financial Times*, the one newspaper in the corpus: almost half of the 172 tokens this publication contributes are spread over the two most frequent types.
9. A related point concerns authors of popular management handbooks (for example, Michaelson, 1987; Rogers, 1987), who also refer to literal wars and historic military leaders to account for business practices. Paradoxically, as Köves (2002) has shown, the metaphor LIFE IS WAR is not used among members of the US army – after all, for them, life *is* war.
10. Of the 62 tokens of *hostile* in the present corpus, 16 collocate with *bid* and 6 with *takeover*. The respective numbers for the BoE are 38 and 23 out of 751.
11. An exception is the one occurrence of *nibble*, which, however, can be regarded as topic-triggered, appearing as it does in an article about Cadbury-Schweppes acquiring a snacks brand (MA FT 9).
12. In fact there is no pattern at all. The 24 *Business Week* articles with single-gender authorship (50 per cent each for women and men) yield 25 metaphoric expressions of mating. Of these, 60 per cent were produced by women and 40 per cent by men. This slight over-representation of women as users of the MATING metaphor is countered by the findings for *Fortune* magazine. Here, the 21 articles written by only men or only women (each again accounting for roughly 50 per cent) contain 12 relevant tokens, two-thirds of which can be traced back to male authors. Finally, the *Financial Times* sub-corpus includes 44 texts written either by only women (a quarter) or by only men (three-quarters). The texts show 13 metaphoric expressions of MATING, of which 23.08 per cent are contributed by women and 76.92 per

- cent by men, thus representing a percentage proportionate to authorship figures.
13. On the metaphor *MARKETS ARE FOOD*, see also Searls Group (1999, para. 44).
  14. The following people kindly shared their thoughts about, and evidence of, this sub-meaning of *sexy*: Esther Kim Choi elaborated on the term's semantic components, while Robin Turner provided late-1970s evidence from scientific and media discourse as well as discussing *DESIRE* as a source domain. Alan Wallington provided the above *Wall Street Journal* quote from the OED, and Kevin Wiliarty offered further evidence of the term in a mid-1980s academic setting as well as the quote on the hidden presence of the [+EROTIC] component (Koller, 2003).
  15. Although the collocations *hostile bid* and *hostile takeover* function as technical terms in M&A discourse, they are not the only means of denoting an acquisition (attempt) without the approval of the target company's board of directors. The expression *unfriendly takeover/bid* may be less frequent than both *hostile takeover* and its antonym, *friendly takeover/bid*, yet it can be attested twice in the present corpus (MA EC 21, MA FT 54) and once in the BoE. (Numbers for *hostile takeover/bid* are 40 in the corpus at hand [see Tables A.4 and A.5 on pp. 209 and 212], 53 in the BoE and two in the BNC, while *friendly takeover/bid* features four times in the present corpus, but does not appear in either the BoE or the BNC.) Thus journalists may be constrained in their choice of terms, but not exclusively so.
  16. For a tongue-in-cheek explanation of the literal roots of these terms, see *The Economist* (2000b).
  17. An example of *predator* being more than just phonetically related to *prey* is the terms' co-occurrence in *the group turned from predator to prey* (MA FT 33).
  18. Usage of this device by *The Economist* authors is not restricted to the sample at hand, as shown by the following quotation: 'Mergers, like marriages, can be legally defined and therefore readily counted. Alliances are more like love affairs' (MA EC 26).
  19. The 'personal chemistry' between Citibank and Travelers CEOs John Reed and Sandi Weill that the writer refers to was also the topic of a *Business Week* cover story (Silverman and Spiro, 1999). A picture of the two men was placed next to the headline 'Is this marriage working?' on both the cover and inside the magazine (US edition). The article not only elaborates that 'Weill courted Reed' (1999, para. 24) but in a supplementary interview, Sandi Weill also uses the *MATING* metaphor several times, mentioning that he has 'no problem being a partner with John' (*Business Week*, 1999, para. 1) as well as talking about 'first [getting] married and [finding] what each other is about [*sic*]' (*ibid.*, para. 9). The metaphor here highlights how homo-social settings can acquire homo-erotic overtones when the generally male CEOs come to stand metonymically for their companies.
  20. Another way of inserting a component [+BRUTAL] into the *EVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE* metaphor is focusing on and augmenting certain aspects of *DOCTORING* and *GARDENING* metaphors. Doing so yields metaphoric expressions such as *mergers . . . make it easier to cut fat and trim costs* (MA EC 15) or *bosses should swallow their pride and prune their empires* (MA EC 29), which are not so much about care and affection as aggression and violence, thus subtly supporting the *FIGHTING* metaphor.

21. The author's pejorative attitude towards mergers is in fact backed by figures. Among the ten biggest mergers in 2000, one brought about zero change in the newly created company's share price after twelve months, two recorded modest single-digit growth rates, and only one merger resulted in a share price increase of a quarter. On the other hand, the share price of the remaining six new companies had fallen by an average of 50.17 per cent one year after the merger (Dettmer *et al.*, 2002, p. 89).
22. Alternatively, the schema could also be seen as encompassing the other constituents of the model.
23. Because of globalized business activities, the boundaries between literal and metaphoric territories can sometimes be blurred; for example, if two CEOs, *having carved up Spain and Latin America between them . . . are now making the whole Continent their battleground* (MA BW 6), or if *investment banks have . . . turned Germany into the new battleground* (MA FT 41).
24. Apart from that, it is another example of the latent homo-eroticism present in homo-social settings (see n. 19).
25. For exceptions, see the *Fortune* sample and MA EC 29 ('the current merger madness [as] "the rush to find a partner . . . at a school dance after the big boys have picked the best ones"'). Hirsch and Andrews (1983, p. 154) furthermore define *hot pursuit* as 'a warfare image referring to an aggressive hostile acquirer', while the gloss they give for *pursuit* is 'a courtship image referring to a strenuous wooing'. Unfortunately, the authors again fail to provide any empirical evidence.
26. The relevant theoretical literature includes Cuomo, 1996; Elshain and Tobias, 1990; Enloe, 1983; Goldstein, 2001; Hey *et al.*, 1999; Isaksson, 1988; Russell, 1989; Schmölder, 1996; Skjelsbæk, 1997; Vickers, 1993. For a discussion of some central works, see Hedinger, 1999.
27. The German original runs as follows: 'Der Krieg der wirklichen Welt ist . . . kein solches Äußerstes, was seine *Spannung* in einer einzigen *Entladung* löst, sondern er ist das Wirken von Kräften, die . . . jetzt hinreichend *aufschwellen*, um den Widerstand zu überwinden, den die Trägheit und die Friktion ihr entgegenstellen, ein anderes Mal aber zu schwach sind, um eine Wirkung zu äußern; so ist er gewissermaßen ein *Pulsieren* der Gewaltbarkeit, mehr oder weniger heftig, folglich mehr oder weniger schnell die *Spannungen lösend* und die *Kräfte erschöpfend*; mit anderen Worten: mehr oder weniger schnell *ans Ziel führend*'.
28. See Emanatian's (1999) data on the Chagga language, and Wolf's (1996) study on metaphors for sex in rural areas in Malawi. See also Hiraga's (1991) study on metaphors for women in Japanese, and Maalej's (2001) data, in which the WOMAN IS FOOD metaphor is realized in 15 out of 17 languages and language varieties.
29. In this context, Hunt and Menon's (1995, p. 87) critique of the MARRIAGE metaphor in Relationship Marketing – that is, that its focus on monogamous couples is inappropriate for a network economy – could also be applied to M&A discourse. See MA EC 26 for the metaphoric use of *promiscuous*.
30. In the first half of 2002, the worldwide value of mergers collapsed to \$633 billion, while the number of announced hostile takeovers stood at a record low of ten (Herden and Butollo, 2002, pp. 40–1).

## 6 Conclusion: gender-neutral metaphors

1. This is underscored by the fact that there are a total of eight occurrences of *peace*, *peaceful* in the two corpora taken together – two of which are negations – as opposed to a combined number of 54 tokens of *war*, a single instance of *truce* and none of either *armistice* or *ceasefire*. It seems as if there is tacit consent to avoid the model of peace altogether.
2. For *aggressive* as a positively evaluated term, see Mautner (2000).
3. For anecdotal evidence of combat fatigue in businessmen, see Gude-Hohensinner (2002), and Der Hovanesian and Conlin (2002).
4. A case in point is the expression ‘Baby Bells’ for the companies resulting from the 1984 split-up of AT&T for anti-trust reasons. A creative extension of that metaphor is the term ‘Baby Bills’, which came into being during the late 1990s anti-trust investigation involving Microsoft.
5. The metaphor GENERALS ARE SHEPHERDS must necessarily be all the more striking against the background of Christian iconography and its depiction of Jesus, conceptualized in Christian religion as the epitome of pacifism, as the good shepherd.

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# Index

Entries in SMALL CAPITALS indicate conceptual metaphors, while page numbers in **bold** type refer to a central occurrence of the entry.

- ARGUMENT IS WAR 3, 51, 225 (n. 7)
- blending 3, **11–13**, 14, 27, 30–1, 37, 42, 110
- BUSINESS IS WAR 3–4, 10, 20–1, 29, 31, 32, 38, 51, 176
- cognitive metaphor theory  
 classical **9–11**, 14, 25–6, 28
- COMPANIES ARE MACHINES 80, 95–6, 105
- COMPANIES ARE MONARCHS 80, 95  
*see also* M&A ACTIVITY IS EMPIRE-BUILDING
- COMPANIES ARE ORGANISMS 171, 176–7  
*see also* metaphor, alternative
- COMPETITION IS HEAT 94–5, 134–5
- COMPETITION IS WAR 38
- COMPETITORS ARE ENEMIES 10
- corpus linguistics  
 as method in metaphor analysis  
 43, **51–2**, **53–6**, 62
- Critical Discourse Analysis 8, 15, **18–22**, 26, 28–9
- Critical Linguistics 15, 26, 28, 62
- DESIRE IS HUNGER 122, 129, 164, 170
- discourse  
 definition of 18  
 hybrid 19–20, 28, 38, 57
- functional grammar 57–62, 80, 87, **96–7**, 131, **151–3**, 160
- genre 5, 18, 20, 21, 39, 40, 47
- hegemony 17–18, 24  
 and gender **34–5**, 37
- HOSTILE TAKEOVERS ARE RAPES 121, **168–70**
- idealized cognitive model 36–7
- literalization 5, 79, 86, 87, 88, 125–6, 174
- M&A ACTIVITY IS DANCING 32, 48, 114, 123–4, 126–7, 130, 136–7, 151, 163, 165, 170–1  
*see also* metaphor, alternative
- M&A ACTIVITY IS EMPIRE-BUILDING 114, 122–3, 216–17  
*see also* COMPANIES ARE MONARCHS
- M&A ACTIVITY IS EVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE 40, 48, 114, 115, 129, 137, **138–9**, 141, 143, 144, 164
- M&A ACTIVITY IS FEEDING 11–12, 48, 114, 124, 125, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135–6, 138, 140–1, 145, 146, 147–8, 150, 161, 170
- M&A ACTIVITY IS FIGHTING 47–48, 114, **124–6**, 128, 129–30, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135–6, 137, 138, 140, 141, 147–8, 149, 150, 165, 167
- M&A ACTIVITY IS MATING 47, 48, 114, 124, 125, **128–9**, 130–1, 131–2, 134, **135–7**, 138, 140, 144–5, 148–9, 150, **162–4**, 165–6, 167, 177
- M&A ACTIVITY IS HUNTING **147–8**, 161
- M&A ACTIVITY IS INSANITY 145–6
- M&A ACTIVITY IS MOVING IN A BOUNDED SPACE UNDER EXTERNAL PRESSURE 134, 162
- MARKETING IS A SPORTS COMPETITION 10, 40, 48, 64, **65–8**, 71–2, 73, 75–6, 77, 79–80, 80–1, 82, 84, 87, 92, 93, 94, 104, 106–7, 113, 166
- MARKETING IS A FOOTBALL MATCH 80, 93–4, 105, 107
- MARKETING IS A RACE 80, 82–3, 86, 91, 97, 105, 133, 175
- MARKETING IS CREATING AND DEVELOPING RELATIONSHIPS 32, 112
- MARKETER-CUSTOMER RELATIONSHIPS ARE ROMANCES 48, 64, 70–1, **76–7**, 80, 82, 85, 94, 105, 166, 198–9  
*see also* metaphor, alternative
- MARKETING IS MOVING IN A BOUNDED SPACE 79, 82, 105–6

- MARKETING IS ANTAGONISTIC MOVEMENT 79, 82, 105–7
- MARKETING IS FAST (UN-COORDINATED) MOVEMENT 79, 83–4, 105–6
- MARKETING IS GOAL-ORIENTED MOVEMENT 79, 82, 84, 105–7
- MARKETING IS PLAYING A GAME 10, 40, 48, 64, 68, 72–3, 75, 77, 79, 81, 92, 104, 105–7, 113, 177
- MARKETING IS WAR 10, 12, 38, 48, 64, 65, 71–3, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 82, 84, 86, 87, 90, 91–3, 94, 104, 105–7, 113
- ADVERTISING IS A WEAPON 10
- EMERGING MARKETS ARE NEW FRONTLINES 38
- INTRODUCING A PRODUCT IS LAUNCHING A WEAPON 38
- MARKETING IS ATTACKING 9–10
- MARKETING IS WAR AGAINST CONSUMERS 79, 84–5, 106, 108–9
- MARKETS ARE BATTLEFIELDS 38, 82
- MARKETS ARE CONVERSATIONS 29, 38, 112, 177
- see also* metaphor, alternative
- MARKETS ARE FOOD 133, 138–9
- MARKETS ARE ORGANISMS 80, 90, 94, 105, 112
- see also* metaphor, alternative
- media discourse 44
- and Hallidayan framework 16–17, 22–3
- as secondary discourse 6, 24–5, 56, 79, 89–90, 108, 130, 140–1, 143–6, 152, 174–5
- readership 5, 25, 44–6, 52, 76, 77, 78–9, 107–8, 146, 166, 174–5
- see also* metaphor, in print media
- metaphor
- alternative 29, 32, 38, 41, 48, 57, 64, 70–1, 76–7, 80, 82, 93, 94–6, 105, 112–13, 114, 122–4, 126–7, 130, 131, 151, 160, 163, 165, 166, 170–1, 173, 176–8, 198–9, 218; *see also* COMPANIES ARE ORGANISMS; M&A ACTIVITY IS DANCING; MARKETING IS CREATING AND DEVELOPING RELATIONSHIPS; MARKETS ARE CONVERSATIONS; MARKETS ARE ORGANISMS
- and ideology 2, 4–5, 8, 16, 20, 25, 28, 29, 33, 37, 41–2, 166, 169; *see also* naturalization
- and intercultural difference 6, 46–7, 81, 126, 131, 225 (n. 5)
- and writers' gender 5–6, 47, 131–2
- attenuated 40, 47, 56, 71, 79, 87, 93, 129, 136, 140, 143, 144–5, 165–6, 219 (n. 3 on Introduction); *see also* metaphor, intensified
- chains 2, 54–5, 56–7, 79, 85–6, 89, 93, 130, 139–41
- clusters 4–5, 10, 19, 39–41, 47, 52, 55–7, 78, 79, 91–4, 129, 139, 147–50, 173
- complex 14, 19, 27, 30–1, 42
- CONTAINER 31–2, 83, 132–3, 135
- diachronic dimension of 49–50, 68
- gendered nature of 5, 32–5, 37, 40, 41, 64–5, 73, 76, 77, 109–11, 113, 115, 126–7, 128–9, 131, 151, 160, 163, 167–71, 173–4
- hybrid 19, 38–40
- identification 52–3
- in print media 2–3, 6, 33, 46, 56, 78, 222 (n. 7)
- intensified 5, 79, 85, 86–8, 89, 92–3, 129, 131, 141–3, 149, 160, 166; *see also* metaphor, attenuated
- multifunctionality of 2, 15
- neural theory of 8–9, 14–15, 27, 37, 42, 175–6
- primary 13–14, 27, 29–30, 33, 42, 105, 141, 161, 175
- spatial 31, 79, 83, 84, 141
- metonymy 14, 65, 83, 85, 88, 149, 226 (n. 19)
- naturalization 4, 20–1, 34, 36, 138, 139
- Relationship Marketing 64, 70–1, 112, 166, 223 (n. 16), 227 (n. 29)
- simile 87, 149, 163
- social cognition 9, 23, 31–2, 35–8, 39–40, 42, 54, 107
- style 137–8
- word classes 49, 52, 54, 57, 65, 68, 71, 73–7, 97, 104, 115, 120, 124, 127–8, 130, 161, 165, 194–7, 212–15