

Lexical Metaphor as Judgement: Attitudinal Positioning of Editorial Writers in Business Newspapers

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Abstract Drawing on Appraisal theory, the aim of this paper is to analyze how attitudinal positioning of writers in editorials of business newspapers is construed by means of lexical metaphors. The focus is on judgement, i. e. evaluation of human actors, because it indicates the subjective presence of a writer. Based on a corpus of 32 editorials of two Finnish business newspapers, the results show that lexical metaphors used as assessments are mostly dead metaphors, representing the source domains of competition and sports, humans and animals, as well as war, battle and violence. Most common targets of judgement are institutional actors which are described by meanings of capacity, tenacity and propriety. Economic actors are mostly evaluated positively while political actors are mostly evaluated negatively. Cases where economic actors are evaluated negatively and where individual persons are mentioned are unusual but possible. In general, judgements in editorials reflect the shared values and ideological beliefs of the papers and their readers. Lexical metaphors offer a subtle way for praising and criticizing institutions and individual people, which makes them an important stylistic means of communicating as expected in a discourse community.

Keywords business newspapers, editorial, Appraisal theory, judgements, lexical metaphors

1 Introduction

Editorials of *business newspapers* usually express the paper's official opinion on current issues. Thus they are not read as factual reports trying to be objective. Editorial opinions are typically expressed by means of *evaluations*, broadly defined as the expressions of writers' "attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, feelings about [...] entities or propositions" (Thompson/Hunston 2000: 5). Evaluative linguistic choices can be seen as indications of the ways in which editorial writers position themselves in relation to their readers in the sociocultural context and thus, how they construct writers' identity or authorial self (cf. Hyland 2002: 1093, Ivanič 1998). In this sense, editorials are a form of social interaction between an editorial writer and the (imagined) readers in the discourse community, where certain types of contents and ways of expressing them are expected and accepted while others are not (cf. Stonecipher 1990: 21).

Evaluations revealing the attitudinal positioning of the author are often voiced by *lexical metaphors* because they offer a subtle way of expressing evaluation and are therefore suitable even in delicate situations. By *lexical metaphors* we cover expressions that describe something by referring to something else, unrelated but having some common characteristics. Thus, lex-

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ical metaphor is based on an implicit comparison where two things have some characteristics in common, and have a different meaning in the text than in some other context (cf. Martin/Rose 2003: 103). In discourse, metaphors tend to carry attitudinal connotations and also their linguistic features support their interpretation as attitudinal meanings (cf. White 1998: 105 f., Martin/White 2005: 42–45, 52, 61–68).

This paper draws on Appraisal theory to study how editorial writers make use of lexical metaphors as means of expressing evaluations, that is, positive or negative emotions or attitudes towards the topics they discuss. The aim of this research is to analyze how the attitudinal positioning of the editorial writers in editorials of business newspapers is construed by means of lexical metaphors. The focus of the analysis is on the use of lexical metaphors as means of evaluating *human actors*. In Appraisal theory, this type of evaluation is called *judgement*. Judgements are essential in the context of editorials of business newspapers because they shed light on a central feature of the social interaction between an editorial writer and the discourse community, namely how authors position themselves in relation to those who they are judging, and further, who the author is allowed to judge and by which means.

From the point of view of Appraisal theory, the value of this contribution is its focus on metaphor. Generally, as Appraisal theory tends to see metaphor as one of many means of evaluation, studies focusing on metaphor are few, even though metaphor may play a substantial role as a signal of evaluation in many contexts, including business discourse. Even though we approach metaphors as discourse-semantic phenomena, it must be taken into consideration that metaphors are reflections of underlying conceptions of the social world in question, such as the discourse community of business newspapers. As professional writing is always a socio-cognitive process (cf. Bhatia 2004), lexical metaphors used are inevitably influenced by common understandings and shared cognitive conceptions (cf. Lakoff/Johnson 1980). Therefore, the choice of metaphors and their use as means of judgement in editorials of business newspapers may indicate how editorial writers reproduce and transform social identities, relationships, power-relations, and most importantly values (cf. Fairclough 2006: 9–13).

2 Editorials as subject of research

Appraisal theory has so far rarely been applied to the field of business journalism. Editorials of general newspapers, on the contrary, have been studied, but the focus has rarely been on metaphors. For example, in Martin and White's (2005) study, metaphors form one meaning category among several others. Also Lihua (2011), Le (2010), and Kornetzki (2012) have applied Appraisal theory on editorials without specifically discussing metaphors.

Metaphors in business discourse have been studied from the point of view of cognitive metaphor theory. For example, in economics textbooks, the container metaphor has been found to be common because it serves the purpose of depersonalization and objectification (cf. Alejo 2010). Comparing the domains of economics, medicine and computing from a cognitive-linguistic perspective, Richardt (2005) emphasized the importance of metaphors as tools for scientific reasoning, while Gatti (2016) discussed the role of metaphors for constructing corporate identity on Italian corporate websites through memory-centered discourse.

Earlier research clearly indicates that metaphoric expressions form an established part of language use in the fields of business and economics. Among others, Henderson (2000) talks about basic metaphors of economics, so called *root metaphors*. These are based on cognitive conceptions reflecting a shared value system which is known and accepted by the discourse

community, and is in part familiar also to the general public. This is also true of business newspapers which represent a discourse community with clear ideological preferences. It has been argued that financial papers are important vehicles to spread the ideology of globalization and new liberalism, and metaphors serve this goal well (cf. Knowles/Phillips/Lidberg 2017). This also applies to Finnish business journalism in the 21st century (cf. Ainamo/Tienari/Vaara 2006: 630). As the discourse of business journalism has an ideological background, ideology can be seen as the context for appraisal meanings (cf. White 2004). Thus, the ideology of neoliberalism forms the basis for evaluative meanings in Finnish editorials of business newspapers.

Editorials have been considered an important part of the newspaper, as they “aim to shape opinions and behavioral patterns” (Lihua 2011: 9). Moreover, editorials play an important role in society as they are considered to be institutional, newspaper’s opinions (cf. Stonecipher 1990: 24, Le 2010: 3, Lihua 2011: 9) instead of more personal commentaries. As institutional texts, editorials are products of writers who have adopted their professional roles in the discourse community and construe relationships with others accordingly.

Parsons (1989: 41) has claimed that business newspapers share the same genres with general newspapers. One specific feature of editorials of business newspapers is, however, that they devote a lot of space to analyzing what is going on in the world with effects on economy. In this paper, we call these texts *editorials of development*. This type of editorials focuses on commenting economical or economic-political developments, which either are or are not taking place. They are often based on indexes and long-term trends, and are not subject to political debates, not presented as contentious and not challenged by the discourse community.

Editorials of development are interesting from the point of view of authorial positioning because they are intended for a unified discourse community sharing similar beliefs and ideologies, and therefore do not necessarily require powerful argumentation. Editorials offer discursive spaces for the elite to communicate or to be in the focus of communication (cf. Ojala 2017). This sets constraints on editorial writers, as elite are both part of the target group and sources of news. It might, therefore, be challenging to criticize the actions of those sharing the preferences of the economic elite, and at the same time, try to argue for a shared ideology.

Because editorials are intrinsically subjective, they offer many possibilities for construing authorial positioning. However, there are limitations induced by genre expectations as well as by institutional practices and cultural factors. Appraisal theory enables describing similarities and differences in the use of metaphors as means of evaluating human actors at a discourse-semantic level (cf. Martin/White 2005: 10).

3 Appraisal theory

Appraisal theory is concerned with the intersubjective positioning of writers in texts and the interpersonal in language, as well as with the subjective presence of writers. It approaches language as a way “writers adopt a stance towards value positions being referenced by the text and with respect to those they address” (Martin/White 2005: 92).

Appraisal theory approaches language use as a system divided into three top-level interpersonal systems: appraisal, negotiation, and involvement. The linguistic domain of appraisal comprises the systems of attitude, engagement, and graduation. While Appraisal theory describes all kinds of stance-taking possibilities, this paper concentrates on one subsystem, called attitude (cf. Figure 1).

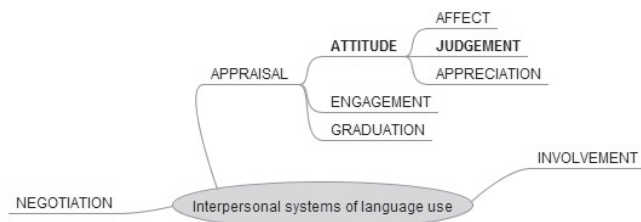


Figure 1: *The Appraisal system*

The system of attitude is a semantic domain based on the idea of institutionalized feelings, and it is divided further into *affect*, standing for resources for modalizing, emotionally amplifying and reacting, *judgement* including morally judging persons and their behavior, and *appreciation*, that is aesthetically evaluating entities, actions or processes.

Attitude can be expressed explicitly through attitudinal lexis (*inscription*) including clearly attitudinal and/or lexicogrammatically highly potential words for expressing attitude (adjectives, modal verb chains). Moreover, attitude can be expressed implicitly by selecting ideational meanings, which in context could be linked to the shared cultural attitudinal norms. In addition, there are also *provoked tokens*, which are based on connotations, such as lexical and comparable metaphors and intensification. Lexical metaphors are identified as provoked meanings because they include linguistic features supporting their interpretation as attitudinal meanings (cf. White 1998: 105 f., Martin/White 2005: 42–45, 52, 61–68). According to White (2004: 229), however, metaphors tend to fall in-between explicit and implicit ways of expressing evaluation, which makes them analytically challenging.

According to the Appraisal framework, metaphors are linguistic expressions which receive their meaning in text. In fact, Halliday (1994: 342) finds that lexical metaphor is an indirect and incongruent way of expressing a certain meaning and that it is used instead of a more congruent expression. This means that when a metaphor is recognized, it can be replaced by a more congruent expression (cf. Halliday 1994: 350).

Halliday (1994: 342–349) states that metaphorization is an intrinsic part of the development of a language, but that there is also an opposing tendency, demetaphorization, meaning that metaphoric language use gradually becomes congruent. When fresh metaphors are getting established and then finally die, their original metaphoric character cannot be recognized any more. This is why partly dead and dead metaphors are more common than fresh metaphors in professional discourse (Richardt 2005: 11 f.). Even though well-established metaphors gradually start to mean literally what they used to mean metaphorically, they still carry meanings that may lead researchers to the reasons behind metaphorization (Halliday 1994: 342–349).

4 Aim and data

The aim of this research is to analyze how lexical metaphors are used in editorials of business newspapers to express attitudinal positioning of the writers in relation to their readers. The main focus of this article will be on judgements, because they reveal how authors position themselves by evaluating human actors. In this paper, we answer the following research questions:

- RQ1: Which types of metaphors are used as explicit judgements in editorials of business newspapers?
- RQ2: What (sub-)types of judgements are produced through metaphoric expressions?
- RQ3: What are the potential targets of judgements in editorials in business newspapers?

The data were drawn from editorials of development published in two Finnish business newspapers, *Kauppalehti* and *Taloussanommat*. Both papers are published in Finnish, and they basically target the same discourse community. There are some minor differences in the editorial policies, the expertise of journalists and even in the target groups, but the data is analyzed as a whole because the focus is on genre-level affordances. Thus, differences in the corpus data are only commented on if there is systematic variation.

Editorials of development were identified based on their communicative purpose claiming that there has been, is, or will be some kind of economic development. Altogether 32 such editorials were found in the papers published in September in the years 2001, 2005 and 2015. The years chosen cover the situation before and after the global financial crisis (2008). September was chosen because economic and political institutions are getting active after the summer break. The data of 2015 only cover *Kauppalehti*, because *Taloussanommat* eliminated editorials in 2008 in connection with becoming an online-only publication. The total number of words in the corpus amounts to approx. 10,000 words (cf. Table 1).

Table 1: Description of the data

Newspaper & Features	September 2001 Editorials/ Metaphoric assessments	September 2005 Editorials/ Metaphoric assessments	September 2015 Editorials/ Metaphoric assessments	In total
<i>Kauppalehti</i> (founded 1989) Media house: Alma Media Different writers: group writing, roles vary	6/30	4/24	12/97	22/151
<i>Taloussanommat</i> (founded 1997) Media house: Sanoma Oy Different writers: group writing, roles vary	6/15	4/22	Online, no editorials since 2008	10/37
In total	12/45	8/46	12/97	32/188

The editorials in the corpus were written by different authors discussing multiple topics varying from economic to political. However, all topics, even the political ones, were approached as economic or economic-political issues, and the perspective is more macro- than micro-economic.

The data covers a period of 15 years, which may give indications of potential changes in both topics and ways of language use. While the genre remains the same, one could assume that changes in the economic and political situation may also affect the attitudinal positioning. An important factor behind any changes is the global financial crisis of 2008, which challenged the political and economic ideology. Streeck (2013) argues that the privatization and liberalization of economy in the EU culminated in the crisis, when governments had to step in to rescue the economy. Therefore, after the crisis, the proponents of neoliberalism and globalization

could not take it for granted that their ideology is shared, but have needed to start arguing for their ideology.

5 Methods

In the context of business discourse, evaluative meanings can be seen as resulting from shared or at least well-known goals and ideology, which make them possible to interpret in the first place (cf. Ainamo/Tienari/Vaara 2006, Katajamäki 2013). However, analyzing metaphors as assessments is an analysis of reading (cf. Martin/White 2005: 163 f.), which means that the social, cultural and ideological positioning of the researchers tend to affect interpretations (cf. White 1998: 35 f.). In our analysis of lexical metaphors, we apply context-driven categories of appraisal (cf. Lipovsky 2013: 313) and thus avoid circular-argumentation of what is and what is not evaluative (cf. Thompson/Hunston 2000: 5–14).

Our analysis of metaphors followed the steps illustrated in Table 2. First, we identified each metaphor (both fresh and dead ones), but also more broadly other types of figurative language use, such as idioms¹ and metonymic expressions². This was motivated by the fact that partially or totally frozen metaphors are the most common in professional discourse (cf. Richardt 2005: 11 f.).

Second, we determined whether the metaphors functioned as assessments that targeted someone or something. Because the metaphors in the corpus are not used for expressing affect, this paper will focus on lexical metaphors as vehicles of *opinions* rather than *emotions* (cf. White 2004: 230). Third, we categorized the source domains of the metaphors expressing judgement. Fourth, we interpreted the meanings construed, for which classifications taken from Appraisal theory turned out to be sufficiently appropriate. Thus, judgements were classified into the meaning categories of *capacity*, *tenacity* and *propriety*. Finally, we grouped the targets into economic or political actors. Economic actors refer to institutions, groups of people or individuals that are part of the private business sector, while political actors refer to institutions, groups of people or individuals that are part of the public sector, like central banks, nations, trade unions, or politicians.

Table 2: The analysis procedure step-by-step

Phases of analysis	Motivation = Outcome
Extracting metaphors from text	Explicit lexical metaphors based on discourse-semantic meaning
Extracting judgements (according to target)	Differentiation between judgement and appreciation
Categorizing source domains	E. g. sports, nature, war, geography
Categorizing meanings 1. Subtypes of meaning 2. Tone	1. Capacity, tenacity, propriety 2. Positive or negative
Categorizing targets	Economic actors, political actors

¹ Idioms consist of several words. They are expressions the meaning of which cannot be derived from the conjoined meanings of its elements (cf. Glucksberg 2001: 68).

² Metonymy is a figure of speech in which a label for one thing is used for another with which it is associated, e. g. an institution, such as the name of a company or a country, is presented as an actor instead of people (cf. Lakoff/Johnson 1980: 35–40).

In this paper, the targets of assessments are analyzed at the micro-level (cf. Hood 2004: 104), which means that every assessment has been categorized according to the nearest possible meaning. Such meaning is often explicit and/or can be found at the sentence level. Restricting the study to the micro-level means that the emphasis lies on meanings construed within a complete sentence (cf. Halliday 1994: 43). However, co-text sensitivity is taken into consideration (cf. Martin/Rose 2003: 35 f.) as the analysis proceeds linearly from one sentence to the next.

The interpretation of targets is crucial, because human beings are the targets of judgements and inanimate things are the targets of appreciations while both may be the targets of affect (cf. Martin/White 2005: 41–68). Even though the basic principle is clear, there are challenges due to metaphorization. Animate actions can be described abstractly, nominalized, or fully impersonalized (cf. Halliday 1994). On the other hand, inanimate actions can be personified (cf. Lakoff/Johnson 1980: 33). Therefore, the interpretation is based on the interpreters' worldly knowledge.

In order to be categorized as a judgement, an explicit or implicit human target must be identified. Furthermore, explicit judgements can implicitly function as appreciations or vice versa. Although it is possible to use double coding in order to solve analytical problems (Martin/White 2005: 67 f.), in this paper only the most obvious meaning is taken into account when presented in numbers (cf. also ben-Aaron 2005: 698). In the following chapters, we will report our results in generalized categories that are also applicable for other languages than Finnish.

6 Results

The main focus of this paper is on judgements, because they reveal characteristics of social interaction in editorials of business newspapers. First, we start with a broader view of the data, setting the judgements in the context of other evaluative meanings (6.1). Second, we will focus on the source domains of lexical metaphors that function as judgements (6.2). In Chapter 6.3, we describe the types of judgements and how they are used for judging upon economic and political actors. In Chapter 7, we briefly describe subtypes of targets. Previous studies have shown that editorial writers prefer to take direct responsibility of assessments they choose to use, and do not often attribute attitude to other sources (cf. White 2004: 231, Lihua 2011: 97). As this is the case in our data, this paper excludes the few exceptions of attributed assessments (15/188 in the corpus).

6.1 Overall picture

The 32 editorials of development contained a total of 188 *provoked assessments* construed through lexical metaphors. As Table 3 shows, these consist of judgements (55) and appreciations (133). Approximately two thirds of the editorials include judgement (19 texts), while almost all include appreciation (30 texts). On average, there were 6 lexical metaphors expressing assessment in each text, the typical case being 2 judgements and 4 appreciations in a text. However, there was substantial variation between the 32 texts, as eight texts had 0–2, 20 texts had 3–9, and four texts had as many as 10–14 lexical metaphors expressing assessment.

Moreover, the data studied in this paper contains 429 *non-metaphorical* explicit assessments; divided into expressions of affect (48), judgement (36) and appreciation (345) (cf. Appendix). In general, there seems to be a tendency that repeated use of explicit assessments correlates with the occurrence of assessments through lexical metaphors.

Table 3: Corpus overview

	2001	2005	2015	In total
	N	N	N	N
Texts	12	8	12	32
Words	3724	2046	3415	9185
Assessments through lexical metaphors	45	46	97	188
<i>Appreciations</i>	38	31	64	133
<i>Judgements</i>	7	15	33	55

In the corpus, lexical metaphors of judgement (55) seem to be more common for expressing attitudinal meanings than for explicit realizations (36). Moreover, Lihua (2011: 96) in her study of editorials of *China Daily*, has noted the same tendency to express judgement through invoked rather than explicit means. However, the editorials in the corpus have plenty of inscribed appreciations. They are common means of arguing logically which probably explains why they are also widely used in economic news (cf. Kornetzki 2012, Katajamäki 2009). The editorials of development tend to focus on abstract issues rather than on people (cf. Lihua 2011: 91–96). In such texts, even one judgement is enough to make it clear who is to be blamed or thanked. If judgements are not stated explicitly or with lexical metaphors, there are no invoked judgements either, as if the editorials try to avoid praising and making blames vaguely if no clear ones are possible (cf. Don 2016). Therefore, it seems that appreciations are not genre-specific resources in business journalism, while judgements, especially those stated explicitly or through lexical metaphors, may be distinctive of the genre (cf. Martin/White 2005, Fowler 1982: 73), and thus more genre-specific. These findings provide evidence for the nature of editorials as representatives of an argumentative and subjective genre that allow judging people.

6.2 Source domains of lexical metaphors

The source domains of evaluative metaphors are interesting because they reveal the underlying conceptions inherent to business journalistic discourse. For example, the (root) metaphor “business is competition” is a widely understood and shared value, which many lexical metaphors are based upon (cf. e. g. Boers 2000: 140, 145). Next, we will briefly describe the source domains of lexical metaphors and discuss their potential to express positive or negative meanings.

Thanks to shared understandings, metaphors are an obvious and expected way for editorial writers to express judgement. They are also used for representing actions and events from specific perspectives which opens possibilities to express evaluation. What is more, they are also used in business journalism to intensify textual meanings, which, in combination with expressed judgements, have the potential to make the text more appealing to the readers (cf. Martin/White 2005: 143 f.).

In the corpus, human actors were evaluated with metaphors derived from the source domains of *competition and sports* (20); *human or animal* (14); *war, battle and violence* (8); *physical conditions and nature* (7); and *constructions and building* (6). Most often, evaluative

metaphors were used to characterize economics as an ongoing competition, as the work of personified human- (or animal-) like actors, or as some kind of war or battle.

As Table 4 shows, both positive and negative evaluations are linked to the same source domains. Only the domain of physical conditions and nature is exceptional as it is used for producing negative evaluations only. In Table 4, illustrative examples of judgements based on lexical metaphors (translatable to English) are presented. In the second column, there are examples in which the interpretation as an assessment is implicit; that is based on context, whereas in the third column, the examples include explicit linguistic expressions that are evaluative. However, the border between explicit and provoked assessment is not always clear enough, and the interpretation of lexical items as evaluative basically depends on the context (cf. Martin/White 2005: 52).

Moreover, the evaluative potential of metaphors seems to vary. Some metaphoric expressions have a strong evaluative potential, and are inherently either positive or negative: such as *being affected by dark forces* or *getting burned*. Some others again are more neutral, such as *setting one's sights on something*, *the shepherd of the fairy tale*, or *the die is cast*. Interpreting these more neutral metaphoric expressions as positive or negative requires knowledge of the cognitive metaphor values.

Table 4: Metaphors expressing assessment and their source domains

Source domain	Interpretation based on textual meaning	Interpretation based on lexical meaning; pos/neg. explicitly retrievable
COMPETITION AND SPORTS	POS: <i>market leader, price leader, heavy weight low price chain, aim at</i> NEG: <i>(previous) price leader, challenge, do some serious betting, play hard</i>	POS: <i>number one, important contender, leading position, consolation prize</i> NEG: <i>(lost) its leading position, stomped over by competition, fall into the competition's lap, not got into full speed</i>
HUMAN OR ANIMAL	POS: <i>take the lead, the die is cast, forerunner country, get away scot-free</i> NEG: <i>already have the lead, the shepherd of the fairy tale, to waste</i>	POS: <i>overcome its difficulties</i> NEG: <i>play cat and mouse, experiencing the same optical illusion, fiddle around, not seeing far enough</i>
WAR, BATTLE AND VIOLENCE	POS: <i>to eliminate, frontline</i> NEG: <i>troops were scattered, not fully in the front line, on the defensive</i>	POS: <i>not content with standing at the home front</i> NEG: <i>be in danger of doing</i>
PHYSICAL CONDITIONS AND NATURE	POS: – NEG: <i>mature, under pressure</i>	POS: – NEG: <i>cross-draught, dark forces, getting burned, a shadow is cast</i>
CONSTRUCTIONS AND BUILDING	POS: <i>a full-service financial department store, to lathe</i> NEG: –	POS: – NEG: <i>paint oneself in a corner</i>

The findings presented in Table 4 support earlier research by Alejo (2010: 1140) and Richardt (2005: 115–146). The source domains of competition and sports and war, battle and violence are commonly used probably because they are often based on a clear value system: it is very positive if one wins a competition or a war. They also tend to take the perspective of the win-

ner, which provides a firm basis for interpreting their meaning. However, the thought patterns behind competition and sports and war, battle and violence have different levels of intensity (Boers 2000: 139).

The most varied and abstract of the source domains is the one based on human or animal. The metaphoric expressions in this category substitute the more abstract with something more concrete. For example, a political actor's behavior is described in terms of *holding the reins like a rider of a horse*, or alternatively, as a *play between cats and mice*. This type of metaphors are not typical personifications representing inhuman as human, but instead they represent institutions or groups as individuals and thereby function in making abstract concepts more understandable, or even factual and simplified (cf. Lakoff/Johnson 1980).

The category of physical conditions and nature contains a variety of different metaphoric expressions. However, they are jointly related to human observation, something that people experience as good or bad. Here, the abstract is again replaced by something more concrete and familiar. Meanings are expressed in incongruent ways. This source domain is so general that it applies to all fields, and it is therefore not business-specific.

The source domain of constructions and building is often used in business discourse to emphasize something positive, and building metaphors tend to deliver an image of dominance, wealth, control and stability (Gatti 2016: 17, 20). Moreover, in the context of judgement, construction metaphors are mostly used for expressing positive evaluations.

In conclusion, it can be stated that lexical choices in metaphors of judgement play a role. Many lexical items have an established metaphorical interpretation and use which may be inherently positive or negative. These are exploited in clarifying the positive or negative character of the evaluation in the same way as in explicit evaluations.

6.3 Types of judgements

Judgements in the editorials construed through lexical metaphors (55) were identified as meanings of capacity (33), tenacity (16) and propriety (6). In this chapter, we describe the functions which meanings serve in the texts when targeting economic or political actors and provide examples on how judgements are activated in the texts.

6.3.1 Capacity

Capacity is expressed both explicitly and using lexical metaphors. When targeting economic actors, meanings of capacity are used for (i) describing the relative size of companies (based on annual revenue or offered services and products) as a given state of affairs (definite noun groups), (ii) moving into a new role on the market (material verbs with dynamic meaning), or (iii) advancing into a better situation compared with another company (comparisons or material verbs).

The relative size of companies is described as a given state of affairs in Example 1³. Presenting the relative size as a given fact paves way to the interpretation that the stores are more capable than many others as they belong to the big ones.

³ In the examples, lexical metaphors are marked with boldface and the target of judgement is underlined.

- (1) Lidlin ja muiden **raskaan sarjan halpaketjujen** ytimenä ovat erittäin alhaiset kulut ja tehokas sisäänostojärjestelmä. (TS11092001)⁴
 [At the core of Lidl and other **heavyweight low price stores** are extremely low costs and an effective purchasing system.]

Meanings of capacity are often included in reports of a change of status or relative position describing how an actor moves into a good or bad position. Such descriptions are typical of editorials of development which concentrate on describing changes in economy. In particular it is metaphors of competition and sports as well as war, battle and violence metaphors that obviously serve to express meaning of capacity because in these contexts, changes of position are considered normal, accepted and valued.

In Examples 2–4, verbs expressing change and metaphors derived from competition and sports are used to describe a change of position. In Example 2, the loss of the leading position constructs meanings of moving into a bad position. The expression (in Finnish it is a compound) *leading position* is based on an established metaphor of competition and sports, typical of business discourse. Leading position can be understood as a metaphor because there is no true competition going on between national economies. Still, national economies are presented as actors competing with each other, and one might in some situation be in a better position than in another. In Examples 3 and 4, a discourse of competition is used when the success of a department store chain (SOK) is described in terms of it being *number one* and a *market leader*.⁵

- (2) Maailman toiseksi suurin kansantalous on menettänyt taloudellista **johtoasemansa** Aasiassa. (KL04092001)
 [The world's next **biggest national economy** has lost some of **its leading position** in Asia.]
- (3) SOK nousee **ykköseksi** (KL08092005)
 [The business SOK rises to **number one**.]
- (4) SOK:sta tulee kiistaton päivittäistavarakaupan **markkinajohtaja**. (KL08092005)
 [SOK will become the undeniable **market leader** in grocery trade.]

Describing how a company acquires a better situation is based on a comparison of companies, and in Example 3 a material verb of *rising* is used. In Example 5, there are two actors involved:

⁴ Examples have been translated by the authors, and they are coded as follows: [PAPER (KL or TS) DDM-MYEAR].

⁵ The metaphor *market leader* is a so called frozen metaphor. In spite of this, it is still open for interpretation in terms of metaphoric features. A market leader is a human actor, someone who has taken the lead and is therefore able to define different courses of action (for example the price of a product). Such a power supports gaining maximal profit, which is evaluated positively in the business context. According to Minter, the positive evaluation of being a market leader is based on the belief that striving for that position is a good strategy when a company seeks profits, even though market share is not necessarily connected with the growth of profit. He describes maximizing market shares as compulsive or as a dogmatic cult with business schools as temples (cf. Minter 2002: 9–11, 19 f.).

a business (SOK) that is actively moving to a better position by *buying* another one (Spar), and thus preventing the birth of an additional, larger group of stores in terms of war metaphors (*eliminate*). Examples 3–5 also illustrate the tendency of prosodic realisations (cf. Martin/White 2005) as the judgements are derived from the same editorial. When interpreting discourse semantic meanings, it is important what has been said before.

- (5) SOK **eliminoi** Spar-kaupalla mahdollisen kolmannen merkittävän kaupparyhmittymän syntymisen Suomeen. (KL08092005)
 [Through buying the department store chain Spar, SOK **eliminated** the evolution of a third large trading block in Finland.]

As illustrated above, the meanings of capacity are used as positive characterizations (expressing admiration) of businesses. However, when they are used for political actors, they tend to be more critical. Meanings of capacity targeting political actors seem to (i) describe a political actor's inability to act as a given state of affairs, (ii) describe change in the status of a political actor (e. g. *rise into the forefront, become a forerunner*), or (iii) criticize political actors for their incapacities.

Criticism, even though hedged with *in part*, is obvious in Example 6, where the author of the editorial claims that Finland is *experiencing an optical illusion*. Finland is not presented as an active subject, but as an involuntary experiencer. Contextually, Finland in Example 6 seems to refer to leading politicians or elite, which may be evaluated as incapable. Even though the target of criticism remains implicit, the metaphor in itself is explicitly evaluative.

- (6) Suomi on nyt osittain **vajonnut** tähän samaan **näköharhaan**. (KL17092015)
 [Finland is now in part **experiencing the same optical illusion**.]
- (7) Suomi on vaarassa tehdä saman virheen energia-asioissa, minkä se teki metsäteollisuudessa. Ei **nähdä** tarpeeksi **kauaksi**. (KL28092015)
 [There is the danger that Finland is making the same mistake in energy questions that it made earlier in the lumber industry. One does not **see far enough** [no subject –impersonal.]

In Example 7, the author refers to *not seeing far enough*, which can be interpreted as an incapability of some people to understand future developments. The target of the evaluation at sentence level is grammatically marked as implicit, but can be derived from the previous sentence as being Finland. In spite of this implied reference, the obvious interpretation is that it is those with political power that are targeted.

6.3.2 Tenacity

Tenacity is used to describe actors pursuing a goal in a specific manner, or alternatively as lacking such determination. Being specific seems to be more a matter of describing actions than qualifications. In our data, such descriptions targeted both economic and political actors who were described either positively as being determined or negatively as not being determined.

Positive meanings were construed by describing an actor's intentions through material processes that are happening (present tense) or will be happening (future tense), or in terms of

goals that an actor should try to pursue, sometimes because an actor is forced to or (easily) able to act in a determined manner. In Example 8, economic actors (Chinese companies) striving for a better position are described as knowledgeable. Example 9 includes a positive evaluation of how the labor market will be managed by the government, characterizing it as a determined supervisor which takes control of the situation.

- (8) Kiinalaisryitykset eivät tydy **seisomaan kotiasemissa**, vaan hakevat myös globaalia johtajuutta. (KL07092015)
 [Chinese companies are not satisfied with **occupying their own posts at home**, but strive for global leadership.]
- (9) Hallitus **ottaa ohjat käsiinsä** (KL09092015)
 [The government **takes the reins**.]

Negative meanings were construed by describing an actor that was not ready or able to take action in a determined manner. The reasons could be caused by itself or by some outer force.

- (10) 1980-luvulla rahoitusala ei ollut vielä suuriin järjestelyihin **kypsä**, vaan toimintaan liittyi taloudellisten lisäksi aluepoliittisia tai aatteellisia tekijöitä. (TS13092005)
 [In the 1980's the financial sector was not **mature** for large rearrangements, since in addition to economic factors, even local politics and ideological factors were involved.]
- (11) SAK **maalaa kannallaan itseään nurkkaan**, sillä sekä Akava että STTK hyväksyvät viiden prosentin tavoitteen. (KL23092015)
 [SAK (the trade union) **is painting itself into a corner**, since both Akava (the academic union) and STTK (the white collar union) accept the goal of five percent.]

In Example 10, the writer expresses criticism based on a lack of tenacity on the part of an economic actor in the past. The expressions evaluate the present positively compared to the past. Instead, in Example 11 a large trade union is described as slowing down progress and causing trouble to itself, while not having the determination of some other unions.

6.3.3 Propriety

While the meanings of capacity and tenacity concern social esteem, the meanings of propriety form a sub-category of *social acceptance* (cf. Martin/Rose 2003: 24, Martin/White 2005: 52). According to Iedema/Feez/White (1994: 211), meanings of social esteem are connected with the appreciation an actor gets from the public. The meanings of social acceptance are connected with right and wrong that is what is considered socially accepted habits and rules of behavior. For example, being stupid does not involve any wrong-doing, while dishonesty does. In many cases, meanings of social acceptance are used for evaluating behavior which is regulated by law.

In editorials of business newspapers, meanings of propriety seem to be used for several, variable descriptions. They were included in descriptions of what an actor is doing, what is

happening because something has been done, what someone should do, or how someone can be characterized. Interestingly, meanings of propriety expressed through lexical metaphors were found only in the data from 2015. Those meanings were negative with one exception, and even the one exception was an expression of hoping that something would happen, carrying the implicit meaning that it might not.

Meanings of propriety activated by means of lexical metaphors, similarly to explicit meanings, seemed to target both economic and political actors. However, when the target was an economic actor, judgements were connected with the Volkswagen emission-cheating crisis revealed in 2015. When the manipulation was discovered, Volkswagen was criticized in newspapers internationally. When activated by means of lexical metaphors, the company was judged by referring to *dark forces*, which may reside behind the façade of companies with a good reputation. The metaphor was targeted at those who broke the laws (Example 12), but the target still remained vague (*a company in generic terms rather than the managers or management of Volkswagen*).

- (12) Volkswagenin päästöskandaali kertoo siitä, että yrietyksen puhtoisinkin julkisuuskuvan takaa voi löytyä **pimeitä voimia**. (KL24092015)
 [The Volkswagen emission-cheating scandal reveals that there may reside **dark forces** behind the façade of a company with a good reputation.]

Even a politician as a person can be characterized through a metaphor of propriety. In Example 13, the Greek Prime Minister Tsipras is characterized as *a master of turncoats*. The negative meaning of the traditional metaphor *turncoat* is intensified by the noun head *master* (cf. Martin/White 2005: 151 f.). However, targeting a single person as a human actor is unusual in the data, but this exception shows that it is possible to judge upon a person by means of metaphor when it serves the communicative purpose of the editorial.

- (13) Tähän saakka Tsipras on ollut poliittisen **takinkäännön mestari**. (KL22092015)
 [So far Tsipras has been **a master of political turncoats**.]
- (14) SAK **pelaa kovaa peliä**, mutta pelitilanne on muuttunut. (KL23092015)
 [The trade union SAK **plays a tough game**, but the score has changed.]

In addition to politicians, meanings of propriety are used for criticizing the blue collar labor union SAK as a tough player not understanding the situation and therefore slowing down changes in the labor market, which are considered necessary by the writer (Example 14). Consequently, the labor union is described as an unfair actor.

7 Targets of judgements

Judgements are assessments of persons, individuals, groups or institutions. As such they are not necessary for expressing opinions in editorials: editorial writers can concentrate on subjects and criticize phenomena, and thus hide the link to human action. However, when an editorial writer chooses to assess people, judgements can be seen as linguistic evidence of the relationship between the writer and the people assessed. As Table 5 shows, in the editorials of Finnish business newspapers, the people assessed were either economic or political

actors, and they were evaluated both positively and negatively. In addition, the actors assessed through metaphors were often explicitly mentioned in the editorial (cf. Table 5).

The most common targets of judgement were institutional actors (such as low price stores, China, Finland, firms) labeled as organizations, parties and nations in Table 5. Only in few cases, the target was an individual (the Finnish Minister Heinäluoma, the Chancellor of Germany Schröder, the Greek Prime Minister Tsipras). Therefore, it seems that even though it is in principle possible to target an individual with a metaphor of judgement, editorial writers rather choose to evaluate institutional actors. When deemed necessary, even groups of people can be targeted, such as the government or citizens. However, judgements of government and citizens only occur in the data of 2015, while both in 2001 and 2005, economic (15) actors were targeted more often than political (7) actors. In the data of 2015, on the contrary, judgements targeted political (26) actors more often than economic (7) actors. The changes in the figures are connected with the topics discussed: the texts of development in the data from 2015 concentrate on the economic political development of Finland and Europe.

Table 5: Categories of targets and linguistic examples

		Economic actor as a target		Political actor as a target		Total
CATEGORIES OF MEANING	CAPACITY	15	ECONOMIC ACTORS (GROUP) Owners of a company ORGANIZATIONS Financial department store, price leader, the second largest domestic bank, grouping of stores, low price chain, new grouping of banks	18	POLITICIAN (INDIVIDUAL) Heinäluoma, Schröder POLITICIAN (GROUP) Politicians, those using political power ORGANIZATIONS/PARTIES CDU, labor union NATIONS World's second largest national economy, China, Ethiopia, a forerunner country, Finland	33
	TENACITY	4	ORGANIZATIONS The German E.ON, Finance sector, Chinese companies, Western companies	12	POLITICIAN (ROLE) Leader POLITICIAN (GROUP) The Finnish Government, representatives of a party ORGANIZATIONS/PARTIES Syriza, EU, white collar labor unions NATIONS China	16
	PROPRIETY	3	ORGANIZATIONS Volkswagen, company	3	POLITICIAN (INDIVIDUAL) Tsipras ORGANIZATIONS/PARTIES Blue collar labor union	6
	In sum	22		33		55

When meanings of capacity refer to economic actors, they tend to be positive, and when they refer to political actors they are mostly negative. When it comes to meanings of tenacity, both positive and negative judgements are expressed concerning economic and political actors.

Meanings of propriety again focus mostly on negative judgements, the one positive is more like a wish that a politician (Tsipras) would act as he should, even though it is deemed unlikely. Therefore, it seems that metaphors function as tools of assessment when an individual politician is evaluated negatively, when the actions of parties or other organizations are evaluated positively or negatively or when companies or countries are compared with each other, in which case one party is evaluated positively and the other one negatively.

Most of the targets of judgements are institutional actors. They are structured collectives in which a part represents the whole, and people may also be replaced by others (in other words, it is a case of metonymy). They also tend to be general rather than detailed. In connection with meanings of capacity, for example, judgements do not reveal what type of internal (e. g. having certain skills) or external capabilities (e. g. having money) the actor possesses. Instead, it is enough to describe them as generally capable. These cases seem to reveal the tendency of business journalistic discourse to resort to similar vagueness of lexical meaning, as in general language. This is in contrast to professional discourse in which terms are used as labels describing more or less exactly defined concepts.

8 Conclusions

In this paper, we have illustrated how lexical metaphors are used as means of expressing the attitudinal positioning of the editorial writers of business newspapers. The focus was on editorials describing economic development, which were analyzed through Appraisal theory. While editorial writers approach the subject of the editorial from a certain stance, they establish reading positions that situate readers to interpret things, objects or people like the writer intends to. Their authorial positioning reflects the need to express and influence opinion in a way that is in accordance with the ideological beliefs represented by the paper and their readers. In Table 6, we summarize our findings according to the phases of analysis.

Table 6: Summary of findings

Phases of analysis	Findings
Extracting metaphors from text	188 metaphors of assessment vs. 429 non-metaphoric explicit assessments
Extracting judgements (according to target)	133 appreciations, 55 judgements. Metaphors of judgement (55) more common than explicit judgements (36)
Categorizing source domains	Competition and sports (20); human or animal (14); war, battle and violence (8); physical conditions and nature (7); and constructions and building (6). All categories both positive and negative, except physical conditions and nature only negative.
Categorizing meanings 1. Subtypes of meaning 2. Tone	<i>Capacity</i> : When targeting <i>economic actors</i> , meanings of capacity are used for 1) describing the relative size of companies as a given state of affair, 2) moving into a new role on the market, or 3) advancing into a better situation compared with another company. Meanings of capacity targeting <i>political actors</i> seem to 1) describe a political actor's inability to act as a given state of affairs, 2) describe change in the status of a political actor, or 3) criticize political actors for their incapacities.

	<p><i>Tenacity</i>: Both economic and political actors. <i>Positive meanings</i> were construed by describing 1) an actor's intentions through material processes that are happening or will be happening in the future tense, or 2) in terms of goals that an actor should try to pursue, sometimes because an actor is forced to or able to act in a determined manner. <i>Negative meanings</i> were construed by describing an actor that was not ready or able to take action in a determined manner.</p> <p><i>Propriety</i>: Both economic and political actors. Only in the data from 2015. <i>Negative meanings</i> were connected with one economic actor, Volkswagen, and exceptionally also specific individual politicians (Tsi-pras). One <i>positive meaning</i> was expressed as hope of future actions.</p>
<p>Categorizing targets</p>	<p>Most common targets of judgement were <i>institutional actors</i>. When meanings of <i>capacity</i> refer to economic actors, they tend to be positive, and when they refer to political actors they are mostly negative. When it comes to meanings of <i>tenacity</i>, both positive and negative judgements are expressed concerning economic and political actors. Meanings of <i>propriety</i> again focus mostly on negative judgements of institutional political actors.</p>

The results of our analysis show that the lexical metaphors used as assessments in editorials of business newspapers are mostly dead metaphors, which are also otherwise typical of economic discourse. The same applies to the source domains that the metaphors are taken from. In conclusion, general features of business discourse are present also in editorials of business newspapers. All in all, appreciations targeting inanimate objects are more common than judgements, which may be explained by the requirements of quality journalism, i. e. objectivity and focus on issues and not on people. However, when interpreting quantitative results of micro-level analysis, it must be born in mind that the frequency and strength of inscribed assessment are not necessarily related: even one assessment may play a crucial role in a text. This seems to be obvious, in particular, when the assessment is presented in the main thesis or in the headline. Furthermore, it is fully possible to read whole texts as either positive or negative evaluations even though they lack explicit evaluative language when appropriate shared knowledge is in place (cf. e. g. Katajamäki 2009).

Linguistic resources offer many ways to criticize things and people, and sometimes metaphors offer a way to sound very critical but leave the target unstated. When it comes to targets of judgements, our findings indicate that evaluations through lexical metaphors are usually targeted on institutional actors, and only seldom on individuals. When politicians were judged, left wing politicians or labor unions were criticized while right wing politicians were seen positively as rescuers. In this way, criticism is in line with the predominant ideology of the business newspapers supporting freedom of markets and Finnish entrepreneurship. Accordingly, economic actors are predominantly judged positively, which was to be expected as the writers of editorials belong to the same discourse community with their readers and choose to maintain a feeling of solidarity with the economic elite. Evidently, the attitudinal positioning of the writer is in accordance with the ideology shared in the discourse community.

After the financial crisis in 2008, there seems to be a shift in the attitudinal positioning. Assessments, especially judgements targeted to politicians through lexical metaphors were realized more frequently. Moreover, meanings of propriety signaling social acceptance were realized only in the data of 2015. When it comes to economic institutional actors, judgements

may be inferred from the text but the criticism is not explicitly targeted, e. g. a single company or on individuals such as the management even in the case of a crisis. Writing in a discourse community is a difficult task as a writer always has to balance what needs to be said in order to make important, noticeable, powerful statements, and what cannot in order to maintain good relationships with the readers who partly belong to the discourse community and share similar ideological beliefs (cf. Hyland 2002: 1091–1093). From this point of view, it seems that meanings of propriety signaling social acceptance have been chosen for criticising economic actors who have broken the law and political actors who have the power to affect developments and who are striving for purposes not seen preferable in the discourse community of Finnish business journalism.

The changes in the attitudinal positioning before and after the global financial crisis of 2008 could in part be explained with the change in the status of the editorial as a genre as some newspapers, among them *Taloussanommat*, ceased publishing them. It could even be concluded that when some newspapers try out new conventions like dropping genres altogether, others proceed by strengthening the unique characteristics of editorials, i. e. for the purpose of taking a stand. However, the constraints of the genre still exist, and this might explain the popularity of editorials of development instead of more clearly instructive variants of the genre.

Theoretically, we approached lexical metaphors from the point of view of Appraisal theory, as expressions of authors' positioning in relation to social identities represented in texts and ultimately, in relation to the readers. Thus, unlike critical discourse analysis (CDA) that focuses on social identities presented in texts, that is, who are the actors and how they are presented, seeking to reveal power relations, we apply Appraisal theory to show how solidarity is strengthened in the context. This means a shift towards positive discourse analysis (PDA), focusing on "ways that redistribute power without necessarily struggling against it" (Martin 2004: 183; cf. Bartlett 2017: 190; Wodak/Meyer 2016: 2–3). However, instead of PDA, we label our approach as Analytical Discourse Analysis because while editorial writers certainly see their views as advisable and redistributable in a positive way, based on the idea of economic wealth and growth that benefits all, this is an unanimous ideal only in the discourse community of business newspapers. What seems to be ideal from inside, might be considered totally unethical from outside. In general, the trouble to understand this seems to be one reason for misunderstandings and disagreements, and thus, our study in its part sheds light on taken-for-granted mechanisms of meaning making in specialized discourse communities. Combining Appraisal analysis with an analysis of targets, i. e. whether they were economic or political, institutions, groups of people or single persons offers a fruitful starting point for further studies. This approach pinpoints the relevance of what is judged, because certainly, there are some constraints in every context, discourse community and genre.

In our paper, we have focused on one type of editorials, one that is not very argumentative, in one cultural context, the Finnish, which evidently affects our results. However, lexical metaphors as means of evaluation are a shared feature typical of business discourse in general, which makes them interesting topics for research as to how domain-specific features relate to different editorial types and national (business) cultures. Even though this paper has focused on the level of meanings, it is evident that lexical metaphors in business discourse form a fruitful topic of further research even from a more linguistic point of view.

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Appendix: Categories in the data, modifications based on Martin/White (2005)

Categories as described in Appraisal theory

Categories and instances based on analysis of explicit assessments in the editorials of business newspapers (cf. Katajamäki 2017)

ATTITUDE

Affect
for reacting emotionally, registering positive and negative feelings

Judgment
for evaluating behavior

Appreciation
for evaluating objects, artefacts, processes, and states of affairs

**Irrealis
Inclination**

Realis

Social Esteem

- Capacity
- Normality
- Tenacity

Social Sanction

- Veracity
- Propriety

Reaction

- Impact
- Quality

Composition

- Balance
- Complexity

Valuation

General types	Meaning types in the data	Explicit instances	Provoked: metaphors
AFFECT		48	-
Dis/inclination	Dis/inclination (Do the feelings involve intention?)	28	-
Realis	Realis (How is the person feeling about somebody/something?)	20	-
JUDGMENT		36	55
Social Esteem	- <i>Capacity</i> (How capable?) *	24	33
	- <i>Tenacity</i> (How resolute?) *	4	16
Social Sanction	- <i>Propriety</i> (How ethical?) *	8	6
APPRECIATION		345	133
Reaction	- <i>Observation</i> (What does it look like? What is thought about it?)	18	-
	- <i>Manageability</i> (Is it easily managed/done?) *	82	41
	- <i>Usefulness</i> (Is it useful/beneficial?) *	54	27
Balance	Balance (Is it in balance/place?) *	96	48
Valuation	Valuation (Is it worthwhile?)*	44	17
New groups	Ability (What has it been able to do? What has it succeeded in doing?)	13	-
	Necessity (What is necessary/needed to be done?)	14	-
	Possibilities/threats (Is it opportunity/chance?)	24	-
Total		429	188

* A meaning type also construed through metaphors.