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Metaphoricity of corruption: a contrastive analysis of documents and media texts

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Specific (Legal) Purposes

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ABSTRACT

Corruption is viewed as a phenomenon that, to a greater or lesser extent undermines the rule of law and causes distrust in political, administrative and other institutions. The present thesis focuses on the analysis of metaphors in legal documents and media texts dealing with corruption. The paper aims to identify the prevailing strategies of conceptualization of corruption in the EU Anti-Corruption report and media editorials focusing on the FIFA corruption scandal of 2015. The corpus consists of a document retrieved from the EUR-LEX database and 36 editorial articles collected from global news portals. The study was conducted within the framework of MPA (Metaphorical Pattern Analysis) and MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure), partially adopting steps from both methods to attain the best results. The results of the analysis demonstrated a predominant conceptualization of corruption in terms of WAR, ANIMATE BEING, OBJECT and SUBSTANCE in legal discourse and ANIMATE BEING, OBJECT, SUBSTANCE and PLANT metaphors in the discourse of media. Interestingly, media editorials are much more varied in terms of source domains of the metaphors, whereas legal discourse is based on more stereotypical metaphors. The prevailing tendency to personify corruption in both types of discourse apparently proves that language is embodied to a very large extent. We tend to understand the nature of crime in reference to character traits and physical actions that humans are often engaged in and which are familiar to us.

INTRODUCTION

Over the last decades, metaphorical language has garnered considerable interest in the field of linguistics. The investigation was prompted by a seminal work of cognitive linguists Lakoff and Johnson (1980) who proposed studying metaphors in line with cognitive perspective, championing the idea that metaphors reflect how we structure concepts in our mind. In light of the notion that metaphors help to understand the underlying patterns of thinking and reasoning (Johnson 2003), it is then not surprising that the use of metaphors has been under the scope in the investigations of legal and media discourse. A landmark study by Thibodeau and Boroditsky (2011) proved that linguistic metaphors can shape people's reasoning about crimes, provided they are exposed to a particular conceptualization of the criminal issue. Since crime is perceived as an activity against the law, it carries a negative news value (Bell 1991), naturally attracting media attention. As noted by Oliinyk & Naumenko (2018), media plays an important role in defining the general opinion about crimes, but, on the other hand, they represent the events following their (ideological) views (Okar 2011). The existing body of research on media discourse suggests that journalists use a variety of linguistic choices (van Dijk 2001, Xie 2013) to express their attitudes, and among the means that mask their underlying intentions is a metaphor (Cubo De Severino et al. 2003). In the case of corruption, some studies demonstrated media tendency to metaphorically conceptualize corruption in terms of an enemy, virus, human being, poison or dirt (Negro 2015, Isyaku et al. 2016).

Previous research on metaphorisation of corruption within media discourse provided some evidence for further research; however, what is less clear is the metaphoricity of corruption in legal discourse. To my knowledge, no studies exist which analyse the metaphoricity of corruption in the texts of legal discourse. Also, there were no contrastive studies of legal and media discourses found with regard to the matter. Thus, the current thesis sets out to investigate the peculiarities of metaphorisation of corruption in the EU Anti-Corruption report and provide an account of the metaphoricity of the FIFA Corruption scandal within global media.

The subject of the thesis is metaphorical patterns in legal and media discourses.

The aim of the thesis is to investigate the use of metaphorical patterns in legal and media discourses and evaluate how corruption is conceptualized in both domains.

The objectives of the thesis are as follows:

1. To identify prevailing strategies of conceptualization of corruption in the EU Anti-Corruption report in with the MPA and MIPVU methods.
2. To identify prevailing strategies of conceptualization of corruption in media editorials in line with the MPA and MIPVU methods.
3. To analyse the differences and similarities of conceptualization of corruption in EU Anti-Corruption report and media editorials.

The present thesis consists of the following parts: literature review, data and methods, results and discussion, and conclusions. The first part – literature review – discusses the following topics: legal discourse and its linguistic features, football as a global phenomenon, media and corruption, overview of metaphor in accordance with the cognitive view, an overview of studies on metaphor in legal discourse, an overview of studies on metaphor in media discourse. The second part of the thesis deals with the analysed data and presents methods employed in the analysis. The third part comprises the results and discussion, presenting the empirical analysis and findings of the study. The fourth part (Conclusions) summarises the findings. Finally, data sources, references, a summary in Lithuanian, and appendices are presented at the end of the thesis.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. Legal Discourse

Legal discourse, in simple terms, is concerned with the language used in the legal field, i.e., the law. Over the past decades, there has been an increasing amount of literature dedicated to the phenomenon of legal discourse, as numerous studies have attempted to examine its discursive and linguistic properties.

Firstly, it has been argued that legal language serves an essential function in the “construction, interpretation, negotiation and implementation of legal justice” (Bhatia et al. 2007). However, it should be noted that the concept of “legal language” stands as an umbrella term for many activities related to legal discourse. According to Trosborg (1997), these activities include the language of the courtroom, the language of (legal) textbooks, the language of the law, the language of lawyers, and daily situations where people discuss the law. Thus, this gives basis to consider the legal language as a sub-language with different varieties.

Legal discourse is comprised of different kinds of texts; however, the natural question arises in deciding what may be treated as legal text. As argued by Depraetere (2011: 212), for a text to be considered legal, it should be produced by legislators, the judges or other legally empowered officials. However, the latter view comprises only the specialists of law who have the power to make legal actions. In this regard, Asensio (2003) argues that the context in which the text was produced should be taken into account when deciding the legal status of a text. Thus, if the text is produced in an administrative, contractual or legislative context, it may be regarded as a legal text.

With regard to typical features of legal texts, researchers have drawn attention to their distinctive syntactic complexity. One of the most prominent legal discourse analysts Tiersma (2000) maintains that the legal texts are characterized by impersonal constructions, wordiness and redundancy, lengthy and complex sentences, and unusual sentence structure. Along similar lines, Varo and Hughes (2002) observe that legal texts are pervasive with conditionals and hypothetical phrases that make the discourse even more intricate.

Various scholars have also observed that legal texts stand out from other genres due to their distinguishable and complex lexical features. For example, in her book on language in the legal process, Danet (1985) distinguishes the following lexical properties: technical vocabulary (i.e:

warranty deed, grantee, criminal proceedings), common terms with uncommon meanings (i.e: *transfer, assignment*), archaic expressions (i.e. *hereinafter, hereby, therein*), doublets (i.e: *cease and desist, rules and regulations, aid and abet*), unusual preposition phrases (i.e: *in the event of, as to*). Other scholars, for instance, Varo and Hughes (2002: 11) complement the taxonomy of lexical properties with observations about the binding nature of performative verbs (i.e: *agree, undertake, certify*) and modal verbs (*shall, must, may*). Together these studies provide valuable insights into the obscure and complex nature of legal language. While these lexical or syntactic properties may be familiar for a legal specialist, for a layperson, these peculiarities might seem indeed perplexing.

Since the law is concerned about what is right (legal) and what is wrong (illegal), one may claim that legal discourse may be analysed in greater depth to uncover patterns of reasoning. For example, Zhenhua (2018) argues that legal discourse reflects the beliefs, stances and values of people who undertake legal activities. Therefore, it can be said that language plays an important role in structuring underlying reasoning in legal discourse. In similar vein, Solan and Tiersma (2012: 3) suggest that “through language we establish societal institutions, including legal ones”. Thus, the understanding of legal language constructs our knowledge about the institutions themselves.

In the last decades, one of the fresh boosts to the study of reasoning of legal language was introduced by cognitive sciences. The cognitive approach, as argued by Soloshenko (2016: 121), “seems more than relevant as the nature of legalese involves not only context and function, but also extra-linguistic factors that are part of cognition“. Since concepts of morality, crime and justice are integral to the legal domain, their conceptualisations within the legal language can help to grasp information about the underlying formation of objective images. To this account, Johnson (2002: 951) adds that examination of legal reasoning has led to understanding that it is embodied, situated and imaginative. In this regard, studies of various scholars and researchers (Ebesson 2008, Johnson 2007, Makela 2011, Šeškauskienė & Stepančuk 2014, Winter 2008) have underlined that the key role in legal reasoning is played by metaphor. Analysis of metaphors, therefore, can reveal how the people or institutions involved in legal discourse perceive legal issues, crimes and justice. A broader explanation of metaphor and studies on metaphors in legal discourse will be discussed in later parts of the paper.

1.2. Football as a global phenomenon

Football is considered to be the most popular sport in the world and has been labelled “people’s game” and “world’s game” (Murray 1996; Harvey 2005). Its popularity can be illustrated by the fact that the 2018 FIFA World Cup in Russia was watched by a record-high 3.572 billion people (more than half of the world’s population)¹. To this date, only the 2016 Summer Olympics Games in Rio De Janeiro can equal to such popularity.

Primarily, football is perceived as a game between two teams of 11 players on the pitch, it would be fair to say that it goes beyond the boundaries of sport. For example, Bernard (2008) conducted a research on the knowledge of football’s terminology in France and emphasized that irrespective of age, sex and level of education, football’s vocabulary is largely known in the French society. Having in mind the population of France, this finding suggests that football can easily become part of our daily cultural lives.

One could also claim that football is intertwined in people’s relations with regard to economy or politics. Markovits & Rensmann (2010:9) observe that the leaders of governments or states are, in a sense, obliged to attend their national football teams’ games to foster international relations. Bearing this in mind, for us, it should not be surprising to see the world leaders in a discussion on our TV screen during the football streams. In addition, football can be described as a means of diplomacy that could pave the way for important decisions. An example could be a curious case of UEFA European Football Championship in 2012, when Ukraine was granted the co-organizer rights due to UEFA’s wish to bring Ukraine closer to Europe, as well as to boost the overall economy of the country.

Football inspires cooperation and develops relations between countries. However, as Theis (2012) correctly points out, football would be much more transparent and have a positive impact on the society if FIFA, the governing body of football, respected the principles of integrity and the rule of law. The latter issue has been widely discussed in global media over the past decades, and to this day, it is still one of the fundamental topics.

¹ <https://www.fifa.com/worldcup/news/more-than-half-the-world-watched-record-breaking-2018-world-cup>

The last couple of decades has seen a rapid growth of television, internet, and radio, therefore, the connection between the media and sport is even tighter. Piercey (2016: 1) argue that these factors “coupled with a range of financial incentives, business opportunities, and markets has made the dissemination of sport an enormous international business”. That said, it is not surprising that the elevated media attention and investigative journalism paved the way for a detailed exposure of football events, business deals, and “behind the scenes” politics. It should be noted that among the most exploited media coverage topics (with regard to football) are the likes of recreational drug use, public intoxication, match-fixing, corruption, etc. (Rowe 2016). In this regard, high-profile corruption scandals that have been tarnishing the image of FIFA attracted significant media attention over the course of the last decade. One of these scandals is under the scrutiny of current thesis and shall be discussed in later sections of literature review.

1.3. Media and corruption

It is commonly agreed that media is one of the means of communication and, essentially, the key platform to inform the society about the world through the use of television, newspapers, radio or the internet. Watching TV coverage on presidential elections or reading an internet article about crimes in our neighbourhood constitutes our usual interaction with the media. In this way, as Kovach and Rosentiel (2007) observe, the media provide sense of safety and facilitates transparency on the events happening in the world around us.

In addition to main function of informing the society, media can also be regarded as a tool for forming attitudes and opinions (O’Keefe 2006). For example, news reports about certain events are not restricted to factual information: editorials, columns and other types of opinion provide a platform for interpretative content. Therefore, the way we are introduced to global issues and how we perceive them depend on their representation in the media.

Hepp et al. (2015) claim that in modern times media have become “co-constitutive for the articulation of various social fields in their present form: politics, economics, education, etc”. In other words, media is an essential tool to address the ideas of politics, economics and education. Consequently, the media could also serve as a platform to put forward universal issues and discuss their peculiarities.

It should be noted that the news we generally see in the media is the result of the incorporation of news values. News values are the “values by which events or facts are judged more

newsworthy than others” (Bednarek 2006:16). They reflect social beliefs and are shared by the news producers and the audience. According to prominent scholar Bell (1991), one of the common news discourse values are negativity and superlativeness. In written news discourse, the former usually attracts the reader’s attention due to its forbidden, taboo or “off-limits” nature, while the latter naturally combines the elements of magnification and exaggeration. Over the decades, one of the most negative and superlative news values were referred to corruption, the topic under scrutiny in this thesis.

There are several reasons related to corruption’s popularity in the media. Firstly, corruption “lowers investment and retards economic growth to a significant extent” (Mauro 1997: 6). At the same time, it causes distrust in political institutions (Rothstein, 2000) and collides with fundamental democratic values. Secondly, media findings sometimes prompt investigation into allegations of corruption, legal proceedings or even lead to dismissals of politicians or high public officers. Thus, media can be considered an “integral part of anti-corruption infrastructure” (Sousa 2011: 72).

One of the examples illustrating media pressure with regard to corruption is the corrupt activities pervading FIFA organisation. Already in 2006, British investigative journalist Andrew Jennings released a book *Foul! The Secret World of FIFA: Bribes, Vote-Rigging, and Ticket Scandals* that sparked a flurry of confusion in the football society. The author then accused FIFA for laundering money with the former marketing partner International Sport and Leisure (ISL), vote-rigging in FIFA presidential elections, in favour of long-reigned FIFA president Sepp Blatter. A series of investigative articles of the above-mentioned nature, has been released by journalists over the later years; however, not until 2015 the public witnessed extraordinary affirmation of these allegations.

At the end of May 2015, a new FIFA corruption scandal shook the world. On the 27th of May, 14 FIFA officials or people related to the organization were charged by the United States Department of Justice for engaging in criminal activities including racketeering, fraud, bribery, and money laundering. According to the official report², the officials were charged with

² <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/nine-fifa-officials-and-five-corporate-executives-indicted-racketeering-conspiracy-and>

“conspiring to solicit and receive well over \$150 million in bribes and kickbacks in exchange for their official support of the sports marketing executives who agreed to make the unlawful payments” between 1991 and 2015. On the same day, the court unsealed a total of six guilty pleas, conducted in the period from 2013 to 2015. Raids in FIFA headquarters in Zurich were conducted on the eve of FIFA Congress where Sepp Blatter was on the verge of another re-election as a president.

During these turbulent days, it was the most dominating story in “newspaper and magazine front pages, news broadcasts, and Internet news sites” all over the world (Rowe, 2016). Naturally, these criminal activities provided a platform for discussion and opinion articles that may influence people’s views on certain issues. Oliinyk & Naumenko (2018: 135) emphasize that “media can play a significant role in defining what the general public understands about various social issues, among them crime is inarguably number one”. Thus, one may claim that the media language describing sensitive issues (such as corruption scandals) should be analysed within linguistic framework.

1.4. Discourse of media and its linguistic features

Media discourse can be described as “interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer“ (O’Keefe, 2011). In media texts, the language produced is not spontaneous, since the journalists plan and think in advance what they intend to convey to a receiver, who, in turn, has time to process the information received. With a view in mind that our everyday lives are influenced by media, it comes as no surprise that various writing styles and choice of linguistic strategies in news reporting has generated a particular interest from linguists and discourse analysts.

One of the most prominent features of the discourse of media is ideology. According to Oktar (2011), the media engages in an active reconstruction of events, mostly “on the basis of their own ideological affiliations”. In other words, in their writings, journalists more or less openly show support for their ideals in line with the ideology the media outlet advocates. In this regard, Shojaei, Youssefi and Hosseini (2013: 859) argue that “framing social, political, cultural, economic, and ideological realities highly depends on the language use of the mass media”.

One of the key linguistic approaches that help to gain a deeper understanding of ideologies presented in the media is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

According to Norman Fairclough (1995), one of the architects of this approach, CDA of media texts comprises the analysis of text, discourse practises and sociocultural practice. In terms of textual level analysis, the classification falls under four main headings: text structure, vocabulary, grammar and cohesion. With regard to discourse practice, Fairclough advocates for the investigation of three concepts: the force of utterance, the intertextuality of the text and the coherence of the text. Finally, the sociocultural analysis is achieved by exploring the prevailing power relations in a given society.

In terms of linguistic devices used to convey ideology in news reports, CDA analysts refer to particular types of syntactic structuring. van Dijk claims that ideologically loaded texts contain various syntactic forms that include “ordering, primacy, pronominal relations, active-passive voice, nominalizations and other formal properties of sentences and sequences” (2001: 107). For example, by means of nominalization or passive voice, the writer of a text could omit negative information about the agents, who are the focal points of a particular action, and, thus, make them less relevant. Meanwhile, the implementation of active voice implies that the responsibility of a certain action is highlighted. Xie (2013: 42) concludes that the events in the media cannot be reported neutrally, since such choices of passive or active sentences “which the language system both enables and forces us to make in every utterance, are precisely the points at which operation of ideology can and does occur”. Considering the fact that the use of certain syntactic structures in the media is not arbitrary, one may claim that journalists make strategic linguistic choices in forming their ideological news discourse.

Furthermore, it should be also mentioned that ideologically loaded media texts are often communicated through attitudinal lexis. One of the linguistic devices that serve to express the writer’s assessment or attitude is modality. As claimed by Cameron (2001), modal auxiliary verbs (e.g: may, should, could, can, would) enable the writers to state a different kind of opinions, claims or hypothesis speculations. However, modals are considered more prevalent in the editorial pieces and more absent in typical news reports (Biber and Conrad 2009: 124-126) due to difference in their communicative purpose.

In structuring their language, writers have to display clarity and provide a high standard and attractive readability of their texts. The tools of figurative language, especially metaphors, may be considered instrumental in achieving that result. In light of what has been discussed in the current section, it is important to mention that linguists distinguish the role of metaphor in forming ideological discourse. According to Cubo De Severino et al., “the use of metaphors in journalistic discourse is an ideological strategy that masks underlying intentions” (2001: 220). Thus, studying metaphors in media texts can help reveal particular patterns of reasoning. The following sections will provide a general overview of metaphor and shed light on investigations of metaphorical discourse in the media.

1.5. Metaphors

Figures of speech may help to convey a particular meaning or embed emotions into the utterance or sentence. In terms of writing, metaphor can be considered one of the best tools to illustrate the writer’s point of view, experience, or emotions (Beard 1998:106). In some cases, metaphors are employed as means of persuasion (Charteris-Black 2004:24), linking the new information to familiar information (Hermerén, 1999:145) or providing familiarity to a reader who did not have (or have less) experience of it (Semino 2008:41). However, to understand the working mechanisms of metaphors and how they are relevant in discourse, a more elaborate definition of metaphor shall be discussed.

The basics in terms of our metaphorical language are explained by the pioneers of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), namely George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. In their *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) the scholars championed the idea of conceptual metaphors and argued that our concepts, governing our thought, “structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people” (ibid. p. 103). In other words, through the usage of metaphors, we structure our thinking and relate to basic everyday concepts, such as love, death, and life.

For the conceptual metaphor to be realized, especially while reasoning about particular events, source and target domains need to be employed. Through the source domain, we indicate an area from which the metaphor is established, while the target domain acts as a field, to which the metaphor is incorporated (Kovecses (2002:4). In other words, the target domain proves to be a domain that we try to understand through the use of source domain.

Consider the utterance *Your claims are indefensible*. Here, for example, *claims*, the target domain, is used to describe an argument and is realized through the source domain *indefensible*, an adjective that carries concrete meaning, related to war terminology. In short, the understanding and traits of the latter domain are mapped onto the target domain.

1.6. Metaphors in legal discourse

As previously mentioned in the paper, metaphors in legal discourse have drawn a considerable amount of attention over the last decades. Some of the prominent studies were concerned with the reasoning about the crimes, others shed some light on conceptualization of issues of crimes, litigation and company law.

One of the prominent studies that highlighted the role of metaphors in reasoning was conducted by Thibodeu and Boroditsky (2011). The scholars arranged five experiments to investigate how people tend to conceptualize crime and explore how linguistic metaphors can shape people's reasoning about the issue. The researchers recruited participants and provided them with texts depicting crime rates in the fictional city of Addison. In one text, the crime was metaphorically presented as a virus, while the other text contained a metaphorical representation of crime as a beast. After reading particular texts, the participants were asked to offer their opinion on how the represented crimes should be dealt with. The results have indicated that the solutions proposed by participants were different depending on the metaphors they were exposed to. In the case when the crime was presented as a virus, people would offer social reforms that would help eliminate the problem. Meanwhile, the depiction of crime as a beast caused people to suggest an enforcement-based solution (increase in police forces and jailing offenders). The overall findings of this study indicate that different linguistic (metaphorical) representations can indeed influence the reasoning of people about crime issues.

Another study by Twardzisz (2013) looked at the prevalence of metaphors in the context of company law. The researcher gathered 60 contracts and agreements, written in English, and analysed them on the basis of CMT framework. The results have demonstrated that companies or entities depicted in the contracts attributed the traits of a human being. Meanwhile, the abstract notions of properties, right, duty, voting and good faith were conceptualized in terms of OBJECT or CONTAINER metaphor.

An interesting study was conducted by Chiu and Chang (2011) who focused on the analysis of FIGHT metaphors in Taiwanese legal documents. The researchers have employed the frameworks of CMT and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to find out how the metaphor of FIGHT was embodied in judiciary judgements before and after 2003. The most schematic metaphor in the corpus was LITIGATION IS A FIGHT. According to the authors, the use of this metaphor became prevalent after the amendments of the Taiwan legal statute that contained a number of metaphors related to attacks, aggressiveness, combats and weapons. The change resulted in the pervasion of FIGHT metaphors onto the litigants and lawyers' conduct in the courtroom. The authors suggest that individuals involved in litigation "should take a more reflective approach to their linguistic behaviours and reconsider how FIGHT metaphors affect the legal culture and <...> individuals' lives a part of society" (ibid. 909).

Šeškauskienė et al. (2016) examined metaphors in EU directives of the European Parliament, focusing on the criminal activities (money laundering, trafficking) and translation of metaphors into Lithuanian. The researchers found out that legal concepts were mainly conceptualized in terms of OBJECT and PERSON metaphors, confirming previously researched tendencies of metaphoricity in legal discourse. Personifications were conveyed through the conceptualization of human abilities to regulate, assign or prohibit. Despite that focus of directives were placed on criminal activities, interestingly, the metaphor of WAR accounted for relatively small frequency. Another finding was concerned with translation tendency – the OBJECT and PERSON metaphors were retained in Lithuanian, however, there was an absence of metaphoricity in terms of CONTROL metaphor.

The most recent research, which served as an inspiration for the current paper, was Campos-Pardillos' article on legal metaphors of sports fraud in academic journal papers and book chapters dealing with the topic from a legal or law enforcement perspective. The author explains that the modern sports fraud exists because "people and organizations try to make sure that they win, either at the games themselves or betting on the outcome of the games" (Campos-Pardillos 2019: 175). The findings suggest that fraud is metaphorically portrayed as a disease to which all the fight measures are justified. However, the author states that it is crucial to be aware of metaphors used in other contexts like media to know what is at stake.

1.7. Metaphors in the news discourse

Over the last couple of decades, the use of metaphors in various fields has been subject to enhanced scientific attention. News discourse has been considered the second most metaphorical discourse among academic, fiction, and conversation as evidenced research conducted by Steen et al. (2010). Therefore, it is not surprising that metaphorical nature paves the way for diverse investigations that will be overviewed further.

Šeškauskienė and Ostanina-Olszewska (2015) approached the metaphoricity of mediatized political discourse by conducting a cross-cultural analysis of online news reports with regard to Polish and Lithuanian media's news reports dealing with the conflict between Ukraine in Russia from November 2013 to February 2014. The research revealed that Kyiv, Ukraine and Maidan were conceptualized as persons who are experiencing emotions of having doubts, bravery, perseverance and eagerness to seek help. One of the interesting findings is that in the Polish media discourse Poland was represented as Ukraine's friend. Such finding indicates certain values possessed by a media outlet or how the latter would want to present the reality to a reader. How this affects the reader would require more in-depth research, however, there are other cases when media portrays a certain point-view towards social phenomenon or a group of people.

Torma (2017) analyzed immigration discourse in the high-readership British newspapers in the CMT framework. In particular, the author investigated the articles describing refugees coming to Europe in terms of the conceptual metaphors REFUGEES ARE WATER and REFUGEES ARE ANIMALS. The findings suggested that the metaphors had a number of racist implications and were of dehumanizing nature (positing refugees as a threat to the European integrity). Thus, these results indicate that media discourse can be indeed, be biased in carrying out certain agenda and form opinions.

Another interesting study was conducted by Gedzevičienė (2016), who approached the metaphoricity of crime in Lithuanian news portals on the basis of conceptual metaphor analysis. The researcher aimed to find out how the target domain of crimes (serious injuries, sex crimes, killings, organised crimes) was conceptualized in delfi.lt and lrytas.lt articles. The results revealed that the most predominant models included the metaphorical mappings of CRIME IS AN EXECUTION, CRIME IS A SLAUGHTER, CRIME IS AN EARTHQUAKE, CRIME IS

A MATERIAL OBJECT, RELATIONS OF JUSTICE WITH CRIMINALS IS A FIGHT and others. The study may be beneficial in terms of overall knowledge of how the media constructs the people's view on the phenomenon of crimes.

Another study, conducted by Isyaku and colleagues (2016), aimed at determining how the media editorials in Nigeria, Iraq and Malaysia conceptualized corruption. As corruption was widespread in the mentioned countries, the study shed some light on how five media outlets in each country treated the issue within the framework of CMT. The results indicated that in all three countries, the CORRUPTION IS WAR metaphor was prominent, as corruption was projected as an enemy with whom a country is engaged in a fight. Less relevant cases included CORRUPTION IS VIRUS, CORRUPTION IS CONCEPT and CORRUPTION IS MAN metaphors.

Other study that has also contributed to the research of metaphors related to corruption in the media was Negro's (2015) linguistic and verbo-pictorial study that addressed the Spanish ruling party scandal. The author analysed 60 opinion or informative articles and 11 cartoons from leading Spanish newspapers to retrieve the verbal and verbo-pictorial metaphors relating to the corruption case. That was followed by the reconstruction of the cross-domain mappings based on groupings of linguistic metaphors. The results revealed that CORRUPTION IS DIRT was dominant within news discourse, with the likes of "litter", "rot" or "stain" attached to the category. The other relevant metaphors included CORRUPTION IS POISON, CORRUPTION IS WAR and CORRUPTION IS DISEASE.

As seen from the above-mentioned studies, there is a reasonable basis to think that media discourse, covering globally popular and sensitive events, can be investigated extensively because of its metaphorical nature and the effect it may have on a reader.

2. DATA ANT METHODS

This section deals with the description of the data and procedural steps taken in data collection as well as the description of the methodology carried out in the thesis.

The data consists of two subsets. One is the document corpus that consists of EU Anti-Corruption report, collected from EUR-LEX database. The document corpus accounts for 184,224 words. The second subset is the media corpus that consists of editorials, collected from global news portals. The media corpus comprised 39,423 words. The complete corpus amounted to a total of 223,643 words. Before advancing further, I shall briefly discuss both sources.

EU Anti-Corruption report was set up in 2011 and published in 2015 by the European Commission with the view to regularly evaluate all of its State Members efforts to cope with corruption. Since there was no mechanism monitoring the existence, and assessing the effectiveness of anti-corruption policies, the report served as a tool to provide international credibility to the EU anti-corruption system and its standards. In addition, the report observes specific acts of corruption and measures taken by Member States to prevent or punish corrupt acts as defined by the law. For these reasons, the report was considered appropriate for investigation in the current thesis.

The media corpus was compiled from 36 publications of eight news and media websites: *The Guardian*, *BBC*, *CNN*, *New York Times*, *Daily Mail*, *AP*, *Telegraph* and *Business Insider*. The time span of the news was May 2015–December 2019. Since the news about the arrested and indicted FIFA officials surfaced on global media on 27 May 2015, it served as a reference point for gathering the relevant editorials that discussed the corruption scandal. More convictions of current and former FIFA executives followed afterwards, while in the following year, FIFA and UEFA presidents were banned from all football and FIFA's decision to award the 2022 World Cup to Qatar was subject to bribery allegations from the FBI, hence, the time-span.

One of the key criteria for selecting the articles for this study was the type of publication. Since typical news articles are usually based on objective reporting and restricted formal communication style, it was decided to concentrate on opinion articles that express the author's stance and reasoning on certain issues, while also offering more variety in terms of the use of lexis. Furthermore, the above-mentioned news websites were selected on the basis of their published coverage of the FIFA Corruption scandal.

After retrieving the data from corpora, both were searched for the most frequent content words with regard to the target domain of criminal offences of corruption. Extraction of target domain lexis was enabled by the corpus analysis toolkit AntConc (Version 3.5.8; Anthony 2019) allowing to generate word frequency lists of the two corpora.

For the identification of metaphors within both corpora, a two-way step method was employed. To put it another way, two existing methods were combined to attain the best results for this study in line with the cognitive approach to metaphor.

First, the corpus-based methodological approach of Metaphorical Pattern Analysis (MPA), proposed by Stefanowitsch (2006), was adopted in the current study. A metaphorical pattern is defined as “a multi-word expression from a given source domain (SD) into which one or more specific item from a given target domain (TD) have been inserted” (ibid., p. 66). The methodological steps in applying MPA are based on the following procedure: one or more lexical items are selected from the target domain in question. Then, the occurrences of these lexical items are extracted from the corpus. Then one must identify metaphorical expressions that are associated with the lexical items.

Metaphorical expression process, however, requires the implementation of more methodological tools. For this purpose, the second method of Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) was partially employed to gain a detailed understanding about metaphorical features of target domain. The methodological framework of MIP, according to its authors, puts forward an empirical and reliable approach in determining metaphor-related words. The whole method comprises the following steps:

1. *Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.*
2. *Determine the lexical units in the text–discourse*
3. *a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.*
b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be

- *More concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste;*
- *Related to bodily action;*
- *More precise (as opposed to vague);*
- *Historically older.*

Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

4. *If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical. (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3)*

The current thesis particularly relied on the third step of MIP in terms of the identification of basic meanings of the lexical units that surround the selected keywords from the target domain.

To demonstrate the application of the procedure of MIP and MPA, consider the following sentence extracted from an article in *BBC* news portal:

*a) The trial of two former South American football officials, accused of **rampant corruption** while leading their respective football federations and at Fifa (MCC117)*

In the above example, the metaphorical pattern was realised by the combination of two lexical units, namely, adjective *rampant* (source domain) and noun *corruption* (target domain). *Rampant* is primarily associated with plants that grow thickly and in a way that cannot be controlled (OED). Since we can perceive how plants physically become more invasive and uncontrollable, the qualities of plants can be mapped onto the abstract domain of corruption that, in turn, may be described as fast-growing and self-seeding. Hence, the metaphorical combination.

It should be also mentioned that MIP method requires using dictionaries as references to determine basic meaning. Thus, four monolingual dictionaries were consulted to identify the basic meanings of the lexemes: *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), *Cambridge University Dictionary* (CUD), *Collins Online Dictionary* (COD), *Macmillan Dictionary* (MD). During the analysis, some cases required using all of the dictionaries in order to qualitatively assess the meanings.

As per principles of MPA, metaphor identification procedure was conducted manually, verifying each concordance line of keywords. Metaphorical cases were then grouped into classes according to the source domains they deemed to be fit in.

In the following chapter, the results of the research will be discussed. The file that contains concordances related to both corpora can be found in Appendix.

Note: examples from both corpora will be referred to as follows:

LCC – legal corpus (corruption)

LCB – legal corpus (bribery)

MCC – media corpus (corruption)

MCB – media corpus (bribery)

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Frequency of content words in document and media corpus

The most frequent content words and their occurrences (raw frequencies) identified in both corpora are illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Frequency of content words in document and media corpus

	Document corpus		Media corpus	
1	Corruption	2334	FIFA	573
2	Public	1980	Blatter	346
3	Procurement	712	World	227
4	Report	642	Football	192
5	Political	593	President	134
6	Cases	542	Corruption	116
7	Greco	525	Platini	114
8	Transparency	497	Cup	112
9	Officials	461	Years	103
10	Bribery	457	Committee	97

As seen in Table 1, it comes as no surprise that in the document corpus the word *corruption* proved to be the most frequent since the report was dedicated to the fight against corruption. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that in the media corpus *corruption* accounted for fewer occurrences than *Blatter* (the surname of FIFA president). Moreover, among the top frequent words in the media corpus was *Platini* (the surname of UEFA president). Thus, one may suggest that media were more likely to focus on the certain person rather than the abstract notions of crimes.

Only two lexemes from both corpora were selected for the analysis: *corruption* and *bribery*. Since corruption and bribery fall within the realm of crimes punishable by law and they were identified as closest to the topic of analysis, therefore it was logical to focus on their metaphorical representation in both sources. *Corruption* accounted for 2334 and 116 occurrences in document and media corpus, respectively. Meanwhile, *bribery* was subject to 457 occurrences in document corpus and 34 occurrences in media corpus.

3.2. Metaphoricity of target-domain lexemes in both sub-corpora

Before proceeding to the analysis of metaphors, it is important to discuss the key tendencies with regard to the overall metaphoricity of target-domain lexemes in both corpora. The results obtained are summarized in Table 2 and Table 3 below.

Table 2. Metaphorical concordances of target-domain lexemes in document corpus

Keyword	Occurrences in the corpus	Number of MPs	Degree of metaphoricity
<i>Corruption</i>	2334	344	14,7%
<i>Bribery</i>	457	51	11,1%
<i>Total</i>	2791	395	12,9%

Table 3. Metaphorical concordances of target-domain lexemes in media corpus

	Occurrences in the corpus	Number of MPs	Degree of metaphoricity
<i>Corruption</i>	116	54	46,5%
<i>Bribery</i>	34	7	20,5%
<i>Total</i>	150	61	33,5%

As can be seen from the tables above, while the document sub-corpus was almost five times larger than the media sub-corpus (184,224 words and 39,423 respectively), this does not prove to be a marker of a higher metaphor frequency, since the latter actually presents a significantly higher degree (almost triple) in metaphor density than the former (33.5% versus 12.9%). These results thus suggest that media corpus tends to be more metaphorical, most probably due to the nature and tendency of editorials to express opinions. The next section of results provides a detailed analysis of the distribution of source domains in both two corpora.

3.3. Classification of source domains

If we now turn to the analysis of specific source domains subsumed by identified metaphors, the distribution of metaphorical patterns according to the source domain in each corpus is presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Distribution of metaphorical patterns according to source domains

Source domain	No of MPs in document sub-corpus	Norm. freq. /10,000 words	No of MPs in media sub-corpus	Norm. freq. /10,000 words
WAR	156 (39.5%)	8,4	4 (6.6%)	1
ANIMATE BEING	104 (26.3%)	5.6	13 (21.3%)	3,2
NATURAL PHENOMENON	0	0	3 (4.9%)	0,7
SUBSTANCE	67 (16.9%)	3.6	5 (8.2%)	1,3
OBJECT	64 (16.3%)	3.5	12 (19.7%)	3
PLANT	4 (1%)	0.2	12 (19.7%)	3
EMPIRE	0	0	1 (1.6%)	0,3
BUILDING	0	0	1 (1.6%)	0,3
CONTAINER	0	0	5 (8.2%)	1,3
DISEASE	0	0	5 (8.2%)	1,3
TOTAL	395	21.4	61	15,4

The table above is quite revealing in several ways. First, as may be seen, the media corpus has displayed a greater variety of source domains in comparison with document corpus, since the former comprised 10 metaphorical models, twice as many as the latter. This may be due to the fact that media corpus has demonstrated a greater degree of metaphoricity, as discussed in the previous section of results.

In the document corpus, the source domain of WAR (39.5%) makes up the largest group of all occurrences, followed by ANIMATE BEING (26.3%), SUBSTANCE (16.9%), OBJECT (16.3%) and PLANT (1%) metaphors.

With regard to media corpus, the most numerous represented source domain was that of ANIMATE BEING which constituted 21,3 per cent of all occurrences. Another two dominant sources domain were the PLANT and OBJECT, making up 19.7 per cent of all metaphorical patterns. The remaining most representative categories of metaphors were SUBSTANCE, COONTAINER, DISEASE, SUBSTANCE, each of them accounting for 8.2 per cent of the cases Other source domains were found to be less frequent and made up less than seven percent.

What is interesting about the data presented in Table 4 is that the number of metaphorical patterns related to the source domain of WAR was significantly more frequent in document corpus as compared to the media one. Another notable tendency to emerge from the data was that PLANT domain was employed in media corpus with a considerably greater prominence in contrast to the document corpus.

The most prominent similarity between the corpora has been observed in the frequency of OBJECT metaphors since both contained a large proportion of all the metaphorical patterns.

The next section of results will examine specific metaphors according to the source domains they represent in both corpora.

3.4. WAR metaphors

In the legal sub-corpus, WAR constituted the most productive source domain for conceptualizing corruption. One would not consider this fact surprising, as the title and the main purpose of the document (“EU Anti-Corruption Report”) already suggests opposition to corruption. The overall antagonistic position towards corruption was realized in several ways. Consider the following examples that were among the most frequent metaphorical cases in the corpus:

(1) *Some other countries have dedicated law enforcement or prosecution services for **combating corruption**.* (LCC281)

(2) *At federal level, a more determined **fight against corruption** emerged following the joint first and second evaluation <...>* (LCC307)

The collocate in example (1) contains the lexeme *combating* that usually refers to the active fighting in a war, and corruption is the adversary in this battle. It should also be noted that the authors of this report interchangeably used *combating* with *fighting* to describe actions and measures towards corruption. Meanwhile, example (2) contains a fossilized and metaphorical phrase *fight against corruption* that infers the use of physical force in dealing with corruption. The overall image of a fight is strengthened by the preposition *against* that precedes the opposing side (corruption).

In some cases, the magnitude of the fight is depicted by attributing concrete qualities to corruption/bribery related to its size (large-scale) or level (high-level), e.g:

(3) *<...> compromised its ability to attract and retain experienced officers, **to combat large-scale bribery** <...>.* (LCB43)

(4) *<...> National Security (SANS) was established in 2008 with significant resources, **to fight high-level corruption*** (LCC346)

Interestingly, there was not a single case found where corruption was described as small-scale or low-level. Apparently, its default value is fairly large.

If there is a war, one may agree that sometimes it would not be enough to win the battle only with physical force. Below are several examples indicating more measures employed in the war against corruption:

(5) *In some Member States national **anti-corruption strategies** are in place, covering prevention and repression of corruption in public procurement.* (LCC239)

(6) *Since 1999, the government has adopted consecutive, comprehensive **strategies against corruption*** (LCC273)

The basic meaning of the lexeme *strategies* relates to the cautiously developed military actions against the opposition (COL), and if there were a strategy in place, one would usually expect the enemy to be difficult to beat. In the depiction of strategies, metaphorical patterns in examples (5) and (6) are also realized by the use of the prefix *anti* and the preposition *against* suggesting the idea of opposition and motion/activity in the opposite direction.

While the document corpus boasted a large number of war metaphors, the media corpus, in contrast, provided just a small number of examples. However, likewise, there was a regular tendency to portray corruption as an enemy of the fighting sides:

(7) *This made FIFA the injured party, joining the OAG in **fighting against corruption** and serious organized crime.* (MCC30)

(8) *If FIFA gets a thorough scrubbing, it would give new impetus to **the war against corruption**.* (MCC25)

(9) *Just ask people in Latin America, now **rising up** in several countries **against corruption**, what the FIFA case means to them.* (MCC55)

All of the above examples contain the preposition *against* that, again, poses corruption as a target or an enemy. Curiously, in example (8) the fight is boldly conceptualized through the explicit use of the noun *war*. The basic meaning of the word *war* is primarily associated with the extended process in which countries or groups are engaged in an armed battle thus corruption is illustrated as a powerful, well-equipped opponent. Meanwhile, example (9) provides a conceptualization of people's revolt against corruption. The phrase *rise*

up against implies the readiness of the people to start a fight, express disagreement as an organised group of rebels against the ruling group or people. Thus, corruption is perceived as ruling entity.

Last but not least, another topic-specific conceptualization point at corruption as a weapon that manifests explosive effect:

(10) *He implied **the corruption bombshell** was a Western conspiracy because things would have been different if two countries... <...>. (MCC12)*

The basic meaning of the concrete noun *bombshell* refers to a military device that can explode and damage something. For the detonation of the bomb, one must trigger the explosive material within it. The explosive material, in this case, relates to corruption which comes as a shocking and harmful piece of news. In contrast to the deeply entrenched metaphor 'war against corruption', the 'corruption bombshell' is innovative and rather picturesque, providing more details to the overall description of war.

3.5. OBJECT metaphors

The source domain of an OBJECT turned out to be one of the most frequent in the document corpus. The metaphorical patterns were built by combining abstract notions of corruption/bribery with the words characterizing physical properties, qualities and sizes of objects. Consider the following cases:

(11) *Romania has developed the requisite framework both for the prosecution **of high-level corruption** and for independent verification of wealth <...> (LCC119)*

(12) ***High-level corruption cases** involving regional and local officials in some Member States have revealed <...> (LCC132)*

In the above examples corruption acquires physical properties of a scalable object, as it seems the level of the conceptualized corruption can be measured in terms of height. It would be fair to say that an object of a great height and above the normal level, like a skyscraper, usually cannot be overlooked. Similarly, *high-level* helps to measure the significance of a crime of corruption. It should be mentioned that the above mentioned metaphorical patterns were deeply entrenched in the document sub-corpus.

(13) *The Italian Court of Audit pointed out that the total **direct costs of corruption** amount to EUR 60 billion each year <...> (LCC80)*

In example (13) corruption may be compared to a regularly purchased object. Primarily, the cost is related to the amount of sum that has to be paid in order to obtain a certain thing. Typically, one would expect the acquired object to bring a positive value, however, herein corruption may be referred to as an object that is kept at the house to no avail.

Another curious metaphorical pattern was identified within the sentence that included a lexical unit *scheme* and the notion of bribery:

(14) *In August 2013, five officials were sentenced in a plea bargain for participating in a **bribery scheme** <...> (LCB3)*

The scheme, in its basic sense, refers to a drawing on paper that visually outlines ideas, theories or plans to achieve something. This document does not delve into details of how bribery or corruption acts are planned; however, it is clear that carefully and cleverly planned collective acts lead to successful outcomes, causing direct economical damage to the countries throughout Europe. Thus, it would be fair to say that smartly executed circumvention of the existing order provides the basis to interpret these criminal acts of bribery as visually represented schemas.

So far the document data has provided entrenched metaphorical examples of corruption portrayed a scalable, far-reaching object (“high-level”). However, in another curious case, it is conceptualized as an object that can be hidden:

(15) *The amended Anti-Corruption Act prohibits officials from **concealing corruption** <...>. (LCC83)*

An act of *concealing* primarily deals with the conscious action of placing objects out of the sight, putting them somewhere where no one would be able to see them. When we deal with a case of *concealing corruption* in example (15), it implies that the officials, while performing their duties, may be smuggling or hiding an illegal item. Possession of such an item goes against the principles of justice, and it is an offence punishable under criminal law. The conceptualization, though, provides the basis to view corruption as an object that, if hidden somewhere, can bring more harm than good.

Meanwhile, media corpus contained one analogous metaphor in terms of representation of corruption as a scheme:

(16) *Taking part in **bribery schemes**, they say, was a question of grabbing what you could.* (MCB10)

As it was previously mentioned before, the basic meaning of schemes refers to visually represented ideas on a sheet of paper. Example (16) confirms the vivid visualisation of bribery as a scheme.

A curious metaphorical conceptualisation of corruption as an object was instantiated by the verb *spawned* and adjective *rampant* that can also imply the features of a plant. However, since the focus in the sentence is placed the action of “spawning”, it was decided to assign this metaphor to the category of OBJECT. Consider the following example:

(17) *If the allegations are true, every major continental tournament in the Americas going back more than a decade — even minor things like the Concacaf Champions League — **spawned rampant bribery and corruption.*** (MCC54)

The basic meaning of the transitive verb “spawned” relates to the animalistic process of producing and depositing eggs. It is a natural and indispensable part of animals’ reproduction. Likewise, the abstract notion of corruption and bribery herein is portrayed as eggs, reproduced by global football tournaments. It is also important to mention that in the above example the crimes attributed an adjective *rampant* which, in its basic sense, refers to rapidly growing and thickly plants that are difficult to control. Because some weeds are aggressive and appropriate valuable nutrients, useful plants do not receive the needed nutrients. Similarly, corruption can grow fast and misappropriate money.

There were also cases when corruption was conceptualized in terms of an object that spoils fair social practices:

(18) *<...> contained the findings of a months-long examination he had conducted into the vote in December 2010 — widely reported to have been **tainted by corruption** — that awarded the 2018 tournament to Russia and the 2022 event to Qatar <...>* (MCC22)

(19) *He has ruled FIFA <...> with no term limit, no external oversight <...> no shame over the rampant scandals, **corruption** and match-fixing that have **sullied** the beautiful game.* (MCC9)

In examples (18) and (19), the synonymous verbs *tainted* and *sullied*, in their basic sense, refer to an act of damaging the quality and taste of something, making it dirty. These actions can lead to a state of decay or further deterioration in form, quality or functions. In both metaphorical patterns, corruption was conceptualized in terms of dirt that spoiled both the perfect image of football and the vote of 2018 and 2022 FIFA World Cup bids that were supposed to be clean and untarnished. Similar to the material affected by dirt, football is also likely to suffer from consequences brought by the abuse of power and unfair social practices.

Another metaphorical expression in the media corpus was concerned with corruption being an object that is shrugged off:

(20) *Blatter has reflexively learned to shrug off corruption on a scale that would sink the leader of any other organization.* (MCC45)

The basic meaning of the phrasal verb *shrug off* is related to pushing off a piece of clothing from one's body. Usually, we shrug off clothes stained with dirt or in the situation when we want to unburden our body after an exhausting workday. In the same way, FIFA president Blatter was enrolled in a routine of discarding unwanted corruption allegations that steadily grew over the years since 1998 and became an inseparable part of his 17-year tenure. In other words, just like one learns to remove an unwanted piece of clothing, Blatter successfully learned to wiggle out of corruption claims.

The media corpus also contained one borderline case in depicting corruption as an object. Consider the following example:

(21) *That the corruption machine could be even alleged to have devoured perhaps France's greatest player is a much more tragic state of affairs.* (MCC20)

The above example provides a metaphorical pattern in *corruption machine*. Machine typically refers to "an apparatus using mechanical power and having several parts, each with a definite function and together performing a particular task" (OED). Similarly, corruption may be seen as a phenomenon that operates and serves to bring benefits for a human being. However, as seen in the following segment *have devoured perhaps France's greatest player*, corruption possesses traits that are typically attributed to an animal. Hereby *devours*, in its basic meaning, refers to the notion of absorbing, destroying or eating large amounts so that nothing is left (CD). Michel Platini, the long-standing leader of the governing body of European football

(UEFA), became the object of this devouring process. Thus, it would be fair to claim that the conceptualization is based on the notion that despite the fact the corruption machine was established to serve the ruling people of top football organizations, it has transformed into a wild animal who turned against its owners and destroyed them.

3.6. ANIMATE BEING metaphors

Source domain of ANIMATE BEING constituted a large part of metaphors both in the document and media data. As may be suggested by the name of the category itself, the metaphor was implemented by attributing corruption to the qualities of a human or living being. These qualities comprised character traits, physical actions and other properties contextualizing the nature of a human.

With regard to document corpus, one of the most frequent examples depicted corruption as an entity that is competent enough to plot its activities and adapt to different circumstances:

(22) *Urban planning and construction remain among the sectors most **vulnerable to corruption*** (LCC45).

(23) *Concerning **active corruption**, Estonian legislation does not cover offering a bribe or intermediaries.* (LCC20)

(24) *<...> acceptance of an offer was not included in Latvian legislation for **passive corruption**.* (LCC37)

(25) *<...> administrative sanctions are in place in key areas such as **passive and active bribery** of elected officials at all state levels* (LCB13)

In example (22), the adjective *vulnerable* primarily refers to a condition of being “able to be easily hurt, influenced or attacked” (CUD), most likely, by a living being. Herein corruption may be conceptualized as a living being who is capable of targeting the weakest links in the public sector and exploiting them for personal gain. In parallel with the exploitative approach, corruption or bribery can also employ different means of actions, namely, *active* or *passive*, as portrayed by the metaphorical patterns in examples (23), (24) and (25). Thus, just like a human being, corruption can achieve its goals in a treacherous, sneaky behaviour.

Another cluster of examples represents physical measures adopted against corruption. Consider the following instantiations:

(26) <...> a quarter of Europeans (23 %) agree that their Government's efforts are effective in **tackling corruption**. (LCC73)

(27) The public prosecutor's guidelines were amended in early 2013 to strengthen measures to **curb corruption**. (LCC53)

In example (26) metaphorical pattern was introduced by a verb *tackling* attached to *corruption*. One of the basic meaning of the verb *tackling* implies knocking or throwing someone to the ground, in order, for example, to stop the player with a ball in a football game. Likewise, corruption is seen as an offender for whom the physical force needs to be applied with the intention to stop the ongoing crimes. Meanwhile, in example (27) corruption can be conceptualized in terms of a horse that, if not restricted, may pose danger to others. Curb, in its basic sense, refers to a chain or strap that is attached to a horse's bit. Thereby corruption also requires some restrictive measures to prevent economic consequences.

More cases in the conceptualization of corruption deals with the phenomenon of being a dangerous person, e.g.:

(28) <...> the Commission's position paper for Slovakia for the 2014-2020 programming period, which proposes **restricting the room for corruption** <...> (LCC46)

(29) <...> can have an impact on the extent to which an environment **opens the door to corruption** (LCC47).

When we encounter the situation of *restricting the room*, usually it means physically blocking the space for someone in order to limit their manoeuvres. Example (28) implies that corruption's manoeuvres can be dangerous; therefore, the moving restrictions can be crucial in stopping further criminal activities. In example (29) corruption is also perceived as a person who is capable of entering and making a mess in someone's house, provided someone *opens the door* for him/her.

Furthermore, corruption can subsume the characteristics, typical of a human being when one intends to act covertly:

(30) Perception surveys, given the **hidden nature of corruption**, provide over time for an important indicator of pervasiveness of the problem (LCC8)

(31) <...> *facilitation payments* <...> *provides businesses with criteria to differentiate hospitality from **disguised forms of bribery*** <...> (LCB17)

The metaphorical pattern in example (30) contains the combination of adjective *hidden* and abstract noun *nature* attached to *corruption*. Such structuring suggests that corruption, like a person, has an inexplicable side of personality that can become an obstacle for the authorities in discovering the sources of corruption. Another human-related aspect attached to the phenomenon of corruption/bribery is the *disguised form* mentioned in the example (31). When a person disguises himself, it comes in a change of appearance or strives to look like someone else. Similarly, disguised bribes can appear in the forms of gifts.

Curiously, there was also a case found where corruption/bribery was described as straightforward:

(32) *Rather than **outright bribery** of MEPA officials, corruption allegations tend to consist of other irregularities.* (LRB14)

Last but not least, it is important to discuss a specific borderline case identified in document corpus with regard to the conceptualization of corruption as an animate being. The metaphorical pattern was realised through a very frequent combination of adjective *petty* and the notion of corruption:

(33) *Despite the promising progress towards reducing **petty corruption** in general <...>.* (LC99)

(34) ***Petty corruption** was estimated to have cost Greece EUR 554 million in 2011.* (LC113)

Petty, in its primary sense, relates to the human quality of “*a selfish and mean, esp. because of having too much interest in small and unimportant matters*“ (CUD). Drawing on this definition, one may argue that corruption can be conceptualized in terms of the selfish nature that some human beings possess.

As previously mentioned, the ANIMATE BEING source domain made up the largest number of corruption metaphors in the media corpus. The metaphorisation comprised a number of projections, most of them included the effects human/animal has on objects (society, citizens, or the states), the personification of corruption and other human-like properties attached to the concept of corruption.

A prominent feature in the conceptualization of corruption was the human/animal ability to hurt someone. Consider the following examples:

(35) *the dispensing of so much money to impoverished football associations did secure Blatter support and was inevitably **prey to some corruption*** (MCC7)

(36) ***Corruption hurts everyone**, and combating it deserves a high place on the list of global priorities.* (MCC39)

With regard to example (35), the noun *prey* in its basic sense refers to an animal hunted by another animal as food. Therefore, in the above example corruption may be portrayed as a dangerous predator. Allocating huge amounts of money to over 200 member associations is a part of the regular FIFA business. When it comes to the poor associations it would be fair to say that such activities become an appealing target for the corrupted officials since money is delivered in exchange for the future electoral votes that strengthen Blatter's role at the top of governing body. Meanwhile, in example (36) corruption is conceptualized as an immoral human being that performs either a physical or emotional action by inflicting pain. The verb *hurts*, naturally, carries a negative connotation since it means people around the world are suffering from the consequences of corruption. The overall negative tone of the sentence is reinforced by the verb *combating* in reference to an entrenched urgency to fight the corruption. The instantiation of corruption as a menacing and dangerous entity prevails further, for example:

(37) ***Corruption kills more people than ISIS** when its practitioners divert needed funds from health care and economic development <...>* (MCC44)

The basic meaning of the word *kills* refers to the action of depriving someone's life or causing the death of someone (MER). Hereby corruption is portrayed as an agent that consciously commits one of the most grievous crimes, while embezzlement, misappropriation and bribery stand for the weapons used in these actions. The use of the phrase *more people than ISIS* adds up to the bold evaluative stance, as the potential number of deaths are compared with the actions of the Islamic State Group (ISIS). ISIS is a Sunni jihadist organization responsible for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide - hundreds of thousands of people were killed because of the mentioned illegal activities. One may suggest that hereby corruption is used

not coincidentally in reference to ISIS since both undermine democratic values, misuse power and use repression against people.

Another powerful and multi-layered metaphor was identified in the following example:

(38) *Corruption perpetuates poverty, destroys businesses, makes a mockery of democracy and saps people's faith in their justice system and government.* (MCC46)

In the above example, corruption is portrayed as an offender that has no limits. Firstly, the verb *destroys* is constrained to the semantic context of severely damaging or completely ruining something so it can no longer function. Likewise, the destructive behaviour of corruption can crush a company's reputation that would take years to repair. Another metaphorical pattern in the sentence *makes a mockery of* refers to an act of making something seem stupid or meaningless (CUD). Thus, corruption possesses a mockery behaviour by neglecting the principles of democracy: it wastes taxpayers' money, widens the divide between the rich and poor, and prevents people from participating in the decision-making.

Another curious instance in the metaphorisation of corruption as a person was the use of a simile in the following example:

(39) *Corruption acts as a reverse Robin Hood, with the poor squeezed to pay the rich.* (MCC26)

In example (39) the collocation *acts as* implies the comparative aspect of corruption and Robin Hood. Robin Hood is a legendary British folk hero that can be described in terms of a rebel who robbed and killed the rich people and gave the gains to the poor. However, the adjective *reverse* suggests that corruption takes an opposite approach in redistributing wealth. Being a corrupt organization for decades, FIFA helped to acquire millions of dollars in bribes and kickbacks for football executives. In other words, FIFA's corruption provided services for the already rich and high-ranking officials at the expense of the poor. On the basis of such a scheme, FIFA has become the anti-hero, as opposed to Robin Hood.

Other examples of conceptualization of corruption included more general characteristics of animate being:

(40) <...> *corruption helps open the city gates to extremists who bathe themselves in the promise of religious piety* <...> (MCC38)

(41) <...> *American officials set out to see whether **corruption touched tournaments held in the Americas*** <...> (MCC52)

(42) *the dual 2018/22 bidding race <...> was an **invitation to corruption and collusion*** (MCC8)

Example (40) suggests a view of corruption as a human being who performs a physical action of opening the gates. Hereby one may draw associations to the Middle Ages, when *city gates* were a guarded fortified structure through which guests or merchants entered the city. Thus, it would be fair to say that corruption is perceived as a citizen who opens the right entrance for extremists to thrive in a disordered environment. Meanwhile, in example (41), corruption is portrayed as an animate being who touches someone in order to have some kind of contact. Whilst the lexeme *touched* is rather neutral, one can infer that nobody is protected from influential nature of corruption, especially, on big football competitions in South and North America. It should be noted that a number of officials from the Americas were indicted for being complicit in illegal activities, hence the assumption of potential influence of corruption. Finally, the bolded passage in example (42) conceptualizes corruption as a guest. The collocate *invitation to* implies that someone is requested to attend the event that hereby is the process of selecting the 2018 and 2018 World Cup hosts. Considering the amount of money major FIFA tournaments generate, it comes as no surprise that corruption is portrayed as a regular and natural guest in the bidding races.

Last but not least, in media corpus there was one metaphorical pattern found similar to document corpus:

(43) *since the organisation could not **tackle its internal corruption**, it will need outside agencies to do so.* (MC43)

The above example contains the verb *tackle* that implies knocking or throwing someone to the ground. Corruption here is conceptualized as an insider offender who became uncontrollable to such extent that even physical actions to stop him could not help. It may be compared to a situation when a perpetrator storms a shop and security guards ask for help from external authorities.

3.7. SUBSTANCE metaphors

The source domain of substance provided a high number of instantiations in document corpus, however, nearly all of them were identical in terms of the structure and underlying meaning.

Consider the following examples:

(44) *50% of Germans (the third highest percentage in the EU) said that **bribery** and abuse of power for personal gain **are widespread** in private companies* (LCB29)

(45) *<...> it is mainly **widespread corruption** within the social, economic and political spheres that attracts organised criminal groups* (LCC29)

(46) *the overall picture was positive — **corruption was not widespread*** (LCC205)

In the above examples, metaphorical patterns constituted the adjective *widespread* combined with the noun *corruption*. *Widespread* in its literal sense refers to “widely extended or spread out” (MERWEB), e.g: the toxic substances that contaminate rivers. Likewise, toxic fluids spreading through river basin, corruption can also stream through and reach different channels of public and private sectors. The issue of corruption is directly related to a toxic substance, as both of them have harmful or poisonous effects on functioning systems that are prone to destabilisation. It should be noted that no conceptualizations of less prevalent corruption in terms of substance were found in the document corpus. However, as mentioned previously, there were instances of conceptualizing trivial cases of corruption in terms of human-related qualities e.g. *petty* – not important, small.

Despite the fact that most of the SUBSTANCE metaphors were constrained to one pattern, there was one outstanding case of metaphorisation in the following example:

(47) *<...> this case <...> also exposed the level of **infiltration of corruption** at the borders and its links with organised crime <...>* (LCC56)

Infiltration, in its primary meaning, refers to a process in which a fluid passes into a substance by a filtration (MERWEB, COL). Accordingly, corruption is perceived as a liquid that imperceptibly squeezes into the layers of public life and becomes a natural part of the system it reaches. In the above example, the use of *infiltration* carries a negative evaluation, because corruption can smoothly permeate the operating structures of the affected countries and cause significant economic damage.

The source domain of SUBSTANCE also proved to be not prolific in terms of diversity of examples in the media corpus. Half of the metaphorized structures contained the examples, similar or identical to the ones detected in the document corpus:

(48) *Several FIFA officials were arrested Wednesday morning in Zurich and accused of **widespread corruption**.* (MC35)

(49) *The charges, backed by an F.B.I. investigation, allege **widespread corruption** in FIFA over the past two decades <...>* (MC40)

As seen from the entrenched metaphorical patterns in examples (48) and (49), corruption is conceptualized as a substance that extends over the different channels of FIFA apparatus.

However, there were a few interesting metaphorical instantiations that were realised through inherently negative lexis. Consider the following example:

(50) *During his tenure, FIFA has been repeatedly **mired in charges of bribery and corruption*** (MCC33)

The metaphorical pattern employed in example (50) contains collocation *mired in* that enables the conceptualization of abstract nouns *corruption* and *bribery*. *Mired* in its basic sense refers to the situation when one is covered in mud or stuck in the mud. Over the years, FIFA has been constantly involved in shady business practices, whereas corruption and bribery have become a synonym to describe the activities of former president Sepp Blatter. Therefore, it is logical that FIFA's complicity in corruption is portrayed in terms of being covered in mud since charges of corruption inevitably lead to a disreputable image of the organization.

There was also one borderline case of metaphorical expression that may be interpreted with regard to source domains of substance or animate being, e.g.:

(51) *He will be arrested for his part in the systematic **corruption** that has **poisoned the sport's biggest and most important governing body** for decade* (MCC49)

Firstly, the above example provides a construction in which *corruption* acts as an inanimate agent in the subject position followed by the active verb *poisoned* and objectified entity of *governing body*. Poisoning refers to the impairment of functions or infliction of structural damage to the body as a result of absorption of the toxic substance (COL). In one sense, corruption is portrayed as poison that severely pervaded the FIFA organization by affecting its executive organs and major tournaments. Poison finds its way to the body by means of

absorption, ingestion or swallowing. Similarly, corruption intoxicated FIFA through the way of bribes in the bidding races of 2018/2022 World Cups, fraudulent arrangements for TV rights, and money laundering. In another sense, corruption may be understood as an animate being who deliberately drugged the body of FIFA, and exploited its vulnerabilities.

3.8. PLANT metaphors

In comparison with other categories, the PLANT source domain accounted for a very small number of metaphors in the document corpus. Some of plant-related metaphorical patterns are exemplified in the following instances:

(52) *Many countries around the world suffer from **deep-rooted corruption*** (LCC153)

(53) <...> ***deep-rooted corruption** cannot be tackled without a comprehensive approach* <...> (LC151)

The above metaphorical patterns were realised via the combination of the compound adjective *deep-rooted* and abstract noun of *corruption*. *Deep-rooted* in its primary meaning refers to something that has deep roots, most likely, a plant. Corruption hereby is conceptualized in terms of a plant that can grow deep roots to find prolific grounds that create favourable conditions to flourish. Similarly, corruption is a phenomenon that establishes itself deep on various layers of public and private sectors. It should be also noted that the lexeme *suffer* in example (52) implies that corruption – in parallel to the qualities of some plants – presents serious harm to people. Meanwhile, some traces of personification of corruption can be found in the example (53) where comprehensive *tackling* (knocking or throwing someone to the ground) is perceived as the only way to cope with the deep-rooted problem.

Another metaphorical conceptualization of corruption was realised describing it as the issue to be eradicated:

(54) <...> *genuine political will to **eradicate corruption** often appears to be missing* (LCC150).

As seen in the above example, the noun *corruption* is preceded by the transitive verb *eradicate* that, primarily, implies pulling or tearing up something by the roots. Rooting out a bad plant is a common practice for gardeners that seek to protect other greenery in a garden. Thus, it would be fair to suggest that corruption hereby is conceptualized in terms of a rotten, firmly rooted plant that has to be eradicated before it affects more areas of public life.

Last but not least, one conceptualization of corruption was also based on the behavior of plants:

(55) <...> *Italy's National Integrity System is not sufficiently robust, stating that **corruption is 'able to flourish' almost everywhere** <...> (LCC152)*

The bolded passage above contains a phrase *able to flourish*, the basic meaning of which refers to a healthy plant that can grow well if there are the right conditions for it (COD). Clearly, the most salient perceived similarity of the source domain and target domain is the effective and successful growth that both plant and corruption can enjoy. To put it in an example, water and the sun contribute to the favourable conditions for plants to grow. Similarly, low political transparency, inequality of income, and lack of competition contribute to the thriving effect of corruption.

Similar metaphorisations of corruption in terms of a plant were also identified in the media corpus. Consider the following examples:

(56) *Under his protege and successor, Sepp Blatter, this deeply entrenched culture of clientelism and **corruption has been allowed to flourish** (MCC37)*

(57) *jaw-dropping indictments <...> laid bare the extent of Fifa's graft and **corruption that has flourished under Blatter's watch** (MCC48)*

(58) *FIFA has officially **eradicated corruption**. All it took was pressing the delete key. (MCC28)*

Examples (56), (57) conceptualize corruption as a plant that was provided with favourable conditions to flourish. Based on this notion, the former FIFA president Sepp Blatter cultivated the political culture of greed and clientelism that gave rise to a productive development of corruption in the organization. Drawing on another metaphorical structure *that flourished under Blatter's watch*, it would be also fair to assume that Blatter was regarded as an instrumental gardener of a corruption garden. Meanwhile, in example (58) the author satirizes FIFA's decision to remove the word *corruption* from the new FIFA ethics code, established two years after the 2015 corruption scandal. In other words, rooting out bad plants were conceptualized in terms of removing unfavourable stipulations in the regulation.

The media corpus also contained several instantiations of PLANT domain through the expressions that included an adjective *rampant*:

(59) *And if this **corruption was so rampant** and consistent in the Americas, are we really expected to believe that things worked differently <...>* (MCC54)

(60) *This follows an investigation into what the US Department for Justice has described as “**corruption that is rampant, systemic, and deep-rooted**”* (MCC50)

One of the basic meaning of the lexeme *rampant* refers to the plants that “grow thickly and very fast in a way that cannot be controlled” (OED). In the above examples *rampant* helps to establish a metaphorical view whereby corruption is conceptualized as an aggressive plant that has quickly spread over the different layers of FIFA organization and became an uncontrollable issue. The rampant behaviour of corruption was reflected in the context of unauthorized payments, bribes and money laundering activities. Additionally, in example (64) adjectives *systemic* and *deep-rooted* contribute to the overall negative evaluation of the phenomenon.

3.9. DISEASE metaphors

Source domain of disease was another category that exhibited no metaphorisations in the document corpus. However, it accounted for several instances in the media corpus. It must be noted that all the examples contained the same lexeme “endemic” that was attached to the subjects of corruption or bribery:

(61) *He has presided over an organisation in which **bribery and corruption** has proved to be **endemic**.* (MCB6)

(62) *For more than a decade, its highest custodians stand accused of **endemic** and **methodical corruption**.* (MCC57)

The primary meaning of the lexeme *endemic* refers to a disease, “regularly found and very common among a particular group or in a particular area”. Endemic diseases are considered natural to the affected groups, as parasitic transmissions lead to constant outbreaks in certain regions (e.g. Malaria in Africa or Chagas in South America). Corruption thus can be understood in terms of a natural disease that has existed in the FIFA organization for many years and in recurring forms. Considering the punishing nature of some diseases, it would be fair to state that corruption was also conceptualized as a phenomenon that has crippled FIFA’s organization and affected various operating fields.

3.10. NATURAL PHENOMENON metaphors

It is interesting to note that the source domain NATURAL PHENOMENON accounted for zero cases of metaphorisation of corruption in document corpus, yet several instances were detected in the data of media corpus. The themes of this source domain comprised meteorological changes or frozen water.

Consider the following examples:

(63) *Back in 2011, when **allegations of bribery and corruption** again **swirled** around Zurich, he said <...>* (MCC27)

(64) *He and FIFA have **weathered corruption controversies** in the past, but none involved charges of federal crimes in United States court.* (MCC6)

In example (63) metaphorical pattern was constructed by combining the phrase *allegations of bribery and corruption* and verb *swirled* that denotes “the movement of something that twists and turns in different directions and at different speeds” (OED). The allegations of bribery and corruption hereby can be conceptualized in terms of rapidly swirling wind or clouds that could not be controlled. Similarly, even before the size of illegal activities was revealed, it seemed very natural for allegations of corruption to swirl. Meanwhile, example (64) contains a metaphorisation of *corruption controversies*, preceded by the verb *weathered*. According to COLLINS dictionary, one of the basic meanings of the latter refers to withstanding the action of weather. Thus, the controversies of corruption in this case were conceptualized as unwelcoming weather conditions that come and go.

Finally, one more natural phenomenon-based metaphorical pattern deals with the image of *iceberg*:

(65) *This could be the **tip of the of corruption iceberg**.* (MCC16)

The metaphorisation of corruption in terms of an iceberg with only its tip being in sight implies that the real extent of crimes at FIFA remains to be disclosed. Considering the fact that the majority of the iceberg is under the water and not visible, it would be logical to assume that there are more mysterious or obscure agreements that underpin the spread of corruption within the organization.

3.11. CONTAINER metaphors

The analysis has also demonstrated that media corpus employed the source domain of CONTAINER in several metaphorisations of corruption. The metaphorical patterns were realised through prepositions *into* and *in* that denote closeness and containment relationships. Consider the following examples:

(66) <...> *the Swiss attorney general's office and their American equivalent in the Eastern District of New York <...> launched separate criminal investigations into bribery, corruption and money laundering in world football <...>* (MCC10)

(67) *Nero in Brazil also serves to highlight years of inaction against a man authorities believe is complicit in corruption* (MCC11)

The preposition *into* example (66) refers to the movement from the outside to the inside of some space, as the criminal investigation is launched into *bribery* and *corruption*. It can thus be suggested that the abstract notions of *corruption and bribery* may be perceived as the container, while the criminal investigations can be metaphorically treated as objects or substances that may be put into the container. Another meaning of *into* presupposes the idea of moving towards something, therefore, one can also interpret the notion of corruption as an object that is attacked by the authorities. Meanwhile, in example (67) the container metaphor is realised by the adjective *complicit* that is followed by the space-related proposition *in* and *corruption*.

Corruption hereby may be interpreted as an entity with an interior.

3.12. BUILDING metaphors

In the media corpus, BUILDING was identified as another source domain that has been observed to lend its conceptual properties to corruption. The source domain was subject to one metaphorical instantiation:

(68) *The Fifa fiasco proves it's time to dismantle football's edifice of corruption.*
(MC34)

In the above example, the metaphorical pattern was realised through the use of the lexeme *edifice* that refers to “a large and impressive building” (CUD). It would be important to mention that not every large building is considered an edifice since the latter, built years ago, retains a particular structure and imposing appearance that brings out its distinctiveness. Based on this

reasoning, one can portray corruption in FIFA as an old, powerful and well-structured phenomenon. However, the phrase *it's time to dismantle* suggests a clearly negative evaluation of such edifice that has no place in the world of football.

3.13. EMPIRE metaphors

Another source domain that metaphorically structured the understanding of corruption in media corpus was of EMPIRE. There was only one case of metaphorical pattern projecting the image of corruption as a ruling power:

*(69) Sepp Blatter is the **Emperor of Corruption**. (MCC4)*

As seen in the above example, the criminal matter of corruption is referred to in terms of an empire that is ruled by the *emperor* Sepp Blatter. Just like an emperor, Blatter had an established political and financial influence that allowed him successfully coordinate the network of corruption and undermine the principles of democratic governance. Since some empires were based on the notion of imperialism, it would be fair to say that, likewise, corruption was expanding its power throughout various national associations by the means of practices of bribery, clientelism and fraud.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The current thesis aimed to investigate the use of metaphorical patterns in legal and media discourses and identify how corruption is conceptualized in both domains. The data selected for the analysis of legal corpus consisted of the EU Anti-Corruption report. The media corpus comprised the editorials of global news websites that covered the 2015 FIFA Corruption scandal. Data analysis was conducted by adopting the procedures proposed by Stefanowitsch (2006) and Pragglejazz Group (2007).

One of the aims of the study was to identify prevailing strategies of conceptualizations of corruption in EU Anti-Corruption report. The results have shown that the most numerous represented source domain in the document corpus was that of WAR. Such a result was not surprising, since the main purpose of the document was aimed at fighting corruption. Corruption was conceptualized in terms of an enemy against whom certain strategies and physical actions are employed. Interestingly, there was an absence of conceptualization of the fight against corruption in terms of military technology that are typically used in warfare. ANIMATE BEING source domain was confirmed as the second most dominant category in document sub-corpus. The conceptualization of corruption as an animate being mainly deals with the qualities of human character, since it was depicted as a dangerous, selfish and cunning entity, who is capable of making plans and acts covertly. In terms of the third most frequent source domain of OBJECT, corruption was metaphorised as a scalable object, scheme or unnecessary object for which a certain price is being paid. A similar frequency of metaphorisation was also determined in the source domain of SUBSTANCE, where corruption was mainly perceived as a widespread fluid that may contaminate the public and private sector. Finally, the PLANT domain was the least frequent in the document sub-corpus. Hereby corruption was attributed to the qualities of a deep-rooted plant that requires eradication.

Another aim of the study was concerned with the analysis of metaphorisation in the media editorials describing FIFA Corruption scandal. Firstly, ANIMATE BEING was the source domain that contained the largest number of metaphor. There was a general tendency to portray corruption in FIFA as a human being who is capable to perform physical activities, for example, touching, killing or hurting other people. The next dominant source domains in the media sub-corpus were OBJECT and PLANT. With regard to conceptualizations through the OBJECT domain, corruption was perceived as something that can spoil the quality of a material. Also,

corruption was depicted as a piece of clothing, scheme or even machine that can turn against the human. Concerning the PLANT domain, corruption was viewed as a deep-rooted or rampant plant that was given favourable conditions to flourish within the FIFA organisation. The following most frequent source domains identified in the media sub-corpus were SUBSTANCE, CONTAINER and DISEASE. In terms of SUBSTANCE, the metaphors manifested the conceptualizations of corruption as a fluid, poison or mud, carrying overall negative connotation. DISEASE metaphors were mostly related to corruption depicted as an ever-existing disease that regularly cripples a particular community of people. As regards CONTAINER metaphors, the conceptualizations portrayed corruption as an interior of the container, into which criminal investigations are being put. Moving further, it is curious to note that WAR was scarcely represented in the media sub-corpus. A large proportion of its metaphors were based on the basic conceptualization of corruption as an enemy; however, there was a case when corruption accounted for the representation of a bomb. Moreover, less frequent was the source domain of NATURAL PHENOMENON. Conceptualizations portrayed corruption controversies as an unwelcoming event related to weather conditions that naturally come and go. Additionally, another depiction was concerned with the conceptualization of corruption scandal as an iceberg – the scale of corruption was presumed to be invisible for a layperson. Finally, EMPIRE and BUILDING source domains accounted for the least number of occurrences in the sub-corpus. With regard to the EMPIRE source domain, media negatively portrayed corruption as an empire that is ruled by the long-time FIFA president Sepp Blatter. Meanwhile, the BUILDING source domain involved the conceptualization of corruption as a formidable building.

One of the objectives of the investigation was to find out the similarities and differences of metaphorisation in the two discourses. Among the significant findings to emerge from this study is that media texts displayed greater creativity in terms of the source domains incorporated (10 in media corpus, 5 in the legal corpus). There are several possible explanations for this result. First, it was found out that media texts demonstrated a higher degree of metaphoricity in general. Secondly, the document corpus was abundant in fossilized phrases and rather restricted lexis.

With regard to the most common source domains, both sub-corpora exhibited a significant number of ANIMATE BEING metaphors. However, the difference between conceptualizations of corruption may be observed in terms of depiction of human qualities: media texts were more

concerned with physical actions, such as killing or touching, whereas the document text portrayed corruption with reference to the character features (e.g acting covertly, planning). In other words, media texts concentrated more on the effect of corruption rather than behaviour.

Both sub-corpora also shared a considerably high number of OBJECT metaphors; however, closer inspection of qualitative tendencies revealed some differences: the document tended to conceptualize the size, schemas and costs of corruption, while the media texts portrayed corruption as a cause for dirt and unfavourable clothing. In this regard, the media extrapolated the negative effects corruption does on someone's reputation, while the document explored typical features pertaining to corruption. Such distinction between the two corpora may relate to the nature of the texts: the document highlighted peculiarities of the fight against corruption in different countries, and the media editorials tended to focus on the destructive nature of corruption with regard to FIFA and its officials.

It should be also noted that the media corpus contained a larger proportion of metaphors related to the PLANT source domain. However, the reasoning in both corpora was more or less similar – corruption was conceptualized in terms of a deep-rooted plant that can become rampant and flourish if there are good conditions.

Similar conceptualizations in both corpora also prevailed with regard to the domain of SUBSTANCE, which was as twice frequent in the document sub-corpus than in the media one. Namely, corruption was referred to as a fluid that can contaminate any organization.

Furthermore, it is interesting to observe a notable difference between the frequency of WAR metaphors in both domains, as these metaphors were eight times more frequent in the document sub-corpus than in the media sub-corpus. It is difficult to explain this result, but it might be related to the fact that the focus of the document was placed on addressing the measures taken in the fight against corruption. However, both corpora contained similar fossilized metaphors (e.g fight against corruption, fighting against corruption).

The remaining source domains, namely, NATURAL PHENOMENON, EMPIRE, BUILDING, CONTAINER and DISEASE, were exclusively employed in the media corpus.

Although the thesis has reached its aims in discussing the extent of metaphoricity of corruption in legal and media discourses, there were unavoidable limitations of this study. Firstly, the legal document focused on the specific issue of fighting corruption and these results might mirror the

agenda of the document. Another source of weakness in this study that could have affected the evaluation of metaphoricity of corruption was that only two keywords were selected for the analysis. An in-depth analysis involving the full use of the MIP framework may be beneficial in the future. Thirdly, the scope of this study was limited in terms of the size of the media corpus. Finally, the fact that the style of the EU Anti-Corruption report was different from common directives or regulations is also considered a limitation. In spite of its limitations, the study certainly adds to our understanding of the metaphoricity of the document and media editorials, whilst also addressing the representation of crime in legal and media discourses.

However, considerably more work will need to be done to determine the metaphoricity of corruption in legal discourse. A greater focus on the law regulating anti-corruption activities could produce interesting findings that account more for the general representation of the metaphoricity of corruption as a crime in legal discourse. Moreover, in terms of media editorials, future research on the metaphoricity of a crime may rely on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) frameworks that would potentially contribute to the uncovering of ideologies of the news portals.

5. DATA SOURCES

EU Anti-Corruption Report: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:52014DC0038&from=EN>

Media articles (available online)

Business Insider:

<https://www.businessinsider.com/what-the-bribery-scandal-means-for-fifa-2015-5>

Telegraph:

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/football/fifa/11749612/We-will-force-Fifa-to-change.html>

Guardian:

<https://www.theguardian.com/football/blog/2019/jun/19/fifa-gianni-infantino-new-noise-michel-platini-uefa>

<https://www.theguardian.com/football/2017/nov/06/fifa-scandal-fbi-new-york-trial-chuck-blazer-sepp-blatter>

<https://www.theguardian.com/football/2015/dec/21/michel-platini-fifa-ban-sepp-blatter>

<https://www.theguardian.com/football/blog/2017/jun/28/michael-garcia-report-russia-qatar-laughs-not-outrage-fifa>

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<https://www.theguardian.com/football/2015/oct/09/sepp-blatter-fifa-reform-football>

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<https://www.theguardian.com/football/2015/may/27/is-this-the-beginning-of-the-end-for-the-fifa-that-blatter-built>

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BBC:

<https://www.bbc.com/sport/football/32909649>

<https://www.bbc.com/sport/football/32984049>

<https://www.bbc.com/sport/football/34487543>

<https://www.bbc.com/sport/football/42384103>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-33002674>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-33039014>

CNN:

<https://edition.cnn.com/2015/06/04/opinions/ghitis-fifa-corruption/index.html>

<https://edition.cnn.com/2015/06/03/opinions/fifa-blatter-future/index.html>

<https://edition.cnn.com/2015/05/27/us/fifa-corruption-investigation-why/index.html>

<https://edition.cnn.com/2015/12/03/sport/fifa-corruption-charges-justice-department/index.html>

New York Times:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/28/opinion/fifas-corruption-stains-world-soccer.html>

<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/28/sports/soccer/fifa-sepp-batter-soccer-scandal-corruption-quit-resign.html>

<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/29/opinion/roger-cohen-sepp-blatters-fifa-reign-of-shame.html>

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/27/sports/fifa-garcia-report.html>

<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/27/sports/soccer/fifa-officials-face-corruption-charges-in-us.html>

Associated Press (AP):

<https://apnews.com/article/d165d80179aa4117a260a1a5e65eafb6>

Daily Mail:

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/sportsnews/article-3102903/Sepp-Blatter-dead-man-walking-despite-elected-FIFA-president.html>

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<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3099167/PIERS-MORGAN-Blatter-Thanks-America-finally-taking-corrupt-poisonous-toad-FIFA-s-sucking-life-football-years.html>

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7. SUMMARY IN LITHUANIAN

Korupcijos metaforiškumas: gretinamoji dokumentų ir žiniasklaidos tekstų analizė

Šiame magistro darbe analizuojamos metaforos, aptinkamos ES dokumentuose ir žiniasklaidos tekstuose, susijusiuose su korupcija. Darbo tikslas buvo identifikuoti vyraujančias korupcijos konceptualizavimo tendencijas Europos Sąjungos kovos su korupcija ataskaitoje ir nuomonių straipsniuose, kuriuose nušviečiamas didžiulį ažiotažą pasaulyje sukėlęs 2015 metų FIFA korupcijos skandalas ir jo atgarsiai.

Bendrą tekstyną sudaro dokumentas iš EUR-LEX duombazės ir 36 spaudos straipsniai, atrinkti iš gerai žinomų pasaulio žiniasklaidos internetinių portalų (*The Guardian*, *BBC*, *CNN*, *New York Times* ir kt). Siekiant maksimaliai objektyvizuoti tyrimą, remtasi metaforinių junginių analizės (angl. Metaphorical Pattern Analysis, MPA) ir metaforų identifikavimo procedūros (angl. Metaphor Identification Procedure, MIP) metodais.

Analizė parodė, kad teisės diskurse, pasižyminčiame griežtomis formuluotėmis ir šabloniškais frazėmis, korupcija dažniausiai buvo konceptualizuojama KARO, GYVOS BŪTYBĖS, DAIKTO ir MEDŽIAGOS metaforomis, o žiniasklaidos diskurse dažniausios buvo GYVOS BŪTYBĖS, DAIKTO, MEDŽIAGOS ir AUGALO metaforos. Pastebėtina, kad nuomonių straipsniuose buvo aptikta gerokai didesnė ištakos sričių (angl. *source domains*) įvairovė, jos apėmė LIGOS, PASTATO, TALPYKLOS, IMPERIJOS, NATŪRALAUS GAMTOS REIŠKINIO metaforas. Tuo tarpu teisinis diskursas labiau rėmėsi stereotipinėmis metaforomis.

Vyraujanti tendencija personifikuoti korupciją abiejuose diskursuose, tikėtina, rodo, kad kalba yra įkūnyta, mes linkę suvokti daugelį abstrakčių, mažiau suprantamų reiškinių remdamiesi žmogaus kūnu, žmogaus charakterio savybėmis ar žmogaus kaip socialinės būtybės patirtimi. Nusikaltimą mes esame linkę suprasti per tipines žmogaus charakterio savybes ar atliekamus fizinius veiksmus, kurie mums yra artimi.

Tyrimas parodė, kad skirtinguose diskursuose korupcija konceptualizuojama skirtingai. Tai iš esmės susiję su skirtingais tekstų žanrais ir skirtingais tekstų autorių tikslais. Šis darbas gali būti naudingas tiriant panašios tematikos bet skirtingų žanrų tekstus bei gilinantį į kalbos ir mąstymo sąsajas.

8. APPENDIX

Appendices containing Excel files with full concordances (*bribery* and *corruption*) from both corpora can be accessed through this link:

https://www.dropbox.com/sh/pkivorkzytc5bd2/AACyg_7CvMDo-FtUmezKhua?dl=0

Alternative link:

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1qmY6mtY6KUGS_A3omXt_Zg1CQW73MSWU?usp=sharing