

## FISCAL CLIFF AND OTHER TOPOGRAPHICAL METAPHORS

TATJANA ĐUROVIĆ

University of Belgrade

**Abstract:** *Within the broad theoretical framework of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, in this paper we explore the figurativeness of a number of expressions (fiscal cliff, fiscal gorge, fiscal slope, etc.) pertaining to the most recent U.S. fiscal situation. We analyse the context-dependent use of the metaphorical linguistic expressions gathered via an Internet search and discuss to what extent they are motivated, that is, well-grounded.*

**Keywords:** *cognitive linguistics, fiscal cliff, topographical metaphors*

### 1. Introduction

Within the broad theoretical framework of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, in this paper we explore how metaphors are utilised to conceive of a highly abstract concept, that of fiscal policy, via considering the figurativeness of a number of expressions pertaining to the most recent fiscal situation, specifically in the United States. Our interest in this topic has been triggered by the use of the pervasive and persuasive metaphorical linguistic expression *fiscal cliff*, which was made particularly popular by the Chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve System Ben Bernanke in the late 2012. The “fiscal cliff” describes the automatic tax increases and spending cuts which were due to take effect on 1 January 2013 in America. The predicted outcome of the “fiscal cliff” scenario was the shrinkage of economic growth during the first quarter of 2013, with a spending pullback, possibly sending the U.S. economy into a new recession during the first half of the year, and a resultant rise in unemployment. According to Lakoff, “[w]hen Ben Bernanke spoke of the “fiscal cliff”, he undoubtedly had in mind a graph of the economy moving along, left to right, on a slight incline and then suddenly dropping way down, which looks like a line drawing of a cliff from the side view.” (Lakoff 2012). Moving back “from the edge of the fiscal cliff”, on the other hand, would significantly reduce the U.S. federal budget deficit. The nationwide agreement was reached on 31 December 2012, which led to the slight modification of figures regarding a tax hike and delays in spending cuts for another couple of months. However, many economists and analysts think that the deal would only postpone solving fiscal issues until later and that some new “fiscal cliffs” would be looming, which suggests that this (*fiscal cliff*) and other related expressions would continue to be exploited to help understand complex fiscal concepts. Hence our main concern here is, by applying the basic tenets of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and Image Schema Theory (Johnson 1987), to investigate what makes fiscal metaphors so prevalent, i.e. to what extent they are motivated or well-grounded.

## 2. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Metaphor, or rather conceptual metaphor, is a ubiquitous cognitive vehicle which “provides rich evidence about the ways in which some aspects of our lived experience are associated with others, for reasons that reflect basic aspects of perception, thought, and possibly neurological organization” (Grady 2007:188). One of the most important features of conceptual metaphors is establishing correlations or mappings between seemingly uncorrelated concepts, when the perceptual, tangible source concept—“the *donor* domain” (see Velasco Sacristán 2004:117) is mapped onto the non-perceptual, intangible target concept—“the *recipient* domain” (see Velasco Sacristán 2004:117). It all stems from Lakoff and Johnson’s idea that “[t]he essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:5), which enables the structuring of many abstract and hard-to-understand concepts. Mappings between conceptual domains, the source and the target, are instantiated in a verbal, linguistic way via metaphorical expressions or linguistic metaphors (though metaphor is not an inherently linguistic phenomenon, but can be expressed in some non-verbal ways as well, such as pictures or gestures). It is the metaphorical linguistic expressions, according to Kövecses, that reveal the existence of the conceptual metaphors, as “the linguistic expressions (i.e., ways of talking) make explicit, or are manifestations of, the conceptual metaphors (i.e., ways of thinking)” (Kövecses 2010:7). Hence Grady concludes “[i]f cognitive linguistics is a study of ways in which features of language reflect other aspects of human cognition, then metaphors provide one of the clearest illustrations of this relationship” (Grady 2007:188).

The metaphor we analyse in this paper may be termed FISCAL POLICY AS TOPOGRAPHY/TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION, where fiscal issues are explained by recourse to various topographical terms, such as cliffs, hills, slopes, mountains, gorges, etc., by drawing on the main characteristic of metaphor—conceiving of less familiar concepts by way of more familiar ones, deeply entrenched in our reality and everyday experience. Thus, if we want to fully understand an abstract concept, which is here fiscal policy, “we are better off using another concept that is more concrete, physical, or tangible than the abstract target concept for this purpose” (Kövecses 2010:7). However, on closer inspection, the selected metaphorical expressions are underpinned by one of the most prevalent image schemas—VERTICALITY or UP-DOWN schema, coupled with that of MOTION.

A theory of image schema was developed by Johnson (1987), who defined an image schema as a recurrent pattern, shape, and regularity in, or of our actions, perceptions, and conceptions. “These patterns emerge primarily as meaningful structures for us chiefly at the level of our bodily movements through space, our manipulation of objects, and our perceptual interactions” (Johnson 1987:29). Johnson proposed that embodied experience gives rise to image schemas within the conceptual system. Consequently, image schemas derive from our sensory and perceptual experience as we interact with and move about in the world. Oakley, for example, defines an image schema as “a condensed redescription of perceptual experience for the purpose of mapping spatial structure onto conceptual structure”, and calls it a “distiller” of spatial and temporal experiences which in turn form “the basis for organizing knowledge and reasoning about the world” (Oakley 2007:215).

Pertinent to our analysis of the fiscal topographical metaphors is Johnson’s explanation of the VERTICALITY schema which “emerges from our tendency to employ an UP-DOWN orientation in picking out meaningful structures of our experience”, such as “perceiving a tree, our felt sense of standing upright, the activity of climbing stairs, forming a mental image of the flagpole, measuring our children’s heights, and experiencing the level of water rising in the bathtub” (Johnson 1987:xiv). Thus the VERTICALITY schema is based on an underlying dichotomy, with the positive pole perceived as UP and the negative pole perceived

as DOWN. More importantly, Rohrer cites Johnson who argues that image schemas “can then be metaphorically extended to structure nonphysical, nontactile, and nonvisual experiences” (Rohrer 2007:35-36), such as, in our case, fiscal policy. More precisely, we can extend—by means of metaphor—directly emergent experiences, i.e. image schemas, to characterise nonspatial experiences (see Rohrer 2007:35-36), abstract and nonphysical objects, such as taxes, spending, recession. The foundation for the comprehension of such an abstract domain as fiscal policy is orientational metaphor based on spatial orientation, MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN where the image schema of VERTICALITY is conflated with the concept of QUANTITY. This metaphor is coherent with other orientational metaphors, like GOOD IS UP/BAD IS DOWN, SUCCESS IS UP/FAILURE IS DOWN, etc. This is why Kövecses calls these metaphors *coherence metaphors* because certain target concepts are conceptualised in a uniform way, e.g. the concepts MORE, GOOD, and SUCCESS characterised by an “upward” orientation tend to go together with positive evaluation, while LESS, BAD, and FAILURE characterised by a “downward” orientation are linked with a negative evaluation (see Kövecses 2010:40).

The data collection for the analysis that follows has been gathered by means of an Internet search. It has been predominantly compiled from the CNBC’s website, an American satellite and cable television business news channel; some examples have been excerpted from some other online sources, as well as from readers’ comments on the news posted on the selected web sites. Metaphorical examples date from the late 2012 and the beginning of 2013 when the “fiscal cliff” scenario was at its “peak” and heavily backed by the media reporting. Various texts pertaining to the recent fiscal situation in America have been extracted and compiled in one Word file, totalling around 40,000 words. The metaphoricity of the expressions linguistically realising the TOPOGRAPHY metaphor has been checked and then established by using the method for *metaphor identification procedure* (MIP) proposed by a group of researchers called the Pragglejaz Group (2007). Some of the parts containing metaphorical linguistic expressions—the whole sentences or titles of newspaper articles—extracted from the selected texts will be used to illustrate our point in the analysis that follows.

### 3. The FISCAL POLICY AS TOPOGRAPHY Metaphor

The most prominent metaphorical expression of the FISCAL POLICY AS TOPOGRAPHY/TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION metaphor is the evaluative *fiscal cliff*, based on the orientational MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN metaphor to indicate the devastating effects that might occur if some previously enacted U.S. fiscal laws were not averted before 1 January 2013, thus materialising the FISCAL POLICY IS CLIFF (DIVING) conceptual metaphor. Our common knowledge tells us that the cliff is a steep side or face of high land or rock, especially at the edge of the sea, so that falling off the cliff in real life is usually fatal. Thus, this aspect of meaning is selected as relevant or salient, and most compatible with the impact that some of the previously scheduled fiscal measures could have on the overall U.S. and potentially global economic situation, with such a grim prediction as the further contraction of the U.S. economy and a considerable rise in unemployment in 2013. In addition, as already mentioned, the presupposed direction in the *fiscal cliff* expression, that of top-bottom, i.e., up-down comprising the notion of VERTICALITY image schema, is related to our ingrained experience where the upward orientation normally correlates with positive evaluation, i.e. “vantage positions and bigger quantities” (Pérez Hernández 2011:376)—or GOOD IS UP/SUCCESS IS UP via MORE IS UP, while the downward orientation activates negative evaluation linked with smaller quantities, i.e. a fall in (the U.S.) economic growth pertaining to fiscal tightening pending, which in turn gives rise to orientational metaphors BAD IS DOWN/FAILURE IS DOWN via LESS IS DOWN. We illustrate the FISCAL CLIFF topographical metaphor with the following examples:

- (1) *Falling off the “fiscal cliff”* is a bad thing, right? (CNBC, 26 Dec 2012)
- (2) In a cruel epilogue to 2012, roughly 28 million families would owe the IRS \$86 billion more than they anticipated for this year should the country *plunge off the cliff*. (CNBC, 28 Dec 2012)
- (3) U.S. economy is getting used to life *on the edge of the fiscal cliff*. (Reuters, 13 Jan 2013)
- (4) The United States averted economic calamity on Tuesday when lawmakers approved a deal to prevent huge tax hikes and spending cuts that *would have pushed the world’s largest economy off a “fiscal cliff”* and into recession. (CNBC, 2 Jan 2013)
- (5) Shoppers Are *Left Dangling on the ‘Fiscal Cliff’* (CNBC, 27 Dec 2012)
- (6) Middle Class *Gets ‘Cliffed’* by Huge Tax If No Deal Reached (CNBC, 28 Dec 2012)

A highly evocative and memorable image of the *fiscal cliff* metaphorical expression is provided by its collocational settings (linked with another image schema, that of MOTION or MOVEMENT that we will refer to later), e.g.–*falling off the fiscal cliff*, *plunging off the cliff*, *sitting on the edge of the fiscal cliff*, *being pushed off the fiscal cliff*, *left dangling on the fiscal cliff*, even *getting cliffed*–which additionally reinforce the already marked metaphorical content of this linguistic metaphor and its spatialisation character.

### 3.1. *Fiscal gorge, fiscal abyss, fiscal mountain*

In order to depict the seriousness of the U.S. budget issue, metaphor creators resort to varying the “cliff” theme with other topographical linguistic metaphors, which preserve the essential UP/DOWN bipolarity and negative evaluation of the downward orientation. Thus, as the examples below show, the *fiscal cliff* becomes the *fiscal gorge*, *fiscal abyss*, or *fiscal mountain*, which may be labelled as *extension* or “extended” metaphor in Semino’s terms “where several metaphorical expressions belonging to the same semantic field or evoking the same source domain are used in close proximity to one another in relation to the same topic, or to elements of the same target domain” (Semino 2008:25). Let us illustrate alternative metaphorical expressions by the following examples from our data collection:

- (7) Bank of America Merrill Lynch describes the challenges the United States faces in coming months rather as three *fiscal gorges it must leap over*. (Reuters, 13 Jan 2013)
- (8) China’s state news agency Xinhua took a more severe view, warning the United States must get to grips with a budget deficit that threatened not a “*fiscal cliff*” but a “*fiscal abyss*”. (CNBC, 2 Jan 2013)
- (9) *Fiscal Cliff? France Has ‘Fiscal Mountain’* (CNBC, 7 Dec 2012)
- (10) When we talk about the *fiscal cliff* in France it’s *a mountain*, it’s *much higher than a cliff*. (CNBC, 7 Dec 2012)

Thus, *fiscal gorge*, *fiscal abyss*, or *fiscal mountain*, similarly to the most general *fiscal cliff* expression, aim to represent particular aspects of, in this case, economic reality. Likening the fiscal situation in America to a metaphorical abyss or gorge serves to reinforce the already prominent dramatic effect of the possible financial disaster, should the policy makers default on reaching a consensus on fiscal matters. Hence the role of the metaphorical expressions, such as *fiscal gorge*, *fiscal abyss* or *fiscal mountain* is to amplify persuasiveness and evaluation of the pervasive FISCAL CLIFF metaphor.

Among the most important features of conceptual metaphors is the partial nature of the metaphorical mappings. One conceptual domain is partially mapped onto another conceptual domain, i.e. the second domain is only partially understood in terms of the first one. In other words, falling off the fiscal cliff is not and cannot be entirely equated with literal falling off the cliff and the potential life-or-death scenarios. Besides, economic experts say that even if no deal had been reached by 1 January 2013, retroactive fixes, roll back and other deal-making could have prevented the most harmful effects of the *fiscal cliff*. If any fall would result then it would be a more gradual fall if we looked at the deficit on a week-to-week basis.

Therefore, besides the cognitive role of the *fiscal cliff* metaphor (along with *fiscal gorge*, *fiscal abyss*, etc.) in developing our understanding on the basis of analogy, there is a prominent pragmatic one arising from “the underlying purpose of [metaphor] influencing opinions and judgements by persuasion” (Charteris-Black 2004:21), since metaphors are often used “persuasively to convey evaluations and therefore constitute part of the ideology of texts” (Charteris-Black 2004:28). *Fiscal cliff*, *fiscal gorge*, *fiscal abyss* or *fiscal mountain* have a highly rhetorical impact, their “loadedness” acts as a signal of instilling fear and posing threat to ordinary people, stemming from their deeply embodied character and the correlations we make between the downward orientation and failing along the UP-DOWN scale. Their evaluative nature is even more striking with the benefit of hindsight in that nothing so dramatic as irreversible abruptness of falling off the cliff or leaping over the gorge would ever result. In addition, the fiscal topographical metaphors underlie the dual role of economic experts and policy makers, as the ones who can “push the country off the cliff” on the one hand, but also as those who are solely in control of averting the whole *fiscal cliff* scenario, on the other.

### 3.2. *Fiscal hill, fiscal slope, fiscal hump*

In order to soften a very disconcerting impact of the *fiscal cliff* and other related expressions mentioned above and in an effort “to adjust” the figurativeness of the expressions to the current fiscal situation, metaphor creators opt for no less visually and mentally suggestive topographical metaphors, superseding *fiscal cliffs*, *mountains*, and *gorges* by *fiscal hills*, *fiscal molehills*, *fiscal slopes*, and *fiscal humps*. Here are some examples of other fiscal topographical metaphors:

- (11) “I just think there’s very high odds that they’ll eventually come to an agreement ... some small tax hikes, some small spending cuts, and a lot of it will be put off for another day,” Paulsen said. “The *fiscal cliff* is going to turn into a *fiscal molehill*.” (CNBC, 28 Nov 2012)
- (12) It’s why the nation is *heading over a fiscal cliff* that may begin to look more like a *hill* whose slope remains uncertain but will almost surely be gradual. (CNBC, 12 Oct 2012)
- (13) ‘Fiscal cliff’ is just a *hill we can jump off*. (Daily Kos, 18 Nov 2012)
- (14) In short, what has been dubbed a cliff is more like a *fiscal slope* that gets steeper as time goes on. (Daily Kos, 18 Nov 2012)
- (15) Same with the *Fiscal Hump*. Let’s make the R’s look like they are crying wolf about a cliff that is really just a *little hump to get over*. (Daily Kos, 17 Nov 2012)
- (16) In truth, we’ve averted *falling off the Fiscal Cliff* only to continue *rolling down the Fiscal Hill*, the gradual and predictable decline into economic catastrophe. (Project Primetime, 7 Jan 2013)
- (17) Without a budget deal, higher taxes will crimp consumers’ spending power — but only gradually. That’s why many economists believe *the fiscal cliff* is really more a like a *slope*. (CNBC, 27 Dec 2012)
- (18) The cliff’s recipe of major tax hikes and spending cuts can actually be a *gentle slope*, because the policy changes would be phased in over time. (CNBC, 10 Dec 2012)

Reduced steepness and height of (literal) hills, molehills, slopes, and humps, thus presupposed soft landing in case of fall in contrast to the one off cliffs, is utilised here as a salient feature which in cognitive terms should convey the aspect of a more favourable economic outlook, i.e. less anxiety and uncertainty in the lives of the populace. Yet, these metaphors, similarly to the previous ones, are not likely to accurately relate the complexity of the fiscal issue, but what matters is how the given issue is framed.

### 3.3. The MOTION Image Schema in Fiscal Metaphors

As we have already said and can be noticed in the majority of the previous examples ((1)-(18)), the VERTICALITY image schema is intertwined with the MOVEMENT/MOTION image

schema giving rise to the UNCOORDINATED FISCAL POLICY IS FALLING OFF THE CLIFF metaphor. The MOVEMENT metaphors make up the EVENT STRUCTURE METAPHOR (see Lakoff 1993), one of the mappings of which is CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS. This, in turn, is frequently utilised as the source domain that provides a rich knowledge structure for understanding complex economic phenomena. Specifically, economic activities and changes can be understood via the motion of a company, economic society or the country in general. The movement can take different forms: forward, backward, upward or downward, zig-zag. These properties of the movement have consequently different implications when mapped onto economic changes and activities. Thus, economic progress and development are normally viewed as a forward and upward movement, while economic recession and crisis are comprehended as a backward and downward movement. According to Lakoff, economic activity is conceptualised as motion because a common conceptual metaphor is being used—ACTIVITY IS MOTION, while the metaphor THE FUTURE IS AHEAD accounts for why the motion is “forward.” (see Lakoff 2012). Thus, from a cognitive linguistics perspective, *fiscal cliff* and other fiscal topographical metaphors are not simple metaphors that combine “fiscal” together with “cliff”, “mountain”, “hill”, “slope”, etc., but they are metaphors understood “via a highly integrated cascade of other deeper and more general conceptual metaphors” (Lakoff 2012). What follows are some examples of the MOTION metaphors linked with the UP/DOWN schema.

- (19) *Bungee jump off cliff* should please Wall Street. (CNBC, 2 Jan 2013)
- (20) So, a quick resolution makes it more like “*bungee jumping*” — *falling over the cliff and then bouncing back above it*. (CNBC, 2 Jan 2013)
- (21) *Falling off the “fiscal cliff”* is a bad thing, right? (CNBC, 26 Dec 2012)
- (22) In truth, we’ve averted falling off the Fiscal Cliff only to continue *rolling down the Fiscal Hill*, the gradual and predictable decline into economic catastrophe. (*Project Primetime*, 7 Jan 2013)
- (23) “Our bet is that politicians will allow us *to go over the cliff and then drag us out before we drown...*” (CNBC, 17 Dec 2012)
- (24) Cliff deal could *slingshot* economy higher (CNBC, 5 Dec 2012)

Let us point out here the *bungee jump* expression and its role in conceiving of fiscal matters. Literally speaking, bungee jumping is the sport of jumping off a high structure to which one is attached by a piece of rubber band called bungee cord, so that the body springs back just short of kicking the ground or water. Although it implies inherent danger, *bungee jumping off the cliff*, metaphorically speaking, does not convey the same sense of potentially lethal activity when compared to *plunging off the cliff*, as attested by the reasons that lie behind the usage of this alternative metaphor by its creators. In fiscal terms, bungee jumping refers to delaying all or some of the scheduled tax hikes, thus preventing, hopefully, an abrupt plunge into recession. More precisely, if *fiscal hills* or *fiscal slopes* are used to mitigate the precipitous fall in economic activity in its VERTICALITY aspect, then, as examples (19) and (20) show, *bungee jumping* has a similar rhetorical function in terms of MOTION, suggesting at least temporary rebounding, stemming from the implied meaning of constant up and down movement.

#### 4. Conclusion

Setting the analysis of fiscal topographical metaphors within the theoretical frameworks of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Image Schema Theory, we have attempted to show how these metaphors are motivated and why they are so rife not only in journalistic reporting but in the language of economic experts and policy makers as well. Metaphors are never a total representation of the concept they structure, as they foreground only some aspects of the concept, leaving other aspects in the dark, which in turn often signals some covert intentions of the metaphor creators within particular contexts of use, e.g. here

generating fear and uncertainty of the general public. However, the widespread use of the *fiscal cliff*, *fiscal gorge*, *fiscal slope* or *falling off the fiscal cliff*, *plunging off the cliff*, *rolling down the fiscal hill* and other metaphorical expressions accounts for one of the main tenets of Cognitive Linguistics, that of embodiment. As Lakoff and Johnson (1999:12) argue, “human concepts are not just reflections of an external reality, but [that] they are crucially shaped by our bodies and brains, especially by our sensimotor system.” We are not able to talk about the body and the mind as distinct entities; the mind is embodied and embodied image schematic experience provides much of the structure of what we call the mind (see Lakoff and Johnson 1999), or as Johnson put it, “the body is in the mind” (Johnson 1987:xxxviii). Embodiment, therefore, may be the crucial reason why the TOPOGRAPHY metaphor integrating VERTICALITY and MOTION image schemas is so pervasive for the cognitive structuring of (American) fiscal policy. “Because the conceptual metaphors constituting the *fiscal cliff* fit together so well and so naturally, it is hard to just jettison it and replace it with an even better integrated metaphor.” (Lakoff 2012). So, to put it in Lakoffian terms, we may have to live by these topographical metaphors mapped onto fiscal policy, no matter how misleading and partial they may be.

## References

- Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2004. *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Grady, Joseph. 2007. “Metaphor” in *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. Dirk Geeraerts and Hubert Cuyckens (Eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 188-214.
- Johnson, Mark. 1987. *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kövecses, Zoltán. 2010. *Metaphor. A Practical Introduction*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lakoff, George. 1993. “The contemporary theory of metaphor” in *Metaphor and Thought*. Andrew Ortony (Ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 202-251.
- Lakoff, George. 2012. “Why It’s Hard to Replace the ‘Fiscal Cliff’ Metaphor.” in *The Huffington Post* [Online]. Available: [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/george-lakoff/why-its-hard-to-replace-t\\_b\\_2230577.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/george-lakoff/why-its-hard-to-replace-t_b_2230577.html) [Accessed 2013, April 5].
- Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. 1999. *Philosophy in the Flesh. The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought*. New York: Basic Books.
- Oakley, Todd. 2007. “Image Schemas” in *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. Dirk Geeraerts and Hubert Cuyckens (Eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 214-236.
- Pérez Hernández, Lorena. 2011. “Cognitive Tools For Successful Branding.” *Applied Linguistics* 32(4):369-388.
- Pragglejaz Group. 2007. “MIP: a method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse.” *Metaphor and Symbol* 22(1):1-39.
- Rohrer, Tim. 2007. “Embodiment and experientialism” in *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. Dirk Geeraerts and Hubert Cuyckens (Eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 25-48.
- Semino, Elena. 2008. *Metaphor in Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Velasco Sacristán, Marisol. 2004. “Metaphor and ESP: metaphor as a useful device for teaching L2 Business English learners.” *Ibérica* 10:115-131.

## Online Sources [Corpus]

- [www.cnn.com](http://www.cnn.com) [2012, 2013]
- [www.dailykos.com](http://www.dailykos.com) [2012]
- <http://projecprimetime.org> [2013]
- [www.reuters.com](http://www.reuters.com) [2013]

## Notes on the author

Tatjana Đurović works as an Associate Professor of English for Economists at the Faculty of Economics, University of Belgrade. She received her PhD in linguistics in 2006. Her fields of

interest include cognitive linguistics, ESP and discourse analysis. She is the co-author of a monograph on Serbian public discourse. She is also the author and co-author of several ESP economics textbooks.