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## **Krugman vs Garicano: Individual and Cultural Differences in the Rhetoric of two Economic Op-ed Writers**

### **Abstract**

The present paper attempts to account for the rhetorical traits of two prestigious economists, who are also authors of economic op-eds: Paul Krugman and Luis Garicano, who write for a prestigious American newspaper, the *New York Times*, and for the renowned Spanish newspaper, *El País*, respectively. Through a contrastive study of a roughly 12-thousand-word corpus of either author, this analysis has attempted, on the one hand, to endeavor a qualitative analysis scrutinizing the formal, or lexical-semantic aspects, of their prose in terms of technical words, clichés and coinages, as well as the patterns of conceptualization of the metaphors they use to describe the economic crisis that is sweeping the Western world at large. The second part of the analysis has concentrated upon the interpersonality of the texts, at the pragmatic layer of the op-ed genre, thus covering the extra-linguistic context of the texts which have been scrutinized under the umbrella of metadiscourse. These two different, but complementary, levels of analysis have led to the conclusion that the authors' styles depict two individual ways in which op-eds are written in the economic world, but that their styles also reflect cultural and linguistic differences in the way columns are viewed in the English and Spanish languages.

### **Keywords**

column rhetoric, op-ed, column writing, economic metaphor, economic terminology, metadiscourse.

### **1. Introduction. The scope and purposes of the study**

The economic crisis that has been convulsing the Western world since 2008 has greatly aroused the interest of the public, bringing economic and financial news to the front pages of newspapers. The banking collapse, followed by the drastic measures exerted to stop it, has destroyed some of the supposed 'certainties' of economic theory and policy (Koppl 2014). In return, the search for the truth has triggered a massive barrage of news-items and editorials that try to give the public an account of the reasons for the disaster, distributing the blame among the different financial players and governments. This journalistic exercise of analysis and diagnosis is not only being accomplished by mainstream economists and specialized reporters, but has also brought to the fore the works of scientists of worldwide prestige in the field of economics, more traditionally associated with academic publications and research. In the US, this is the case with Paul Krugman, the Nobel Prize winner and Princeton Professor (among many other titles and honours), writing for the *New York Times*. In Spain, Luis Garicano, a Full Professor at the London School of Economics, writes for *El País*, the largest newspaper in the country. The present paper uses a contrastive corpus of texts by either author, who writes in their native English and Spanish languages respectively, both making ideologically-driven diagnoses on the economic disaster. The paper is specifically directed towards the analysis of their different rhetorical strategies, which it is hypothesized that must depict two individual ways of regarding op-eds in the economic world, but that may also re-

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flect cultural and linguistic differences depending on the way columns are viewed in English and Spanish communicative styles.

An op-ed piece derives its name from originally having appeared opposite the editorial page in a newspaper, but today the term is used more widely to describe a type of column that represents the solid, knowledgeable, and “focused opinion of the writer on an issue of relevance to a targeted audience”, as it is the case with both the economists under analysis. Op-eds are personal products inasmuch as they reflect the individual voice of the author, who has total control over content and whose ideas have to be regarded and expressed with clarity and an engaging style. However, after the analysis of the authors’ prose, it is expected that stylistic traits will be found that, far from being solely individual, pertain to the realm of column writing in Spanish and in English, since it has been demonstrated that there exist cross-cultural and cross-linguistic preferences in either language when writing op-eds (Dafouz 2008).

In attempting a study of the rhetoric of the two authors under scrutiny, a formal level of analysis is primarily to be tackled, taking stock of the kind of lexical selections that are made by the authors. When trying to account for the goings-on of the economic crisis, op-eds resort to the description and assessment of the financial news phenomena and innovative products that have emerged during the mayhem, the nature of which were unknown at the inception of the economic collapse. However, because they need to be understood by their audience, authors do not solely use the opaque hard terms of the discipline, but more often deploy metaphors and neological coinages with a creative element. As a typical resource of economic writing, metaphors and metaphorical clichés are commonly used (McCloskey 1983, Henderson 1994, Espunya/Zabalbescoa 2003, Vasiloaia et al. 2011), constituting “an essential feature of technical discourse which plays an important role in making it easier to understand” (Charteris-Black 1998: 59). However, they are not the only linguistic resources deployed, since op-ed authors use creative coinages of their own making, or borrow others from the literature provided by news-items, economic theories and blogs, in search for the expressivity needed to make their columns attractive and informative (Martínez Standring, 2008). In this study, it is hypothesized that such rhetorical devices are part of the individual style of the authors, but, more importantly, that they also reflect cultural trends in column-writings of the two countries. In the following section, a taxonomy will be provided for the application of a terminological analysis that may reveal the lexical preferences of either author, and, subsequently, the metaphorical activity in their texts will be analyzed.

Additionally, the key to a successful persuasive piece is the ability to gain access to a variety of facts and opinions and to use them effectively (Spencer 2005: 16). Precisely because op-ed writers aim to be influential, they seem to make use of all methods of inducement to support their theses and every technique of advocacy writing (Pitts 1997). The second part of the analysis will concentrate upon the interpersonal aspect of the texts, at the discursive and pragmatic layers of the op-ed genre. These two different, but complementary, levels of analysis are related to the rhetorical and extra-linguistic context of the texts, which will be scrutinized under the umbrella of metadiscourse. In her 2008 study of opinion columns in Spanish and English, Dafouz asserted that effectiveness and credibility are not always achieved, since in order to persuade, the writer has to create “a credible textual persona or ethos” (2008: 96), developing an effective way to dialogue with their readers. She actually found that, at a functional level, Spanish and English newspaper articles share some findings in the type and even in the number of metadiscourse categories employed, but that there are variations as to the distribution and composition of such markers, specifically in the case of certain textual categories (2008: 97). Again, our challenge in this second section of the article will be twofold: on the one hand not only the type and number of metadiscourse markers found will be calculated, but, comparing Dafouz’s findings on the differences and concomitances between Spanish and English opinion columns, it will be discussed whether the

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1 [http://shorensteincenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/HO\\_NEW\\_HOW-TO-WRITE-AN-OPED-OR-COLUMN.pdf](http://shorensteincenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/HO_NEW_HOW-TO-WRITE-AN-OPED-OR-COLUMN.pdf).

results found in the analysis of Krugman and Garicano's work pertain to cross-cultural factors or, on the contrary, they constitute traits of the personal style of the author.

## 2. The authors under study and the corpus: a contextualization

Apart from being a celebrity in the world of Economics, and a Nobel Prize winner since 2008, Paul Robin Krugman's scientific and journalistic activity is large and goes back far in time. A Professor of Economics and International Affairs at Princeton University who has also taught at Yale, the MIT, the London School of Economics and Stanford, Krugman is a prolific author and a relentless op-ed writer who has collaborated with newspapers like *Foreign Policy*, *The Economist* and *Harper's*. In fact, the *Washington Monthly* has defined him as "the most important political columnist in America." Through his columns – especially in the collections published as *The Great Deception* (2004) and *The Conscience of a Liberal* (2012) –, Krugman has stated unequivocally his social democratic ideology, openly criticizing the economic policy of the Federal Reserve and the Bush administration. Very famous are his controversies with Robert Barro, John Cochrane, and Eugene Fama, among others. They belong to the group of the so-called 'freshwater economists', who defend the macroeconomics of *laissez faire* and of efficient markets. On the contrary, the more protectionist view of 'saltwater economists', the group to which Krugman belongs, is strongly influenced by John Maynard Keynes's theses and is contrary to liberalist and neo-liberalist stances, according to which governments should perform fewer cuts and invest more in the public sector, in order to boost productivity and keep the unemployment rate from skyrocketing.

As it was possible to ascertain in a previous study (Orts 2015), Krugman's op-eds are an example of a kind of writing situated between the serious economic analysis and the expressive and scathing political denunciation, which resounds of the journalistic prose style of the most influential newspaper in the Western economy, *The Economist*. In some aspects, as shall be seen, it is very similar in character to conversational and plain language, in harmony perhaps with the social democratic ideology of the author. His prose falls in the line of journalistic language in English, but contains his very personal and quirky traits. In fact, rendering its translation into Spanish is quite difficult if the multiple communication devices used by him are to be reflected (Orts 2015:156).

Luis Garicano, in his turn, is a newcomer in the field of column-writing, although he has been steadily collaborating with the periodical *El País* since 2013 and has written occasionally in the *Financial Times*. His academic trajectory, however, is quite outstanding: before joining the LSE, he was a Full Professor of Economics and Strategy at the University of Chicago and is the author of numerous scholarly articles published in top economics journals such as the *Journal of Political Economy*, the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* and *American Economic Review*. Outside of academia, Garicano worked as an economist at the European Commission in Luxembourg, and at McKinsey and Company. But, like Krugman, his career is not solely oriented to the professional and scientific paths: Garicano is also a political activist in Spain in the new centrist party *Ciudadanos*, whose explosive growth of late and tough talk on tackling corruption have led many to refer to it as the "*Podemos*<sup>2</sup> of the right". As compared to Krugman's ideology, Garicano's has been branded as being of a neoliberal nature<sup>3</sup>, in line with his connection to the Chicago School. However, his views are more moderate than those of 'freshwater economists', according to the 'softer' economically liberal stance of a party which is nevertheless against cuts to health and edu-

<sup>2</sup> *Podemos* is a newer Spanish left-wing party, very much in line with Syriza, its Greek counterpart.

<sup>3</sup> *El Economista*: "Garicano ve en la educación la clave para un crecimiento duradero". Retrieved from <http://www.eleconomista.es/interstitial/volver/299338102/espana/noticias/5469492/01/14/Garicano-ve-en-la-educacion-la-clave-para-un-crecimiento-duradero.html#Kku82BWTPOA1p21>.

cation spending, and home evictions<sup>4</sup>. In the course of the study, the peculiarities of his prose will be seen, which resembles the style in which the genre is conceived in Spain.

The corpus selected contains fifteen columns of Krugman's published by the New York Times, and ten columns of Garicano's published by *El País*, both during the first half of 2015. The difference in number is related to the length of the columns themselves, since Krugman's pieces are shorter – around eight hundred words – than Garicano's, which have more than a thousand words. For the sake of more balanced results, each subcorpus contains around 12,000 words.

### 3. The formal aspect: the lexical resources of two op-ed writers

To the purpose of selecting the most interesting terminological areas in both authors, the taxonomy used in a previous study on Krugman's prose has been deployed (Orts 2015). On the one hand, it seeks to summarize the most salient phenomena of the economic lexicon deployed in an informative, divulgative context, such as that of op-eds, where, as was mentioned above, relevance and an engaging style are essential factors. On the other hand, it also tries to pursue the metaphorical patterns used by either author to enhance the understanding of complex economic concepts (Vasiloaia et al. 2011).

#### 3.1. Lexical choices in Krugman and Garicano

The filters that have been used in order to classify and diagnose lexical choice follow the pattern used in the study on Krugman's stylistic peculiarities (Orts 2015) mentioned previously, i.e.:

1. Technical or 'hard' words or compositions which belong to the more theoretical field of the discipline in question. Such field is purely theoretical and has the highest level of abstraction, in which "a theoretical economist communicates with a theoretical economist or with a prospective economist" (Jerkus 2011: 33). Sometimes these terms have a Latin root (as in 'derivative', 'security' or 'mezzanine') and sometimes they are culture-specific terms with an Anglo origin (such as 'stock', 'prime rate' or 'moonlighting'), the latter of which are incorporated to other languages with less preeminence in the global world than English (Chifane 2012).
2. Metaphorical clichés are highly conventionalized expressions that sometimes are considered 'dead' metaphors, since they were alive when first created, then became dead through use (McCloskey 1983). They are general and abstract, and, because they belong to the group of dead metaphors, one is not aware of them at all. As Henderson remarked (1982, in Vasiloaia et al. 2011) a number of phenomena which were originally metaphors have become conventionalized economic terms. Such terms as 'equilibrium', 'inflation', 'boom' and 'slump', are now so common in Economics that their metaphorical origin is not perceived. In our Tables, these clichés will be singled out as economic terms in their own right.
3. The popularizing tendency of economic discourse (Bielenia-Grajewska 2009) – mainly in these times where economy is a matter of universal concern – has facilitated the production of creative neologisms. Jerkus (2011) affirms that a neologism is always a word, a combination of words (phrasal words, collocations and eponyms), with new coinage, or the coinage of which already exists, but which has acquired a new meaning through use (Newmark 1988: 140). These may be created by the author himself, as it is often the case with Krugman's prose (Orts 2015: 155). Coinages of this kind, which have been labelled as 'author neologisms', pertain to the writer's creativity and are in the boundary between economic specialised discourse and colloquial language with the lowest level of abstraction (Hoffmann 1984: 66). For instance, with Krugman it is usual to see how bankers and policymakers are derogatorily referred to as 'robber barons of yore', or as 'deficit hawks' (Orts 2015: 154), or how a phe-

4 <http://news.yahoo.com/spains-surprise-election-challengers-citizens-fire-voters-215220962.html>

nomenon like the Euro crisis is labelled ominously as “Eurodämmerung”.

4. Alternatively, sometimes the literature of economics, mostly through the economic work of famous theoreticians, provides interesting neological creations, which in time may develop into specialized terms. These are alive in scientific papers, but also in blogs and op-eds, and consist of the eponyms that give name to several economic phenomena as seen by the doctrine (‘Ricardian equivalence’, ‘Minsky moment’) and phrasal words which are restricted the flexibility of English, which allows to convert verbs to nouns (‘helicopter drop’, ‘mirror test’ or ‘mental recession’) which are incorporated into other languages in several ways. This category will be referred to here as ‘cultural neologisms’.

To spot lexical choices, a combined method deploying MonoConc Pro and manual tagging was used upon Garicano’s 12,314-word corpus and upon Krugman’s 12,059-word corpus. Tables 1 and 2 show the results of the analysis of the main traits of the lexical expressivity in either author. Percentages were reached by adding up the total lexical resources in the corpus and calculating the proportion of resources in either author, a comparison which shows the blatant differences in lexical choice:

| <b>TECHNICAL,<br/>HARD TERMS<br/>(8%)</b>                                | <b>METAPHORICAL<br/>CLICHÉS (36%, 24%<br/>economic terms)</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | <b>AUTHOR NEOLOGISMS<br/>(36%)</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | <b>CULTURAL<br/>NEOLOGISMS (20%)</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ‘primary surplus’<br>GDP<br>financial derivatives<br>‘structural reform’ | tax hike<br>spending cut<br>financial bulkwarks<br>demand boost<br>snow job<br>runaway banker<br>Shadow banking<br>belt-tightening<br>cash-starved<br>pork bellies<br>depression-level slump<br>wiggle room<br>wage push<br>rate shock<br>boom<br>deflationary trap<br>austerity madness<br>housing bubble | technology snark<br>iDontKnow<br>big meh<br>hackish economists<br>vampires of finance<br>financial wheeler-dealer<br>slavery-is-freedom claim<br>bought-and-paid-for servant<br>nonsense-peddling<br>peddle-scare story<br>the unthinking<br>confidence-driven boom<br>ODS (Obama Derangement<br>Syndrome)<br>Reaganolatry<br>voodoo economics<br>zombie apocalypse<br>inflation truthers<br>Mam-he-is-looking-at-me-<br>funny policies<br>Bowles-Simpsonism | ‘mediamacro’ (Wren-<br>Lewis)<br>‘productivity paradox’<br>(Solow)<br>technorevolution<br>Big Pharma<br>Keynesian economics<br>‘skills gap’<br>‘great compression’ (of<br>wages)<br>Obamacare<br>supply-side doctrine<br>Swabian-housewife<br>economics (Merkel) |

Table 1. Lexical expressivity in Krugman

| TECHNICAL, HARD TERMS (20.58%)                                                                                                                                     | METAPHORICAL CLICHÉS (47%, 29.4% economic terms)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | AUTHOR NEOLOGISMS (8.8%)                          | CULTURAL NEOLOGISMS (23.5%)                                                                                                                                                               |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ‘valor añadido’<br>demanda agregada<br>‘microeconómica’<br>‘disfunción monetaria’<br>Revisión de la calidad de activos (AQR)<br>search for yield<br>tasa de ahorro | chorizo<br>enchufe<br>estancamiento<br>depresión<br>rigidez económica<br>shock de oferta<br>burbujas pinchadas<br>espiral de deflación<br>repunte económico<br>aceleración económica<br>explosión de innovaciones<br>contracción del crédito<br>entrapamiento<br>deuda colocada<br>parte del pastel<br>polarización social | problema ‘macro’<br>japonificación de la economía | ‘Equilibrio de Nash’<br>crony capitalism<br>capitalismo de amiguetes<br>Bribe Payers Index<br>helicopter drop (Friedman)<br>‘ciencia abierta’<br>competición de suma cero<br>Ley de Moore |

Table 2. Lexical expressivity in Garicano

The data show a higher percentage (18.8% more) of lexical resources deployed in Paul Krugman’s subcorpus, as compared to Garicano’s. On the one hand, the usage that Krugman makes of technical terms is reduced to a minimum, whereas in Garicano’s text this word type is solidly represented, constituting 20.58 percent of his lexical resources. On the other side of the scales, it is worthwhile noting Krugman’s tendency to coin all kinds of creative expressions, sometimes owing to the tremendous flexibility that the English language has for word-formation, one of the resources with which he shapes his own personal style. Within this group very expressive nominal phrases have been found in which the author conveys his ironic vision of politicians, ‘freshwater’ economists or bankers, who are considered the villains of the story (‘financial wheeler-dealers’, ‘inflation truthers’, ‘vampires of finance’, ‘hackish economists’, or ‘the unthinking’). Personal coinages are also in the form of long noun phrases in humorous amalgams (‘Mam-he-is-looking-at-me-funny policies’, ‘ODS’ (‘Obama Derangement Syndrome’) or ‘Reaganolatry’), as well as other complex combinations that show Krugman’s sarcasm about the economic panorama (‘slavery-is-freedom claim’ or ‘bought-and-paid-for servant’). Such feature is almost absent in Garicano’s prose. The Spanish author prefers metaphorical clichés – ‘*burbujas pinchadas*’ (‘burst bubbles’), ‘*espiral de deflación*’ (‘deflationary spiral’) or ‘*contracción del crédito*’ (‘credit contraction’) – which have also a very notable presence in Krugman’s prose, and in both cases are in the slim frontier between the cliché and the economic technical term. Garicano’s style is characterized by an absence of personal coinages and a presence of a sizable group of hard terms such as ‘*demanda agregada*’ (‘aggregated demand’), ‘*valor añadido*’ (‘added value’) and cultural neologisms – ‘*competición de suma cero*’ (‘zero-sum game’), ‘*capitalismo de amiguetes*’ (‘crony capitalism’, found as an English xenism and with its translation into Spanish). Such lexical choices show Garicano’s preference for a more orthodox, tamer kind of prose. It is also interesting to note that the use of quotations is present in both subcorpora, as an indication to the reader that an unusual, sometimes very specialized, concept is being used. In addition, in Garicano’s subcorpus, the incorporation of English xenisms takes place in almost all the subtypes of terms (‘AQ’, ‘search for yield’, ‘shock *de oferta*’, ‘crony capitalism’, ‘Bribe Payers Index’), due to the preeminence of English as the language of economy.

In sum, Krugman's prose seems to make use of more unusual lexical resources, which are part of his personal seal: a signal of his wish to get as close as possible to the reader, in line with the style used by American op-ed authors, who are encouraged to play up their personal connections with readers (Gould 2009). Garicano's lexicon, contrarily, seems to be a more sober version of op-eds, perhaps partly in line with the less flexible nature of Spanish for word formation, perhaps showing the higher detachment that Spanish op-ed writers show towards their readers (Dafouz 2008).

### 3.2. Metaphorical patterns in Krugman and Garicano

In this section of the present work the usage of conceptual metaphors by either author will be discussed. Conceptual metaphors play a key role in the definition of essential economic concepts and make it easier for readers to understand abstract and complex financial concepts (Henderson 1994; Charteris-Black 2000; White 2003; Musolff 2004; Rojo/Orts 2010). When used in economic and business texts, they help to convey the conceptualization of the economy, growth, market movements, etc., through dead or cliché metaphors, or through other devices like alliteration and puns, manipulation of idioms or popular sayings (Espunya/Zabalbescoa 2003). While clichés are linguistic, conceptual metaphors have a cognitive nature (Lakoff/Johnson 1980), and are present in the major events of human life, including the economic movements of the market and the stock exchange. The more specific and original they are, the more likely it is for them to acquire cultural connotations, thus representing a certain community. When previously studying Krugman's prose (Orts 2015), his metaphors were classified according to Moreno Lara's (2008) taxonomy, i.e., into three large groups of schemas: the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING (CCB), the PATH and the ACTIONS ARE EVENTS schemas. The first is a cultural model that sets the attributes and behavior of natural things in which people, animals, plants and natural and complex objects (such as machines) are included. In the PATH schema, the economic events can be conceived as a journey to a destination. Moreno Lara (2008: 196) – very much in line with corpus-based research on conceptual metaphorical mappings (cf. Charteris-Black 2004; Deignan 2006; Stefanowitsch/Gries 2006) – asserts that the concept of verticality is closely associated to this journey in which economic events are forces driving up or down. Finally, ACTIONS ARE EVENTS allows us to conceptualize financial activity as based on certain occurrences, such as fatal events (death, natural disasters), competition games, and wars.

In a first approach to conceptual metaphor analysis, a standard methodology of corpus linguistics was applied, following the 'metaphorical pattern analysis' (or MPA) of Stefanowitsch (2006). Hence, the lexemes related to the target domain were first selected, according to the number and percentage of word hits in either subcorpus. Each entry was searched for all its derivatives, for instance, the English stem 'econom\*' yielded occurrences for the lexemes 'economy', 'economic', 'economists', 'economics'. For this, Monoconc Pro was used to detect frequencies, and the ten lexemes with most occurrences in the corpus (the 'target domains') were selected, as shown in Figures 1 and 2:

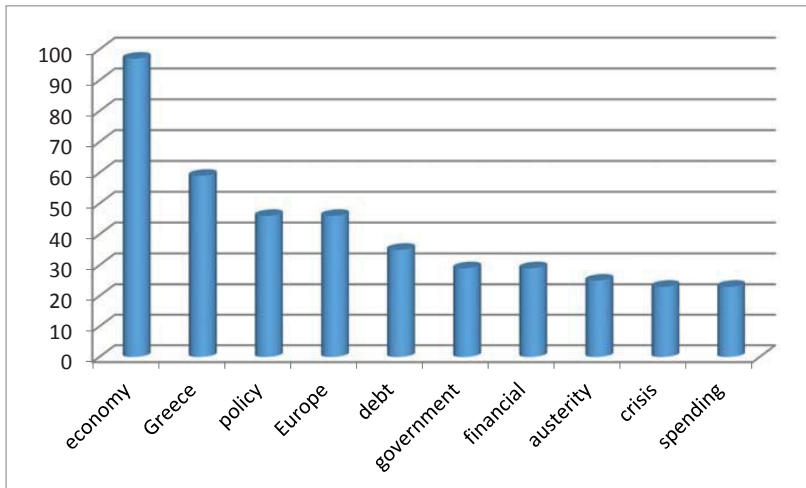


Figure 1. Terms with the highest incidence in the Krugman subcorpus

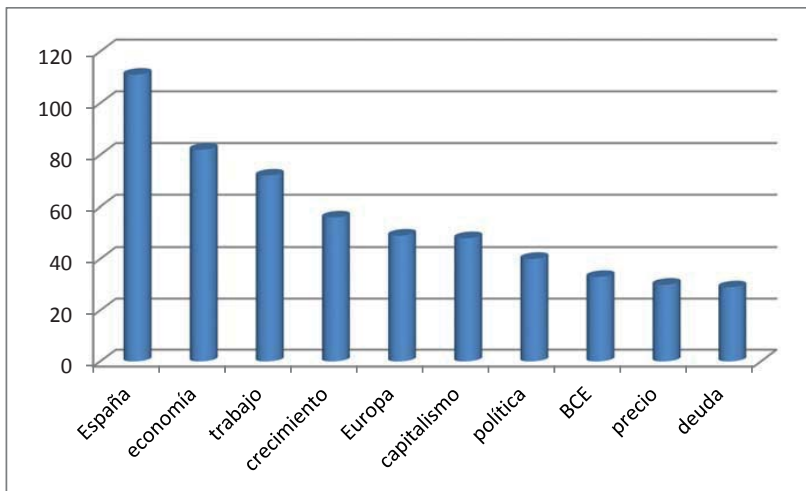


Figure 2. Terms with the highest incidence in the Garicano subcorpus

At a first glance, the selection of these items show that Garicano is more interested in things that happen in his own neighborhood: Spain, Europe, the BCE and the ailments that these have to suffer. Krugman's panorama is of a much wider scope, as he projects the focus of his concerns onto a continent that it is not his, and onto a country that is making the international headlines of the world: Greece. This international vocation seems to hint at the long-winded experience with which the Nobel Prize winner analyses the economic problems of the world at large.

Once the selection had been made, the context of occurrence of the terms was analyzed and the metaphorical expressions used in context were manually searched. When the metaphorical patterns were identified, the metaphorical mappings they instantiated were detected. Finally, these metaphors were classified according to the three groups of schemas in Moreno Lara's taxonomy (2008).

The results can be seen in Tables 3 and 4:



| TARGET DOMAIN | SOURCE DOMAIN                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                          |                                                         |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
|               | GCB (92.2%)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | PATH (6.5%)                                                                                                                              | ACTIONS ARE EVENTS (0.7%)                               |
| ECONOMY       | <p><b>(6.7%)</b></p> <p>Economy is a human being who is hurt, is in a depressed state, is bad, is drained of blood, it is killed, lionized, made stronger, in rapid progress.</p> <p>Economy is a vehicle/object: it is run, is managed, is peddled, is in free fall, is dragged.</p> | <p><b>(2.9%)</b></p> <p><b>UP:</b></p> <p>boost</p> <p>grow</p> <p><b>DOWN:</b></p> <p>fall</p> <p>pushed down</p>                       | <p><b>(0)</b></p>                                       |
| GREECE        | <p><b>(20.1%)</b></p> <p>Greece is a human being who deals with her creditors, recovers, gets money, can't/won't pay, suffers an accident, pursues painful policies, faces a tragedy, is forced to run, does a favor, exists, stays.</p>                                              | <p><b>(2.9%)</b></p> <p><b>UP:</b></p> <p>boost</p> <p>grow</p> <p><b>DOWN:</b></p> <p>fall</p> <p>pushed down</p>                       | <p><b>(0)</b></p>                                       |
| POLICY        | <p><b>(0)</b></p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <p><b>(0)</b></p>                                                                                                                        | <p><b>(0.7%)</b></p> <p>Greece is a play, a tragedy</p> |
| EUROPE        | <p><b>(14.9%)</b></p> <p>Europe is a human being who sleepwalks, is led off a cliff, has needs, does badly, exports, shrugs off.</p>                                                                                                                                                  | <p><b>(0)</b></p>                                                                                                                        | <p><b>(0)</b></p>                                       |
| DEBT          | <p><b>(1.4%)</b></p> <p>Debt is a human being who plays a role, poses a threat, pushes the economy up.</p>                                                                                                                                                                            | <p><b>(0)</b></p>                                                                                                                        | <p><b>(0)</b></p>                                       |
| GOVERNMENT    | <p><b>(15.6%)</b></p> <p>Government is a human being who reaches a deal, can't agree, succeeds, rules, is hard to deal with.</p>                                                                                                                                                      | <p><b>(2.9%)</b></p> <p><b>UP:</b></p> <p>rise</p> <p><b>DOWN:</b></p> <p>fall</p> <p><b>CONTAINER:</b></p> <p>Debt is low, is high.</p> | <p><b>(0)</b></p>                                       |
| FINANCE       | <p><b>(0)</b></p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <p><b>(0)</b></p>                                                                                                                        | <p><b>(0)</b></p>                                       |

Table 3. Conceptual metaphors in the Krugman subcorpus

| TARGET DOMAIN | SOURCE DOMAIN                                                                                                                         |                                                                                            |                         |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
|               | GCB (87%)                                                                                                                             | PATH (13.5%)                                                                               | ACTIONS ARE EVENTS (0%) |
| ESPAÑA        | (20.3%)<br>Spain is a human being who grows up, takes a nap, is poor, is affected by conditions, attacks the crisis.                  | (0)                                                                                        | (0)                     |
| ECONOMÍA      | (9.5%)<br>Economy is a human being who gets weak, suffers, is paralyzed, is not reactivated, is rich or poor, generates bounty.       | 1%<br><b>UP:</b><br>rise                                                                   | (0)                     |
| TRABAJO       | (6.3%)<br>Work is an object which is paid for, illustrates things, invades leisure, is interesting.                                   | 1%<br><b>DOWN:</b><br>fall                                                                 | (0)                     |
| CRECIMIENTO   | (5.3%)<br>Growth is an object that is unsustainable, it is reduced, is beneficial                                                     | 2%<br><b>DOWN:</b><br>fall                                                                 | (0)                     |
| EUROPA        | (4.2%)<br>Europe is a human being who has a problem and needs to solve it, faces difficulties, suffers changes, cannot afford things. | (0)                                                                                        | (0)                     |
| CAPITALISMO   | (3.1%)<br>Capitalism is a human being who faces problems, has capacities, and is important.                                           | (0)                                                                                        | (0)                     |
| POLÍTICA      | (0)                                                                                                                                   | (0)                                                                                        | (0)                     |
| BCE           | (17.1%)<br>The ECB is a human being that can predict and solve problems, respond to these, forecast things                            | (0)                                                                                        | (0)                     |
| PRECIO        | (10.2%)<br>Prices are complex objects that lead to war, are agreed upon, reveal things, are regulated.                                | 9.5%<br><b>UP:</b><br>1.05% rise<br><br><b>DOWN:</b><br>7.4% fall<br><br>1.05% NO MOVEMENT | (0)                     |
| DEUDA         | (12%)<br>Debt is a complex object which is managed, negotiated, issued, paid for. It is a person who suffers crises.                  | (0)                                                                                        | (0)                     |

Table 4. Conceptual metaphors in the Garicano subcorpus

As can be seen in Table 3, out of the 134 metaphors found in Krugman, the highest percentage belongs to the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING schema. In these metaphors, mostly of a negative character, Krugman speaks of the economy, Greece, Europe, governments, austerity and crisis as people: people who are good or bad, who suffer illnesses or recover from them, negotiate, hate, organize, manage, inflict damage. But the economy and the crisis are also depicted as complex objects, such as vehicles or things, which are driven, managed, traded, slashed or cut. The PATH schema is activated only in economy, spending and debt, normally with a negative connotation. ACTIONS ARE EVENTS appear only in one instance, where Greece is depicted as a play, a trag-

edy for Europe to watch. However, if it is true that this author's prose is centered around very specific concepts such as the economy, austerity or debt, it is also true that the metaphorical activity is not limited to these, but also pours from these target domains throughout the whole work, creating a network of negative images, conceptual schemas that depict human disease, paralysis, misfortunes, and disasters.

The Garicano subcorpus shows 94 conceptual metaphors, thus illustrating a lesser metaphorical activity: there are approximately 18% less conceptualizations than in the previous subcorpus, with Europe and the ECB as the main targets of conceptualization. Still, like Krugman, the Spanish economist prefers the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING concept as a source domain: Spain, the economy, Europe, the ECB, and capitalism are all human beings who have problems and can, or cannot, solve them. By contrast, work, growth, prices, and debt are pictured as objects. These burst into the human panorama altering it, or are liable to be managed and dealt with by people in different ways. Still, the overall impression of the text, regarding the metaphorical activity sustained in the target domains, is of a less bleak panorama than in Krugman's op-eds: the economic scenario in relation to productivity and other economic aspects, but also political and social factors more wide-ranging than in Krugman's bleak vision of the economy and the world. Garicano's cosmic vision, in contrast, shows more of a struggle between diverse actors, offering, now and then, common images of the Spanish discourse of economy and the crisis, where games and events like folklore rites and wars are common (Rojo/Orts 2010).

#### 4. The pragmatic aspect: interpersonality in economic op-eds

The concept of 'persuasive writing' is common in studies dealing with interpersonal traits in texts. To study proximity or distance between interactants and the role of persuasion in such proximity, researchers resort to the concept of metadiscourse markers, which are the set of strategies revealing the existence of a dialogical framework between the writers and the readers of texts (Crismore et al. 1993; Vande Kopple 1985; Hyland 2005; Dahl 2004; Dafouz 2008, among many others). Metadiscourse is "the means by which propositional content is made coherent, intelligible and persuasive" to receivers of texts (Hyland 2005: 39). In Hyland and Tse's words: "With the judicious addition of metadiscourse, a writer is able to not only transform a dry, difficult text into coherent, friendly prose, but also relate it to a given context and convey his or her personality, credibility, audience-sensitivity, and relationship to the message" (2004: 157). Generally, the concept has been taken up and used by researchers to trace patterns of interaction and to discuss different aspects of language in use (Amiryousef 2010). It has usually and prototypically been linked to areas like academic writing (Hyland/Tse 2004; Dafouz/Nuñez 2010) and newspaper discourse (Abdollahzadeh 2007; Hashemi/Golparvar 2012).

Hyland organizes metadiscourse markers by distinguishing between *interactive devices*, that is, the ones that organize information in a coherent and convincing way for the audience and *interactional devices*, or those that allow writers to express linguistically their attitudes and perspectives toward the propositional content of the text. Interactive, or textual, signals engage the reader on a level that relates more to formal grammar and are generally realized in the form of conjuncts and adverbials. The textual function is intrinsic to language and exists to construe both propositional and interpersonal aspects into a linear and coherent whole. In comparison, interactional markers – realized in the form of nouns, verbs, adjectives and/or adverbials– relate more to the socio-affective level where audience engagement from that perspective is prioritized in discourse (Heng and Tan, 2010). The incidence of these markers in our texts will be scrutinized in order to ascertain the level of proximity between interactants, since, according to Mao (1997: 270), metadiscourse is not merely a stylistic device, but has a rhetorical role very much in line with the purpose that the text wishes to accomplish; from the own point of view of the author of this article, the greater abundance of markers, the clearer, hence more persuasive, the text has to be.

Table 5 shows the group of textual elements, where logical or transitional markers can be described as the linguistic elements that show relations of addition, comparison or conclusion be-

tween main clauses (Dafouz 2008: 97). They are mostly conjunctives and adverbial phrases such as ‘in addition’, ‘but’, ‘therefore’, and ‘summarizing’. Frame markers, dissimilarly, are words or phrases that mark parts of a text, referring to other sections (e.g. ‘as was mentioned before’, ‘as we will indicate further on’), marking sequences (e.g., ‘first’, ‘second’, ‘on the other hand’), or changing the topic (e.g., ‘regarding’, ‘in economic terms’). Code glosses are the next category of metadiscourse markers. As Hyland (2005: 52) states, code glosses are “textual devices that supply additional information by rephrasing, explaining or elaborating what has been said, to ensure the reader recovers the writer’s intended meaning” (e.g., ‘namely’, ‘in other words’, ‘such as’, or simply punctuating devices such as a colon or parenthesis). And finally, evidentials refer to the sources of information from other texts.

| <i>Category</i>                   | <i>Function</i>                                                                                                                                                                |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>TRANSITION/LOGICAL MARKERS</b> | <b>Signal additive</b> (and, furthermore.), <b>adversative</b> (or, but, however. . .), <b>and consecutive/ conclusive relationships</b> (so, therefore, finally, in sum. . .) |
| <b>FRAME MARKERS</b>              | <b>Sequencers</b> (in the first place, secondly), <b>reminders</b> (as was mentioned before) and <b>topicalisers</b> (regarding X/as for X).                                   |
| <b>CODE GLOSSES</b>               | <b>Explain, rephrase, expand or exemplify propositional content</b> (namely, that is/ parenthesis and other punctuation devices)                                               |
| <b>EVIDENTIALS</b>                | <b>Reference to other texts</b>                                                                                                                                                |

Table 5. Textual metadiscourse markers, according to Dafouz (2008)

The following figures present our findings regarding interactive markers in our texts, which were carried out both manually and with the aid of MonoConc Pro:

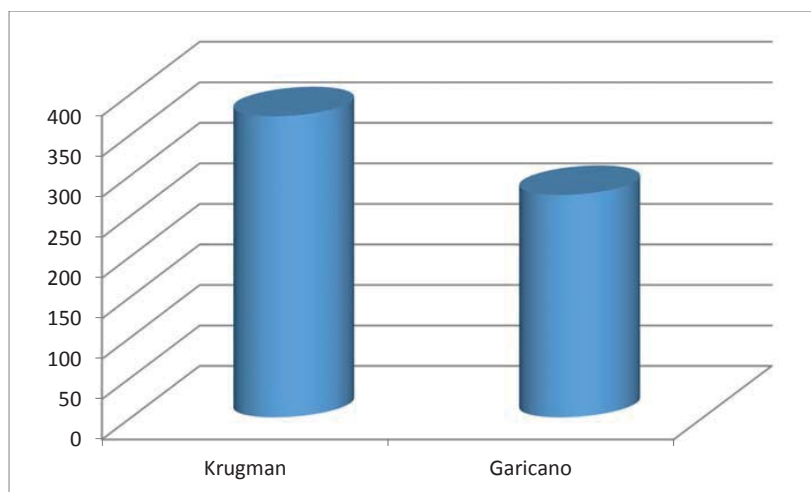


Figure 3. Total textual metadiscourse markers in both authors

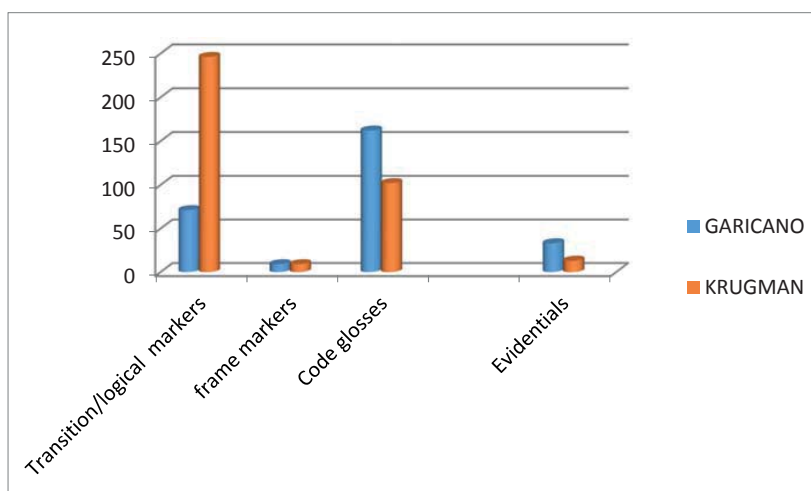


Figure 4. Types of textual metadiscourse markers in both authors

Dafouz states that readers at large prefer to be guided through texts with the aid of metadiscursive markers (2008: 108), rather than having to reconstruct and reinterpret the text without any explicit signposting. The analysis indeed shows that textual markers play a key role in the organizational principles and ideational connections of both authors. Nevertheless, in general and from a quantitative point of view, the Krugman subcorpus shows a higher number of textual metadiscursive markers (372) than the Garicano corpus (275). A more detailed look into the types of markers used renders more definite results: there is a clear preference of Krugman's to use transitional devices, with 246 occurrences against 73 in the Garicano corpus. In Krugman, these take the form of additive markers like clausal 'and' (108 occurrences), but also adversative ones – mainly 'but', clausal 'or' and 'however', with 94 occurrences – and, in a lesser quantity, conclusive ones like 'so', 'therefore', and 'finally'. Garicano's range of connectors, in contrast, is narrower, mainly showing adversative ones ('*pero*', 51 occurrences), some additive ones ('*Y que*', 19 occurrences and '*además*', 3 occurrences), conclusive connectors being negligible in this subcorpus (one occurrence of '*en definitiva*'). Contrarily, this same author seems to show a preference for code glosses, with 162 occurrences against 102 in the Krugman subcorpus. These take the shape of parentheses and colon, and some explications and clarifications are made with '*por ejemplo*' and '*es decir*' (34). There is no appearance of a device very often used by Krugman to insert his explanations and glosses, such as it is the hyphen, with 43 hits in the American author. Frame markers are scarce in both authors: 9 and 7 occurrences in Krugman and Garicano, respectively, which are mostly sequencers ('*first*', '*second*', '*primero*' and '*segundo*').

Finally, evidentials are important for both authors, but especially for Garicano, with 33 hits, against 17 in Krugman. In op-eds, research involves acquiring facts, quotations, citations, or data from sources and personal observation. Accordingly, both authors seem to rely on other sources to sustain their arguments, or to illustrate their point by means of other economists (like Nash, Fisman, Hayek or Adam Smith, mentioned, among many other specialists, in Garicano), field experts or fiction writers (as does Krugman, citing Douglas Adams's "*The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*"). There is a difference between both authors, though: the American author makes scarce positive criticism of the people he mentions (with the notable exception of Keynes, whom he quotes five times) and shows a special fixation upon the Affordable Care Act that gave birth to what has been called '*Obamacare*', the reform of the health care system in US in the Obama administration. Contrastively, Luis Garicano seems to earnestly support his arguments through the investigation of other famous specialist in economy, also quoting and elaborating on the work of sociologists, politicians, scientists or classical writers like Balzac and Austen, thus exerting persuasion through the bulwark of the work of others.

In all, these textual trends show strong similarities with Dafouz's findings in Spanish and English texts, which would demonstrate that, as far as our study is concerned, there is an important cross-cultural component in the way either author writes. Indeed, logical markers and code glosses play a decisive role in the intended interpretation of the text of both authors (as it seems to happen in Spanish and English language op-eds at large), but the latter are more frequent in texts with a Spanish origin – since its readers apparently tolerate digressions more than Anglo-Saxon readers (Dafouz 2008: 106) – whereas the former indicate the closer attention paid to organizational principles in English-written texts. In contrast, the presence of additive markers in Krugman over adversative ones seems to contradict Dafouz's study, which proves that Anglo-American writers “exhibit a retrogressive strategy, based on the reconstruction of an argument using the pros and cons of an opinion” whereas Spanish ones use “a progressive strategy that entails moving forward in the establishment of ideas and adding evidence to the original claim” (Dafouz, 2008: 106).

Hyland (2005: 49) classified the interactional metadiscourse markers into five major categories: Hedges, Boosters, Attitude Markers, Engagement markers and References to self (see Table 6 below). Hedges are situations in which writers desire to convey their reluctance to present propositional information categorically. Boosters, on the contrary, can be described as those used in order to express their certainty concerning an idea, or to emphasize their claims in the text. Attitude markers are employed when writers are in need of communicating their perspectives and attitudes towards the propositional content of the text, while references to self are instances used when the columnist makes an explicit reference in the text to himself/herself. Finally, engagement markers are those by which writers directly refer to or build relationship with their readers.

| <i>Category</i>                                                                             | <i>Function</i>                                                                                 | <i>EXAMPLES</i>                                                                                                                                                           |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>HEDGES</b><br><br>(Partial commitment to the truth-value of the assertion)               | <b>EPISTEMIC VERBS</b><br><br><b>TENTATIVE ADVERBS</b><br><br><b>EPISTEMIC EXPRESSIONS</b>      | may, might, must,<br>can, could, would<br><br>probably, perhaps,<br>maybe<br><br>it is likely                                                                             |
| <b>BOOSTERS</b><br><br>(Total commitment to the truth-value of the assertion)               | <b>ADVERBS OF CERTAINTY</b>                                                                     | Undoubtedly /<br>clearly / certainly                                                                                                                                      |
| <b>ATTITUDE MARKERS</b><br><br>(Express writers' affective values towards text and readers) | <b>DEONTIC VERBS</b><br><br><b>ATTITUDINAL ADVERBS/ADJECTIVES</b><br><br><b>COGNITIVE VERBS</b> | Have to / we must understand / needs to<br><br>Unfortunately/<br>remarkably/<br>pathetically<br><br>It is absurd/ it is surprising<br><br>I feel / I think / I believe    |
| <b>ENGAGEMENT MARKERS</b><br><br>(Help to establish reader-writer rapport through the text) | <b>RHETORICAL QUESTIONS</b><br><br><b>DIRECT ADDRESS TO READER</b><br><br><b>ASIDES</b>         | What is the future of Europe, integration or disintegration?<br><br>You must understand, dear reader<br><br>Diana (ironically for a spencer) was not of the establishment |
| <b>REFERENCES TO SELF</b>                                                                   | <b>INCLUSIVE EXPRESSIONS</b><br><br><b>PERSONALISATIONS</b>                                     | We all believe/let us summarise<br><br>What the polls are telling me / I do not want                                                                                      |

Table 6. Interactional metadiscourse markers, according to Dafouz (2008)

This is the presence they show in our different sub-corpora, as found with MonoConc in terms of frequency and collocations:

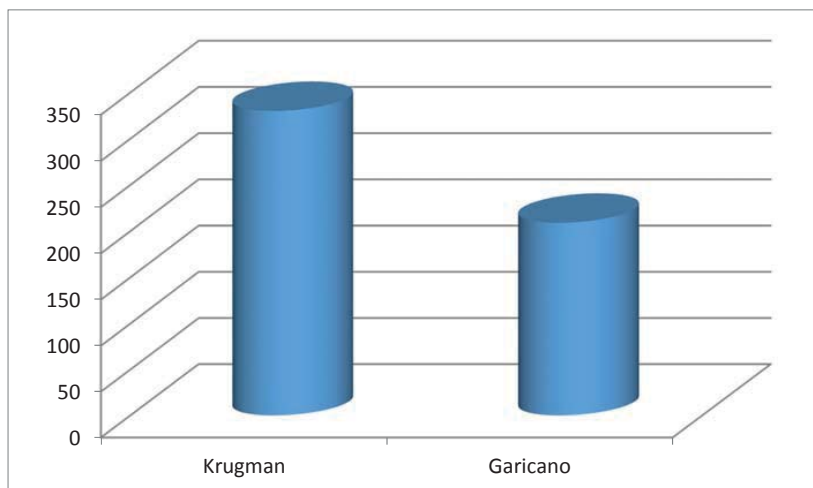


Figure 5. Total interactional metadiscourse markers in both authors

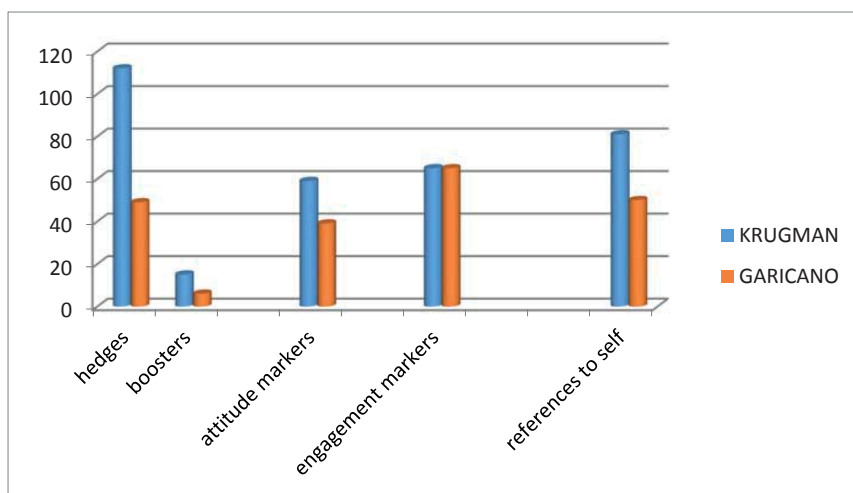


Figure 6. Types of in interactional metadiscourse markers in both authors

Again, the study shows that markers in the Krugman subcorpus (330) are quite superior in number to those found in the Garicano subcorpus (209 occurrences). This should also be in line with a higher socio-affective level of interaction with the audience on the American author's part, engagement with the reader being more of a priority for him than for his Spanish counterpart. However, if these numbers are compared with those achieved at the textual level, it may be seen how, at large, helping to guide the reader through the text is prioritized over involving the reader in the argument in both authors, even if the difference in the numerical deployment of the two sets of markers is less dramatic in Krugman. Hedges are, by far, the most frequently used category to be found in this author (112 hits), mainly taking the form of epistemic verbs like 'would', 'may' and the adverb 'maybe', but also 'could' and 'might'. This is striking, since the boldness shown by Krugman in the usage of creative terminology and bleak metaphors – as was seen in the previous sections of this paper – seems to be contradictory with the abundance of these hedging markers, which are generally used to withhold the writer's full commitment to his propositions. Still, the 85 hits in the reference to self section suggest that the author desires to be present in the text: deontic verbs like 'have to', 'must', and 'need to' are common, but also attitudinal adverbs like 'unfortunately', 'remarkably', and 'surprisingly'. Fairly abundant are markers that show his intent to build a relationship with the reader (65 occurrences, mainly in the form of rhetorical questions) or



show his attitude to his own propositions (59 occurrences, through asides that address the reader with 'sorry' and 'of course'). Boosters are surprisingly anecdotal in this author, who seems to favor demonstrating his certainty and the force of his assertions through other means.

The Spanish author, by contrast, shows lesser values in all the categories. His strong suit, nevertheless, are engagement markers (65 hits), which he uses mainly rapport with his readers through rhetorical questions and asides, occasionally regarding the reader directly ('*los lectores*', '*el lector*', '*ustedes*': 'the reader/s', 'you'). References to self is the second category of more usual markers (50 hits), with the usage of the solidarity plural as the most usual device: '*debemos*', '*creemos*', '*podemos*', '*seguimos*', '*conducimos*', '*elegimos*' ('we must', 'we believe', 'we can', 'we go on', 'we drive', 'we choose'), and self-referring pronouns like '*yo*', '*me*', '*mí*' ('I', 'me'). Deontic verbs, in the category of attitude markers (39 hits), are comparatively scarce ('*debe/n*' (he/she must, they must)), attitude being marked by expressions like '*por desgracia*', '*desgraciadamente*' ('unfortunately'), '*es difícil*', '*difícilmente*' ('it's difficult'), '*es preocupante/sorprendente*' ('it's worrying'/ 'surprising'). Hedges do not constitute as relevant a feature in Garicano as it was the case in the Spanish texts scrutinized by Dafouz: 49 hits have been found, with epistemic verbs like '*puede*' ('may'), '*podría*' ('could') and '*debe*' ('must'), but also with other verbs like '*parece*' ('it seems'), conditional verb forms which are equivalent to 'would' ('*sería*', '*permitiría*', '*estaría*'), and expressions like '*a lo mejor*' ('maybe'). This is a remarkable scarcity, since these markers have a clear preponderance in Spanish column writers to exert persuasion, striking "a difficult balance between commitment to his/her ideas and respect and dialogue with the reader" (Dafouz 2008: 107). Finally, the presence of boosters is even more negligible than in the Krugman subcorpus, with only six incidences that include adverbs like '*claramente*' ('clearly') and expressions like '*está claro*', '*es evidente*', '*es necesario*' or '*sin duda*' ('it's clear', 'it's evident', 'it's necessary', 'undoubtedly').

In general, thus, interpersonal activity through metadiscourse markers seems to be higher in Krugman, whose rhetoric is well structured and organized, presumably to make it easier for the reader to digest his politically incorrect assertions and diatribes against the established powers. Indeed, Krugman searches for the approval of his audience, in the attempt to create a sense of solidarity with it through the unveiling of his own – bold – likes and dislikes with self-mentions, personalisers and certainty markers. These are, nevertheless, tempered with numerous expressions of caution, no doubt used to soften the brashness of his opinions. In this sense, Krugman's op-eds align themselves with the opinion columns in the English language scrutinized by Dafouz, which, contrary to the discourse of academic papers, news-items or economic reports, seek to overtly unveil the cosmos of their author, at the same time as they soften their assertions with mitigating devices (Dafouz 2008: 108).

As far as Garicano is concerned, his *persona* is not very present in his writings. On the one hand, his discourse seems to be relative less organized than his American counterpart's. His lesser use of transitions makes his discourse differ in relation to Dafouz's findings, which support that Spanish authors resort to these strategies much more than English writers. However, there is some kind of balance stricken through the explanations provided in the form of code glosses and evidentials. On the other hand, he also seems to be more aloof than Krugman regarding his audience, and in this he seems to confirm Dafouz's findings, since she demonstrates that op-eds in English tend to reveal the author's thoughts and beliefs to a larger extent than those in Spanish. Garicano seems to be much more non-committal and politically correct than Krugman, his rhetorical questions and asides being the only interstice through which his opinions and the skeleton of his arguments are to be unveiled.

## 5. Conclusions

Having a crisp, convincing voice is critical to a successful op-ed writer. The author's presence and distinctness is what makes readers search for the writer first, rather than the subject-matter. The column belongs to its author, who has the luxury of a guaranteed space, a slot over which he/

she presides, the content of which he/she normally holds. The present paper has tried to account for the voice, the rhetorical traits of two relevant authors of economic op-eds, Paul Krugman and Luis Garicano, who write for a prestigious American newspaper, the New York Times, and for the Spanish newspaper, *El País*, respectively. Through a contrastive study of a roughly 12-thousand-word corpus of either author, it has been attempted, firstly, to scrutinise the formal, or lexical-semantic aspects of their prose in terms of technical words, clichés and coinages, as well as the patterns of conceptualization of the metaphors they use to describe the crisis that the world we struggle with. It has been demonstrated how Krugman's style is much more creative in the deployment of neologisms to project his irony and disdain towards economic and political agents, and much bleaker in the conceptualization of the world. In contrast, Garicano's prose is much tamer, making few coinages, using orthodox terminology and clichés, in the attempt to depict the crisis as something that should be approached rigorously, but which can be won with the right weapons and the necessary common sense. Perhaps having a membership in a newly-fangled political party that tries to provide their own recipes for the crisis has something to do with Garicano's relatively optimistic stance. Krugman's view is that of someone who has been around for a long time, and who has little room for hopefulness anymore.

The ideologically-driven diagnoses of these authors on the economic disaster and the way they are transmitted to the audience for persuasive purposes, have also been studied throughout this work through the prism of interpersonal devices, or metadiscourse markers. This has rendered results that align the prose of the authors with previous studies about column-writing in English and Spanish, exhibiting characteristics like the preference for transitional markers and code glosses over other textual devices, or the taste for rhetorical questions and asides to engage with the readers. These characteristics seem to go beyond the national culture to reveal a certain consistency across languages in the writing of personal opinions. The personal style of either author, however, mostly reveals that textual and interpersonal metadiscourse markers are more present in Krugman than in Garicano. The experienced and prize-awarded column writer plays with his reader in the deep knowledge of the genre, forever maintaining a cocky stance, but weakening his assertions when necessary and deploying emotions to the advantage of his arguments. Contrarily, the Spanish author's texts lack a solid, persuasive structure, even if they are full of solid argumentations. Still, Garicano seems to keep a higher distance from his readership, perhaps lacking the security of one whose career in column-writing has just begun.

The present is but a first approach to the contrastive rhetoric of economic op-ed writing in two different languages and cultures. Hence, some limitations of the present work are acknowledged. For instance, results could be enhanced with a sample of a larger scale: interesting additional findings could be made, for example, if the corpus were to be enlarged with the work of several authors. In addition, rather than trying to cover several aspects of the authors' prose, such as terminology, metaphor and metadiscourse, the study could be focused upon a sole aspect, in order to gain crisper results. Nevertheless, to our knowledge, this work is the first attempt ever made to study the rhetoric of two economists who project their voice from different sides of the globe. A more profound study would bear, undoubtedly, fascinating results for intercultural studies and translation, even for sociolinguistic studies, as the authors selected are, after all, first-rate analysts and influential spokesmen of the economic crisis that is plaguing the world.

## **Appendix A. List of opinion columns selected**

### **PAUL KRUGMAN**

1. That 1914 Feeling (June 1, 2015)
2. The Big Meh (May 26 2015)
3. Trade and Trust (May 22, 2015 )

4. Wall Street Vampires (May 11, 2015)
5. Triumph of the Unthinking (May, 8 2015)
6. Greece on the Brink (April 20, 2015)
7. That Old-Time Economics (April 17, 2015)
8. Power and Paychecks (April 3, 2015)
9. Mornings in Blue America (March 27, 2015)
10. Economics and Elections (April 6, 2015)
11. Zombies of 2016 (April 24, 2015)
12. Trillion Dollar Fraudsters (March 20, 2015)
13. Strength Is Weakness (March 13, 2015)
14. What Greece Won (February 27, 2015)
15. Nobody Understands Debt (February 9, 2015)

Total words: 12,059

LUIS GARICANO:

1. *Negociaciones y teoría de juegos*. [Negotiations and Games Theory] (May 13, 2015)
2. *Acabar con la corrupción: un imperativo económico, no solo ético*. [Doing away with corruption: an economic, not only ethical imperative] (April 9, 2015)
3. *Syriza: no todo es demanda agregada*. [Syriza: not everything is aggregated demand] (January 25, 2015)
4. *Qué puede hacer el BCE? Dos parábolas*. [What can the ECB do?: Two parables] (November 23, 2014)
5. *El futuro de la innovación: dos visiones*. [The future of innovation: two visions] (October 12, 2014)
6. *Draghi: una oferta que no debemos rechazar*. [Draghi: an offer that may not be rejected] (August 31, 2014)
7. *¿Ignoran los mercados el riesgo político?*. [Do markets ignore political risk?] (June 8, 2014)
8. *Capital 2.0: La desigualdad, al centro del debate*. [*Capital 2.0: Inequality at the center of the debate*] (April 27, 2014)
9. *¿Por qué no trabajamos menos horas?*. (March 16, 2014) [Why don't we work less hours?]
10. *¿Qué tareas son rutinarias?*. [Which chores are routine ones?] (February 2, 2014)

Total words: 12,314

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