Metonymies, Immigration, and the Press: From *Ilegales* to *Guiris*

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The current paper explores the lexical and conceptual metonymies employed by the Spanish press to refer to immigrants from cognitive and critical discourse perspectives. Two corpora of news stories are analyzed: the first contains news stories about the Comunidad de Madrid, whereas the second is contextualized and geolocalized in a particular area of Madrid, Lavapiés, where several studies have revealed a tendency to use the diversity present in this territory as a marketing strategy. The analysis brings to light differences and similarities in the metonymical discourse of each corpus, namely in terms of the distribution of the conceptual metonymies found therein, as well as their correlation with a positive, neutral, or negative assessment of the given news story. The metonymical discourse of the first corpus correlates most strongly with neutral assessments, while that of the second corpus correlates largely with positive assessments of the conceptualizations.

Keywords: Spanish Press, conceptual metonymies, Critical Discourse Analysis, Madrid, Lavapiés.

Metonimias, inmigración y prensa: de ilegales a guiris. El presente trabajo analiza las metonimias léxicas y conceptuales que la prensa española utiliza para referirse a los inmigrantes, desde una perspectiva cognitiva y de análisis crítico del discurso. Se analizarán dos corpus de noticias: el primero contiene noticias de Comunidad de Madrid, mientras que el segundo está contextualizado y geolocalizado en una zona particular de Madrid, Lavapiés. Varios estudios ya han indicado que existe una tendencia a utilizar la diversidad presente en dicho territorio como una estrategia comercial. El análisis revelará las diferencias y similitudes en el discurso metonímico de cada corpus: la distribución de las metonimias conceptuales contenidas en ambos, así como las correlaciones con la valoración de las conceptualizaciones (positivas, neutras y negativas). El discurso del primer corpus está correlacionado con valoraciones neutras de las conceptualizaciones, mientras que el segundo lo está con las valoraciones positivas.

Palabras clave: Prensa española, Metonimias conceptuales, Análisis Crítico del Discurso, Madrid, Lavapiés.

1. Introduction

Plenty of literature has already been devoted to the discourse of the Spanish press on immigration Saiz de Lobado and Revilla 2019; Saiz de Lobado 2018; Sáez Gallardo 2018; Escudero 2016; Saiz de Lobado 2015; Revilla 2011, among others- and results show that there is a generalized tendency to portray this phenomenon in a negative light. Also, mass media, such as the press, plays an important role in shaping public opinion and the collective image of immigration, since the media manufactures the constructs that, in turn, reflect a generalized biased image of this phenomenon (van Dijk 2010, 2011; Charteris-Black 2006).

In order to broaden the scope, the underlying perceived discourse on immigration, contained in two corpora will be analyzed through the lexical and conceptual metonymies contained in the news stories. By underlying discourse, we mean the ideologies that play a role in the production and reproduction of dominance (van Dijk 1995; see section 2). Methodologically, note that all conceptualizations are triggered by their corresponding metonymical lexical units. As explained in section 2, metonymies are asymmetrical projections between the source and the target, which will only project one salient characteristic. Thus, metonymies are key to analyzing the underlying discourse on a given topic using a Cognitive Linguistics (CL) approach, which focuses on "the study of language in its cognitive function, where cognitive refers to the crucial role of intermediate informational structures in our encounters with the world" (Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007: 5). This approach will be combined with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which will be key for unveiling discursive trends on immigration contained in both corpora. The section on methodological issues focuses on the need for a systematic procedure to identify lexical and conceptual metonymies, as well as a description of both corpora. Lastly, using a mixed approach, an analysis of the conceptualizations and the general conclusions are presented.

This paper is a continuation of the studies published by Saiz de Lobado (2015, 2018; Saiz de Lobado and Revilla 2019) on how the press portrays immigration both at discursive and cognitive levels, within the framework of the project INMIGRA3-CM H2019/HUM-5772. The main results concluded that the discourse of the press on immigration correlates with the negative assessment of news stories, and such is the case of the General corpus, one of the corpora in this present research, that contains news stories about immigration in *Comunidad de Madrid* (Saiz de Lobado 2015, 2018; Saiz de Lobado and Revilla 2019). However, the correlations between the second corpus, containing news

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geolocalized in Lavapiés, and the positive assessments of news stories show that the socioeconomic particularities of this area of Madrid might have influenced the discourse of the press on immigration (Saiz de Lobado and Revilla 2019). Lavapiés' multiculturality, which has become a sign of identity (Peñalta 2010), is linked to the process of gentrification and diversity as a business strategy (Torres Bernier et al. 2018; Saiz de Lobado and Revilla 2019).

1.1. Objectives

The main objective of this article is to unveil the underlying discourse on immigration contained in the Spanish press, through the analysis of both lexical and conceptual metonymies (CMs). In order to achieve this objective, the CMs of both corpora, fully described in section 4, will be identified and analyzed from a cognitive-critical perspective, which allows for a deeper understanding of the specific cognitive projections triggered by the lexical units that act as synonyms for *immigrants*, the main actors of the immigration process.

Moreover, the article aims to verify the correlations between the conceptualizations and their assessments and determine whether these results parallel the assessments of the news stories contained in the abovementioned corpora. From a methodological perspective, a well-defined and systematic linguistic methodology – the Lexical and Conceptual Metonymy Identification Procedure (Saiz de Lobado 2015), designed specifically to analyze the discourse of the press on immigration – is developed and implemented to avoid biased or intuition-based analysis.

2. Sociocognitive CDA

As seen in the Introduction to this paper, this study will rely on two combined lines of thought or approaches -rather than theories- that will allow to better understand the shared sociocultural conceptualization of a particular topic (immigration), issued by a specific group with power to influence society and the perception on a given topic (the press). Cognitive Linguistics is not a homogeneous linguistic theory, but rather a compendium of theories (Panther and Thornburg 2017). These theories can be combined with different methodologies, providing a highly flexible framework that can adapt to specific contexts and lines of research (Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007). The study of power imbalance in discourse has proven to be a complementary theory to CL based analysis that also proves the flexibility of CL (Charteris-Black 2006; Semino 2008; Kövecses 2011; Steen 2011).

This broadens the framework of critical discourse studies by adding a sociocognitive approach to the analysis of discourse and hence creating a "Discourse- Cognition- Society triangle" (van Dijk 2016: 64). According to the same author, the main difference with traditional CDA is that this approach claims that the relations between society and discourse are "cognitively mediated" (van Dijk 2016: 64). Also, both discourse and social structures "can only be related through the mental representations of language users as individuals and as social members" (van Dijk 2016: 64). These mental representations, when analyzing the discourse on immigration, reflect the "racist structures of text and talk", the "underlying social shared ethnic prejudices and racist ideology", and how power imbalance is reproduced and shared by those who can access public discourse (van Dijk 2016: 64). In order to unveil the underlying semantics of this specific discourse, metonymies will be analyzed at a cognitive level from two perspectives: first, the lexical units that trigger conceptual metonymies, and secondly the conceptual metonymies that, in turn, mirror the mental models, attitudes and ideologies contained in the press on the topic of immigration.

2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

This approach rather than a method is "a critical perspective or attitude in the field of discourse studies" (van Dijk 2016: 63) that can be easily combined, as seen in the previous subsection, with other theories or approaches. CDA "account(s) for the expression of ideology in language, by relating the ideological dimension of linguistic phenomena to general conceptual principles" (Dirven et al. 2007a: 1236). These ideology-based representations, in this case of immigration, are rooted in a particular social structure, and even though they are not universal properties that can be altered, they do act as the sociocognitive basis for discriminatory practices towards members of minority groups by the dominant group (van Dijk 2011).

In discourse, the conceptualization of this imbalance is projected via different pragmatic strategies: euphemisms, hyperboles, conceptual metonymies, and metaphors, as well as deictic expressions, such as the use of pronouns, which translates into the ideological traditional polarization "us versus them" (van Dijk 2008: 192); or even punctuation. This, in turn, creates a dichotomy between the positive attributes of the in-group and the negative attributes of the out-group (Charteris-Black 2006; Dirven et al. 2007a; van Dijk 2008, 2011; Igartua et al. 2007; Kressova et al. 2010; Ruiz 2014).

2.2. Cognitive Linguistics

The first tenet of Cognitive Linguistics (CL) is its Experientialist approach, where objectivity will always be "relative to conceptual system and a set of cultural values" (Lakoff 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Therefore, objectivity then "involves rising above individual bias" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 201). They proclaim this approach is more objective than Objectivism since it fits the study of reality better and does not rely merely on the researcher's instincts. The primacy of semantics over syntax (Lakoff 1976) considers that meaning is not objective and cannot be universally described. It is, up to some extent, created by the subject, who conceptualizes and categorizes the objects and situations, thus establishing differences between them (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Geeraerts 2006; Kövecses 2010; Langacker 2017).

The encyclopedic nature of linguistic meaning is related to the function of language as a system that categorizes the world. Therefore, language acquires a "perspectivizing function" (Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007: 5; Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987). It is not objective, since it always imposes a particular view on the so-called structure of the world, instead of an objective reality, hence reflecting a particular perspective between the linguistic and conceptual domains (Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007; Shanahan 2017).

Another main tenet, embodiment, was adopted and reformulated by CL from psychologist Eleanor Rosch's Categorization and Prototype Theory (1975), which explains that human beings group surrounding objects and situations according to their perceived differences or similarities (Gibbs 2005). According to Romano and Porto (2016: 23), the concept of embodiment has shifted from a focus "on the bodily, material basis of cognition and language" to "social embodiment as the ground for our conceptual and linguistic systems", thus empathizing the socio cognitive characteristics of embodiment or shared sociocultural cognition (Tenenberg and Knobelsdorf 2014). Categorization is gradual, with no defined borders, and can be altered (Langacker 1987): it is a dynamic process that can vary depending on the cultural values or encyclopedic knowledge of the person who is categorizing a given object or event (Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Valenzuela 2012). Metonymies, as explained in the next subsection, draw from and share the basic tenets of CL, which are interrelated.

2.3. Metonymies

The concepts of metonymies, together with metaphors, have undergone a deep (r)evolution in meaning: from the classical Greek rhetoric that

viewed them as mere ornaments of language and figures of speech (Geeraerts 2010) to being considered cognitive processes, phenomenon or figures of thought (Panther and Thornburg 2017). CL treats both tropes as part of a continuum, since the distinction between them "is scalar, rather than discrete" (Barcelona 2000: 16). In fact, Cognitive Linguists have argued that metonymies often activate metaphors (Barcelona 2011, 2012; Radden 2003), since the former are more fundamental cognitive processes that usually act as "the link between bodily experience and metaphor in the mapping process from concrete experience to abstract concepts: bodily experience→ metonymy→ metaphor" (Yu 2008: 249).

Since the 1980s, Cognitive Linguists have provided definitions of metonymies based on the main tenets of CL (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff and Turner1989; Radden and Kövecses 1999; Panther and Thornburg 2007; Barcelona 2011, 2012). It is mostly agreed by scholars that metonymies are conceptualizations based on experience and can reinforce certain cognitive models and mappings. This study adopts the definition proposed by Barcelona (2011, 2012), who conceives CMs –both lexical and conceptual- as cognitive processes or as mappings, where a source conceptual domain activates a target conceptual domain, both within the same functional conceptual domain, and connected by a pragmatic function. The metonymical source projects its conceptual structure onto the target, "which is now understood from the perspective imposed by the source" (Barcelona 2011: 13). This projection is connected by continuity, rather than similarity (Steen et al. 2010b: 10; Barcelona 2011) and it is reflected in the pragmatic functions that connect metonymical sources and targets, or the salient feature that has been projected, for instance SALIENT PROPERTY FOR IMMIGRANTS –for a comprehensive list see Kövecses (2010), Barcelona (2011, 2012), Peirsman and Geeraerts (2006). It is important to point out that CMs in this paper refer to both conceptual metonymies and the lexical units that trigger them (see section 3, Methodology).

The projection between domains is asymmetrical, since only one salient perspective of the source triggers the target domain. Both domains also operate within the same conceptual domain (Kövecses 2010: 175; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Lakoff and Turner 1989; Radden and Kövecses 1999; Panther and Thornburg 2007; Barcelona 2011, 2012). This asymmetrical projection is very interesting, since the attributes that are projected to the target domain will partially reveal a perceived and salient characteristic shared by the Spanish society on immigration. For instance, the lexical unit *ilegales* (see example 4, subsection 4.2.) is a metonymy where the only salient category mapped into the group of immigrants is the idea of not abiding by the

law (Charteris-Black 2006; Concepción Sepúlveda et al. 2008; Nash 2005; Kressova et al. 2010; Rodríguez and Mena 2008). As we can see, it plays a key role "in the organization of meaning (semantics), utterance production and interpretation (pragmatics) (...)" (Panther and Thornburg 2007: 236). Also, "the same metonymic principles that relate different senses of a word serve to create and retrieve novel meanings in actual language use" (Panther and Thornburg 2007: 236); hence, contributing to the creation of new vocabulary to address a particular reality. This will take place when the metonymy has already been conventionalized, that is the degree of social approval or authorization, a culturally shared context, and the strength of the pragmatic function, known as the conventionalization of the conceptual metonymy (Barcelona 2011, 2012).

Another basic feature of lexical and conceptual metonymies is their ubiquity (Panther and Thornburg 2007), which is indicative of a continuum between the linguistic meaning and its communicative use, rather than a strict division between semantics and pragmatics. The authors also stress that metonymic processes play a key role in the process of construction of meaning.

Several studies have already analyzed the relationship between metaphors and metonymies -mostly focused on the former- and the discourse of the press on immigration. The trend shows that most assessments of the conceptualizations associated to immigration, manufactured, and reflected by the press, are negative (Santamaría 2002; Creus 2012; Concepción Sepúlveda et al. 2008; Creus 2012; Kressova et al. 2010; Charteris-Black 2006; Porto 2018; López 2018).

3. Methodology

One of the main criticisms when analyzing how ideology is transferred to a particular discourse through the analysis of CMs is the fact that the identification procedures seem to rely mostly on the intuition of the researchers, rather than on a systematic approach (Deignan 2005; Steen et al. 2010a; 2010b). In addition, little attention seems to be paid to the analysis of the metonymical lexical units that trigger the conceptualizations (Dirven et al. 2007b: 1220). Also, it is important to point out that there will usually be, when analyzing the occurrences on texts on the same topic, more lexical units than conceptualizations. Researchers have also agreed on the importance of analyzing natural corpora, instead of fabricated data, key for understanding the ideology that emerges from a given type of discourse (Deignan 2005; Dirven et al. 2007b; Pragglejaz Group 2007; Kövecses 2010; Steen et al. 2010a; 2010b; Steen 2011).

3.1. Lexical and Conceptual Metonymy Identification Procedure in the Press Discourse on Immigration

The Identification Procedure (Saiz de Lobado 2015) takes into account the main principles of CL, the characteristics of CMs and it is grounded on the studies carried out by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), Steen et al. (2010a; 2010b), Steen (2011), Santa Ana (1999) and Schmitt (2005). Most of the abovementioned studies focus solely on Cognitive Metaphors –with the exception of Santa Ana's. Although, since both tropes are highly connected, these serve as a basis for the development of a CMs identification procedure that will work as a checklist in order to speed up the process, useful when analyzing large corpora (Pragglejaz Group 2007; Steen et al. 2010a; 2010b; Steen 2011).

The first step of the Procedure is to read the text and individualize the metonymical Lexical Units (LUs): a word or group of words, syntagmatic combinations, idioms, and institutionalized expressions that, in turn, trigger the conceptualization.

The second step focuses on establishing the differences, if any, between the Basic Meaning and the Meaning in Context of the lexical units -the contrast can also be of grammatical nature or transcategorization. The Basic Meaning is more concrete, related to bodily action, more precise and historically older than the Meaning in Context. This last characteristic can be useful in the case of disambiguation, since, according to the Pragglejaz Group (2007), these meanings are sometimes difficult to individualize since they are not, necessarily, the most used meaning of the LU. Both meanings will be established either through the definitions included in the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (*DLE*) (Real Academia Española 2014), the official normative online dictionary that governs the meaning and uses of the Spanish language; or by the context, when the meaning is not included in the *DLE*.

The third step, after establishing contrast between both meanings, is to check if they operate within the same functional conceptual domain and identify the pragmatic function they are connected by. If this condition is met, the lexical units will be considered metonymical and will trigger the conceptualization by mapping the asymmetrical projection onto the pragmatic function from the source to the target.

Finally, lexical and the corresponding conceptual metonymies are classified as positive, negative, or neutral, within the context of immigration, regarding the enforcement of the assessment triggered by each projection. Lexical units and conceptualizations that dehumanize and link immigrants to an idea of danger and illegality, or that reinforce the in-group versus out-group continuum (see subsection 2.1.) will be clas-

sified as negative. Whereas those metonymies that map more inclusive conceptualizations towards immigrants, by reducing the abovementioned continuum, will be classified as positive. Lastly, those metonymies classified as neutral include lexical and conceptual metonymies that are not related to immigration but trigger the second metonymy of a chain or those that indicate place of origin. Additionally, different lexical units can trigger the same CMs, and each conceptualization might present several different assessments, depending on the assessment of the different LUs that trigger the conceptualization (see examples in subsections 4.1 to 4.3).

Also, it is important to mention that all examples will be translated into English, for the reader to grasp a better idea of the content. However, note that in several cases, the translated text will not reflect the same metonymical characteristics as the original text.

3.2. Corpora

The Lexical and Conceptual Metonymy Identification Procedure was applied to two corpora of news stories published in the Spanish press: the General Corpus of news stories about immigration in the Comunidad de Madrid (C1 n=287 news stories, November 2010 & December 2011) and the Lavapiés' Corpus of news stories about immigration geolocalized in this particular area (C2 n=236 news stories, 1999-2016). Both were collected using FACTIVA, a global database containing a selection of journalistic sources, through the same extensive list of keywords related to immigration (see Saiz de Lobado 2015: 268-269). The only difference being that C2 also included the keyword *Lavapiés* to geolocalize the information; that is the reason why the time span in C2 is longer, so that both corpora contain a similar amount of news stories containing lexical and conceptual metonymies on immigration. The corpora were then scanned for metonymical LUs, and hence CMs, using WordSmith, a corpus analysis software, to find correlation, before codifying the information into variables on SPSS, a statistical data analysis software.

The Analysis of contingency tables comprised of the following variables allows for the identification of possible correlations, verified by χ^2 tests, for which a significance level of $\alpha=0.05$ has been established

Variables:
Corpus: C1/ C2.
CM: (PLACE OF) ORIGIN FOR IMMIGRANTS; SALIENT PROPERTY FOR IMMIGRANTS and the MATERIAL FOR DOCUMENTS FOR IMMIGRANTS Chain.
Assessment of the CM: Negative/ Positive/ Neutral.

The direction and intensity of the trend is determined through the analysis of the adjusted residuals, in which values beyond +/-1.96 are considered significant.

4. Analysis and Discussion

The data collected for the abovementioned variables comprises 744 unevenly distributed metonymical lexical units: 66.9 % in C1 and 32.6 % in C2. These trigger three different metonymical conceptualizations, as reflected in Table 1. The conceptualization that presents the highest frequency is ORIGIN FOR IMMIGRANTS, and the most common assessment is neutral, contrary to the results of previous studies.

			Conceptual Metonymies			
			NATIONALITY/ PLACE OF ORIGIN FOR IMMIGRANTS	SALIENT PROPERTY FOR IMMIGRANTS	MATERIAL FOR DOCUMENTS FOR IMMIGRANTS Chain	Total
C1		Negative	0	31	27	58
	CM Assessment	Neutral	291	90	35	416
		Positive	0	17	0	17
	Total Count		291	138	62	491
C2		Negative	0	35	3	38
	CM Assessment	Neutral	144	5	6	155
		Positive	0	60	0	253
	Total count		144	100	9	253
Total Count		Negative	0	66	30	96
	CM Assessment	Neutral	435	95	41	571
		Positive	0	77	0	77
	Total count		435	238	71	744

Table 1. *Dependencies between Assessments and CMs by Corpora*

Even though most metonymies found in these corpora fit the PART-WHOLE metonymic relationship, the conceptualizations have been further grouped, according to their intrinsic lexical and conceptual singularities, as explained in the next subsections.

Another key feature in the metonymizing process is transcategoriza-
tion, or the "transformation of a word from one grammatical form to
another", since it "often illuminate(s) the underlying cognitive process-
es, social relationships, and cultural assumptions" (Ritchie 2009: 247).
In this case, the transformations affect adjectives behaving as nouns,
therefore imposing a partial perspective (Lakoff 1993) between concep-
tual domains.

4.1. Material for documents for immigrants Chain

This CM is a chain that accounts for 9.5 % of the overall results and is the
result of two different conceptualizations that are interrelated. The first
metonymical conceptualization within the chain, MATERIAL FOR DOCU-
MENTS is the only metonymy in both corpora that does not directly refer
to immigrants and accounts for 57.7 % of the overall conceptualization.
This metonymy is unique in that it triggers the conceptualization DOCU-
MENTS FOR IMMIGRANTS, comprising 42.2 % of this CM –see Example 1.
Both CMs are intertwined at linguistic and conceptual levels: the first
metonymy triggers the second, thus conforming a metonymical chain or
"metonymies regularly occurring at the same or different analytical levels
in the same utterance" (Barcelona, 2005: 316). Hence stressing the idea of
more complex mappings triggered by more basic ones (Hilpert 2007).

(1)　"Como muchas otras embarazadas de Arizona que no tienen
papeles (...)" (C1, "El País", 2011). Such as other pregnant
women from Arizona who are *undocumented* (…)]
Lexical Unit: *Papeles* [papers], noun.
Basic Meaning: "Hoja delgada hecha con pasta de fibras vege-
tales obtenidas de trapos, madera, paja, etc., molidas, blan-
queadas y desleídas en agua, que se hace secar y endurecer por
procedimientos especiales" [Thin sheet obtained from vegetable
fibers from cloths, wood, hay, etc. grinded, whitened, and dis-
solved in water, then dried and hardened by special procedures].
Meaning in Context: "Documentos con que se acreditan las
circunstancias personales de alguien" [Documents that are
proof of identity].

This LU organizes an entire category through an attribute of the
subcategory, since the contrast between both meanings triggers an
asymmetrical projection between the material –traditionally, documents
are made of paper- and the documents that allow foreigners to reside in
the host country, thus mapping the neutral conceptualization MATERIAL
FOR DOCUMENTS (Saiz de Lobado 2015).

When the LU *sin papeles* transcategorizes its grammatical function from an adjective phrase into a noun phrase, the previous conceptualization triggers a new conceptual metonymy: LACK OF DOCUMENTS FOR IMMIGRANTS, as seen in Example 2.

(2) "El Gobierno regularizará a los *sin papeles* con hijos españoles menores" (C1, "20 Minutos", 2011). [The government will legalize *undocumented* who have Spanish minor children].

Both lexical units share the same Basic Meaning, although the Meaning in Context differs slightly: in the current mapping, the conceptualization refers to people, not documents. Therefore, highlighting a group of people by a salient category (LACK OF) DOCUMENTS FOR IMMIGRANTS. This lexical and conceptual metonymy -identified by Concepción Sepúlveda et al. (2008); Kressova and her team (2010); Nash (2005) and Rodríguez and Mena (2008)- is always assessed negatively.

The LU *indocumentados* also triggers this second conceptualization (LACK OF) DOCUMENTS FOR IMMIGRANTS, as reflected in Example 3.

(3) "Se teme que en poco tiempo se llegue a 15.000 *indocumentados*" (C1,"Abc", 2011). [There is concern that shortly the number will reach 15,000 *undocumented*].

This lexical unit behaves similarly to the previous one; it also presents a transcategorization of the LU, a salient attribute that the target imposes on the source, the lack of documents (Santamaría, 2002: 121), as representative of the entire category. In addition, the difference in repetitions of the second conceptualization in each corpus is the result of a higher number of paraphrases in the discourse associated to the immigrant's situation regarding his/her paperwork –such as "inmigrante sin documentación en regla" [immigrant without legal paperwork] (C2, "Abc", 2011). Such strategy that allows for a less biased conceptualization of the actors involved in the migration process (Revilla 2011; Saiz de Lobado 2015).

4.2. Salient property for immigrants

This conceptualization is triggered by numerous LUs: n=23 in C1 and n=18 in C2, and accounts for approximately 32% of the total lexical and CMs in both corpora. An example of a LU that triggers a negative assessment of the current conceptualization is *ilegal* (Example 4), an adjective functioning as a noun:

(4) "Emergencia por la llegada de 4000 *ilegales* tunecinos" (C1,

"Abc", 2011). [Emergency due to the arrival of 4,000 *illegal* Tunisians]
Lexical Unit: *Ilegales*, adjective transcategorized as a noun.
Basic Meaning: "Que es contra ley" [That is against the law].
Meaning in Context: Inmigrantes en situación ilegal [Immigrants who are in an illegal situation].

Both meanings contrast and an entire category of people is conceptualized through the salient property of illegality. Previous studies that have already individualized this conceptualization (Charteris-Black 2006; Concepción Sepúlveda et al. 2008; Nash 2005; Kressova et al. 2010; Rodríguez and Mena 2008) have reported how these "false and dehumanizing conceptualizations" (Santa Ana 1999: 218) can affect the social cognition or perception on this topic by linking it to an idea of danger, according to the same authors. The highest percentage of Negative Assessments within this conceptualization, 37.8 %, are contained in C1. C2, on the other hand, presents 25.2 % Positive Assessments within this metonymy, such as Example 5:

(5)   "(…) la Ley de Extranjería 'que lleva 14 años expulsando a nuestros *vecinos*'" (C2, "El Mundo", 1998). [Spanish immigration law has been 'deporting our *neighbors* for over 14 years'].
Lexical Unit: *Vecinos*, transcategorization of adjective acting as a noun.
Basic Meaning: "Que habita con otros en un mismo pueblo, barrio o casa, en vivienda independiente" [That lives with others in the same village, neighborhood, or building, in a separate home].
Meaning in Context: Immigrants who live in the same neighborhood.

The contrast between both meanings maps an asymmetrical positive projection based on an inclusive salient characteristic of immigrants, not only the fact that they share a common space with the locals, but also, in this case, it is reinforced by the deixis *nuestros*, which denotes possession and changes the negative in-group versus out-group continuum into a more inclusive conceptualization. Hence resulting into the positive conceptualization SALIENT PROPERTY FOR IMMIGRANTS is. This Meaning in Context is linked to the metaphors THE HOST COUNTRY IS A SHELTER OR HOUSE (THAT REQUIRES PERMISSION TO ACCESS), and THE COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER, which is usually full and to which immigrants have limited access (Ruiz 2014; Charteris-Black 2006).

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This previous case contrasts with other not so inclusive examples, from a critical discourse perspective, Example 6, in which punctuation excludes immigrants from the in-group:

(6)　"Turistas, inmigrantes, vecinos..." (C2, "El País", 2016). [Tourists, immigrants, neighbors…].

Within this CM, C1 contains 38 % of Neutral Assessments, the highest percentage of occurrences. Example 7 depicts a very culturally bound LU only used in the Iberian variety of Spanish.

(7)　"Como soy del norte, o más bien *guiri*, no sé si el PP me clasifi-ca como inmigrante, ni sé si les molesto con mis costumbres no-españolas" (C2, "El País", 2008). [Since I come from the North, I am a *guiri*, I don't know if the PP classifies me as an immigrant or if I bother them with my non-Spanish ways]
Lexical Unit: *Guiri*, noun.
Basic Meaning: "En las guerras civiles del siglo XIX, partidario de la reina Cristina. Era u.t. para designar a los liberales, y en especial a los soldados del Gobierno. Del vasco guiristinos (cristinos)" [In the 19th century civil wars, supporters of Cristina. Used as well to design liberals, particularly govern-ment soldiers. From the Basque guiristinos (cristinos)].
Meaning in Context: "turista extranjero" [foreign tourist].

This LU projects the name of Queen María Cristina onto her support-ers, thus creating a neologism through a wordplay that, in turn, comes from adapting the shortened form of a non-Castilian word. Originally, it project-ed the conceptualization SALIENT PROPERTY FOR GROUP OF PEOPLE. With time, this metonymy evolved, although the process is still a mystery, and in the 1970s transferred to a particular type of foreign tourists (Monfort 2013). Historically, the term might have been related with the Queen herself, who was Italian, or to the fact that most of her supporters in the Civil War spoke Basque and hence were foreignized by the Castilians.
Monfort (2013: 147–148) explains that this term characterizes for-eign European-descendant tourists and excludes those Europeans that come from countries outside the EU-15. This, in turn, translates into a series of advantages not shared by the rest of the foreign population – for instance, by those from Latin America, despite having more cultur-al and linguistic traits in common with Spaniards. This distinction or projection, in the way the host population refers to a particular group of immigrants, translates into a continuum linked to the degree of desir-ability of alterity: from *ilegales* to *guiris*.

4.3. Origin for immigrants

This CM accounts for highest percentage of occurrences in both corpora: 58 % overall, as Example 8 depicts.

(8)   "En Lavapiés (Madrid) conviven personas de al menos ocho o diez culturas distintas: chinos y españoles (payos y gitanos), árabes e *iberoamericanos*, bengalíes y africanos…" (C2, "El País", 2003). [In Lavapiés (Madrid) people from at least eight to ten different cultures live together: Chinese and Spanish (non-Gypsies and Gypsies), Arabs, *Ibero-Americans*, Bangladeshis and Africans…]
LU: *Ibero-Americanos*, adjective transcategorized as a noun.
Basic Meaning: Natural de Iberoamérica, conjunto de los países americanos que formaron parte de los reinos de España y Portugal. [Natural from Ibero-America, the ensemble of American countries that once were part of the Portuguese and Spanish Kingdoms].

In all these cases, and due to the grammatical transcategorization of the LU, the Basic Meaning projects the origin as the salient attribute into the contextual meaning, resulting in a neutral conceptualization (PLACE OF ORIGIN) FOR INMIGRANTS. Notwithstanding, the UNESCO warns of the ethical issues of including the origin, race, or religion of the main actors of the news (Revilla 2011), unless it facilitates the general understanding of the information contained in the story, such as the previous example.

Once more, paraphrasing seems to be the strategy preferred in C2 (Example 9):

(9)   "Su nombre es Rommy Arce Legua, es *de origen* peruano, *proveniente de* Lima" (C2, "Intereconomía", 2015). [Her name is Rommy Arce Legua, of Peruvian origin, from Lima]

4.4. Inferential Analysis

After describing the observed results in terms of metonymical LUs and CMs and codifying the variables described in section 3.2, a chi-squared test of independence confirmed a significant relationship between the variables, χ^2 (2, N = 744) = 79.48 p <.001. The contingency table (Table 2) of the variables Corpora and Assessment of the CMs show the strongest positive correlations between C1 and Neutral Assessment (adjusted residual value = 7.2) and C2 and Positive Assessment (adjusted residual value= 8.6).

		Assessment of the CMs			Total
		Negative	Neutral	Positive	
Corpus C1	Count	58	416	17	491
	Adjusted Residuals	-1.2	7.2	-8.6	
Corpus C2	Count	38	155	60	253
	Adjusted Residuals	1.2	-7.2	8.6	
	Total Count	96	571	77	744

Table 2. *Adjusted Residuals: Corpora and Assessment of CMs*

In order to explore similarities and differences between corpora, contingencies between the variables Conceptualizations and the Assessment of the CMs were examined within C1 (Table 3) and C2 (Table 4) respectively. A Fisher-Freeman-Halton exact test on the variables Conceptualization and Assessment of CMs solely for C1 reveals several significant correlations (N = 491) p <.001. Namely, between MATERIAL FOR DOCUMENTS FOR IMMIGRANTS Chain and Negative Assessment (adjusted residual value = 8.3), between the conceptual metonymy SALIENT PROPERTY FOR IMMIGRANTS and both Positive Assessment (adjusted residual value = 6.7) and Negative Assessment of the CMs (adjusted residual value = 4.6) and, finally, the conceptual metonymy ORIGIN FOR IMMIGRANTS and the Neutral Assessment (adjusted residual value = 11.3). This last correlation was unsurprisingly the most significant, given that 100% of the cases present Neutral Assessments for this CM, as can be observed in Table 3.

		Assessment of the CMs			Total
		Negative	Neutral	Positive	
NATIONALITY/PLACE OF ORIGIN FOR IMMIGRANTS	Count	0	291	0	291
	Adjusted Residuals	-9.8	11.3	-5.1	
SALIENT PROPERTY FOR IMMIGRANTS	Count	31	90	17	138
	Adjusted Residuals	4.6	-7.5	6.7	
MATERIAL FOR DOCUMENTS FOR IMMIGRANTS Chain	Count	27	35	0	62
	Adjusted Residuals	8.3	-6.6	-1.6	
	Total Count	58	416	17	491

Table 3. *Adjusted Residuals: CMs and Assessment within C1*

The contingency table and the corresponding exact test calculated for the cases contained in C2, between the variables Conceptualization and Assessment, shows strong positive correlations (N = 253) p < .001,

between SALIENT PROPERTY FOR IMMIGRANTS and both Positive (adjusted residuals value = 11.0) and Negative Assessments (adjusted residuals value = 7.2), as shown in Table 4. Just as in C1, the Conceptualization ORIGIN FOR IMMIGRANTS received only Neutral Assessments (adjusted residuals value= 14.5).

			Assessment of the CMs			Total
			Negative	Neutral	Positive	
CMs	NATIONALITY/ PLACE OF ORIGIN FOR IMMIGRANTS	Count	0	291	0	144
		Adjusted Residuals	-7.7	14.5	-10.2	
	SALIENT PROPERTY FOR IMMIGRANTS	Count	35	5	60	100
		Adjusted Residuals	4.6	-7.5	11.0	
	MATERIAL FOR DOCUMENTS FOR IMMIGRANTS CHAIN	Count	3	6	0	9
		Adjusted Residuals	1.6	0.3	-1.7	
		Total Count	38	155	60	253

Table 4. *Adjusted Residuals: CMs and Assessment within C2*

5. Conclusions

As stated in the objectives section, the purpose of this paper is to unveil the underlying discourse on immigration contained in the press, through the analysis of metonymies -from a Sociocognitive CDA perspective- triggered by the lexical units that act as synonyms for *immigrants*, the main actors of the immigration process. The data, codified into variables to conduct the inferential analysis and find possible correlations between the variables, have unveiled that, at a metonymical level, the discourse contained in C1 shows the highest correlations with neutral lexical and conceptual metonymies, and C2 with positive ones. The same trend applies when analyzing each corpus individually, although it presents some particularities, such as the strong correlation between (LACK OF) DOCUMENTS FOR PEOPLE and negative assessments; most lexical and conceptual metonymies present a higher correlation with positive and neutral assessments.

Both corpora present parallel conceptual metonymies within the discourse on immigration, which makes sense since they both reflect similar constructs. However, it is important to say that, although they both contain a similar number of news stories, the second one presents almost half the number of occurrences contained in the first corpus. The

main reason for this, as seen in the previous section, is that paraphrasing seems to be more common in C2, particularly regarding the conceptualizations ORIGIN FOR IMMIGRANTS and (LACK OF) DOCUMENTS FOR IMMIGRANTS, which, in turn, facilitates a better understanding of the topic at hand, and could help prevent, especially regarding the second conceptualization, stereotypes that conceptually link a group of people to mere paperwork or illegality. Hence, from a CDA perspective, one could argue that, within the general non-negative trend of conceptualizations, and due to both the results of the contingency tables and the use of paraphrases, the geolocalized corpus seems to be more inclusive towards this phenomenon, probably due to the fact that Lavapiés hosts a high percentage of immigrants and the space functions as a meeting ground or diasporic territory (Moustaoui Srhir 2018).

The second objective or the development of a well-defined linguistic methodology that can be applied to large corpora, the Lexical and Conceptual Metonymy Identification Procedure in the Press Discourse on Immigration, has been fulfilled, based on the revision of a previous procedure (Saiz de Lobado 2015); where steps 3 and 4 have been revisited in this new procedure to obtain a higher degree of objectivity.

Furthermore, through the analysis, we have found data that support that chains are not only present within one conceptualization, such as the document-immigrant mapping, but can also be present across tropes, proving how intrinsically linked metaphorical and metonymical conceptualizations can be. At lexical and hence semantic levels, transcategorization has played a key role in metonymizing LUs.

The novelty of this paper resides in the contrastive analysis between both corpora; as well as the results that show how C2 presents less metonymical lexical units regarding immigration, since paraphrasing is preferred to explain an already complex reality. These examples indicate, that using language shortcuts to convey information, in this case in the form of conceptual metonymies –by the press, as a reflection of the use by the general population–, within the sociocognitive discursive paradigm, present the risk of only portraying one salient asymmetrical projection; hence paraphrasing and not using reductionist techniques, would be much preferred. Also, the fact that C2 contains more metonymies with a positive assessment might be due to several facts: on one hand, a sign of the fact that, since the immigrant population is higher in Lavapiés, news stories will be more inclusive. However, on the other hand, these results might not necessarily be related to a higher level of socio cognitive and discursive inclusion, but rather, a guided strategy to portray the image of "desirable diversity" (Blockland and van Eijk 2010: 316). Future lines of research could focus on how immigration might be portrayed differently, both at sociocognitive and dis-

cursive levels, depending on the geographical areas they reside in, and what are the variables that might turn certain groups desirable. This, in turn, connected to the gentrification and touristification processes, with all the potential alterations that affect the general social structure of the area (Grier and Perry 2018: 30).

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