

'Global metaphors'? On metaphors of European integration in Polish, English and French

Marta Falkowska

1. Introduction

The paper explores selected metaphors of European integration in Polish, English and French media discourse. The term 'global metaphors' has been introduced in the title to underline the fact that European diplomacy and politics are being described in similar metaphorical terms in the three languages, i.e. metaphors used to speak about them in press discourse make use of similar source domains. Consequently, this notion is used in the paper to refer to the metaphorical images which are employed by speakers of different social and linguistic backgrounds to describe the same political, cultural and economic phenomena.

A more detailed analysis (especially a quantitative one, concerning the frequency of various images) would undoubtedly show specific discrepancies between the three languages, as well as preferences for a certain aspect of imagery within each one. However, in the following analysis I will mainly concentrate on general similarities in the metaphorical images across cultures, and some hypotheses will be formed to explain the possible reasons for such correspondence of representations. It is worth noting that the phenomenon described is not entirely new, and recurrence of similar metaphors rendering certain political concepts has been observed in journalistic discourse in various European countries for some time. However, it may be claimed that the ongoing political events, in particular European integration, as well as the growing degree of internationalization of the language of the media discourse, create a particularly homogenous socio-political reality, which may contribute to cross-linguistic pervasiveness of the relevant metaphors. I will try to provide a possible explanation of the phenomenon of the omnipresence of metaphors in political discourse in all the three

languages, and examine what makes particular source domains so productive in describing the reality of European integration.

In this paper, metaphor is approached from the cognitive point of view, i.e. it is considered to play a crucial role in the process of conceptualization, to form the basis of our everyday thinking and, consequently, of expressing thoughts and of communicating. Accordingly, for cognitive linguists the metaphor is not a type of literary and rhetorical trope, or a deviation from the grammatical rules of a language (Taylor 1995: 132-143). Instead, it is a basic part of "our conceptual system in terms of which we both think and act" (Lakoff – Johnson 1980: 3). Constitution of a metaphor consists in mapping across domains: the source domain is projected onto the target domain (Croft 1993). Importantly, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) observe that metaphors are coherent with the cultural context and with the axiology of a given speech community, and that they form complex systems of images, based on entailment relationships between particular metaphors (Lakoff – Johnson 1980: 7-9).

The paper presents selected examples of metaphors, with the target domain being European integration. The linguistic material was collected from 20th May to 20th June 2004. The boundaries of this period have been established strategically, as covering the electoral campaign and elections to the European Parliament, which involved all the three countries in question: France, Great Britain and Poland. Co-experience of the same political context results in similarity of its press coverage, which therefore guarantees a fairly objective and reliable source material for comparison. The texts quoted in the paper have been excerpted from the following sources: *The Times* [T], *Le Monde* [LM] and *Gazeta Wyborcza* [GW].

2. Source domain: WAR

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) begin their study devoted to the role of metaphors in conceptualization and communication with the example of the metaphorical scheme ARGUMENT is WAR (Lakoff – Johnson 1980: 4). The source domain of WAR or FIGHT can also be encountered in

multiple contexts in political discourse, and one could safely say that the language of politics is indeed a language of war (Zieliński 2000). This phenomenon is already evident in the names of political parties, which frequently contain a reference to WAR, e.g., French *Front National* 'National Front', *Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire* 'Revolutionary Communist League', or *Lutte Ouvrière* 'Workers' Struggle', as well as Polish *Samobrona* 'Self-Defence' or *Liga Polskich Rodzin* 'League of Polish Families'.

The first metaphorical image to be analysed is therefore ELECTIONS are WAR, where two separate cases can be distinguished with regard to the participants (opponents). The first involves the fight which goes on between the parties or individual candidates, the second refers to war between the voters and the candidates.

2.1. ELECTIONS are WAR (sub-scheme 1)

Elections are referred to as 'battles' or 'campaigns' in all the three languages, see e.g. (1), (5), (7), and (8). The opposing parties are described as 'camps', as in (1). The people who elaborate a plan of the campaign (called 'strategy' or 'tactics') are often called 'strategists' or 'tacticians', being compared to generals giving orders during a military action, as is the case of (2), (3) and (6).

- (1) The 'no' camp will steal a march in the battle over the EU Constitution by launching a referendum campaign. The campaign, to be called 'Vote NO', has already (...) drawn up its basic referendum strategy. [T 21/05/04: 12]
- (2) The US political strategist told UKIP candidates how to make maximum impact in the European elections. His orders were simple... [T 3/06/04: 12]
- (3) Mr Blair dismisses Mr Howard as a short-term tactician, not a strategist. [T 6/06/04: 20]

- (4) "Une erreur de *stratégie*" que les chefs de l'UMP admettent aujourd'hui ouvertement et cherchent à rectifier en menant *cette fois un combat national*. [LM 28/05/04: 7]
[An error of *strategy* that the leaders of the UMP admit now and that they are trying to make up for by conducting a *national fight*.]
- (5) *En Irlande, Jean-Pierre Raffarin lance sa campagne des élections européennes*. [LM 26/05/04: 9]
[In Ireland Jean-Pierre Raffarin *begins his campaign* for the European elections.]
- (6) Il [H.G.Pöttering] est en cela *fidèle à une tactique éprouvée par la droite allemande en Bavière*. [LM 9/06/04: 2]
[He (H.G.Pöttering) is faithful to the *tactics* tried out by German right-wing parties in Bavaria.]
- (7) *Cette bataille est peut-être pour lui [Alain Juppé] la dernière, mais il s'efforce de ne rien montrer (...)* "Nous *combatoons* le délire *fédéraliste*." [LM 8/06/04: 10]
[This *battle* may be his (Alain Juppé) last one, but he tries not to show it. (...)] "We are *fighting* against the federalist craze."
- (8) *Kampania* była niewidoczna, czasem brkawtdo nawet informacji, gdzie się *głosuje*. [GW 14/06/04]
[The *campaign* was invisible, sometimes even information about where one is supposed to be voting was missing.]

Some of the examples are interesting because they make use of a more sophisticated network of connotations. In (9), for instance, the word *croisade* 'crusade' alludes to the religious roots of the anti-EU attitude of the Polish parties *Liga Polskich Rodzin* 'League of Polish Families' and *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* 'Law and Justice', and also to the type of political discourse that these parties tend to use.

- (9) *Parce qu'en termes de croisade anti-UE, Jarosław Kaczyński ne pourra faire mieux que les ultracatholiques de la Ligue des familles polonaises*. [LM 9/06/04: 2]
[Because in terms of anti-EU *crusade* Jarosław Kaczyński could not achieve more than the ultra-Catholics of the *League of Polish Families*.]

There are also examples where a reference is made to a particular moment in history, usually to a battle which is widely known and which may constitute a sort of a national prototype of fighting, as in examples (10), (11) and (12). Example (12) is particularly interesting for its reference to two meanings of the word *kampania* 'campaign': as a sequence of battles and other military operations during a particular war, and as a series of actions performed in order to achieve a particular political or economic objective. The former sense is also highlighted in several lexical items alluding to the same notional field (*wróg* 'enemy', *bojowość* 'fighting spirit', *czujność* 'vigilance').

- (10) Paul Sykes, a Yorkshire property tycoon who sees the elections as Britain's "*Battle of Waterloo*" against Brussels... [T 3/06/04: 12]
- (11) *Poza tym, jeśli niektórym kandydatom myli się Parlament Europejski z bitwą pod Grunwaldem, to i wybory mogą być zdeorientowani*. [GW 14/06/04]
[Besides if some of the candidates mistake the European Parliament for the *battle of Grunwald*, no wonder the voters may be confused.]
- (12) *Kampania* czerwcową. *Napoleońska, wrzesniową, burzącą...*
Wśród tych właśnie pojęć jest miejsce i dla "kampanii wyborczej" 2004 – ze względu na jej bojowość, czujność wobec wroga i poczucie własnej wartości komitetów. Pierwszym spotem był program Platformy Obywatelskiej, która rzuciła hasło do boju. Kiedy w konturach Polski pojawili się Tusk z Giłowską, usłyszałem melodię "Do boju, Polsko...". [GW 08/06/04]

[The campaign of June. Napoleon's campaign, the campaign of September, sugar-beet harvest campaign... Electoral campaign of 2004 finds its place among these notions because of its fighting spirit, vigilance towards the enemy and self-confidence of the committees. The first TV ad was that of Civil Platform's who gave the signal to attack. When Tusk and Gilowska appeared with a map of Poland in the background, I heard the tune "Go Poland!"]

Those who hold the same opinions as far as European issues are concerned are *allies*:

- (13) British MEPs (...) called for a change in the rules to prevent the creation of pan-European alliance of racist parties. [T 3/06/04: 18]
- (14) The Chancellor has told his allies to hold fire. [T 12/06/04: 19]
- (15) *En Europe, pour tout projet, il faut des allies*. [LM 11/06/04: 8]
[In Europe for every project one needs to have allies.]
- (16) *Deputowani z nowych państw będą musieli się wpisać w te alianse, bo w przeciwnym razie wiele nie zdziałają*. [GW 14/06/04]
[The MEPs from the new countries would have to join these alliances, otherwise they will not achieve much.]

The ways of fighting can be specified and the arms mentioned, referring to a broad range of warfare: suicide attacks in (17), scalping and beheading in (18), hand-to-hand combat in (19), chivalry in (20) and hired armed force in (21).

- (17) What was described as a "pilot project" [postal ballots] became a kamikaze exercise. [T 11/06/04]
- (18) The Lib Dems believe they have a chance of more scalps in the North East. (...) The Lib Dem campaign aimed to "decapitate" Labour. [T 12/06/04: 22]

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- (19) *Il ne faut pas mettre un couteau sous la gorge des Britanniques*. [LM 30-31/05/04: 5]
[One must not put a knife on the throat of the Britons.]

- (20) *La promesse du premier ministre d'un référendum sur la Constitution de l'UE a privé les conservateurs de leur principal cheval de bataille*. [LM 11/06/04: 2]
[The promise of referendum on the European Constitution, made by the Prime Minister, deprived the conservatives of their principal battle horse.]

- (21) *Teoretycznie największe kłopoty mogą być z ludźmi w krawatach organizacyjnych. Ale ci z nich, którzy startują do europarlamentu, to zespół zaciężny*. [GW 13/06/04]
[Theoretically the most problematic people are the ones wearing their parties' ties. But those who start for the European Parliament are more a unit of mercenaries.]

However, in many cases the arms are not specified and the text only refers to such notions as *threatening* (and killing) in (22) or fighting in (23) and (24). In addition, in (22) the word *kill-joy* is used as a rhyming play on words with the surname of one of the candidates.

- (22) Kilroy is threatening to be Michael Howard's "kill-joy". [T 3/06/04: 12]

- (23) In virtually no countries are the European elections being fought on European issues. [T 10/06/04: 10]

- (24) *W poniedziałek zaprosiliśmy do naszej redakcji kandydatów najważniejszych ugrupowań, które w najbliższą niedzielę walcząć będą w okręgu warszawskim o mandaty w europarlamencie*. [GW 09/06/04]
[On Monday we invited to our editorial office the candidates of the principal parties who next Sunday will be fighting in Warsaw for mandates in the European Parliament.]

Elections are often described in terms of a conquest of a country, during which some towns are lost, as in (25), and others won, as in (26):

(25) Apart from the loss of Newcastle, the worst defeats for Labour included Leeds and Cardiff. [T 12/06/04: 1]

(26) Tories gain ground but not enough to conquer the country. (...) In particular he [M. Howard] hailed regaining Trafford from Labour, one of their former strongholds, as a significant breakthrough. [T 12/06/04: 20]

The result of the war makes a distinction into the winning party or candidate and those who lost. The former become *defeated*, as in (27), or *victims* and *casualties*, as in (28), whereas the latter are winners, as in (29) or (30).

(27) fears grew that **defeated candidates** will ask judges to overturn the results. [T 11/06/04: 11]

(28) If the **short-term victims** of any advance by UKIP are Mr Howard's Tories, the most serious **casualty** could be the Government's European policy. [T 2/06/04: 30]

(29) *Pour l'heure, le président de l'UDF veut savourer sa victoire.* [LM 15/06/04: 5]
[For the time being, the leader of the UDF wants to relish his victory.]

(30) *Wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego wygraly partie opozycji.* [GW 13/06/04]
[The parties of the opposition **won** the elections to the European Parliament.]

It seems that the metaphor ELECTIONS are WAR in its first context, i.e. war between candidates and their parties, is very common in all the three languages. The above-presented examples confirm that in

Polish, English and French journal discourse the electoral competition between parties is similarly described in terms of fighting.

2.2. ELECTIONS are WAR (sub-scheme 2)

The second realization of the metaphorical image of WAR is a war between the voters and the candidates (parties). It is worth analysing separately from the previous one, since the participants in the metaphorical situation of war are different in the two cases. Moreover, the above-described sub-scheme (war between politicians) seems to be more embedded in our way of thinking about politics, probably because it is more common in political discourse and coherent with the metaphor ARGUMENT is WAR. The second case is somewhat of a paradoxical character. Elections, which are normally perceived as an instrument of power possessed by society (voters), and as a means of influencing the socio-political reality of a country, are here referred to rather as a means of punishing the politicians. They are seen more as a fight between the voters and the candidates than as a process of their peaceful co-operation in a democratic system. The occurrence of such images enables us to learn a lot also about the extra-linguistic reality in which voters are not satisfied with governments and treat the elections as a way of signalling their discontent.

Accordingly, elections provide an occasion for voters to fight with the politicians and to punish those in power. Most explicit are the images represented in the English texts, referring to physical punishment: *kicking* in (31) and (32), *slapping* in (33) and *receiving a blow* in (34).

(31) Voters **give Labour a kicking**. Labour conceded that it had been given "a kicking". (...) "I'm not saying we haven't had a kicking". [T 12/06/04: 1]

(32) People vote quite differently in these contests, as they are a **costless excuse to have a kick at politicians**. [T 11/06/04: 24]

- (33) Voters have given him [Tony Blair] a slap in the face [T 12/06/04: 19]

- (34) In Britain, the Opposition leader, Mr Howard, was the main victim. (...) The Prime Minister suffered another serious blow. [T 14/06/04: 11]

By contrast, in the Polish texts references to punishment are not straightforward, being usually integrated in the metaphors highlighting the candidates' defeat, as in (35).

- (35) *Europa: porażki rządzących, niska frekwencja* [GW 14/06/04]
[Europe: governments' defeats, little turnout]

A similar strategy is applied in an excerpt from a French article in (36), where the voters are referred to as those who 'punish their governments'. As far as the French texts are concerned, punishing the politicians may additionally be performed by means of *vote-sanction* 'vote of sanction', as presented in (37).

- (36) *Les électeurs européens s'abstiennent ou punissent leur dirigeants*. [LM 15/0604: 2]
[The European voters abstain or punish their governments.]

- (37) *Le mot d'ordre de vote-sanction ne sera pas de mise pour les élections européennes du 13 juin*. [LM 26/05/04: 9]
[The slogan of vote of sanction will not be used during elections on 13 June.]

The most violent imagery has been applied in one of the English texts, as shown in (38), where elections are represented as *a spectacular democratic rebellion, revolt and a voter backlash*:

- (38) Voters across Europe have staged a spectacular democratic rebellion, rejecting their national governments. (...) The revolt was so large that last night some heads of governments were

On metaphors of European integration in Polish, English and French considering their position. Silvio Berlusconi was thought to have suffered a voter backlash. [T 14/06/04: 12]

Finally, an interesting case is example (39), due to the use of a blended metaphor ELECTIONS are A SPORT COMPETITION (analysed in section 4) and ELECTIONS are WAR, highlighting the element of punishment.

- (39) *wyborcy, którzy pofatygują się do urn, skorzystają z okazji, by pokazać rządowi w Berlinie żółty kartkę za bolesne, po części nieudane lub niejasne reformy społeczne i za kiepski stan gospodarki*. [GW 13/06/04]
[the voters who will take pains to go to the polling stations will take the chance to give to the government in Berlin a yellow card for the painful, partly unsuccessful or unclear social reforms and for the bad state of economy.]

In the first place a reference is made to the source domain of SPORT, and more specifically to football, which indirectly articulates the idea of punishing somebody. Here, 'giving somebody a yellow card' refers to a situation in which a football player has violated the rules, and thus obtains the yellow card, i.e. a warning before more serious sanctions are used. We may presume that the results of elections are supposed to play the same role, with the aim of influencing the politics of the government to make it more suited to people's needs.

3. Source domain: COMMUNICATION

The source domain of COMMUNICATION may be described with reference to many sub-schemes, among which the notion of *conduit metaphor* (Reddy 1979) is especially relevant. By analysing the ways (1979) comes to the conclusion that communicating is most often perceived in terms of sending and receiving objects in containers. Empirical research has proven that the conduit metaphor, originally

elaborated by Reddy (1979) and later commented on by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 10-13), is productive not only in English, but also in many other languages.

Since my analysis aims only to show how the domain of elections is described by the use of other domains, I will use the general term 'communication' throughout this section, without discussing the more specific aspects of this notion, which is in itself complex and worth analysing separately.

3.1. ELECTIONS are COMMUNICATION

Elections to the European Parliament are conceived of as a process of communication between the voters and the candidates. Both sides send and receive messages (see 40-45). The voters' messages are the results of elections, as highlighted especially in (41)-(45).

(40) Mr Blair and Mr Howard (...) All they need to do is listen. [T 2/06/04: 20]

(41) Christine McCafferty (...) said that voters had sent a clear message. [T12/06/04: 1]

(42) *Le message du 13 juin doit toutefois être complété.* [LM 3/06/04: 8]
[The message of 13 June should, however, be completed.]

(43) *Phillippe de Villiers considère que cette élection constitue "une adresse au président de la République."* [LM 15/06/04: 5]
[Phillippe de Villiers thinks that the elections constitute "an appeal to the president of the Republic."]

(44) *Aujourd'hui, il [J. Chirac] devrait écouter ce que disent les électeurs.* [LM 15/06/04: 6]
[Today, he (J. Chirac) should listen to what the voters are saying.]

(45) *Après ce message encore plus clair des Français, dir-il, Jean-Pierre Raffarin doit se démettre.* [LM 15/06/04: 6]
[After this even clearer message of the French, he says, Jean-Pierre Raffarin should resign.]

The voters, while casting votes, express their views and opinions about particular parties and candidates. The results of ballots therefore constitute a 'message' sent to the politicians, as shown in (40), (41) and (43), indicating whether the voters wish the party was in power (especially in 45). As far as the politicians are concerned, their obligation is to listen to the message and take it into account (40 and 44). In this respect, it is also worth noting the polysemy of the French word *voix* and the Polish *głos*: they not only constitute the equivalents of the English 'vote', but can also mean 'voice', which is again a reference to the domain of communication, as is the case of such phrases as *brzmienie głosu / le timbre de la voix* 'the tone, timbre of voice' or *oddać głos na kogoś / donner sa voix à quelqu'un* 'to cast a vote for somebody'.

On the other hand, the political programme of a given party may also be perceived as a message, or address, to society (46 and 47), which in (46) appears in the collocation with the verb *get across* and in (47) with the verb *spread*.

(46) Critics of Mr Ancram say he failed to get that message across. [T 3/06/04: 12]

(47) The British National Party could get EU funding to spread its political message [T 3/06/04: 18]

Example (48) is also interesting, because the author makes a reference to the strategies in the Polish political marketing, which he evaluates from the point of view of their efficiency and their impact on the listeners.

(48) *Profesjonalne, filmowe ujęcia Kaczyńskiego, czytelne deklaracje, jasny program wyrażony przez jednego ze zwolenników – "Unia – tak, ale Polska przede wszystkim". (...) W spotach wyborczych*

doszło do pomieszczenia języków. Niewielu kandydatów mówi swoimi słowami, własnym tempem. Tych, których na to stać, zagłusza hulaśliwa większość. Większość, która mówi tak, jak wyobraża sobie, że chcą słuchać wyborcy. [GW 08/06/04]

[Professional, film-like takes of Kaczynski, legible declarations, clear programme expressed by one of the supporters – “Union – yes, but Poland in the first place.” (...) In TV ads discourses have been confounded. Few candidates speak in their own words, their own timbre. Those who will be drowned out by the noisy majority. The majority who speak as they imagine the voters would like to hear.]

Example (48) contains a reference to the Old Testament image of the Tower of Babel (cf. Book of Genesis 11, 1-9), which is paraphrased as *W spotach wyborczych doszło do pomieszczenia języków* ‘In TV ads discourses have been confounded.’ Just as the people of Babel came to speak different languages and, therefore, could not really understand one another, some of the Polish politicians cannot convey messages about their programmes to the voters.

4. Source domain: SPORT

The source domain of sport is presumably favoured to describe the political reality because of its inherent notion of competition. We could try to generalize and say that the domain of WAR is used to stress the aggression of the competition, while SPORT is alluded to in order to bring about the notion of fair play, co-operation and teamwork. In that way the use of the two source domains would show the complexity of the political reality. However, taking into account the fact that modern sport often entails aggressive fighting, it should be underlined that the generalization is not so clear-cut and that the two metaphorical images have become coherent and complementary, as has been shown in (39) above. What is much stressed today by allusions to sport are the concepts of winning and losing.

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4.1. ELECTIONS are SPORT COMPETITION

Within the source domain SPORT COMPETITION elections are most often referred to as ‘running’, which creates an image of a competition between individual candidates (examples 49-52). The differences between the results obtained by specific politicians or parties during the elections would correspond to the times achieved by the respective runners, as shown in *running third* in (51). Example (51) is also interesting due to the use of several interrelated metaphorical schemes, i.e. ‘competition’, ‘winning’, ‘road’, as well as *the door marked “Exit”*.

(49) Guy Verhofstadt, the Belgium Prime Minister, who is emerging as the *front-runner*, may not be popular with the Parliament. [T 11/06/04: 22]

(50) We reporters regale you with speculative lists of “runners and riders”. [T 20/05/04: 20]

(51) *Running third* in a three-party election points to the door marked “Exit”. [T 14/06/04: 16]

(52) *M. Bayrou veut utiliser le succès de l’UDF dans sa course à l’Élysée* [LM 15/06/04: 5]
[Mr Bayrou wants to use the success of the UDF in his run to the Palace of Élysée.]

There is also an interesting case of using the word *marathon* in (53) with reference to the three-day long elections to the European Parliament across the EU. In this case the author perceives elections as a long and tiring process.

(53) *Trzeci dzień europejszego maratonu* [title, GW 11/06/04]
[The third day of the European voting marathon]

Another sport domain exploited in this category is horse racing. Interestingly, the relevant metaphors represent the elections not only in

terms of 'running' and 'racing', but also 'betting'. The voters are likened to gamblers who may lose or win, depending on the physical condition of the horse, which corresponds to the efficiency of the parties' political programs, as illustrated in (54):

- (54) It's rather like **backing a horse** when you don't know the **form of the runners**. [T 11/06/04: 10]

However, the elections are also described with reference to other sports requiring co-operation within a team (e.g. football). Here, the focus is not so much on the competition with others as on the efficient co-operation within a 'team', i.e. a group of candidates from one party, as shown in (55-57). Simultaneously, this metaphorical image is coherent with the metaphor ELECTIONS are WAR, since in both domains – war and sport competition – references are made to the two opposite sides (teams), 'winning' (e.g. winning the match in 56) or 'losing' (*shaky first half* in 55), and the relevant and effective 'strategy' (e.g. *the game isn't over yet* in 55, *przeciwnik się polapie* 'the opponent will not be taken in' in 57).

- (55) Labour had a **shaky first half**, but the **game isn't over yet**. This is a game of **two halves**. The **first half**, the local elections, has undoubtedly been bad for Labour. The **second half** tomorrow evening, when the European elections' results are declared, could be very different. [T 12/06/04: 25]

- (56) *On peut être en situation délicate à la mi-temps et gagner le match!* [LM 15/06/04: 4]
[You may be in a difficult situation in the middle of the match and still win it!]

- (57) *SDP1 – trzynastoosobowa "jednostka". Najpierw przed telewizorem jakaś rodzina oglądała mecz, potem spiker zapytał Borowskiego, jak zagra w Europie. "Ofensywnie", odpisał marszałek i przedstawił swą kadrę. Zrobiono to tak, że na obrzeż boiska nadlatywały zdjęcia kolejnych reprezentantów, które*

przepoczwarzwały się w nazwiska i pozostawły na pola. I tu metajora obnażyła swoją słabość: "jednostka" Borowskiego okazała się trzynastoosobowa. Wystawić 13 zawodników zamiast 11 – to jest pomysł na sukces, ale boję się, że przeciwnik się polapie. [GW 08/06/04]

[SDP1 – a thirteen-player "eleven". Firstly there was a family watching a match on TV, then the announcer asked Marek Borowski how he was going to **play in Europe**. "Offensively", he responded and introduced his team. It was made in that way that photos of the **team members** appeared on the pitch, changed into names and **remained in the field**. And here the metaphor proved to be inefficient: Borowski's "eleven" appeared to be a thirteen. Taking 13 players instead of 11 – it is an idea for success but I'm afraid the **opponent will not be taken in**.]

In particular, example (57) is worth discussing in detail because of the meta-metaphorical comments made by the journalist. The author of the text makes a reference to visual aspects of one of the parties' TV advertisement during the electoral campaign. The advertisement in question made use of the concept of a 'football team', only instead of eleven players, the team consisted of thirteen candidates. The author states overtly that 'the metaphor proved to be inefficient' (*metajora obnażyła swoją słabość*), because it was missing the necessary correspondence between the domains: the source domain SPORT (FOOTBALL) (in "jednostka" Borowskiego okazała się trzynastoosobowa 'Borowski's "eleven" appeared to be a thirteen') and the target domain ELECTIONS (*przeciwnik się polapie* 'the opponent will not be taken in').

5. Source domain: ROAD, JOURNEY, VEHICLE

The source domains of ROAD, JOURNEY and VEHICLE (moving along a road) are very often encountered in press discourse, where they are used to describe the process of negotiating. These metaphors have become cliché images, being reproduced in the lexical systems of Polish, English

and French in the form of set expressions, idioms and collocations. A relevant example is the Polish *dojść do porozumienia*, and its English and French equivalents: *to come to / to reach an agreement* and *parvenir (arriver) à un accord*, respectively. They all evoke the metaphorical image of reaching a destination, which in this case corresponds to the (final) agreement between the parties involved. The basic concept of changing location is realized quite differently within each of the three source domains. However, since all of these schemes are coherent and refer to the same target domain, they shall be analysed jointly.

5.1. NEGOTIATIONS are ROAD / NEGOTIATIONS are JOURNEY

The SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema (Lakoff 1987: 275; Johnson 1987: 113-117) has been described as one of the basic image schemata, hypothetically universal, which constitute a very productive basis for describing reality. This schema lies at the basis of numerous metaphors, including NEGOTIATIONS are ROAD and NEGOTIATIONS are JOURNEY

The JOURNEY metaphor shows the situation of negotiations holistically and dynamically – as a complex process of negotiators moving along a ROAD towards the endpoint, i.e. reaching an agreement (see especially 59 below). On the ROAD, there may be some pre-established stages that the negotiators have to pass in order to reach the final destination (cf. 60-63). However, sometimes when negotiations start, no one even knows where they are heading, and how to reach a good solution, as in (58). In the metaphor of JOURNEY the ongoing process of negotiating is therefore represented as gradual movement (sequence of changes happening in time) along a road towards a target (sometimes not specifically defined).

(58) The EU does not know where it is going and we don't know whether or how far we are going with it. [T 12/06/04: 30]

(59) EU members reached the agreement as part of the ongoing negotiations for the European constitution. [T 12/06/04: 15]

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(60) *Les 25 progressent à petits pas sur la Constitution* [LM 26/05/04: 6]
[The 25 move bit by bit on the subject of the Constitution.]

(61) *Au cours de cette législature, il [European Parliament] a franchi une étape.* [LM 25/05/04: 6]
[In the course of this legislation process, it (the European Parliament) has passed a stage.]

(62) *Nous sommes en milieu du chemin des réformes que nous allons mener.* [LM 15/06/04: 6]
[We are in the middle of the road of the reforms that we are going to introduce.]

(63) "J'ai le sentiment que nous sommes arrivés à un point où un accord est tout à fait possible", a déclaré Jacques Chirac, "Je pense que nous **approchons d'un accord.**" [LM 19/06/04: 6]
[“I have the impression that we have **reached a point** where an agreement is highly possible”, declared Jacques Chirac, “I think we are **approaching** the agreement.”]

The metaphor of JOURNEY is closely connected with the metaphorical perception of time, in which the past is BEHIND us, whereas the future is UP and AHEAD: what we want to achieve in the future is in front of us (cf. 64 and 65).

(64) agreement on new national voting strengths seemed a long way off. [T 14/06/04: 11]

(65) *Będą więc rzęzić niepodzielnie: w sprawach gospodarczych liberalowie w sojuszu z prawicą, dążąc do dalszego otwierania europejskich rynków na wolną konkurencję* [GW 14/06/04]
[And so they will rule permanently: in the matters of economy the liberals in alliance with the right-wing, **heading to further** opening of the European markets to the free competition.]

Successful negotiations involve all the partners travelling together and at the same speed, as shown in (66). Accordingly, it is undesirable for some of the partners to be left behind or to speed ahead (cf. 67).

- (66) *La France et l'Allemagne marchent la main dans la main sur la route européenne, a lancé M. Chirac.* [LM 16/06/04: 8]
[France and Germany march arm in arm on the European road, said Mr Chirac.]

- (67) these states are hardly "in the slow lane" as derided by the pro-Europe lobby. [T 2/06/04: 20]

As it has already been stated, the final 'destination' (solution to the problem) may not be known, but it is important for the partners to move and to go in the same direction, as presented in (68-71) below.

- (68) European constitution is to set the path of the EU over the next 20 years (...) Signor Prodi asked the authors to suggest another "big project". It states that to stop the EU becoming directionless (...) "Europe is at a turning point in its history". [T 25/05/04: 14]
- (69) Downing Street last night welcomed the Irish move, saying it went in the right direction. (...) The original good intentions were lost along the route. [T 17/06/04: 33]
- (70) The change did not yet go far enough. "But it is in the right direction". [T 18/06/04: 10]
- (71) *La peur d'une dérouté existait effectivement jusqu'à la semaine dernière.* [LM 1/06/04: 6]
[The fear of changing direction existed in fact until last week.]

This unidirectionality of the EU partners' moves is underlined especially in (68), which points to the clearly defined path of the EU over the next 20 years in the European orientation and to the EU politicians' attempts to stop the EU becoming directionless. Moreover, both (69) and

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- (70) emphasize the (single) *right direction* of processes within the EU, whose changing routes are perceived as a disfavoured and unwelcome phenomenon (cf. 71).

At some stages there may occur some problems in negotiating, which constitute an obstacle blocking the movement (72-74).

- (72) The talks to decide the wording of the new European constitution have hit unexpected stumbling blocks. [T 18/06/04: 10]

- (73) Given the *impasse*, EU leaders were looking for a compromise candidate. [T 18/06/04: 11]

- (74) *Dans cette situation de blocage, c'est la seule chose qu'il pouvait dire.* [LM 19/06/04: 7]
[In this situation of *blockage*, it's the only thing he could say.]

5.2. EU is VEHICLE

This metaphor presents the European Union as a sort of machine, moving along the road, and especially as a car. This image typically occurs in anti-European discourse. If machines are perceived as complicated, likely to break down and deprived of human feelings, then, analogously, Brussels' bureaucracy may be criticized for being harsh, unfeeling, unnecessarily complicated and not working properly. The relevant examples are presented in (75-77).

- (75) Meanwhile, ten more [commissioners] from the new member states have arrived in Brussels. They are known as "trainses in Mercedes" because they [have nothing to do] except "familiarise" themselves with the EU machinery. (...) To coin a phrase, "Europe isn't working". [T 20/05/04: 20]

- (76) *Michal Kaminski a de la mérité d'apporter un regard intérieur à la mécanique européenne.* [LM 9/06/04: 2]

[Michał Kamiński has the chance to look into the European mechanics.]

- (77) *Proszę powiedzieć, jak działa biurokracja brukselska? Czy to ociężała maszyna?* [GW 11/06/04]
[Would you tell me how the Brussels bureaucracy works? Is it a heavy machine?]

As the excerpts illustrate, the EU is depicted as *heavy machinery* (75 and 77) that *isn't working* (75), and whose *mechanics* can be looked into and diagnosed (76).

There has also appeared a concept of the 'two-speed Europe', related to accepting differences in development between the Member States. The authors of the relevant texts use it rather creatively, developing it even further to construct a vivid image of a motorway, as in (78) below, the same imagery being used in the above-mentioned context of EU negotiations, illustrated in (66). Interestingly, the division of the Member States into two camps depending upon their progress is represented in (78) by means of two metaphors described in section 5: EU is ROAD (a dual carriageway) and EU is VEHICLE (a two-speed Europe). Similarly, a binary juxtaposition is used to refer to the Member States: a vehicle / a car ('different states can move at different speeds') and a car driver ('speed freaks' and 'Sunday motorist'). The concept of 'two-speed Europe' raises much controversy, both in the columnists' comments, as represented in (78), and among politicians, being frequently evoked in their discourse, to which attests the quote of Gerhard Schröder in (79).

- (78) The institution should allow more flexibility, so that different states can move at different speeds. (...) A two-speed Europe is to be welcomed not deplored. It is as sensible as a dual carriageway. Speed freaks don't want to be stuck behind an Austin Allegro driver any more than the elderly Sunday motorist wants to be forced to put his foot down. If we, in Britain, prefer to potter at our own pace in the slow lane, we should be able to do so. [T 11/06/04: 24]

- (79) *Jakoś pod koniec spotu jeszcze raz w tej kampanii pojawił się motyw Niemca, który pluje nam w twarz, bo – ustami Schrödera – proponuje Europę dwóch prędkości.* [GW 08/06/04]
[Just at the end of the ad once more in this campaign appeared a motive of a German who spits on our face, because – by the words of Schröder – he offers us a two-speed Europe.]

Finally, the EU may also sometimes be seen not as an entire machine, but as an engine, which puts a piece of machinery into motion. The latter may refer, for example, to the process of further integration and accession of the consecutive Member States, as in (80). However, the metaphor of ENGINE may also represent the most active and influential Member States, such as France and Germany in (81), with the remaining ones being dependent upon their initiative.

- (80) The current document only reinforces the fears of many EU citizens that the Union is an engine for continued, unconstrained integration. [T 20/05/04: 21]
- (81) *L'axe franco-allemand doit-il toujours être le moteur de l'Europe?* [LM 11/06/04: 8]
[The French-German axis: should it always be the engine of Europe?]

6. Conclusions

The main question that arises when we analyse metaphors in the language of politics is why they are so omnipresent. What makes metaphor a good tool of conveying ideas, winning arguments, and describing the cultural, social and political background we live in?

One of the possible answers has been provided by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). According to them, metaphor is a part of our conceptual system: our thinking and perception of reality is based on metaphor. For that reason, metaphor is a natural conceptual tool and its presence in the language is not surprising.

However, there could also be a number of other reasons. First of all, metaphors play an important persuasive role in political discourse: thanks to their ability to create images they exert a greater influence on the hearer, which has already been underlined by ancient theorists of rhetoric. Moreover, the persuasive force of metaphors is also based on the fact that they are difficult to be negated, since when we respond to a metaphor-based argument we have to deal with the imagery that it carries, as well as with its complex cultural connotations and stereotypes. In some cases, especially in political discourse, metaphor becomes an 'arm'. If someone uses a metaphor as an argument, the only way to deal with it is 'to disarm' this metaphor, that is to invent another metaphor to weaken the previous one and to turn the positive connotations into negative ones (cf. Dobrzyńska 1994: 145).

The second question that the analysis raises concerns the degree of similarity of the metaphors used to describe European integration in Polish, English and French press discourse. While contrastive linguistic analysis should focus on both similarities and differences, most research limits the scope of analysis to the latter. This analysis has shown that similarities, which are often neglected or taken for granted, can be the subject of research, which has eventually confirmed their existence in the cross-cultural perspective.

The comparison has aimed to show an interesting phenomenon of relations between metaphorical images used in journalistic texts in the three languages. Certainly, the material is too restricted to formulate any general truths, but we may already presume that this phenomenon is not a mere coincidence. It might have its roots in the changes that are currently in progress in Europe, in European integration bringing nations and cultures closer, and in intercultural communication becoming easier thanks to new technologies. The flow of information is quicker, and the knowledge about the languages and cultures of the neighbouring countries has enlarged. Diplomacy and politics are two areas in which one can easily see that some events, like European integration, are not connected with just one country, but constitute a shared international experience. It could also be one of the reasons why we use very similar metaphorical images founded on the same experiential base. These images, which we can observe entering our imagery and our linguistic

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system, might some day constitute real 'global metaphors', common to many nations and cultures. Hence, this phenomenon, which may constitute a bridge in intercultural communication, is no less worth analysing than are the differences occurring between texts written in specific languages and received in particular cultures. Awareness of the similarities and differences in understanding the phenomena and the imagery applied to render them might become a crucial thing in the enlarged Europe – not only for politicians and diplomats, but also for translators, journalists and ordinary people interested in intercultural relations.

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Towards gender-equality in English, German and Polish job titles. Strategies used in Internet job advertisements

Dorota Stasiak

1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine the linguistic approach to gender equality of men and women on the labour market. The analysis is focused on occupational titles in English, German and Polish job advertisements published in national editions of the Internet career network *JobPilot*. Methodologically, the research is based on the social constructionist approach, which views language as a powerful tool exerting influence on social reality. Accordingly, it is assumed that "language does not merely reflect the way we think: it also shapes our thinking" (Desprez-Bouanchaud – Doolaege – Ruprecht 1999: 4). What this principle may entail in terms of gender equality is that "if words and expressions that imply that women are inferior to men are constantly used, that assumption of inferiority tends to become part of our mindset." As a result, it is now more and more often stressed that awareness of gender equality should govern the language use in the relevant social domains, since "language is a powerful tool: poets and propagandists know this – as, indeed, do victims of discrimination."

Prior to the analysis, it is worth discussing the notion of gender equality, which presently is one of the hotly debated social issues, and evokes both scientific interest and much social controversy. As Karwatkowska and Szpyra-Kozłowska (2005: 225) notice, researchers who attempt to provide insights into this issue can hardly separate their personal opinions on the topic from the expected objectivity of their studies. However, the possible difficulties endangering the imperative of scientific neutrality should not discourage from investigating the subject