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The Rhetoric of Violence in Polish and English Soccer Reporting

Abstrakt (Retoryka przemocy w polsko- i anglojęzycznych relacjach z meczów piłki nożnej). Przedmiotem niniejszego artykułu, napisanego w ujęciu kontrastywnym, jest zastosowanie metafor związanych z konfliktem w języku piłki nożnej. Analiza przeprowadzona została w oparciu o teorię metafory pojęciowej autorstwa Lakoffa i Johnsona (1980) i wykorzystuje metodologię badań ilościowych oraz jakościowych. Jej celem jest wykazanie, iż PIŁKA NOŻNA jako dyscyplina sportu nie jest pojmowana wyłącznie w kategoriach WOJNY, lecz również w kategoriach innych domen źródłowych. Dlatego też oprócz metafory MECZ PIŁKI NOŻNEJ TO WOJNA autor proponuje i omawia trzy inne metafory pojęciowe: PORAŻKA TO ŚMIERĆ, MECZ PIŁKI NOŻNEJ TO WALKA BOKSERSKA oraz PRÓBA STRZELENIA BRAMKI TO POLOWANIE. Wszystkie one w dużym stopniu wpływają na kształt dyskursu relacji z meczów piłki nożnej.

Abstract. This paper explores the use of conflict-related metaphors in soccer language in a contrastive perspective within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The analysis, which involves both a quantitative and qualitative approach, aims to demonstrate that FOOTBALL is conceptualized not only in terms of WAR but also of other source domains. Thus in addition to the SOCCER MATCH IS WAR metaphor, the author proposes and discusses three other conceptual metaphors: DEFEAT IS DEATH, A SOCCER MATCH IS A BOXING BOUT and ATTEMPTING TO SCORE IS HUNTING, all of which, to a large extent, frame the soccer reporting discourse.

1. Introduction

Metaphors in sports language have been investigated from various perspectives. Underlying most of these studies is the conviction that the language of sport is permeated with war metaphors. This is probably because sport is perceived as a substitute for war, especially in the time of peace. An extremely critical view on the connections between sport and war was once voiced by G. Orwell, who in 1945 wrote in the *Tribune* that sport ‘has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, jealousy,

boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence: in other words it is war minus the shooting' (after Beard 1998: 84).

Extremist as this analogy may sound, it should not trigger too much controversy as war and sport do share a few features. As Charteris-Black (2004: 125–126) argues, both domains typically entail control of territory (with potential gains and losses), and require physical and mental strength as well as training. Sporting events and warfare are also, at least in theory, governed by rules and, generate worldwide interest. No wonder then that these two areas invariably permeate each other linguistically – a trend that has been observed by some metaphor scholars (cf. Charteris-Black 2004; Fabiszak 2007; Semino 2008). Not only does the domain of war contribute metaphorical expressions to sporting language, but sport can also act as a source of metaphors that structure the war discourse – a process that Charteris-Black (2004: 114) calls the reversal of the domains of sports and war. In other words, war can be perceived in terms of sport, and sport can be conceptualized in terms of war. Charteris-Black (2004: 114–116) and Semino (2008: 97) provide examples of studies that have demonstrated how sporting metaphors were used to justify military action in the Middle East.

In the present study we will be concerned with the reverse approach: i.e., the paper will focus on the use of conflict-related metaphors in the language of soccer¹. The study, which will draw on the material from Polish and English, will be based on the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). They argued that 'metaphor does not occur primarily in language but in thought' and 'that we actually understand the world with metaphors and do not just speak with them' (Kövecses 2005: 2). The theory, having been pursued and developed by a number of metaphor scholars, including Kövecses (2002, 2005), Charteris-Black (2004) and Semino (2008) is still a highly popular approach in cognitive studies of metaphor.

This paper will address three research problems. Firstly, I will argue that even though the WAR metaphor is in fact pervasive in both Polish and English football language, there are also other metaphors of conflict structuring the language of soccer reporting, which is thus permeated with the rhetoric of violence. Secondly, the study will aim to reconstruct the linguistic image of the world (LIW)² generated by the metaphors in question. This will be done by discussing the mappings that hold between the source and target domains. Finally, thanks to a comparative analysis of the data from Polish and English football reporting, the paper will demonstrate whether the conceptual metaphors in the two languages exhibit any significant quantitative and qualitative differences.

¹ The terms soccer and football will be used interchangeably for reasons of style.

² The linguistic image of the world (Polish – językowy obraz świata) is one of the key frameworks in Polish cognitive linguistic and sociolinguistic research. The theory of LIW, drawing on the views of Humboldt and Weisberger as well as cultural anthropologists (Malinowski, Sapir, Whorf), sees language as a tool for interpreting reality and discovering new truths about the world. For more information see Bartmiński (2006).

2. Methodology

In order to collect a sufficient amount of material for a quantitative and qualitative contrastive analysis, I constructed two text subcorpora: English and Polish. The English subcorpus comprises 136 texts with a total of 101,980 words. The Polish one is composed of 175 texts, whose overall number of words totals 89,881³. In the construction of both subcorpora I relied on a wide range of online sources which featured such sportswriting genres as: post-match reports, online minute-by-minute commentary, player ratings, articles, blog postings, and interviews with coaches and players.

More specifically, the English texts were extracted from three football-related websites (FIFA, UEFA as well as goal.com) and the sports sections of the online editions of several British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. The Polish corpus data also comes from a variety of sources, including the sports sections of domestic web portals and online dailies as well as soccer news websites. Below is a list of all sources with their abbreviations and website addresses (all of them were retrieved on 4 December 2010).

English sources:

FIFA – fifa.com

UEFA – uefa.com

GOAL – goal.com

DT – The Daily Telegraph, www.telegraph.co.uk

GU – The Guardian, www.guardian.co.uk

IND – The Independent, www.independent.co.uk

DM – The Daily Mail, www.dailymail.co.uk

TS – The Sun, www.thesun.co.uk

Polish sources:

INT – interia.pl

ONET – onet.pl

UEFA_PL – pl.uefa.com

GW – Gazeta Wyborcza, www.sport.pl

DZ – Dziennik Gazeta Prawna, www.gazetaprawna.pl

FA – Fakt, www.fakt.pl

SE – Super Express, www.se.pl

PS – Przegląd Sportowy, www.sports.pl

FUT – Futbol, www.futbol.pl

From the spectrum of interest I decided to exclude metaphorical expressions that are used as key terms in football language (sometimes their figurative status is hardly recognized). Examples include: *attack*, *defense*, *counter* from English and *atak*, *ob-*

³ The English subcorpus features 10% more words than the Polish one since the English language is much more reliant on function words than Polish. However, in terms of their language content, the two subcorpora are equal and thus should yield relevant quantitative findings.

rona, kontra from Polish. I focused only on the terms which were (more or less) consciously invoked by sportswriters, and could well be replaced by words and phrases outside the investigated source domain.

3. Presentation and analysis

The discussion of every conceptual metaphor will be illustrated by several English and Polish sentences that have been derived from the relevant subcorpora, and include sample metaphorical expressions (these have been boldfaced) which constitute the conceptual metaphor in question. I will also provide quantitative data on the total number of the linguistic realizations of the metaphor. In the qualitative analysis I will try to reconstruct the linguistic image of the world, which is generated by a particular metaphor, focusing not only on the linguistic metaphors from the sample sentences but also on other words and phrases from the corpus underlying the metaphor in question. The analysis will be conducted from an English language perspective. Polish equivalents, if they occur in the corpus, will be provided in parentheses in their base forms (nouns and adjectives in the singular or plural, while verbs in the infinitive).

A SOCCER MATCH IS WAR

There is no denying the fact that of all soccer metaphors, the WAR metaphor exhibits the greatest degree of elaboration. The English subcorpus includes a total of 73 expressions underlying this metaphor which have occurred a total of 285 times. The quantitative data for the Polish subcorpus are almost similar: there are 68 linguistic metaphors which have been invoked 258 times⁴. Given the wealth of data, it would be fair to say that the whole football match could be conceptualized in terms of war. Hypothetically, it would be possible to construct a match report in predominantly military rhetoric. Of course, some media do it consciously in order to build up fan excitement, especially in the previews of games pitting teams whose countries used to fight real wars (e.g., Germany vs. England). A similar point is made by Bishop and Jaworski (2003: 244), who argue that ‘in constructing the ‘nation’, the press resort to a number of discursive strategies constructing and reinforcing national unity by invoking stereotypes, generic references, *shared* sporting and military history, and the timelessness of the nation spanning mythical past and indefinite future’.

Due to its scope, the linguistic material has been subdivided into three sections. Let us look at the first set of sentences containing metaphorical expressions underlying the WAR metaphor.

- (1) Diego Maradona got his World Cup **campaign** off to a flier thanks to Gabriel Heinze.
(TS)

⁴ By including some key football terms which are also metaphorical but for the reasons outlined in section 2 have been excluded from the analysis, the total number of the occurrences of the WAR metaphor would rise significantly (to 1309 in the English subcorpus and 1405 in the Polish one).

- (2) At full-time in Cape Town, South Africa, the first of two semi-final **clashes** has ended 3-2 to the Netherlands. (GOAL)
- (3) Liverpool were installed as favourites after their first-leg success in Eindhoven although expectations outside Anfield have since dimmed in the wake of Manchester United FC's demolition of AS Roma and Chelsea FC's impressive **conquest** of Valencia CF at their Mestalla **fortress**. (UEFA)
- (4) W ćwierćfinałach MŚ 2010 dojdzie do wielkiej **bitwy** dwóch kontynentów, które zdominowały światowy futbol. Zobaczymy aż trzy **starcia** europejsko-amerykańskie. (PS)
- a. The 2010 World Cup quarter-finals will feature a great **battle** between the two continents which have dominated world soccer. We will see as many as three European-South American **clashes**.
- (5) Borussia **poległa** we Frankfurcie 0:1 (DZ)
- a. Borussia **fell in battle** in Frankfurt 0-1⁵.
- (6) Espanyol **broni nie składał**, grał z otwartą **przyłbicą**. (GW)
- a. Espanyol did not **lay down their arms**, and played with their **visor** up⁶.

It is relatively easy to recreate the mappings that hold between the domains of WAR and FOOTBALL. The soccer match itself corresponds to a *battle* (*bitwa* or *batalia*), *clash* (*starcie*), *encounter* (*potyczka*) or *war* (*wojna*). To achieve a more dramatic effect, Polish sportswriters sometimes use the verb *polec* (Eng. *fall in battle*), especially when writing about spectacular defeats (see example 5). A series of games in domestic or international competition designed to achieve a particular aim (e.g., World Cup qualification, winning a trophy or avoiding relegation) is conceived of as a *campaign* (its Polish equivalent *kampania* is hardly ever used in this meaning). Under this metaphor, a soccer match is played on a *battlefield* (*pole bitwy*). A stadium, in turn, is sometimes referred to as a *fortress* (*twierdza*) that has to be *conquered* (*zdo-byta*) or *breached* by the visiting side. This usually is usually invoked to talk about the stadiums of football sides that have recorded long home unbeaten streaks.

- (7) We had all seen how good he [Sneider] was at Euro 2008. Inspired by their pocket general, the Dutch dismantled both Italy and France at the group stage. (TS)
- (8) Heskey, the big, unglamorous football **soldier**, stayed on the **battlefield** until England were three goals clear. (IND)
- (9) Juventus coach Fabio Capello must have secretly admired the mobility and steel of Toure and his defensive **cohorts**, particularly as his own back five cost £100 million – 20 times more than Wenger's **rearguard**. (DT)
- (10) His own **Red Army**, recreated over the last two years, is as good as any United have had in their rich and colourful history. (TS)
- (11) ...po fantastycznym golu Robbena postanowiliśmy mocno **uszczelnić obronne szyki** (PL_UEFA)
... after Robben's fantastic goal we decided to **strengthen our defensive ranks**.
- (12) Trzej **muszkietierowie** Eto'o, Henry, Messi zdobyli 41 z 59 goli Barcy. (GW)
he three **musketeers** Eto'o, Henry and Messi scored 41 out of the 59 Barca goals.

⁵ A more natural-sounding but less precise equivalent would be Borussia trailed in Frankfurt 0-1. Noteworthy is the exaggerated and bombastic tone of this utterance. A marginal defeat is perceived as if were a disaster.

⁶ The sense conveyed by the translation of the Polish idiom is 'to play with one's guard down'.

- (13) ... a świetny boiskowy **wojownik** – Lisandro okazał się liderem zespołu, strzelającym zwycięskie bramki. (PL_UEFA)
 ... and Lisandro, a terrific **warrior** on the pitch, proved to be the team's leader, scoring the winning goals.

The teams and players themselves can collectively be called *soldiers*, *troops* (their Polish equivalent *żołnierze* is used rather infrequently in this sense) or *cavalry*⁷. A football side is sometimes conceptualized as an *army* (*armia*) or *cohorts* (the latter can refer to a particular formation, e.g., defense or midfield). There is usually some cultural motivation for a team to be called an army. For instance, the Manchester United side in the example sentence is called the *Red Army* because of the color of their shirts (hence the team's nickname 'red devils'). *Armada* (*armada*), in turn, is solely used with reference to the Spain national team. However, the use of the phrase *trzej muszkieterowie* (*three musketeers*) in the Polish corpus is not necessarily culturally motivated (it rather tends to be motivated by the number of players in the team's offensive formation, which includes three players: the striker and two wingers). Senior and more experienced players, who have given long service to the team, are called *veterans* (*weterani*) or *workhorses*, while new acquisitions to the team – *recruits* (not in Polish, however). The corpus also contains metaphorical terms for formations (which, incidentally, are a metaphorical concept as well) and key players on the field. The *rearguard* is a term frequently employed to refer to the team's defensive formation. As the examples show, a *commander* (*dowódca*) usually denotes a defense leader, whereas a *general*, usually collocating with *midfield*⁸, is applied to a playmaker, i.e., a footballer in the team who is responsible for creating an offensive play (in many cases, he is also an informal leader of the team). In Polish, the coach's right hand on the field can be referred to as *adiutant* (*adjutant*). Combative footballers, who give their all on the pitch, are conceptualized as *warriors* (*wojownicy*).

- (14) But the truth of the matter is the goal-that-never-was would have been a **smokescreen** for this dreadful display. (TS)
- (15) The in-form Villa only rarely found space on the left **flank** in the early stages, while at the other end Nelson Valdez looked dangerous whenever made **forays** forward. (FIFA)
- (16) His personal contribution was again outstanding, not least when England were facing a few minutes of Slovenian **siege** towards the end of the match. (GUA)
- (17) Goalkeeper James was **called into action** after just four minutes, Mesut Oezil's run through the defence, beating Ashley Cole to the ball and volleying from a tight angle, but the **veteran** was ready and saved well. (GOAL)
- (18) Carles Puyol stooped low to send a **bullet** header just over the bar. (GOAL)
- (19) Siedem minut później **szarża Deco** w polu karnym Turków – z jego lewej strony – zakończona strzałem zablokowanym przez Mehmeta Aurelio. (ONET)
 Seven minutes later a **Deco charge** on the left side of the penalty area ended with a shot which was blocked by Mehmet Aurelio.

⁷ The Polish equivalent of *cavalry*, *kawaleria*, is practically non-existent in soccer language. However, in similar contexts, Polish sportswriters use the term *husaria* – the major type of the Polish cavalry from 16th to 18th century.

⁸ The Polish equivalent of *general*, *general* occurs in a similar collocation, which seems, however, less common than in English football reporting. To refer to this position on the pitch, Polish uses a metaphorical expression from the THEATER domain, *reżyser gry* (*playmaker*; literally *play director*).

- (20) Sławomir Peszko, Semir Stilić i Siergiej Kriwec w swym debiucie w Lechu [Poznań]. To ma być **artyleria**, która zmusi do **kapitulacji** Polonię Warszawa. (GW)
Sławomir Peszko, Semir Stilić and Sergey Krivets in his debut for Lech [Poznań]. This is to be the **artillery** which will force Polonia Warsaw to **surrender**.
- (21) Od początku drugiej połowy Portugalczycy **ruszyli do prawdziwego natarcia**. (ONET)
Right from the restart, the Portuguese **launched an all-out assault**.
- (22) Kiedy Austriacy **oblegali i ostrzeliwali jego bramkę**, kiedy my i nasi piłkarze cierpieliśmy, on [bramkarz Boruc] wpadał w ten sam trans, który unieśmiertelnił go w Glasgow. (GW)
As the Austrians **besieged and kept firing at his goal**, as we and our players suffered, he [goalkeeper Boruc] would fall into the same trance that immortalized him in Glasgow.

Attacking (which is itself a metaphorical term) in a soccer game is compared to launching *assaults, blitzes, charges, forays, onslaughts, raids* and *sorties*. The Polish subcorpus contains fewer equivalent expressions in this lexical field (examples include *szarża* and *natarcie*). All of these words are more expressive and emotionally loaded than *attack* (*atak*). They also evoke an image of a sudden and quick offensive against an enemy. Interestingly, there are hardly any metaphorical synonyms for defending (practically the only one is the phrase to be *under siege*), probably because it is a less spectacular type of activity than attacking. The team's attacking potential is conceived of as *ammunition* (*amunicja*) or *artillery* (*artyleria*) while continuous shooting at the goal is equated with *bombing, bombarding* (*bombardowanie*) and *cannonade* (*kanonada, ostrzeliwanie*). Pressure exerted on the opposing team in their defending third is conceptualized as a *siege* (*oblężenie*). Powerful shots are mapped as *bullet shots* (*pociski, petardy*), *drives* or *headers* (if they are hit with the head). The image of warfare is also reinforced by the expression *call into action*, which can be used when a goalkeeper, who for most of the game time keeps a low profile, finally gets a chance to demonstrate his/her skills. A player who has been sent off for committing an offence is said to have received *marching orders*.

Concluding this part of the discussion, it should be said that the SOCCER MATCH IS WAR metaphor is a little bit more elaborated in English football reporting. Differences are primarily displayed at the level of metaphorical expressions (there are some mappings that are non-existent in Polish soccer language) but the overall linguistic image generated by them is practically identical. What the two subcorpora also share are references to the warfare of bygone ages, dating as far back as ancient (see the use of *cohorts* in example 9) and medieval times (e.g., *shield, siege, warrior* and their Polish equivalents: *tarcza, oblężenie* and *wojownik*).

As the above examples show, the WAR metaphor is indeed pervasive in football discourse. However, the rhetoric of violence is also present in a few other conceptual metaphors, which to a smaller or greater extent echo the WAR domain. Let us discuss them one by one.

DEFEAT IS DEATH

- (23) Dutch fightback **buries** Brazil. (FIFA)
- (24) David Beckham has decided not to make his acting debut as an **assassin** who can miraculously bend bullets round corners. (UEFA)

- (25) Jessica Wich scored twice in 60 seconds as Germany **recovered from a disjointed start** to open their Group A campaign with a win. (UEFA)
- (26) With Villa on the counter, Stephen Ireland shot from distance and **stung the palms** of Ben Foster in the Birmingham goal. (GUA)
- (27) The near miss **spurred Roma into life** and in a furious final ten minutes of the half, CFR found themselves under siege. (UEFA)
- (28) Within just seven minutes the Albiceleste **rubbed salt** into the open wounds by adding a second. (GOAL)
- (29) Germany **demolished** Diego Maradona's star-studded Argentina to march into the World Cup semi-finals. (TS)
- (30) England are out of the 2010 World Cup after being **thrashed** by Germany at Free State Stadium. (GOAL)
- (31) Zastąpił go [Beenhakkera] „Doktor”, któremu nie udało się **wskrzesić... trupa**. (PS)
He [Beenhacker] was replaced by 'Doktor', who was unable to **resurrect ... the corpse**⁹.
- (32) **Katem** Włochów okazał się Artjoms Rudņevs, który w dwóch meczach strzelił „Starej Damie” cztery gole. (PL_UEFA)
The Italians' **executioner** turned out to be Artjoms Rudņevs, who scored four goals in two games against 'the Old Lady'.
- (33) W ostatnich minutach spotkania Didier Drogba precyzyjnym strzałem z rzutu wolnego **dobit** rywala. (ONET)
In the dying minutes of the game Didier Drogba **finished off** his opponents with a clinical free kick.
- (34) Najpierw w ciągu pięciu minut poznaniacy przyjęli dwa nokautujące ciosy, a kiedy wydawało się, że nie mają prawa się podnieść, w ciągu trzech minut cudownie **zmartwychwstali**. (SE)
First, within five minutes the Poznan side were dealt two knockout blows, and when it seemed that they had no right to pick themselves up, they miraculously **rose from the dead** in just three minutes.
- (35) Bramka Maćka Szmatiuka **utrzymała nas przy życiu**. (ONET)
Maciek Szmatiuk's goal **kept us alive**.
- (36) Drużyna Smudy **została zmieciona** z boiska. (GW)
Smuda's team **were swept off** the pitch.
- (37) Drużyna Bayeru Leverkusen **rozgromiła** na własnym stadionie VfB Stuttgart 4:0. (ONET)
On home soil Bayern Leverkusen **routed** VfB Stuttgart 4-0.

The DEATH metaphor is employed a little bit more frequently in English than in Polish. The English subcorpus features 60 metaphorical expressions from this domain, which have occurred a total of 179 times. The Polish subcorpus, in turn, contains 54 terms whose total rate of occurrences is 160. As will be demonstrated, within this domain there are a few differences at the level of metaphorical expressions.

The DEFEAT IS DEATH metaphor is indicative of a highly emotional attitude to soccer. Underlying the above set of metaphorical expressions is the finding that soccer is indeed a matter of life and death (to invoke part of a quote by Bill Shankly,

⁹ *Doktor* (Eng. *doctor*) – the nickname of Stefan Majewski, caretaker coach of the Poland national team (referred to as the *corpse* in the example), which had given a very poor performance in the FIFA World Cup 2010 qualifiers under Majewski's predecessor, Leo Beenhacker.

the late FC Liverpool manager¹⁰). Goalscoring is conceived of as *inflicting a wound* (*zadawanie rany*), *sticking/twisting the knife* (*wbijanie noża*), *rubbing salt into the opposing team's wounds* or *killing/finishing off* (*dobijanie*) the opposing team. Most typically these expressions refer to victory clinching goals (not to any goals in general, let alone opening or consolation goals). A more universal metaphorical expression invoked to talk about goalscoring is the verb *sting* (*ukąsić*). In English football reporting this verb is also used in the phrase *sting the hands/palms* (of a goalkeeper), in the context of a shot on target deflected by the goalkeeper of the opposing team. Drawing yet another analogy, we could sum up this part of the discussion by saying that just like a series of wounds can lead to death, goals can contribute to defeat (though of course in many cases, a single wound or goal can bring about the same effects).

In English football language, players that contribute to their team's success (by scoring winners or a few goals in the same match) are referred to as *assassins*, *killers* or *slayers*. This mapping figures much more prominently in English-speaking cultures. It should also be noted that while in English soccer language *assassin* brings up an image of a ruthless striker, its Polish near equivalent, *zabójca*, refers to a tough player, who is not necessarily endowed with goal-scoring skills. In similar contexts, Polish sportswriters use the term *kat* (*executioner*). A team that has suffered a series of defeats is conceptualized as the *corpse* (*trup*). Death as a synonym for defeat also occurs in two common phrases: *sudden death* (*nagła śmierć*) and *group of death* (*grupa śmierci*). The former term denotes a method of deciding the winner in penalty shoot-outs¹¹; the latter is used to refer to a highly competitive preliminary group, in which at least one strong team will not advance to the next stage of competition.

If DEFEAT is conceptualized in terms of DEATH, we might expect the verb *kill* to be used in the sense of *defeat*. Interestingly, *kill* is not employed in this meaning in soccer reporting (nor its Polish equivalent *zabijać*). However, in the English subcorpus there are some metaphorical synonyms of the verb *defeat* which do evoke the concept of death. Examples include *sink* and *bury*, both of which frequently occur in headlines¹². Typical of headline language or lead sections are also sets of metaphorical expressions that echo the concept of destruction. They are often used to talk about resounding or emphatic wins. This time, we can supply examples from both the English (*blast*, *demolish*, *destroy*, *hammer*, *rip to shreds*, *thrash*, *thump*) and Polish subcorpora (*rozbić*, *rozgromić*, *roznieść*, *zgnieść*, *zmieść z boiska*, *zniszczyć*). This group of words confirms the findings made by Smith and Montgomery (1989), who argue that the category of destruction is frequently employed in verbs for winning and losing.

¹⁰ The full quotation is "Someone said to me 'To you football is a matter of life or death!' and I said 'Listen, it's more important than that'" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bill_Shankly).

¹¹ For some time sudden death was an official FIFA term for a method of deciding the winner in extra time. Due to its negative connotations, it was officially replaced with golden goal (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Golden_goal).

¹² This point stays in tune with what Semino's finding that headlines, leads as well as first and last paragraphs of newspaper articles are typical contexts for original and elaborate metaphorical terms (Semino 2008: 144).

However, defeats can be prevented by *last-gasp* efforts. In a way, the death analogy fails here because by scoring a last-gasp goal, you can avoid defeat. At the same time there is some religious metaphoric invoked: in both languages there are a number of references to the mystery of resurrection, one of the fundamental dogmas in Christianity. Examples include: *clamber out of the grave*, *rise off one's death bed* (*wrócić do świata żywych*), *resurrection* (*zmartwychwstanie*), *rise from the dead* (*zmartwychwstać*). Thus death on a soccer pitch is not irreversible provided that the game is still underway and it is still possible for the losing team to reduce the arrears, to use a metaphorical expression from another domain. Thus better performance on the pitch and changing the course of events to one's favor (e.g., by scoring an equalizer or a winner) can be equated with gaining a new life. This analogy is strengthened by a series of expressions in both languages, such as *come alive* (*ożyć*), *spring to life*, *jolt* or *spur a team into life* (*odżyć*). In English, improved performance is also perceived in terms of the healing process (*recover*, *recovery*).

A SOCCER MATCH IS A BOXING BOUT

- (38) But to their credit, Celtic refused **to throw in the towel**. (FIFA)
- (39) "You can compare them with a wounded **boxer in the ring**," said the tall marksman, who left FC Salzburg for Enschede in the summer. "That can be when a **fighter** is at their most dangerous." (UEFA)
- (40) Tonight at the Weserstadion **the bell** rings again, pitting the two northern **heavyweights** together for the second of four meetings in the space of 19 days. (UEFA)
- (41) United outclass **lightweights**. (DT)
- (42) Minutę przed końcem Niemcy zadali **finalny cios**, który wprowadził Miroslava Klose do historii, który zdobył po dośrodkowaniu z lewej strony swoją 14. bramkę na MŚ. (GW)
A minute before the end the Germans delivered a **final blow**, which put Miroslav Klose down in history as he scored his 14th World Cup goal following a cross from the left.
- (43) Po chwili Argentyna **leżała jak po nokaucie!** (INT)
After a while Argentina were **lying down as if they had been knocked out!**
- (44) Koreańscy mogli jeszcze wyrównać na trzy minuty przed końcem meczu, ale strzał Lee Dong-gooka **sparował** nogami Muslera. (F)
The South Koreans could still have equalized three minutes before the end, but a Lee- Dong Gook shot was **parried away** by Muslera using his legs.

In purely quantitative terms, the BOXING metaphor is more pervasive in English language soccer reporting. The English subcorpus contains 22 expressions from the domain in question, which have been invoked 66 times. In the Polish subcorpus there are 17 expressions, which have occurred a total of 47 times.

The BOXING metaphor was also discussed in a recent article of mine, (cf. Lewandowski 2009), in a different perspective. Of all sports domains, boxing was found to have contributed the greatest number of metaphorical expressions to the language of football. Under this metaphor, football sides are perceived as *boxers* or *fighters* (*bokserzy*, *pięściarze*), who step into the *ring* (*ring*), i.e., the stadium, to face each other. Top teams are conceived of as *heavyweights* (*bokserzy wagi ciężkiej*), while less renowned sides can be called *lightweights*. Key moments in a soccer game (e.g., goals or sending offs) are conceptualized as *blows* or, less frequently, *punches* (*ciosy*). Within

the two subcorpora there are also terms denoting superiority on the pitch (usually reflected by a large goal margin), which can be mapped as a *knockout* (*nokaut*). This kind of rhetoric also sees a valiant team as a boxer who refuses to *throw in the towel* (*rzucić ręcznik*), and fights hard to change the unfavorable course of events. A far inferior side, in turn, is compared to a *boxer leaning on the ropes* (*bokser na linach*). Given the above set of mappings that hold between the source and target, it can be argued that BOXING, which, as a combat sport, is commonly associated with physical strength and competitive spirit, has become a modern substitute for WAR. This image is reinforced by a number of linguistic expressions which echo war rhetoric.

ATTEMPTING TO SCORE IS HUNTING

- (45) The Ernst-Happel-Stadion is proving to be a happy **hunting ground** for Fàbregas – it was his decisive penalty that defeated Italy in the quarter-final shoot-out. (UEFA)
- (46) Hernández, however, showed his **predatory instincts** four minutes later when he stabbed home Patrice Evra’s mishit shot. (GUA)
- (47) Michael Owen is proving again he is the Fantastic Mr **Fox In-The-Box**. (TS)
- (48) the Wolves have **sharpened their teeth** in midfield and attack by the addition of Thomas Kahlenberg. (FIFA)
- (49) Podolski **polował** na hat-tricka. Posłał futbolówkę ponad poprzeczkę. (PS)
Podolski was **hunting** for a hat-trick. He sent the ball over the bar.
- (50) Muslera wybił piłkę przed siebie, ale tam **czyhał** Thomas Mueller i z bliska nie miał problemów z umieszczeniem jej przy słupku. (GW)
Muslera spilled the ball to the feet of **lurking** Thomas Mueller, who had no problem tapping it inside the post from close range.

Of all conceptual metaphors discussed in this paper, the HUNTING metaphor exhibits the smallest degree of elaboration. From a quantitative perspective, it is far more salient in English than in Polish football reporting. The English subcorpus features 15 metaphorical expressions with a total of 21 occurrences, while the Polish one just 5 terms, which have occurred 9 times.

Unlike the WAR and BOXING metaphors, the HUNTING metaphor does not structure the whole of a soccer match, but focuses mostly on attempts to score. Under this metaphor, the stadium is conceived of as a *hunting ground*, while the players in the attacking line, i.e., strikers, are conceptualized as *hunters* (or occasionally *poachers*), who *go for the kill* or *go hunting* (*polować*). Thus attempting to score is compared to stalking a prey by hunters. Interestingly, the linguistic realizations of the HUNTING metaphor can refer to two sets of hunters: human beings and predatory animals. For example, *a fox in the box* (the Polish *lis pola karnego*, which as a semantic borrowing, is becoming widespread in football reporting) denotes a striker, who *lurks* (*czyhać*) in and around the penalty box, and is hardly involved in any other kind of work as his sole role is to score goals¹³. When strikers are conceptualized as human hunters, they can also exhibit *predatory instincts*. Thus the HUNTING metaphor sees strikers as ruthless, aggressive or greedy players, who behave in some ways like hungry animals.

¹³ Another term from this field is a *vulture* (*sep*), which used to be the nickname of Emilio Butragueño, a former Spanish striker. The name is derived from the Spanish equivalent of vulture, i.e., *buitre*.

This image is reinforced by the expression *sharpen one's teeth*, which is synonymous with increasing the team's attacking potential. A *toothless* team, in turn, is inefficient in attack, and thus lacking in the ability to score.

4. Conclusion

Our analysis has demonstrated that in addition to the WAR metaphor, which is frequently invoked by sportswriters (more or less consciously), there are other conceptual metaphors which convey the idea of conflict. In quantitative terms, the English subcorpus features as many as 170 linguistic realizations of the four conceptual metaphors discussed in this paper, which have been invoked a total of 551 times. Polish sportswriters use conflict metaphors less frequently as the relevant subcorpus includes 144 terms, which have occurred a total of 474 times. Hence it is legitimate to argue that the Polish and English football reporting discourses are permeated with the rhetoric of violence. This point to some extent stays in line with the findings of Charteris-Black (2004), who distinguished between metaphors of war and metaphors of survival, and postulated a higher order conceptual key SPORT IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL. He argues that 'there is evidence of a conceptualization of sport that goes beyond the notion of war to a sense of a sporting contest as a metaphor for existential struggle in which combat is essential' (Charteris-Black 2004: 128). If we were to find a more general concept for the four metaphors discussed here: A SOCCER MATCH IS WAR, DEFEAT IS DEATH, A SOCCER MATCH IS BOXING and ATTEMPTING TO SCORE IS HUNTING, it would be fair to propose a superordinate metaphor: SOCCER IS VIOLENCE.

Looking at the whole material from a contrastive perspective, the rhetoric of violence, as noted above, is more pervasive in English soccer reporting. Judging by the quantitative data, it can be argued that all four conceptual metaphors are more salient in English than in Polish soccer language. This is evidenced by the number of expressions underlying the conceptual metaphors as well as by the total number of occurrences of conflict-related metaphorical terms. The HUNTING metaphor displays the greatest differences in terms of linguistic elaboration between English and Polish. Its greater salience in English soccer reporting could perhaps be attributed to socio-cultural factors as hunting seems to be a more popular leisure activity on the British Isles than in Poland¹⁴. In general, however, the linguistic image of the world, which was reconstructed in our discussion of the mappings between the source and target domains, is very much the same.

Limitations of space do not permit a more in-depth analysis. There are, however, some other interesting questions that could be addressed in further studies of meta-

¹⁴ Such generalizations should, however, be treated as tentative. As Deignan (2003: 267) claims, "there is no clear reason why particular expressions should have developed and remained in one language and not the other. Until more is known about the development of metaphor and idioms, a degree of arbitrariness has to be accepted; cultural differences do not explain all linguistic differences".

phors in soccer language. First of all, it would be worthwhile to conduct a study of conflict metaphors in broadsheet and tabloid newspapers in order to find out if the two kinds of press exhibit any significant quantitative and qualitative differences (hypothetically, conflict metaphors should be more pervasive in the tabloid press, but this might not necessarily be the case). What also deserves to be investigated is the existence of other ‘non-conflict’ metaphors in soccer language. Even though the violence metaphor is indeed pervasive in both English and Polish soccer language, there are also other conceptual metaphors structuring the football reporting discourse.

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