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Metaphors from Other Sports in the Language of Soccer – Evidence from English and Polish

Abstrakt (Metafory z innych dyscyplin sportowych w języku piłki nożnej na przykładzie języka angielskiego i polskiego). Przedmiotem artykułu jest analiza metafor futbolowych wywodzących się z leksyki innych dyscyplin sportowych, takich jak m.in.: boks, lekkoatletyka czy żeglarstwo. Materiał językowy, zaczerpnięty z anglo- i polskojęzycznych stron internetowych, został pogrupowany i omówiony z uwzględnieniem domen źródłowych (tj. konkretnych dyscyplin sportowych). Korzystając z teorii metafory Lakoffa i Johnsona, autor poddaje analizie cztery nowe metafory pojęciowe: MECZ PIŁKARSKI TO POJEDYNEK BOKSERSKI, RYWALIZACJA FUTBOŁOWA TO WYŚCIG, DRUŻYNA PIŁKARSKA TO STATEK oraz MECZ PIŁKARSKI TO PARTIA SZACHÓW.

Abstract. This paper investigates soccer metaphors that have been drawn from the vocabularies of other popular sports, such as boxing, track and field athletics, sailing, etc. The language material, which comes from English and Polish language sports websites, has been grouped and discussed according to source domains (i.e., specific sports). Drawing on Lakoff and Johnson's theory of metaphor, the author analyzes four new conceptual metaphors: A SOCCER MATCH IS A BOXING BOUT, SOCCER COMPETITION IS A RACE, A SOCCER TEAM IS A SAILING VESSEL, and A SOCCER MATCH IS A GAME OF CHESS.

1. Introduction

Metaphor in the language of sport has been the subject of a number of publications. Let us list just a few of the major trends to date. Some studies have focused on the transfer of sports-related vocabulary to other fields, such as politics (Zieliński 2002) or business (Jurek-Kwiatkowska 2005). Other research has been concerned with military rhetoric echoed in sports metaphors (Romaine 1994; Kowalikowa 1997; Beard 1998). Finally, there are a number of studies on the use of metaphors in particular sports, including chess (Mišić Ilić 2008; Simó 2009), cycling (Wiertelwski 2008, 2009), or soccer (Matulina, Ćoralic 2008; Nordin 2008; Anchimbe 2008). The

last three contributions reflect yet another trend: they have all been written in a cross-cultural and cross-linguistic perspective (the authors compare and contrast soccer metaphors from various languages).

A contrastive approach will also be applied in the following paper. We will analyze English and Polish soccer metaphors which have been incorporated from the vocabularies of other sports. By doing so, we hope to attain two objectives. Firstly, we wish to demonstrate which sports, or in other words which source domains, have contributed the greatest number of items, and what kind of linguistic image they have generated in the language of football.¹ It turns out that a number of the metaphorical borrowings are not only used in the social variety in question, but also occur in the standard varieties of Polish and English.² This collection of metaphors will not be complete mainly because soccer metaphors which can be found in standard Polish and English (*move the goalposts, a level playing field, strzelić samobója, dostać żóltą kartkę*) will be excluded from the spectrum of interest. Nevertheless, it is hoped that these findings will provide some new statistical insights into the origins of sports metaphors in everyday language.

Secondly, the analysis will prove or disprove the existence of differences between Polish and English soccer vocabularies in regards to the kind of source domains (specific sports) from which the actual metaphors have originated. As many of these domains are likely to overlap, we will demonstrate whether there are any differences in the proportion of items borrowed from both languages.

Football, as a highly competitive sport, has earned great popularity and has been generating enormous tension in almost every corner of the world. As was argued in a previous paper on football language (Lewandowski 2008), in many contemporary languages it is possible to distinguish several subvarieties of soccer language, each of which is marked by a set of distinctive features of style, grammar and vocabulary (naturally, with a certain degree of overlap). Sportswriters and sportscasters around the globe attempt to outdo one another in using original and vivid terms to break away from language clichés when they write and talk about the world's most popular game. A number of these terms, having been drawn from other lexical areas, are of a metaphorical nature.

The paper will be based on the framework of conceptual metaphor as defined by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in their classical monograph *Metaphors We Live By*. Under this approach, metaphor is not merely perceived as a figure of speech but as a tool which structures our thought, behavior and perception, and constructs the surrounding world. Language can thus be seen as a reflection of our thoughts. By providing numerous examples from various fields (ARGUMENT IS WAR, TIME IS MONEY, LIFE IS A JOURNEY), Lakoff and Johnson argue that metaphorical thinking is indeed omnipresent in our lives.

¹ For reasons of style the terms *football* and *soccer* will be used interchangeably in this paper.

² As Beard (1998: 53) rightly put it, "the relationship between sport and metaphor is a two-way one, however, not only are many sporting terms metaphorical in origin, drawing on other fields of activity for their semantic connection, but sport increasingly acts a source of metaphors too."

[...] metaphor is not just a matter of language, that is, of mere words. We shall argue that, on the contrary, human *thought processes* are largely metaphorical. This is what we mean when we say that the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined. Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system.

(Lakoff, Johnson 1980: 6)

If we agree with Lakoff and Johnson that the essence of metaphor lies in the understanding of one concept in terms of another, let us demonstrate then how football can be perceived in terms of other sports.

2. Methodology

I have collected a corpus of data from English and Polish, totaling 250 words and phrases. The English corpus numbers 140 items, while the Polish one 110 (some source domains have contributed single terms, and these items will not be taken into account in this analysis). What these words and phrases have in common is that most of them function as key terms in specific sports (other than soccer), and have accordingly been assigned to relevant categories, such as boxing, track and field, sailing, tennis, chess, etc. Sometimes, however, it was difficult to explicitly allocate some terms to one specific category as their origin was unclear or doubtful. In such cases, these assignments were made on a subjective basis, the major criterion being the frequency of occurrence in a particular field of sport.³ It also needs to be emphasized that the collected linguistic material excludes a portion of soccer vocabulary which was once borrowed from shooting terminology. The reason is obvious: such words as *fire*, *shoot*, *shot*, *target* became integrated into the football lexicon a long time ago, gradually losing their metaphorical status. For a substantial time they have been used to denote basic concepts and actions in a soccer match, which is why it would not be appropriate to include them in this corpus of data.

A few words need to be said about the sources of the material. The English data were collected from the official websites of two major football bodies – *fifa.com* and *uefa.com* – both of which give extensive coverage to all top soccer events. Another online source, *goal.com*, is one of the most reputable and popular soccer portals. Regarding the Polish data, these were also compiled from three different online resources: *sport.pl*, *sports.pl* and *interia.pl*. The first two are the official online services of *Gazeta Wyborcza* (the biggest Polish daily) and *Przegląd Sportowy* (the oldest and most popular Polish sports daily), respectively. The last one is one of the most recognizable web portals in Poland with an extensive sports section offering a wide range of football-related news. Practically all of the texts found on these websites were written no later than five years ago, which means that the compiled vocabulary is up-to-date. Additional sources of reference include a dictionary of English and Polish

³ One such example is the phrase *pole position*, which is strongly associated with F1 races. However, historically it comes from horseracing.

sports terms (Jankowski 2004) and several online glossaries of sporting terminology. A complete list of sources can be found in the bibliography section.

In the case of the largest source domains, the linguistic data are displayed in a table format to facilitate contrastive analysis. Columns 1 and 3 list English and Polish lexical items, while columns 2 and 4 include genuine examples of usage, all of which come from the above-mentioned sources. It should be noted that each quotation's grammar and spelling is that of the original writer. If there is no corresponding equivalent term in the other language (cases of zero equivalence), an appropriate column provides an italicized explanation in the respective language. What follows each table is a short description of the compiled data. Other source domains, which have contributed fewer items, are discussed together in a separate section.

3. Presentation and analysis

We shall now go on to present and discuss all categories of metaphors (source domains), beginning with the most extensive one.

3.1. Boxing

The table includes 38 English and 27 Polish words and phrases coming from the world of boxing. Except for one item, which is listed in the last row, all Polish terms have their metaphorical English equivalents.

Just like soccer, boxing is a sport that arouses great emotions worldwide. It could be argued, however, that in some ways the rules of a boxing bout are clearer and easier to follow than those of a football match. Competition is restricted to a boxing ring, the size of which is about 200 times smaller than that of a soccer field, and involves two athletes (in soccer 22). Throughout its long history, boxing has earned a reputation of a highly spectacular sport which embodies extreme competitiveness. It is no coincidence then that it gave rise to a number of metaphors occurring in sports and non-sports contexts. Boxing has thus become a source domain contributing metaphorical terms that help us understand more abstract concepts from target domains – in this case football.

Drawing on Lakoff and Johnson's framework, it would be legitimate to propose the conceptual metaphor A SOCCER MATCH IS A BOXING BOUT. This analogy will become more obvious if we supply a few examples from the table above. Soccer teams just before they enter the field (or to use a boxing analogy, the *ring*) are compared to boxers in their *corners* before the start of a boxing match. Football sides and players are also perceived as *boxers* from various weight classes. Upper weight classes usually designate top teams (*super heavy*, *heavyweight*, *welterweight*) while lighter weights tend to be used disapprovingly (*lightweight*, *bantam weight*). These references seem to be more common in English (interestingly, the Polish data corpus contains only terms designating heavy weights). Another striking feature of this rep-

Table 1. Boxing terms

English word/ phrase	Sample sentence	Polish word/ phrase	Sample sentence
1	2	3	4
bantam weight	The two men tangled like bantam weight fighters in one tussle on the touchline near the halfway line.	<i>waga kogucia</i>	
bell	Tonight at the Weserstadion the bell rings again, pitting the two northern heavyweights together for the second of four meetings.	<i>gong</i>	
blow; punch	Shakhtar Donetsk dealt Olympique Marseille's UEFA Cup ambitions a blow with a 2-0 home win; if ever there was an African champion able to go pound-for-pound, punch-for-punch with world football's heavyweights, Egypt are surely that team.	cios	Potrąfimy, kiedy rywal już ślania się na nogach, zadać decydujący cios i to jest nasz atut.
blow below the belt; low blow	Blow below the belt: Inter made Lampard bid on Scolari's first day; Yossi Benayoun's 92nd-minute goal came as a low blow to a Fulham side that looked like repeating the goalless draw achieved at Anfield.	cios poniżej pasa	Czuję się jak Gołota, który dostał cios poniżej pasa – mówi trener Stawowy.
bob and weave	He thus began a meandering, jaw dropping solo run, that saw him bob and weave through the whole Arsenal defense.	<i>unikać ciosów</i>	
body blow	Lyon conjured up two late goals to earn a point and deal Fiorentina's confidence a body blow.	<i>cios na korpus, potężny cios</i>	
boxer	Like a boxer on the ropes, Chelsea simply refuse to go down.	bokser	Wisła ostatnio choć nie zachwyca, ale spokojnie wszystkich punktuje jak doświadczony bokser w ringu.
boxing match	The second half quickly turned into a boxing match as tempers started to flare.	boksyerski pojedynek	Od tego momentu mecz przypominał pojedynek boksyerski dwóch niezbyt silnych, ale ambitnych zawodników – akcja za akcją, cios za cios.
bout	Capello has a selection headache ahead of Wednesday's bout.	<i>walka</i>	

cont. Tab. 1

1	2	3	4
challenger	The Greens' great rivals, AEK Athens FC, were pitted against Málaga CF after the sole remaining Spanish challenger defeated Leeds United AFC.	pretendent	Potknięcia Bayernu nie wykorzystał pretendent do mistrzowskiego tytułu HSV Hamburg.
clinch	Aalborg's Martin Pedersen gets in a clinch with Manchester's Wayne Rooney.	klincz	W pierwszej połowie spotkanie wyglądało jak bokserski klincz godnych siebie rywali.
corner	In the blue corner were Croatia, one of the tournament's form teams boasting three wins from three in their group; Turkey loitered ominously in the red corner, having gained a formidable reputation as the tournament's comeback kings.	narożnik	Choć serce każe rzucić się do ataku, zapędzić rywala do narożnika, rozsądek podpowiada, że należy racjonować siły.
cruiserweight	Brazil have an attacking force built like a band of cruiserweight boxers.	waga do 86,2 kg.	
decisive blow	This time, it was the Norwegian John Carew who delivered the decisive blow.	decydujący cios	Po tym festiwalu niewykorzystanych szans decydujący cios zadał zespół KSZO.
double blow	Nigeria were delivered a double blow ahead of a game against Australia.	podwójny cios	Podwójny cios rozbił kompletnie drużynę PSV.
exchange of blows	Atletico ...have managed to turn every game into an event, into an exchange of blows without reason or explanation.	wymiana ciosów	W końcówce kibice oglądali wymianę ciosów, ale gole zdobywał lider.
guard	The tie moved into extra time with both sides moving like heavyweight boxers no longer able to think clearly enough to keep their guard up.	garda	Zawodnicy schowani za podwójną gardą sporadycznie kontratakowali.
hard/heavy blow	It was a hard blow for Beenhaker to take.	silny cios	To był wielki test naszego charakteru. W ostatnich dniach dostaliśmy silny cios z lewej, silny cios z prawej, ale dziś znów стоимy twardo na nogach.
heavyweight	This was the heavyweight bout expected of England's top two as they produced a final to remember; Heavyweights meet in Group B.	waga ciężka	Derbowe starcie Odry Wodzisław z GKS Katowice było jak walka bokserów wagi ciężkiej.
hook	The more these two superb teams probed and tested, like two powerful middleweights wary of the	sierpowy	Ruch przymierzył prawym sierpowym już po... 40 sekundach gry!

cont. Tab. 1

1	2	3	4
	other unleashing a thumping right hook, the more you had to feel sorry for John Arne Riise's calamitous moment the previous night at Anfield.		
knock down (v.,n.)	After so many rounds of battle, with one heavyweight getting knocked down and then bouncing up again, the mutual respect between both sides has grown.	posłać na deski; nokdaun	W drugiej Urugwajczyk Varela potrzebował czterech minut, by posłać Legię na deski; Zanim sędzia na dobre wyliczył Polonię i wznowił walkę, „Czarne Koszule” zaliczyły drugi nokdaun.
knockout	Spartak suffer technical knockout.	nokaut	Drugi gol byłego snajpera Atletico Madryt podłamał gości i rozpoznał ich nokaut.
lightweight	Ivan Romero's Ecuador team showed their defensive qualities in their opening game by holding Chile to a goalless draw, but looked lightweight up front.	<i>waga lekka</i>	
middleweight	As four years have passed since the last 'middleweight' final between FC Porto and AS Monaco.	<i>waga średnia</i>	
on points	Austria were clearly the better side tonight: if it was a boxing match, Austria would have won clearly on points.	na punkty	Wydaje mi się, że, gdyby to była walka w ringu, taka na punkty, to wygralibyśmy.
on ropes	Liverpool left on the ropes after Branislav Ivanovic lands one-two combination.	na linach	Należy racjonować siły. Żeby nie opaść z sił i nie oprzeć się na linach. Gramy przecież w ponad 30-stopniowym upale.
outscore	Losing their first two matches to the USA and Costa Rica, they were outscored 5-0 on the aggregate.	wypunktować	Wypunktowali nas jak wytrawny bokser – skomentował po meczu Jerzy Wyrobek, szkoleniowiec Zagłębia.
parry	Fisting, blocking, punching, saving, parrying, Egypt's 20-year-old captain did it all to thwart an exasperated Colombian attack.	sparować	Uderzał mocno, z dystansu, ale Lehmann zdołał sparować strzał na róg.
ring	European heavyweights get back in the ring.	ring	Piłka tylko dlatego nie przeleciała przez siatkę, że trafiła w bramkarza, nokautując go jak bokser rywala na ringu.
ringcraft	Yesterday Chelsea provided a further demonstration of how effec-	<i>sztuka bokser-ska</i>	

cont. Tab. 1

1	2	3	4
	tively Wenger's players can be undermined, on this occasion by opponents steeped in ringcraft.		
round	Liverpool v Chelsea Round Five: Liverpool and Chelsea meet in the Champions League for the fifth season running.	runda	W dogrywce oba zespoły poszły na wymianę ciosów, ale też piłkarze wyglądali jak bokserzy podczas 12. rundy na ringu.
sparing partner	Ukraine have finally found a decent sparring partner as they prepare for an important UEFA EURO 2004.	sparingpartner	Udanie wypadł debiut Tony'ego Mowbraya w roli menedżera Celtiku Glasgow, choć pierwszy sparingpartner nie należał do klubów z wysokiej półki.
stun	Arsenal stunned Chelsea, 2-1, handing the Premier League leaders their second loss in four home matches.	<i>ogłuszyć (ciosem)</i>	
super heavy-weight	By the following May, the lone super heavy-weight, Bayern, had not only been eclipsed as champions, but pushed down into fourth place.	waga superciężka	Manchester czy Chelsea? Finał wagi superciężkiej
throw in the towel	Grant refuses to throw in towel.	rzucić ręcznik	Po stracie drugiego gola z rzutu karnego trener gości Ryszard Wiczorek powinien rzucić ręcznik i poddać drużynę.
welterweight	In boxing terms, that's like dropping from welterweight to lightweight – which is exactly what this current Arsenal team are.	<i>waga półśrednia</i>	
<i>Second, cornerman – the official attendant of a contender in a boxing match</i>		sekundant	Na szczęście nie rzucił go [ręcznika] na murawę niczym sekundant ślaniającego się na nogach boksera.

ertoire is the frequency of the word *blow* (and its Polish equivalent *cios*), which often combines with adjectives (*double, decisive, decydujący, podwójny*). This noun (occasionally, *punch* appears in similar contexts) is used figuratively to refer to various turning points in a soccer game such as loss of a key player, scoring a match winner goal or a booking. A convincing or big win is compared to a *knockout* or *knockdown*. A team on the losing side can be seen as a boxer leaning *on the ropes*. Judging by the number of analogies, it can be argued then that in many ways football is perceived in

terms of boxing – the most representative of all combat sports.⁴ Most of this terminology echoes war rhetoric, which is one of the distinctive features of sportswriting and sportscasting (Beard 1998: 35).

3.2. Track and field and horse racing

Metaphors from track and field and horse racing will be discussed in one section as they seem to yield a very similar image in the target domain.

Track and field athletics, sometimes referred to as the queen of sports, is the second largest contributor after boxing with 36 terms (21 from English and 15 from Polish). Some of these items can also be found in other source domains, and have accordingly been marked with a single asterisk (if they also occur in horse racing terminology in their literal meanings) and two asterisks (if, besides horse racing, they appear in sailing terminology, which will be discussed in section 3.3).⁵

The set of horse racing metaphors consists of 14 English and 9 Polish items, making up a total of 23. What follows is a listing of terms that are solely used in horse racing contexts.

As mentioned above, it is legitimate to discuss terms from the above two domains together since they give rise to another conceptual metaphor, namely SOCCER COMPETITION IS A RACE. The usage examples demonstrate that competition involves a wide range of football events, including domestic leagues, international club competitions (the Champions' League, the Europa League), and big international events (the FIFA World Cup, continental championships). The SOCCER COMPETITION IS A RACE metaphor applies in particular to loanwords from track and field athletics⁶ and horse racing, though some concepts are only associated with the former.

Football teams are thus compared to runners or horses (*race horse*) participating in a race (usually a long-distance one: *marathon*) which includes obstacles (*hurdles*). At first, teams get ready for a competition (*get set, on one's marks*) and finally show up *in the starting blocks*, or *on the starting line* (the two phrases being metaphors for the start of a competition), hoping that they will not suffer a setback in the early stages of the competition (i.e. they will not commit a *false start*). When teams get going, they may compete fiercely like horses running *neck and neck*. Some sides want to set the pace (they are compared to *pacemakers* who dictate their own rules) just as runners or horses do in a race; others try to catch or find a *second wind*, especially after suffering a few defeats. Past the *halfway point*, teams gradually start getting ready for *finish* – the final and key stage of every competition, where trophies are decided. Exhausted

⁴ Also note the phrase *on points* (and its Polish equivalent *na punkty*), which in soccer language occurs in hypothetical statements usually expressing the speaker's (writer's) dissatisfaction with a final score which does not reflect the conduct of the game (see relevant examples).

⁵ In fact, the overwhelming majority of these terms can be found in the glossaries of all other racing-based sports such as car racing, cross-country skiing, cycling, rowing, speedway, to name just a few.

⁶ Although by definition track and field is a set of events involving running, jumping, throwing and walking, it is apparent that all terms borrowed into the language of soccer refer to running events.

Table 2. Track and field terms

English word/ phrase	Sample sentence	Polish word/ phrase	Sample sentence
1	2	3	4
baton	There is a widespread belief amongst Tricolor fans that the time has come for Blanco to pass the baton onto a younger generation.	pałeczka	W zaistniałej sytuacji pałeczkę w sztafecie pożądanym towarów transferowych przejął bramkarz Grzegorz Kasprzik.
clear a hurdle	The heavyweights all cleared the first hurdle in Asia's 2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa™ qualifying section.	pokonać/ przeskoczyć przeszkodę*	Wszystko zaczęło się od porażki w 1956 r., a po raz ostatni górnicy przeskoczyli stołeczną przeszkodę w sezonie 1983/84.
dead heat **	Dead heat in Differdange. Luxembourg and Estonia shared the spoils as their UEFA European Under-21 Championship campaigns ended with a 1-1 draw.	<i>bieg nierozstrzygnięty</i>	
false start**	Lyon aggrieved after false start.	falstart**	Wszak Rafał Ulatowski powinien udowodnić, że falstart Belchatów ma już za sobą.
finish (finishing) line**	Barcelona continue to run away with the 2008/09 La Liga title as they demonstrate no intent of slowing down until they cross the finish line.	meta**	FC Sion walczą o 5. lokatę na mecie sezonu od pierwszych minut rozpoczął szturm.
finishing post**	Dynamo claimed the title last term, easing past the finishing post eleven points ahead of nearest rivals Shakhtar.	<i>ślupek przy mecie</i>	
finishing straight*	The season enters its finishing straight.	ostatnia prosta*	Potem już ostatnia prosta, czyli przygotowania do potyczki z Lechem.
get set	They get set to meet the South Americans again in a dream Final.	<i>gotowi</i>	
halfway point**	The Champions League and Europa League have reached the halfway point.	półmetek**	Wprawdzie eliminacje do piłkarskich MŚ 2010 osiągają dopiero półmetek, ale Holandia już teraz jest bliska awansu na mundial.
increase the pace*	The Czechs increased the pace in the second period and captain Martin Fillo headed against the bar in the 60th minute.	zwiększyć tempo*	Po zmianie stron rzeszowianie zwiększyli tempo rozgrywania akcji i w 57. minucie objęli prowadzenie.
final/last lap**	Hertha visit Hamburg as race enters final lap.	<i>ostatnie okrążenie</i>	

cont. Tab. 2

1	2	3	4
marathon	After a tense penalty marathon, Holland went tumbling out of the finals at the hands of inspired Nigeria.	maraton	Meczem z Cracovią Śląsk rozpocznie też prawdziwy maraton spotkań u siebie.
on one's marks	Sweden on their marks for Olympic kick-off.	<i>do startu</i>	
outdistance**	But the club was outdistanced by Manchester United.	zdystansować**	Juventus Turyn w 23. kolejce Serie A będzie starał się zdystansować AS Roma w pościgu za liderem tabeli, Interem Mediolan.
pacesetter	While the next day in Group 7 pacesetters Slovakia welcome second-placed Croatia with just one point between them.	<i>zawodnik narzucający tempo; zając (colloquial, and outdated)</i>	
photo finish**	Photo finish expected in Norway	<i>fotofinisz</i>	
relay	Anelotti intends to adopt 'la staffetta' - an Italian phrase referring to passing the baton, or giving the players a half each - and Gilardino is ready for the relay.	sztafeta	Pałeczka zmieniła właściciela, sztafeta biegnie dalej. Ronaldinho został w boksie.
second wind	Toulouse [FC] lost points but might find a second wind. It won't be as easy as all that.	drugi oddech	Liverpool złapał drugi oddech i ma już tylko punkt straty do Manchesteru United w tabeli Premier League.
sprint	Sides sprint down finishing straight.	sprint	Po długim biegu po trzy trofea... dla Barcelony rozpoczyna się decydujący sprint – wystarczy wygrać 10 spotkań, by osiągnąć najlepszy wynik w historii klubu.
start (starting) line**	"This is a group stage with four teams on the starting line," he explained to a press conference.	<i>linia startu</i>	
starting blocks	Just as Porto shot out of the starting blocks at Old Trafford so United seized the early initiative here.	bloki startowe	My za to wyglądamy, jakbyśmy trochę zostali w blokach startowych. Musimy w końcu rozegrać dobry mecz.
heats		przedbiegi	Jeżeli w przedbiegach o Champions League rozprawił się z najlepszą polską drużyną, to pewnie by rządził w ekstraklasie.
<i>last-gasp success</i> ^a		rzutem na taśmę	W ostatnim sezonie Kalmar rzutem na taśmę zdobyło tytuł.

^a Almost literally: 'throwing oneself at the tape'. In track and field running events, tapes used to designate finish lines (actually, they are still used in marathon and other road races). This ritual, though practically non-existent, has been rendered idiomatically and metaphorically in the Polish language.

Table 3. Horse racing terms

English word/ phrase	Sample sentence	Polish word/ phrase	Sample sentence
horse race	AEK and Olympiakos in two horse race.	<i>wyścig koński</i>	
neck and neck	The teams are neck-and-neck on seven points in Group C and will both go through if Real overcome Swiss champions FC Zurich.	łeb w łeb	Na razie Milan i Juve idą łeb w łeb, solidarnie wygrywając swoje spotkania.
saddle	A series of wins have steadied the ship and Lomonosov's side are back in the saddle again.	siodło	Na tyle, na ile był w stanie, poukładał zespół i w siodle się utrzymał.
thoroughbred	UEFA Cup thoroughbreds reach first big hurdle.	<i>koń czystej krwi</i>	

as they might be after a long race, teams enter the *last lap* to *sprint* down the *finishing straight* and reach *finish line*. Sometimes a trophy is won in the last stage of the competition or in the final meters of the race (see the Polish metaphorical equivalent of *last-gasp success*).

3.3. Sailing

Sailing has contributed the same number of metaphors as track and field (36 including 21 from English and 15 from Polish). As was the case in the previous listings, English terms prevail, and most Polish words and phrases have their English metaphorical equivalents. Table 4 shows these items that occur solely in sailing terminology.

Some of the sailing terms (e.g., *halfway point*, *outdistance*, *starting line*, and a few others marked with a double asterisk) are in line with the SOCCER COMPETITION IS A RACE metaphor. However, the spirit of competitiveness, which has come to the fore in the metaphors discussed in the previous section, is somewhat absent in most of the sailing terminology presented above. These metaphors generate an image of a soccer team which is compared to a sailing boat or yacht participating in a regatta or going on a long-distance voyage. It is fair then to propose another conceptual metaphor, that is: A SOCCER TEAM IS A SAILING VESSEL. As the examples above show, this team should be understood in broader terms – it does not refer just to a collection of players on the field, but also includes the team's manager (coach), president, and possibly other officials. Let us quote a few examples to prove the validity of this metaphor.

The vessel's *crew* (i.e. players) are managed by a *helmsman* (coach⁷) *steering* them to success. The helmsman makes sure that his ship *sails* or *navigates* safely and

⁷ *Helmsman* is not the most senior rank aboard a ship but since *captain* has come to denote an on-field leader of the team, the latter term cannot refer, even metaphorically, to a coach.

Table 4. Sailing terms

English word/ phrase	Sample sentence	Polish word/ phrase	Sample sentence
1	2	3	4
aboard	The 33-year-old, who will captain Argentina against France in a Paris friendly this evening, will climb aboard the Yellow Submarine in the summer having signed a three-year contract with the Castellón club.	na pokładzie	Real z Perezem na pokładzie nieobliczalne propozycje składał już nie raz
aground	The traditional Norwegian tactic of pumping long balls to the forwards ran aground against the powerful Yugoslavians.	na mieliźnie	PZPN popełnił niewybaczalny błąd, zatrudniając Pawła Janasa, a kadra pod jego kierownictwem wciąż tkwiła na mieliźnie.
berth	England received an extra berth in the competition for topping the Europe-wide Fair Play league.	<i>koja, miejsce do spania</i>	
capsize	The way his team capsized in the second half, conceding two goals in the space of 23 minutes.	wywracać się do góry dnem	
course	Barcelona remain on course for a treble of trophies this season.	kurs	Podział punktów w sobotę sprawi, że obie drużyny obiorą na dobre kurs na dno tabeli.
crew	Lalas picks crew to sail to victory.	załoga	Może go zapewnić Franz Smuda i jego załoga w dwumeczu z Udinese Calcio. Już za dwa tygodnie.
drift	Allbäck threatened just before the hour but his effort drifted wide.	dryfować	Marek Chojnacki jak na razie nie odmienił oblicza gry zespołu i Arka powoli dryfuje do I ligi.
helmsman	It is the oldest story in football - when a club is sinking like a ship the helmsman has to be replaced.	sternik	53-letni sternik europejskiego futbolu rozmawiał także z czeskimi politykami.
navigate; sail	The Rossoneri navigated the second round with relative ease, twice overcoming Manchester; By contrast, Milan AC sailed through Group Two with a 100 per cent record against IFK Göteborg, FC Porto and PSV Eindhoven.	płynąć; żeglować	Wisła popłynię po mistrza; Przekonała się o tym Arka Gdynia, która po świetnym początku żegluje w dolne rejony tabeli.
skipper	He stood in as skipper for the suspended Zinedine Zidane	<i>kapitan</i>	
steer	Cesar Luis Menotti and Carlos Bilardo are the coaches who steered the Argentina to victory	sterować; ster	Trener żółtodziób [...] miał nie być i nie był w stanie sterować kolekcją megagwiazd futbolu;

cont. Tab. 4

1	2	3	4
	at the 1978 and 1986 FIFA World Cups™		Ster madryckiego klubu objął po nim obecny szkoleniowiec Walii – 60-letni dziś John Toshack.
vessel	The French club hoping to steer a course to the UEFA Cup semi-finals despite having their vessel seriously holed in Ukraine last week.	<i>statek, okręt</i>	
<i>starboard, port</i>		burta	Kolejny wielki klub, który znalazł się za burtą pucharowej rywalizacji to włoska Roma.

remains on *course* for its destination. If we translate this into soccer language, it means that his team defeats successive opponents and heads for overall success in a competition. In this sense, overall success (e.g., World Cup qualification, winning the league championship or avoiding relegation) is equivalent to reaching the final destination by a vessel. Obviously, the voyage may as well end in failure if some problems occur on the way – the team may lose a game or a series of games. In that scenario, the ship begins to *drift*, or worse than that, *capsizes* or *runs aground*.

3.4. Chess

The chess corpus includes 20 items: 10 from English and 10 from Polish.

Table 5. Chess terms

English word/ phrase	Sample sentence	Polish word/ phrase	Sample sentence
1	2	3	4
checkmate	Aragones certainly has the pieces from which to choose his pawns and bishops as he attempts to checkmate his rivals in Germany this summer.	szach-mat, dać mata, zaszachować	Właściwie jeszcze w I połowie reprezentant Wyrbrzeża Kości Słoniowej Aruna Dindane mógł powiedzieć Wiśle „szach mat”; W sobotę w Łodzi mata Widzewowi dała Korona; W meczu na szczycie galaktyczna drużyna dała się uśpić, zaszachować, pozwoliła narzucić sobie styl rywalizacji.
chess	When over-zealous media quarters might have been hoping for some sort of falsely manufactured gladiatorial battle... they instead	szachy	Mecz w Lizbonie wyglądał jak nudna partia szachów, w której obu zespołom chodzi wyłącznie o remis.

cont. Tab. 5

1	2	3	4
	were treated to a game of chess between two astute tacticians and teams.		
chessboard	Ottmar Hitzfeld – a grand master of modern strategy – with fewer players of genius on his side of the chessboard.	szachownica	Szkoleniowiec przesuwa zawodników jak po szachownicy. Np. Junior Diaz grał na lewej pomocy i obronie.
defensive move	The Portuguese veteran was sacrificed for Fabio Grosso in a defensive move by Mancini with 18 minutes to go.	<i>ruch obronny</i>	
gambit	Oddly the Italian's opening gambit was the same as McClaren's 18 months before – to exclude 99-times capped David Beckham.	<i>gambit, ruch</i>	
key move	Another key move was to secure 21-year-old Ukraine forward Artem Milevskiy.	kluczowe posunięcie	W przerwie zastąpił go Paweł Sasin i było to kluczowe posunięcie.
opening	Josef Hickersberger announced previously that just as in chess, he has a plan for the opening stages.	otwarcie	Gospodarze mieli szansę na fantastyczne otwarcie meczu. Już w 2. minucie ustawiony tyłem do bramki Dirk Kuyt uderzył z półobrotu.
pawn	We get paid millions to play a game, but we are just pawns who sell ourselves to keep this system going.	pionek	To była prawdziwa bitwa na szachownicy. Pionki nie miały w niej większych szans.
stalemate	Bayern were held <i>to a goalless stalemate</i> by a gritty Stuttgart side.	<i>pat</i>	
starting position	A goalless draw is a good starting position to reach the quarter-finals.	pozycja wyjściowa	Idealna pozycja wyjściowa do ataku na pierwsze miejsce dla trenera, który wie, jak przygotować drużynę do rundy rewanżowej.
<i>castling (literally), reshuffle (figuratively)</i>		roszcza	Sir Alex Ferguson nie zamierzał zwlekać ze zmianami i pierwsze roszcady w składzie przeprowadził w przerwie meczu.

Perhaps more than any other board game or sport, chess is commonly associated as a strategy game to the extent that it has come to epitomize tactics. All of the above terms are also used metaphorically in the standard varieties of Polish and English from which they entered the respective registers of soccer.

The image these terms have generated in football language can be subsumed in the conceptual metaphor A SOCCER MATCH IS A GAME OF CHESS. While in the

light of the boxing metaphor a football match is viewed as a physical bout fought by two boxers (usually from upper weight classes), the chess metaphor sees a soccer match as a highly elaborate game of tactics and accentuates the role of the coach by assigning him a great deal of responsibility for the team's performance. The head coach is indirectly compared to an experienced and renowned chess player who has a clear strategy before the game, and who knows what to do with his *pawns* (players) on the *chessboard* (soccer field). He also realizes what implications all *gambits* and *moves* (tactical decisions such as substitutions or team reshuffling⁸) may have. Finally, he knows how to *checkmate* (*defeat*) the opposing team. Interestingly, however, a football match which is compared to a game of chess is usually perceived as rather unexciting and highly predictable (see the quotations for this entry in English and Polish).

3.5. Other Sports

The other source domains have contributed a relatively small number of metaphors to the language of soccer (in each case fewer than 10 for each language). Given the negligible amount of data, it is not feasible to propose other conceptual metaphors. Instead, we will list the most common metaphors from five other sports, supplying examples of usage for some of them in the footnotes. The equivalents will be provided in parentheses, and lack of metaphorical correspondence in football language will be marked with an asterisk.

We will begin with **card games**, which just like chess, have contributed a portion of terms to the standard varieties of Polish and English. An *ace* (*as*) designates an exceptionally skilled player, while a *joker* (*dżoker*⁹) – the one (usually a substitute) who can change the course of events on the field, usually in an unexpected manner. Another metaphor worth noting is *deuce*¹⁰ (*dwójka**) – a feat of scoring two goals in one game. A *deck* or *pack of cards* (*talia kart*) is used to refer to a team of players. Polish playing cards terminology has contributed a few additional words to soccer language. The term *blotki* (*low cards**) denotes poorly skilled players as opposed to *figury*¹¹ (*court/face cards*), i.e. key players in the team who can make a difference on the field.

In the English soccer register we will also come across a few traces of **cricket** terminology. For example, the phrase *hit for six*¹² (*uderzyć za sześć**), which in cricket means 'score six runs'¹³, is sometimes used in the passive to refer to a defeat by six

⁸ The Polish term *roszada* (castling) is often used in this sense.

⁹ Jako dżoker wszedł na ostatni kwadrans i rozstrzygnął losy spotkania.

¹⁰ Thomas Vermaelen scored a deuce, with Eduardo da Silva and Cesc Fabregas completing the rout.

¹¹ Mancini przed rozpoczęciem minionego sezonu zamienił Romę na Inter, ale nie był główną figurą w talii Jose Mourinho.

¹² Atlético de Madrid were hit for six at Camp Nou.

¹³ Cricketing terms are defined according to http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cricket_terminology#W.

goals. A *sticky wicket*¹⁴ (*grząskie boisko**) owes its etymology to a wet pitch on which batting is difficult. Metaphorically, this phrase denotes a tough situation. Finally, an *innings (runda*)* – ‘one player’s or one team’s turn to bat’ – when combined with the adjective *good* is used to mean a long and successful period of time (e.g. a soccer career). Since cricket enjoys popularity mostly in the English-speaking corners of the world, it is no wonder we do not find any cricketing metaphors in Polish.

Nor do we come across any **rugby** metaphors in the Polish soccer register. Rugby originated on the British Isles, and shares some of its terminology with football. One of the most popular borrowings is a *scrum*¹⁵ (*młyn**) – ‘a way of restarting the game formed by players bending in three rows’.¹⁶ As a metaphor, the term refers to jostling and scrambling, usually in the penalty area. A *conversion kick (kop podwyższający*)* in turn is a ball shot very high. *Up and under*¹⁷ (*wykop z powietrza**) is defined as ‘a high short punt onto or behind the defending team’, and is used in a similar meaning in soccer language. Another interesting expression, which also occurs in ice hockey and a few other sports, is *sin bin*¹⁸ (*ławka kar**) – perhaps more commonly referred to as a penalty box (‘the area where a player sits the time of a given penalty’). In soccer, at least for now, there is no sin bin so the term applies to a player’s suspension, mostly as a result of bookings.

Soccer terminology has also borrowed a few words and phrases from the world of **tennis**. A *daisy-cutter*¹⁹ (*niskie uderzenie**), also occurring as a cricket term, is a low shot skidding along the ground. *Game, set, match (gem, set, mecz*)* is a term meaning that one player has just won the point that has given him the match. Metaphorically, it could be used to talk about crowning the team’s effort to win a match or a trophy. Winning the *Grand Slam (Wielki Szlem)* in tennis is definitely the most prestigious achievement. In soccer it is employed to refer to a series of four football trophies or four consecutive wins²⁰. Finally, the term *matchpoint*²¹ (*meczbol, piłka meczowa*) occurs in soccer-related contexts to denote an opportunity to win a match or clinch a title.

The last source domain to be discussed in this paper is **wrestling** – the only category where the Polish terms predominate over the English ones, which might be due to the popularity of this sport in Poland in the last three decades of the 20th century. The phrase *wrestling match*²² (*pojedynek zapasniczy*) can be used to refer to some of the wrestling holds (one of these, a *nelson*, is actually used metaphorically in soc-

¹⁴ By this point, the Italians were batting on a sticky wicket.

¹⁵ First, a blast by Zoltan that Seitz made a diving save to his left to stop, and then a scrum in front of the goal.

¹⁶ Rugby terms are defined according to http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_rugby_league_terms

¹⁷ Johan Elmander: (6.5) - Caused panic with his up-and-under for the second goal.

¹⁸ The Istanbul side welcome Gökhan Zan back from his time in the sin bin.

¹⁹ The former Liverpool goalkeeper tipped aside Rosicky’s 35th minute daisy-cutter.

²⁰ Piłkarski „wielki szlem” nie jest jednak nowością dla Ajaxu.

²¹ We wasted our first match point last week when we lost against [AC] Siena. Now we have another opportunity and we want to take it.

²² Mariusz Lewandowski (6.0): Cost his side the victory through an ill-advised wrestling match with Proedl.

cer language) applied by the players of the opposing teams. Needless to say, such techniques usually infringe upon the rules of the game. In the Polish data we will come across *pasyność*²³ (*passivity, stalling**) or, in other words, passive obstruction, which in the world of wrestling means avoiding contact and slowing down the pace of the match. The term is applied to teams that play utterly defensive football. Another wrestling phrase worth noting is *sprowadzić do parteru*²⁴ (*take down to the ground**), which is used in a practically identical meaning in soccer language. Finally, we have the phrase *rozłożyć kogoś na łopatki*²⁵ (*pin sb down**). In wrestling, when you pin your opponent down, you force the opponent's shoulders to the mat, which terminates the match. In football, the phrase is mostly used to refer to match-winning events.

4. Conclusions

Our analysis of metaphorical terms from other sports in soccer language has found that the largest contributor is boxing to the extent that a soccer match can be understood in terms of a boxing match, re-emphasizing the competitive spirit of the world's most popular sport. Further on in the ranking we have track and field athletics and horse-racing (SOCCER COMPETITION IS A RACE). Of some prominence are also the sailing metaphors (A SOCCER TEAM IS A SAILING VESSEL) and chess terms (A SOCCER MATCH IS A GAME OF CHESS). Among the data we will also come across single items from card games, cricket, rugby, tennis and wrestling. Regarding the source of the analyzed metaphors, it could be argued that they are, by and large, grounded in recognizable and popular sports with established traditions. We will not encounter equally large sets of terms from more modern sports such as Formula 1, speedway, or even cycling and basketball (interestingly, soccer language has borrowed a relatively small number of metaphors from other team sports).

Taking a contrastive approach, we will find that the English terms prevail over the Polish ones (by a proportion of 56% to 44%). This quantitative discrepancy could be attributed to the fact that English has a more extensive sports vocabulary than Polish, which should not come as a surprise as the English-speaking countries (notably the UK and USA) are regarded as the cradle of a large number of contemporary sports. However, there are some exceptions to this trend. The Polish lexical repertoire does not contain any rugby or cricket metaphors, while the English database includes hardly any wrestling terms. This can easily be explained in terms of different socio-cultural realities. After all, rugby and cricket are inherently British team games to the extent that they could be deemed national sports. Wrestling, in turn, used to be a popular combat sport in Poland. Interestingly, the proposed conceptual metaphors yield an identical image of the world in both languages. However, this should not be

²³ Gdyby to były zapasy Polonia zapewne straciłaby punkt za pasyność.

²⁴ ... mówił pomocnik Odry Maciej Małkowski, który zanim Korzym został sprowadzony do parteru, trafił z bliska w nogi Kaczmarka.

²⁵ Drużyna PGE GKS Bełchatów była bliska rozłożenia Lecha Poznań na łopatki.

interpreted in terms of semantic borrowings, but rather in terms of evidence for the existence of language universals.²⁶

Finally, it would be worthwhile to answer the following question: why do soccer writers and casters consistently borrow terms from other sports domains, and use them as metaphors? The reasons are the same as for other kinds of lexical transfer to and from general sports language. According to Shamsuddin and Kamaruddin (2008: 177–178), writers use metaphors for the purposes of conciseness (language economy), emotional value embedded in such terms, and persuasion (to make readers agree on a specific point of view). It seems that in the case of soccer language, it is especially the last two reasons that figure most prominently.

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²⁶ Similar conclusions were drawn by Mišić Ilić, who observed a semantic correlation between Serbian and English chess metaphors. She attributes this to a high degree of universality – cultures which are familiar with the game of chess are likely to conceptualize the world in a similar manner.

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