

## “The fighter for peace, Olof Palme” or the metaphoric construction of meaning in the Polish press of the 1980s

### Abstract

*Cognitive metaphors of JOURNEY, BURDEN and WAR prevalent in the Polish press discourse of the 1980s are identified on the basis of a qualitative analysis of three issues of Trybuna Ludu. They act as a foil for a case study of the imagery of the reports on the assassination of Olof Palme. It shows that the dominant discourse practice of the period is difficult to overcome and can lead to a paradoxical tension between the target and source in metaphoric mapping. The paper is concluded with a quantificational analysis revealing that the frequency of some of the expressions assumed to trigger the WAR metaphor is not at all high in war reports, so that their association with the concept must be based on their use in other genres.*

**Keywords:** *media discourse; critical discourse analysis; cognitive metaphor*

### 1. Introduction

The construction of meaning in mass media discourse has attracted attention of linguists working within a number of fields, most notably Critical Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Metaphor Theory. The interbreeding of the two approaches has resulted in a growing number of publications within a newly emerging field variously called Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004, Charteris-Black and Musolff 2003), Critical Cognitive Linguistics (Koller 2004) or Cognitive Sociolinguistics (Janicki 2005).

Studies, such as Nerlich (2003, 2005 a and b), have shown that metaphor is a common rhetorical device employed to perform two main functions. One is to serve as a cohesion device, structuring discourse in a particular way, visible especially when metaphors form coherent clusters or chains. In such cases they often facilitate a counterfactual representation of the world or offer a specific perspective or event framing allowing the author of the text to establish a plane of mutual understanding with the

reader, strengthening the in-group ties and in this way increasing the persuasive power of the text (the other function).

The present paper is a report on work in progress and aims at identifying the prevalent discourse metaphors of the period. Against this background a case study of the articles on the assassination of Olof Palme will be conducted to show how the established discourse practice is difficult to overcome, so that discourse participants seem unable to break off from the widespread patterns and to select expressions (and metaphors) which may seem more appropriate to the task at hand. As one of the rampant metaphors of the period draws on the domain of WAR, the words identified in the qualitative analysis as potentially representing the mappings will be used in a simple frequency search of war reports to assess the extent to which they may contribute to the structuring of the source model.

## 2. The data and method

The data for analysis comes from *Trybuna Ludu*, the newspaper considered an organ of the Polish United Workers' Party promoting the views of the hegemon on the Polish political scene of the 1980s. The newspaper consisted on average of 8 pages on weekdays and 10 on weekends. Three issues (Thu Jan. 2<sup>nd</sup> 1986, Sat Feb. 2<sup>nd</sup> 1986, and Mon March 3<sup>rd</sup> 1986) were selected for close reading in order to establish the dominant imagery of the time. The selection of the issues was random, but two of the issues proved to be quite specific. The Jan. 2<sup>nd</sup> 1986 issue contained the New Year addresses of General Wojciech Jaruzelski and First Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, both of which represent blatant examples of meaning construction in political speeches (cf. Charteris-Black 2006, Chilton and Lakoff 1995). Koller (2003: 120) points out that in media discourse it is difficult to draw a clear line between "the secondary discourse of journalism and the primary discourse on which journalists report and comment". The two articles indicated above are political speeches published in a newspaper, so in this sense they are primary discourse. It is not transparent, though, whether they were published in full, or edited. The issue of March 3<sup>rd</sup> devotes much space to the assassination of Olof Palme, the Swedish Prime Minister. We will take a closer look at these two topics.

In the second part of the paper one particular source domain, that of CONFLICT, is singled out for further analysis, in which war reports collected in two purpose-built corpora, consisting of all the articles published in *TL* on the Falkland war and all the articles published on the American air raid of Libya (see Table 1 for details) were used to contrast the frequency of the war-related vocabulary in discourse on war and in discourses on other topics.

Table 1. The characteristics of war reports corpora

| Topic                 | Time span                         | Number of texts | Word count |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|------------|
| The Falkland war      | 3–4 IV 1982–17VI 1982, 10 XI 1982 | 70              | 42,247     |
| The air raid of Libya | 12–13 IV 1986–10–11 V 1986        | 67              | 24,195     |

### 3. The predominant imagery in the three issues of *Trybuna Ludu*

One of the major sources of figurative conceptualisations used in this period was based on JOURNEY as the source domain. The key words frequently re-occurring in discourse were *droga* ‘the way’, *krok* ‘step’, *marsz* ‘march’, *iść* ‘to walk’, *kroczyć* ‘to stride’, *dążyć* ‘to strive’, *przyspieszać* ‘to accelerate’, *tor* ‘trajectory; path’, *torować* ‘to clear (the way)’, *perspektywa* ‘perspective’ (this one arguably does not need to be a core element of the JOURNEY domain; however, when contextually supported by other JOURNEY words it seems to reinforce the image). Their use is illustrated in the examples (1)–(5):

- (1) w poszukiwaniu pokojowych *dróg* ‘in search of peaceful *ways*’
- (2) Jestem przekonany, że uczynimy dalszy *krok* do przodu. ‘I am convinced that we will make another *step* forward’
- (3) by nadal nieugięcie *kroczyć drogą* doskonalenia społeczeństw, w których żyjemy ‘so that we could *continue steadfastly on the way (road)* to improve societies, in which we live’
- (4) w dziedzinie *przyspieszenia* społeczno-gospodarczego rozwoju kraju ‘in the domain of the socio-economic *acceleration* of the country’
- (5) by w zgodnej twórczej atmosferze *iść* do nowych sukcesów ‘in order to *go* for new successes in the atmosphere of mutual understanding and creativity’
- (6) *pierwsi torujemy nieprzetartą drogę* do nowego społeczeństwa, *kroczymy* nią godnie i nieugięcie! ‘we are the first *to pave the way* for a new society, we *stride* on it proudly and steadfastly!’

This wording creates an image of a united group of people striving at the beginning of a new journey, searching for new roads, clearing the paths, where the goal of the endeavours, reinforced later by another metaphorical cluster focusing on BURDEN, is a good life for the future generations.

Some of the lexical items, however, clearly point to the temporary difficulties the travellers to the better tomorrow may encounter on their way, as indicated by such words as *bariery* ‘barriers’ or *kuleć* ‘to limp’; but these obstacles can be overcome, see examples (7) and (8):

- (7) ... proszek do prania, którego dostawy na rynek *kuleją* już od dłuższego czasu. ‘washing powder, the supply of which has been *floundering* (lit. *limping*) for quite some time’

- (8) dzięki wysiłkowi stoczniovców szereg *barier* udało się pokonać  
'thanks to the efforts of the shipyard workers a series of *barriers*  
have been overcome'

Occasionally the metaphor was creatively elaborated by the journalists, who explored the possibilities of employing less trite formulas, as in (9) below:

- (9) Powinniśmy *dążyć* do tego, żeby zarabiać więcej. [...] Ale *dążyć* uczciwie [...] *Nie szukać obejść, bocznych ścieżek...* 'We should *strive* to earn more. But we should strive for it in an honest way. *We should not look for back roads...*'

Although the JOURNEY metaphor permeates all the texts on economy, politics and social issues, it seems particularly resonant in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech, which is constructed around two conceptual source domains: JOURNEY and TRADE, as evident in example (10) below:

- (10) Nie będziemy mogli osiągnąć tego celu, jeśli nie zaczniemy gromadzić *krok po kroku* najcenniejszego *kapitału* – zaufania między narodami i państwami. 'We won't be able to achieve this aim, if we don't start, *step by step*, to gather the most precious *capital* – that of the trust between countries and nations'.

The JOURNEY metaphor has received a lot of attention in Cognitive Metaphor Theory (starting with Lakoff and Johnson 1980 LIFE IS JOURNEY, and lower in the inheritance hierarchy LOVE IS JOURNEY, ARGUMENT IS JOURNEY, etc.). In American culture the core of the licensing story<sup>1</sup> for the metaphor seems to be a goal-oriented purposeful motion, while in the Soviet (as represented by Gorbachev's speech) and Polish discourses the focus was on the strain the journey requires and the aim of the journey was not within the reach of the present generation. Such framing construed striving rather than achieving as virtuous.

These two metaphors are further reinforced by two other domains, that of BURDEN and BUILDING:

- (11) Weźmy na siebie zadania położenia kresu *ciężącej* nad ludzkością groźbie. Nie będziemy *przenosić* tej sprawy *na barki* naszych dzieci. 'Let's take upon ourselves the task of putting an end to the threat which *burdens* the humanity. Let's not *leave* [lit. *transfer*] that on our children's *shoulders*'.

<sup>1</sup> Eubanks (1999) claims that metaphors and their licensing stories both constitute and are constituted by a given culture and have an ideological perspective.

- (12) życzymy im dalszych sukcesów w *budowie* nowego życia ‘we wish them further success in the *building* of the new life’

This intricate interaction between a number of source domains is possible through the grounding concepts implicated in all of them, namely TIME, SPACE, FORCE and THING. TIME and SPACE are inherent in both travelling and building, THING is most pronounced in the conceptualisation of TRADE, BURDEN and BUILDING, but perhaps also in JOURNEY, in particular when it comes to the obstacles;<sup>2</sup> finally, FORCE seems to conceptually underlie all action. The fact that these primary metaphors serve as building blocks for other metaphors enhances discourse cohesion, even if the source domains vary.

General Jaruzelski’s speech also employs JOURNEY metaphors and refers to such sources as BURDEN, BUILDING, ILLNESS and WAR. With the exception of JOURNEY, which is used thrice, each metaphor is used only once. It is therefore difficult to posit that they are discourse structuring metaphors. However, it seems to me that because they remain salient in the general propagandist discourse of the era (see examples above) and despite the fact that they are completely worn off and extremely fossilised, in my opinion they are still capable of arousing emotions in the reader. Especially the burden metaphor used in the highly emotional context of post World War II Polish-Ukrainian conflict activating the self vs. the other identity constructing frame seems to contribute to the intensity of the speech and may be used as an in-group bonding device (example (13)):

- (13) wciąż odczuwam *ciężar* i dramatyzm tamtego dnia [...] Właśnie 31 grudnia 1945 r. jako oficer 5 Pułku Piechoty uczestniczyłem w akcji bojowej przeciwko bandzie UPA ‘I still feel the *burden* and the drama of that day [...] Precisely on Dec. 31, 1945 as an officer of the 5<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment, I took part in a military action against a band of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army’.

The ILLNESS metaphor is used in the classical function described by Schön (1993); consequently, the categorisation and labelling of the problem as illness suggests aggressive treatment as a solution:

- (14) zamierzamy osiągnąć znaczny postęp w procesie – nazwę to – odrodzenia moralnego – a ściśle mówiąc *likwidowania, oczyszczania, usuwania* z naszego życia różnych *chorobliwych narośli i deformacji* –

<sup>2</sup> On the status of THING as a generic term, the conceptual basis of categorisation and understanding of all experience (a theory stemming from Kotarbiński’s reism) is developed by Szwedek (2000, 2005 and in press).

*patologii ... 'we intend to achieve significant progress in the process of – let me call it – moral revival – or, to be more precise, of eliminating, cleansing and removing from our life various sickly tumours and deformations – pathologies ...'*

The references to the GARDENING/FARMING domains, so prolific in the data from the British Labour Party Manifestos analysed by Charteris-Black (2004), in Jaruzelski's speech are, to use Goatly's (1997) term, dead and buried, although used twice in the formulaic expressions *jałowy pesymizm* 'futile (lit. infertile) pessimism', *owocna praca* 'fruitful work'.

A survey of the remaining texts in the three issues of *TL* extends the pool of commonly used metaphors over such domains as FAMILY (15)–(16), LESSON (17) and NATURAL PHENOMENA (18):

- (15) *bratni zakład* 'sister (lit. fraternal) factory'
- (16) *zgodną rodzinę narodów naszej wielkiej ojczyzny* 'a harmonious family of nations of our great fatherland' [Gorbachev about the Soviet Union]
- (17) *te negatywne doświadczenia muszą uczyć jak inwestować z pożytkiem dla kraju* 'these negative experiences must teach us how to invest for the country's benefit'
- (18) *klimat międzynarodowy* 'international climate'; *zgodna, twórcza atmosfera* 'an atmosphere of mutual understanding and creativity'

Although today some of them may sound amusing to the nostalgic readers, at the time, it seems to me, they were mostly inactive.

The excerpt in (19) is an instance of an actively elaborated discourse structuring metaphor:

- (19) *w erze nuklearnej wszyscy ludzie znajdują się na tym samym statku. Kołysanie nim poprzez awantury wojenne jest rzeczą skrajnie niebezpieczną.* 'In the nuclear era all people are on the same boat. Rocking the boat through war incidents (lit. brawls) is extremely dangerous'.

Here, the use of the word *kołysanie* 'rocking' constitutes the elaboration, the use of *statek* 'boat' alone would be rather stale. The image refers to the common cultural concept of the NATION/STATE IS A BOAT conceptual metaphor, which in Polish culture finds its prototypical realisation in the parliamentary sermons of the Jesuit preacher Piotr Skarga (16<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> c.), whose highly complex and detailed image of *najmilszy okręt ojczyzny naszej* 'the beloved vessel of our fatherland' is covered as a part of school curriculum. Piotr

Skarga is also depicted in a painting by another nation-building person in the Polish history – the painter Jan Matejko (19<sup>th</sup> c). I cannot claim that most readers make the intertextual connection, but many probably do, as it is an important part of the Polish national identity-building discourse.

The second, after JOURNEY, most widespread source domain for the construction of discourse is that of WAR or CONFLICT. It appears in relation to all the usual targets identified in other studies (see for instance Frankowska (1994) and Majkowska and Satkiewicz (1999)), i.e. POLITICS, ECONOMY and SPORT. The illustrative phrases for each domain are represented in (20), (21) and (22) respectively:

- (20) *weterani* walki i pracy ‘war (lit. fight) and labour veterans’; *w obronie* pokoju i odprężenia ‘in the defence of peace and détente’; *walka* o pokój i postęp społeczny ‘fight for peace and social progress’; *konfrontacja* polityczna ‘political confrontation’; *bojownik* o pokój ‘a fighter for peace’; *agresywny* ‘aggressive’; *wróg/wrogi* ‘enemy’ (N/A)
- (21) dla Hiszpanii i Portugalii udział w EWG jest równoznaczny ze śmiertelną walką na własnych rynkach wewnętrznych z potężniejszymi konkurentami z Francji, Anglii ... ‘for Spain and Portugal joining the EEC is tantamount to a mortal combat on their own internal markets with more powerful competitors from France, England ...’
- (22) *pokonać* ‘defeat’; *atakować* ‘to attack’; *front* ‘front’; *walka/walczyć* ‘fight’ (V/N); *pojedynek* ‘duel’

The examples in (20) point to what I consider a weakness of CMT. That is, although it is common to posit the underlying conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WAR for such lexical realisations, I wonder what kind of general implications such a claim has. Is this metaphor psychologically real to the majority of text readers? Or to an ideal native speaker? Or to a linguist trained in CMT?

Is it the case that every use of these words activates both domains? Or can they only potentially do so, for instance when an elaboration of the metaphorical scenario, in the sense of Musolff (2004), takes place? If so, what is the synchronic value of positing conceptual metaphor for the inactive uses?

If positing the underlying conceptual metaphor for the fossilised uses has mostly diachronic value, is it really the case that the extension of meaning resulted from metaphoric mappings? Could it also have been a reorganisation of standard (in the Langackerian meaning of the term) for categorisation?

Categorisation as such is another related problem, as the concepts of ‘politics’ and ‘war’ can interact in a number of different ways, so that one use of the lexical item *war* may refer to the profile in which ‘war’ is

'a kind of' 'politics', as in the famous Clausewitzian saying or, in another use, can be seen as remaining in opposition to 'politics', when 'politics' is taken to mean 'diplomacy'.<sup>3</sup>

All these doubts suggest that the term 'conceptual metaphor' seems to the present author to be used in a variety of incompatible senses, resulting from the lack of distinction between its (prototypically) synchronic and (prototypically) diachronic uses. That is, in live metaphor it seems psychologically plausible to claim that some connection is active between the nodes of the meaning network standing for access points to different domains. In dead metaphor, however, it does not seem reasonable to claim that such connection exists in the minds (or brains) of the language users. They can certainly be constructed anew on the basis of form uniformity of lexical expressions. That is to say that even if the different senses of one lexical item are stored separately in the mental lexicon and are no longer connected by metaphoric mapping, the very fact that they have the same lexical representation can contribute to their co-activation. The metaphorical connections can also be reconstructed in etymological studies, but their psychological status must be very different to those which are re-awakened by elaboration and visualisation.<sup>4</sup>

Unlike in the conflict imagery in the domain of POLITICS, the metaphoricity of the use of *śmiertelna walka* 'mortal combat' in (21) seems to me to be quite salient, or at least its perlocutionary effect involves emotional arousal. It may result, though, from the combination of both words, as *śmiertelny* is a high intensity, emotionally loaded word.

Only half a page of the weekday *TL* was devoted to sport, so that the data for this domain is really restricted. Even so, an interesting case of the ambiguous use of the word *walka* 'fight' could be identified:

(23) [about boxing] *nie wszyscy walczyli na dobrym poziomie* 'not everyone put up a good fight'

When this phrase is used in the context of a boxing competition it may refer to the literal meaning of fight, in the sense of dealing blows to the opponent, as well as to a more abstract, psychological drive on the part of the sportsmen to compete. This expression clearly blurs the boundaries between the metaphorical and literal. Alternatively, it could be analysed as a topic-triggered metaphor.<sup>5</sup> There are more cases like this, especially

<sup>3</sup> The problem is investigated in more detail in Fabiszak (in preparation).

<sup>4</sup> I owe the last two possibilities to Veronika Koller, p.c.

<sup>5</sup> I would like to thank Veronika Koller for this suggestion.

under the umbrella of the POLITICS IS WAR metaphor, in which the literal and the metaphoric meaning seem to be conflated. Consider (24):

(24) Przy omawianiu aktualnych problemów międzynarodowych podkreślano stanowczą wolę Polski i ZSRR prowadzenia – wspólnie z innymi państwami-stronami Układu Warszawskiego – aktywnej *walki* o radykalne *uzdrowienie* sytuacji w Europie... ‘When the present international problems were mentioned, the firm resolution of Poland and the Soviet Union – and other countries-members of the Warsaw Pact was emphasised – to *fight* actively<sup>6</sup> for a radical *treatment* of the situation in Europe...’

Here, both the domain of WAR and that of ILLNESS (active fight and radical treatment of Europe’s ailments) are invoked. The use of *aktywna walka* ‘active fight’ in the context of a military organisation, such as the Warsaw Pact, is particularly interesting. It is difficult to say if the intention of the author of the text was to explore the ambiguity of reference between diplomatic and military action, or was he/she just succumbing to the dominant discourse practice. Such uses, I believe, conflate the two domains in the reader’s conceptualisations and may lead to a situation where the transition from peaceful means to Clausewitzian ‘other means’ ceases to be a discrete qualitative change, and becomes an imperceptible shift of emphasis.

The above analysis has set the background of the dominant discourse of the period. Below I conduct a case study, in which the metaphor source prevails as if against the idea represented by the target, creating an impression that aptness of metaphor can be secondary to its popularity.

In the issue of March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1986 a number of articles were devoted to the assassination of Olof Palme. It is interesting to investigate just one aspect of the way he was represented in the news; see examples (25)–(27):

(25) *bojownik o pokój* [Olof Palme] ‘a fighter for peace’ (4x)<sup>7</sup>

(26) ... polityk, który oddał życie ideałom *walki o pokój* i sprawiedliwość ‘a politician who devoted his life to the ideals of a *fight for peace* and justice’ (6x)

(27) Palme umarł w wierności swemu demokratycznemu ideałowi, którego zawsze energicznie *bronił*. ‘Palme died loyal to his democratic ideal, the ideal he has always vigorously *defended*’. [attributed to the Belgian Prime Minister] (1x)

<sup>6</sup> The Source Language text has an NP not a VP in this position.

<sup>7</sup> The number in the brackets shows how many times the underlined phrase appeared in the corpus of 2,277 words that comprised all the articles related to the assassination published in *TL* on March 3<sup>rd</sup> 1986.

The prevalent image offered in the paper is that of WAR (*bojownik* 'fighter', *walka* 'fight', *bronić* 'to defend'), which is particularly ironic in the context of Olof Palme's efforts to promote peace. The slightly paradoxical *walka o pokój* 'war for peace' indicates how powerful the notion of conflict underlying the discourse of the time was. Some discourse participants, however, were able to overcome the dominance of this framing, as shown in (28)–(30) below:

- (28) aktywnie *angażujący się w sprawy pokoju i odprężenia* 'actively engaged in the matters of peace and détente' (3x)  
 (29) *nieustrudzony orędownik* sprawy pokoju i rozbrojenia 'an unremitting advocate of peace and disarmament' (1x)  
 (30) Premier Ghandi [...] określa swego partnera jako *człowieka pokoju*, który poświęcił się dziełu tworzenia bezpieczniejszego i lepszego świata. 'Prime Minister Ghandi [...] describes his partner as a man of peace, devoted to the creating of a safer and better world'. (1x)

In this way, it seems to me, the more language conscious speakers were able to suggest a more appropriate image of the politician. They did that by resorting to a more general wording ('engaged in the matters of peace', 'a man of peace') or to a legal metaphor ('an advocate of peace').

#### 4. A frequency analysis of war vocabulary

The qualitative overview of metaphors used in the journalist discourse of the period helped to identify the words which I believe may trigger an access to the domain of war as a reference for imagery employed in texts on other issues. The words identified in the qualitative analysis are: *atakować* 'to attack', *atak* 'an attack', *agresywny* 'aggressive', *(o)bronić* 'to defend', *obrona* 'defense', *walka* 'a fight', *walczyć* 'to fight', *wróg/wrogi* 'enemy' (N/A), *śmiertelny* 'deadly', *konfrontacja* 'confrontation', *przeciwnik* 'opponent', *front* 'front', *batalia* 'campaign', *bojownik* 'fighter', *pokonać* 'to defeat', *weteran* 'veteran', *pojedynek* 'duel', *rykoszet* 'rebound'.

For the combined corpus of the Falkland and the Libya reports consisting of 66,442 words, the raw frequencies of the words in question are presented in Table 2.

As Polish is a highly inflectional language, the search forms had to include wild cards (\*), so that all the different word forms would come up in the search. As the corpus is not annotated for part of speech, such searches gave only general results, disregarding the possible subdivision of forms into nouns, verbs and adjectives. If, however, we believe that lexical items are linked to their senses or lexical concepts in the Langackerian meaning-

Table 2. The frequencies of ‘war’ vocabulary in war reports

| search form                     | raw freq. |
|---------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. *atak* ‘attack’              | 204       |
| 2. *bron* ‘defense’             | 193       |
| 3. agres* ‘aggression’          | 162       |
| 4. wal{k,c}* ‘fight’            | 77        |
| 5. wr{o,ó}g* ‘enemy’            | 23        |
| 6. śmier* ‘death’               | 19        |
| 7. konfrontacj* ‘confrontation’ | 13        |
| 8. przeciwnik* ‘enemy’          | 13        |
| 9. front* ‘front’               | 11        |
| 10. batal* ‘campaign’           | 2         |
| 11. bojown* ‘fighter’           | 2         |
| 12. pokona* ‘defeat’            | 1         |
| 13. weteran* ‘veteran’          | 0         |
| 14. pojedyń* ‘duel’             | 0         |
| 15. rykoszet* ‘rebound’         | 0         |

form dyad, and that lexical concepts constitute access points to larger cognitive networks, then searching for stem morphemes is as revealing as searching for every part of speech separately, if the purpose of the search is to establish the saliency, understood as based on frequency of occurrence, of these words in the WAR frame.

The words in Table 2 are listed by decreasing frequency. The words 1–9 can be considered as relatively salient, while 10–15 are evidently not. It is interesting to note that in these two particular corpora the word *pokonać* ‘to defend’ appeared only once. The fact that the word *batalia* ‘campaign’ turned up only twice is not surprising, as it is a highly poetically marked word, now archaic; if used, it instantly activates the ‘glorious war myth’. The 0 frequency of *weteran* ‘veteran’ could be expected, as the reporting concerned the wars in progress, which extended over too short a period of time to produce veterans already. When it comes to *pojedynek* ‘duel’ and *rykoszet* ‘rebound’, their appearance in war reports of contemporary warfare is not unthinkable, as for example dogfights can be referred to in Polish as *pojedynek w powietrzu* ‘an air duel’, but did not take place in the data investigated.

The quantitative analysis indicates that words 10–15 are too rare, or absent in the analysed war reports to contribute significantly to the image of war created in this type of discourse. If they are considered possible evidence for the underlying conceptual metaphor of X IS WAR structure, then their position in the conceptualisation of war must be based on texts other than news reports, for example history textbooks or literature.

## 5. Conclusion

A qualitative analysis of the three issues of *Trybuna Ludu* (Thu Jan. 2<sup>nd</sup> 1986, Sat Feb. 2<sup>nd</sup> 1986, Mon March 3<sup>rd</sup> 1986) reveals that the two most prevalent images of the period were JOURNEY and WAR. The journey metaphor was often mixed and supported by metaphors of BURDEN and BUILDING. Unlike in the American scenario for JOURNEY, the Polish scenario seems to focus on toil and travail, so that a society trapped in this metaphor's construal of the world is expected to endure any hardships they may be faced with. WAR metaphors overlap with JOURNEY as they require the same capacity for perseverance in fighting for and defending some abstract values, but not necessarily winning the conflict. In my opinion such metaphoric construal of the world discouraged any active attempts at changing it. The WAR metaphor was so strong that even in the reporting of the assassination of Olof Palme, the 'man of peace', as Ghandi put it, the predominant metaphors were the military ones.

The words singled out in the qualitative analysis of the three issues of *TL* as possibly triggering war imagery were searched for in the corpus of the *TL* war reports mentioned above. The searches showed that not all words assumed to constitute the semantic field of war had any meaningful frequency in war reports. Clearly, if they indeed activate the war schema, their power to do so comes from the associations created on the basis of texts other than war reports, provided that the reports selected for the quantitative search can be considered representative of the genre.

### REFERENCES

- Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2004. *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*. Basingstoke-New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2006. *Politicians and Rhetoric. The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*. Basingstoke-New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Charteris-Black, Jonathan and Andreas Musolff. 2003. From: 'Battered hero' or 'innocent victim'? A comparative study of metaphors for euro trading in British and German financial reporting. *English for Special Purposes*, 22. 153–176.
- Chilton, Paul and George Lakoff. 1995. Foreign policy by metaphor. In Schäffner, Christina and Anita L. Wenden (eds). *Language and Peace*. Aldershot: Dartmouth. 37–60. An early popular version of the paper available from <http://crl.ucsd.edu/newsletter/3-5/Article1.html> (03 Jan. 2006).
- Fabiszak, Małgorzata. in preparation. War as source and target of metaphors.
- Frankowska, Maria. 1994. Frazeologia i metaforyka w tekstach politycznych l. 1989–1993. [Phraseology and metaphor in political texts of 1989–1993.] *Język a kultura*, 11. *Język polityki a współczesna kultura polityczna*. 21–47.
- Goatly, Andrew. 1997. *The Language of Metaphors*. London: Routledge.
- Janicke, Karol. 2005. Applied Sociolinguistics needs Cognitive Linguistics. Paper presented at New Directions in Cognitive Linguistics conference. Oct. 23–25, 2005, Brighton, UK.

- Koller, Veronika. 2003. Metaphor clusters, metaphor chains: Analysing the multifunctionality of metaphor in text. *metaphorik.de*, 05. 115–134.
- Koller, Veronika. 2004. *Metaphor and Gender in Business Media Discourse: A Critical Cognitive Study*. Basingstoke-New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Majkowska, Grażyna and Halina Satkiewicz. 1999. Język w mediach. [Language in the media.] In Pisarek, Walery (ed.) *Polszczyzna 2000. Orędzie o stanie języka na przełomie tysiącleci*. 181–217. Kraków: Ośrodek Badań Prasoznawczych UJ.
- Musolf, Andreas. 2004. *Metaphor and Political Discourse. Analogical Reasoning in Debates about Europe*. Basingstoke-New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nerlich, Brigitte. 2003. Tracking the fate of the metaphor *silent spring* in British environmental discourse: Towards an evolutionary perspective on metaphor. *metaphorik.de*, 04. 115–140.
- Nerlich, Brigitte. 2005a. ‘A River Runs Through It’: How the discourse metaphor *crossing the Rubicon* structured the debate about human embryonic stem cells in Germany and (not) in the UK. *metaphorik.de*, 08. 71–104.
- Nerlich, Brigitte. 2005b. Cognitive linguistics: A Tale of Two Cultures. Plenary lecture presented at New Directions in Cognitive Linguistics, Brighton, UK. Oct. 23<sup>rd</sup>–Oct. 25<sup>th</sup> 2005.
- Sandikcioglu, Esra. 2003. More metaphorical warfare in the Gulf: Orientalist frames in news coverage. In Barcelona, Antonio (ed.) *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads. A Cognitive Perspective*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 299–320.
- Schön, Donald, A. 1993. Generative metaphor: A perspective on problem-setting in social policy. In Ortony, Andrew (ed.) *Metaphor and Thought*. 137–163. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Skarga, Piotr. 2005 [1610]. *Kazania przygodne*. [Casual sermons.] Including *Kazania sejmowe* [Parliamentary sermons.] Now available at <http://monika.univ.gda.pl/~literat/skarga/0002.htm>
- Szwedek, Aleksander. 2000. Senses, perception and metaphors (of object and objectification). In Puppel, Stanisław and Katarzyna Dziubalska-Kołaczyk. (eds.) *Multis vocibus de lingua*. 143–153. Poznań: Neophilological Department.
- Szwedek, Aleksander. 2005. Obiektywizacja jako podstawa metaforyzacji. [Objectification as the basis for metaphorisation.] In Kardela, Henryk, Muszyński Zbysław and Maciej Rajewski (eds.) *Kognitywistyka. Problemy i perspektywy*. 231–240. Lublin: Maria Curie-Skłodowska University Press.
- Szwedek, Aleksander. in press. An alternative theory of metaphorisation. In Fabiszak Małgorzata (ed.) *Language and Meaning from a Cognitive and Functional Perspective*. Frankfurt am Mein: Peter Lang.