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'*Rocking the boat*' and '*putting spanners in the works*': On different metaphorical conceptualizations of the European Union

ABSTRACT

The article aims to analyze different metaphorical conceptualizations of the European Union in *The Guardian* discourse. The corpus of news texts subject to analysis comes from a manually compiled 930,000-word corpus of news articles, retrieved from *The Guardian* from May 2004 through December 2009. The analysis focuses on four most frequent metaphors identified in the corpus, namely, THE EU IS A HOUSE and THE EU IS AN ELITE CLUB, which are used in the context of the accession of new countries to the EU and the related problem of immigration, as well as THE EU IS A BOAT and THE EU IS A MACHINE, which are embedded in the context of internal EU tensions concerning home affairs. The analysis and discussion of the four metaphorical conceptualizations of the EU is carried out with metaphor operationalized as a framing device in discourse, whose main function is to impose a particular axiologically-charged and ideology-laden construal of a participant/event in discourse.

1. Introduction

Over forty years after the publication of the seminal *Metaphors We Live By*, it may seem trivial to start an article on metaphor with a reference to Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) publication and it is exactly for this reason that I will not do it here.[1] To anyone whose interests fall within the field of metaphors, or figurative language more generally, equally trivial would probably be a statement that the literature on metaphor is extensive – so I am not going to mention this fact either. I will also not discourse on how many different approaches and revisions of the original Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) formulations have sprung up throughout now over forty years of research into metaphor (e.g., critical metaphor theory (Charteris-Black 2004, 2006), conceptual blending theory (Brandt 2013; Fauconnier & Turner 2002), objectification theory (Szwedek 2011), to mention but a few). It might seem that almost everything has been said on this matter and yet research into and interest in metaphor is not fading away.

It goes without saying that any discourse is to a bigger or lesser extent saturated with metaphors, which seems only natural in light of the ubiquity of metaphor in the processes of conceptualizing and hence constructing our intersubjective social reality. It is also little surprising that the process of metaphorization may concern virtually any aspect of this reality as the potential metaphorical targets in this peculiar conceptual world seem almost infinite. What I am concerned with in this article is metaphor as a framing device in discourse. Specifically, I concentrate on different metaphorical construals of the European Union, which situates the article within a popular strand of research on different representations or conceptualizations of the EU.[2] On theoretical and methodological grounds, I follow the standard Lakoff and Johnson's (1980, 1993) classification of metaphors into ontological, orientational and structural,[3] focusing on the structural ones. I also make reference to image schema theory (see Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987; Lakoff & Johnson 1999) to account for the schematic conceptual structure of the metaphors under microscope in this article.

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1   Let us recall at this point the cognitive-linguistics-world-and-beyond-famous Lakoffian (2004) *'Don't think of an elephant!'* argument.

2   Admittedly, the number of publications on various representations of the EU in different discourses is monumental, which makes the task of providing even a cursory literature review on the subject barely feasible; more importantly, such a review is far beyond the scope of this article. What adds to the complexity of this situation is the fact that research into this phenomenon has been marked by different focus, for example, on a given type of discourse (e.g., Islentyeva 2019; Kimmel 2009; Kovář 2019), on a given political and/or social phenomenon (e.g., Barbé, Herranz-Surrallés & Natorski 2015; Drulák 2006; Natorski 2020; Straehle et al. 1999), or on a particular national perspective (e.g., Chaban & Elgström 2018; Chaban & Kelly 2017; Danilet, Mihai & Clipa 2017; Drulák & Königová 2007; Żuk 2010), to mention but a few.

3   I am aware of some revised and more up-to-date classifications of metaphors (e.g., Szwedek 2011), yet the original typology as introduced in *Metaphors We Live By* suffices for the purpose of this study.

The study is conducted on a corpus of news articles retrieved from *The Guardian's* online archive. The time range of the corpus under analysis is May 2004 through December 2009, which amounts to approximately 930,000 word tokens.

2. METAPHOR AND FRAMING: SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

For the sake of clarity and yet to avoid stating the obvious, suffice it to say that metaphor in this study is understood as a fairly stable (on conceptual grounds) inter-domain mapping of selected conceptual content of the source domain onto the target domain, which is manifest in language in the form of linguistic expressions. Perceived in this way, metaphor may serve a variety of functions, such as to help understand abstract concepts, to evoke feelings, to express judgment or to persuade, to mention but a few. All these functions can, however, be perceived as derivatives of the more fundamental characteristic of metaphor, namely, its framing capacity. It is against a particular cognitive frame that comprehension, evaluation, including ideology promotion, or persuasion is obtained. Hence, a conclusion can be drawn that categorization by means of framing is one of the most fundamental and primitive cognitive operations a human is capable of carrying out in order to conceptualize reality.

The power of framing has been noticed by many scholars. Lakoff makes a particularly insightful comment in this respect in the context of politics:

> Frames are mental structures that shape the way we see the world. As a result, they shape the goals we seek, the plans we make, the way we act, and what counts as a good or bad outcome of our actions. In politics our frames shape our social policies and the institutions we form to carry out policies. To change our frames is to change all of this. Reframing is social change. (Lakoff 2004: xv)

In the above quote Lakoff suggests that breaking away with some more traditional frames in favor of some new ones may entail significant social consequences. Since frames are part of what Lakoff (2004: xv) refers to as "cognitive unconscious" and since it is via language that frames are established and activated, the role of discourse as a site of language production and contestation is immediately apparent. Therefore, it can be said that (re-)framing in discourse amounts to social change, which testifies to the dialectical relationship between discourse and society. Hence, it seems reasonable to turn our researchers' critical eyes to the processes of framing entities or event in discourse, which is exactly what this article is concerned with.

The fundamental role of metaphor in framing discourse entities/events has been explicitly pronounced, for example, by Hart (2010, 2014). In his typology of construal operations, Hart (2010, 2014) assigns framing one of the most prominent roles in discourse (see Table 1).

System / Strategy	Gestalt	Comparison	Attention	Perspective
Structural configuration	Schematization			
Framing		Categorization Metaphor		
Identification			Focus Granularity Viewing frame	
Positioning				Point of view Deixis

Table 1. Hart's (2010, 2014) typology of construal operations in discourse

(Vertical label: Construal operations)

As we can see in the table, the discursive strategy of framing is the function of the human ability to perceive similarities and differences between entities in the world. Together with categorization, metaphor is a construal operation by means of which the imposition of a certain interpretational frame upon a discourse participant/event can be achieved. This has some crucial implication for discourse comprehension since, as Hart (2014: 111) explains, "framing concerns how participants and processes are attributed more affective qualities as alternative categories or conceptual metaphors are apprehended in their conceptualization and, as a function of associated frame-based knowledge, project different evaluative connotations or entailments" (Hart 2014: 111). What follows from Hart's above observation is the fact that using metaphors, one is capable of opening up a completely new interpretational space in discourse since metaphors have the function of activating vast amounts of knowledge structures relevant to a particular interpretational frame. As a result, recruiting such rich conceptual representations from human encyclopedic knowledge, metaphor with its framing potential is a powerful conceptual and discursive tool to reproduce ideology and evaluation in discourse.

3. THE CORPUS

The source of my language data is a manually compiled 930,000-word corpus of news articles (also referred to as news items), retrieved from *The Guard-*

ian, a liberal British daily quality newspaper, from May 2004 through December 2009. The articles are available in *The Guardian*'s online archive at www.guardian.co.uk. The key word for the selection of the language data was the occurrence of the lexical item *EU* in the headline of the article. The choice of this particular lexical item as a key word allowed me to include in the search results such lexical items as the nouns *EU*, *Europe* and *European* and the adjective *European*. Moreover, I have included in my search results only the articles which occurred in one of the three sections of *The Guardian*, namely, (1) UK news, (2) World news and (3) Politics. It follows that my corpus of news items is clearly thematically focused, that is, it reflects a specific area of human cognition, namely, Europe in its political and economic contexts.

4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

To start with, I would like to make a few general remarks concerning the procedure I followed in order to identify and later analyze the metaphorical conceptualizations of the European Union as reported by *The Guardian*. Given the vast amount of data in the corpus, a question concerning metaphor identification is likely to arise. I have followed a manual search method, which consists in reading through the corpus and extracting any instances of metaphor found (cf. Semino & Masci 1996). It needs to be clearly said that the present study falls within a bigger research enterprise I have been working on since 2014 and hence I have been close-reading this language sample over and over again on different occasions and with different purposes in mind. I have kept a record of any figurative conceptualization, including metaphor, of Europe and the European Union and hence I have been able to identify a number of different linguistic vehicles a particular metaphor hinges on. Now, with this proviso in mind, my claim that the metaphors under the microscope in this study have been identified during the process of manual corpus search should sound more reliable in terms of the methodological underpinnings and transparency of the procedure.

In my corpus (see section 3) I have identified four dominant metaphors *The Guardian* uses to construe the European Union, namely, EU IS A HOUSE,[4] EU IS AN ELITE CLUB, EU IS A BOAT and EU IS A MACHINE. In what follows, I discuss each metaphorical conceptualization of the European Union in a particular context: I start with the EU IS A HOUSE and EU IS AN ELITE CLUB metaphors in the context of EU integration and the related issue of immigration; next I move on to the discussion of the EU IS A BOAT and

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4   I would like to thank one of the reviewers for an insightful comment concerning the choice of the source domain (HOUSE) for this metaphor, which I have adopted in the article, having thoroughly investigated the linguistic exponents of the metaphor in my corpus.

EU IS A MACHINE metaphors in the context of the internal EU tensions concerning EU home affairs, the talks on the EU constitution in particular.

The first context subject to analysis in this article is the issue of the accession of new countries to the EU and the related problem of immigration. Given the time frame of my corpus, that is May 2004 through December 2009, it should be little surprising that the topic of immigration was a heated debate during that time period since it was in May 2004 that the biggest ever EU enlargement took place, with 10 new countries joining in. Importantly, the 2004 EU enlargement was followed by another one in 2007, when Bulgaria and Romania joined the European family. It will be remembered that as the aftermath of the so-called big-bang 2004 EU expansion the EU job market, especially the British one as Great Britain did not impose any limits on the flow of immigrants, became very quickly saturated with cheap workforce and many concerns on the issue started to be clearly articulated. Sketching the context of the immigration crisis, it cannot be forgotten that *The Guardian* is a British liberal daily broadsheet newspaper which takes a generally pro-EU stance as opposed to some conservative, EU-skeptical quality press or tabloids.

Having laid out the context for the immigration crisis, it is time to see how the choice of the two metaphors, namely EU IS A HOUSE and EU IS AN ELITE CLUB, frames the EU, creating space for evaluation and ideology reproduction in *The Guardian*'s discourse. Let us start with the EU IS A HOUSE conceptual metaphor. This metaphorical construal is triggered by different linguistic vehicles, which is illustrated by examples (1)-(6) below.

(1)   This kind of regime change is the only way in which the EU can lay claim to being a serious global player – on almost every recent international crisis, from Bosnia to Iraq, internal squabbles crippled an effective response. No wonder then that there are plenty of Europhiles, particularly in the UK, whose eyes glitter at the prospect of Turkey in the EU *queue*.

(2)   In a speech in London, Jack Straw, the foreign secretary, warned that failure to allow Turkey *entry* could create a serious crisis in the future. "We all have an interest in the modernization of Turkey and of reform there," he said. "If we make the wrong decision, we could find that we have a crisis on our own *doorstep*."

(3)   The big bang of last year is a fact, irreversible and changing the EU fundamentally in many ways. What is more, the EU of 25 countries and 450 million people creates a momentum for greater growth, a kind of moral imperative to embrace eventually those parties still outside and *hammering on the doors*.

(4)   This is why tens of thousands of people from across the world, seeking to leave behind abject poverty, war or repression, are *knocking at the gates*

of the EU. Regulating the conditions for *entry* cannot be the exclusive re-
sponsibility of those who are near the *gate*.

(5)   The EU has bought itself a 10-year breathing space, in which it can reap
the political benefits of negotiating with a country which is both Muslim
and democratic, without addressing the practical consequences of doing
so. If the spring-loaded *door* to entry has been *prised open* painfully with
Turkish fingers, it would not take much for it to *slam shut* again.

(6)   The decision to abandon the government's *open door policy* towards
eastern Europe comes after the Home Office underestimated how many
workers would arrive when 10 new states, including eight central and east
European countries, joined the EU in May 2004.

It seems that the primary aim of construing EU as a house is to emphasize
the fact that the EU is a place people want to be in as it is a guarantee of se-
curity and prosperity; it is not, however, easy to become part of it because
there are the ones who protect it by preventing the unwanted from getting
in. In this way, *The Guardian* draws a dividing line between those that are in
and those that are outside and are in want of becoming part of the EU, which
is lexically signaled in example (1) by means of the noun *queue*. Undeniably,
this metaphorical construal attributes positive axiological charge to the EU
as a place associated with security and comfort. Additionally, it can be no-
ticed that this metaphor is elegantly compatible with the metaphor of the
European family (see, e.g., Filonik 2018; Hülsse 2003) as families typically
inhabit a house which they deem to be their safe haven where no uninvited
people are welcome.

   Obviously, the concept of house is grounded in the pre-conceptual
schema of a container, which is exactly why it is possible to talk about its
inside and outside and the movement into the container (the noun *entry* in
examples (2) and (4)). Another consequence of the EU IS A HOUSE metaphor
and its container conceptual basis is that the ones who are inside can de-
cide who can be allowed in and the only possible way to get into the house
is via the door (examples (2), (3), (4) and (5) make use of the nouns *doorstep*,
doors, *gates* and *door*, respectively). The importance of the house door as the
last barrier which protects the inside form the outside is very clearly visible
in example (2), where crisis at the doorstep of the EU is a serious problem
because the threat is somewhat imminent as it is right behind the door. It
is crucial to notice that discursively the imminence of the threat is realized
by means the proximization strategy (cf. Cap 2006, 2008). The house door
also makes it possible to construe political action concerning immigration
and EU integration in terms of open door policy (see example (6)).

   Another corollary of this metaphor, specifically the fact that the house
has the door, is that there is a number of actions that can be performed with

the door by the ones outside as well as the ones inside it. As we can see in examples (3) and (4), relative to the intensity of the actions of either *knocking at* or *hammering on* the door, different degrees of motivation and desire of the EU outsiders to join in are encoded. The possibility of changing the perspective (or vantage point) from the ones outside to the ones inside is elegantly illustrated in example (5), where the verb construction *to prise sth open* encodes vantage point exterior while the verb construction *to slam sth shut*, although without any overt attribution of agency in the context, encodes vantage point interior. Additionally, the former implies some painstaking effort put into the process of opening the door, while the latter implies fierce and immediate action of closing the door, which additionally could implicate that it has been shut for good. What this means for the EU outsiders is that they have to try as hard as they can and do their utmost, which very often is not an easy task, to be let in, yet it does not take much for them to be turned down.

The second metaphor employed to construe the EU in the face of integration-immigration context is the EU IS AN ELITE CLUB conceptual metaphor[5] (see examples (7) and (8)). It can be argued that this metaphorical construal is conceptually contiguous with the EU IS A HOUSE metaphor as it is contingent on the same container pre-conceptual image schema and it seems to fulfill a similar, if not the same, discursive function.

(7)   And then there is Cyprus. On the face of things, the requirement that Turkey should sign a trade protocol that gives de facto recognition to the Republic of Cyprus could not be argued with. You cannot *join a club* without recognising all of its *members*, who now include the republic.

(8)   American uncertainty and scepticism about what Europe really is hasn't prevented Washington putting pressure on the EU to reward this or that country by letting them join *the European club of rich, democratic nations*. Most recently, it has been lobbying for Turkey to be allowed to come inside.

As we can see in example (8), framing the EU in terms of a club serves the purpose of establishing a positive construal of the EU as an exclusive and luxurious collectivity of nation states whose members live in prosperity and cherish democratic standards.[6] As was the case with the previous metaphor, here we can also learn that to become a member of this club is a privilege that only the chosen ones can be granted as long as they accept and

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5   I discuss this metaphor elsewhere (see Wilk 2014), where I show how this metaphorical construal of the EU bears on the conceptualization of Poland as a candidate state. This metaphor is also discussed in Żuk (2010).

6   As pointed out by one of the reviewers, the axiology of the notion of exclusivity is context-sensitive (therefore never universal) and hence may give rise to positive or negative evaluation. Acknowledging this point, I would still suggest that in the context of these specific articles and given the general pro-EU ideological stance of *The Guardian*, it is at least not ungrounded to suggest a positive axiological charge of this metaphorical construal.

comply with the internal rules of the organization (see example (7)). In this respect, both the EU IS A HOUSE and EU IS AN ELITE CLUB metaphorical construals serve the discursive function of framing the EU as an institution associated with somepositive values and hence as a place where everyone wants to belong with.

The other pair of metaphors used to conceptualize the EU in the context of internal EU tensions concerning home affairs comprises the EU IS A BOAT and EU IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphors. Since the context for these metaphorical conceptualizations is EU home affairs, which, at least in theory, are dear to every EU member, it should probably not be very surprising that both source domains serve to frame the EU as one coherent entity, here boat and machine, whose functioning depends on its each and every constituent. In this respect, the two metaphors share a common discursive function.

Let us start with the EU IS A BOAT metaphor as it is more diversified in terms of linguistic metaphorical vehicles in my corpus of news articles. Examples (9)-(14) present the context and the different linguistic vehicles which activate the metaphor.

> (9) Yet regardless of the outcome of that divisive left-right contest, Europe's problems remained formidable. "Merkel is bogged down in domestic problems. Eastern Europe's leaders are in a complete mess. There's not a great deal of enthusiasm for Bulgarian and Romanian accession – people are holding their noses and gritting their teeth. The French have behaved abominably towards Turkey. The [EU] constitution is dead but nobody's prepared to say so. *It's not a happy ship*," he said.

> (10) The Dutch are expecting a quieter stint. "The Netherlands is not out *to rock the boat*," Mr Balkenende assured the outgoing European commission president, Romano Prodi, and his colleagues in The Hague. "We *aim to keep the boat on course and on speed*. We do not aim to load Europe down with a mountain of new plans and strategies. In these changing times, the Netherlands' ambition is to ensure that the plans and policies already made are carried out with energy."

> (11) After the chancellor penned a combative Financial Times article warning against the old "inward-looking, inflexible and sclerotic" Europe, both No 10 and No 11 denied any hint that Mr Brown was seeking to *rock the boat* at the end of a *storm-tossed* political week.

> (12) Sarkozy calls for new alliance to *steer* Europe.

> (13) Unveiling a white paper setting out Britain's priorities for the next six months *at the helm of* the 25-member union, Mr Straw said the government would push for economic reform and put Turkey's case for EU membership.

(14) Britain is favour of Europe again – at least for a while. It may even have dawned in Westminster and Whitehall that, in the post-crisis, post-capitalist era, Europe as a bloc will need *to row together – or sink together*.

The first remark that is due in terms of all the six above examples is that it was my subjective intuition to choose the boat and not the ship as a source domain for this metaphor.[7] The choice was not, however, completely accidental as there are at least two reasons that can lend themselves to its support and justification. First and most importantly, in my whole corpus of news articles there is only one lexical item *ship* which refers to the EU (see example (9)) and hence could serve as a metaphorical source. Given the size of the corpus (see section 3), one occurrence is probably even less than statistically irrelevant. Second, although some lexical items are clearly insensitive to the ship-boat distinction, for instance the verbs *to steer* (example (12)) or *to sink* (example (14)) as well as the nouns *course* (example (10)) or *helm* (example (13)), others are collocates of the lexical item *boat* only, for instance the verbs *to row* (example (14)). Importantly, the idiomatic lexical construction *to rock the boat*, which hinges on the lexical item *boat*, and which is of high frequency in the corpus also seems to point to the boat as a source domain for the metaphor subject to analysis here.

As we can see in examples (10) and (11), the idiomatic expression *to rock the boat* is used to indicate that neither the Netherlands nor Tony Blair respectively aim at stirring up trouble within the European family of member states. The rationale behind this metaphorical conceptualization of the EU is that swaying a boat to the sides on open waters may pose a threat to the passengers as the likelihood of falling out of the boat increases substantially. Hence, to ensure a smooth and trouble-free journey every passenger needs to abide by the rules and cooperate with others; otherwise, the boat might not stay on the right course and speed (see example (10)), which may result in either a delay in sailing to a safe haven or a complete failure to do so. On political grounds, the mapping of the above conceptual structure of the source domain of boat onto the target domain of the EU translates into the fact that only by working cooperatively together can successful operation of the institution be guaranteed. This argument is also clearly visible in example (14), where we have an explicit reference to the act of rowing, which ensures stable locomotion. We can see that in the crisis-torn EU the only way to stay at the surface and not to go under water is to cooperate and act together towards common goals.

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7   The difference in terms of the conceptual content of the lexical items *boat* and *ship* as source domains has been discussed in Zinken (2007). I have also talked about this distinction and different affordances stemming from the SHIP/BOAT construal of the EU in the context of the EU crisis elsewhere (see Wilk 2015). However, the discussion concerned exclusively the picture modality.

An interesting affordance stemming from this metaphor concerns the possibility of holding a particular person or entity responsible for actions and decisions taken within the EU. The linguistic expressions which make it possible to assign responsibility for any actions taken within the EU family are the already discussed idiomatic expression *to rock the boat* (examples (10) and (11)), the verb *to steer* (example (12)) as well as the prepositional phrase *at the helm of* (example (13)). As far as rocking the boat is concerned, it goes without saying that the expression bears negative axiological load and indicates an unwelcome outcome of the action. Hence, it seems obvious that the one who is the source of energy flow which causes the boat to rock is the one to blame for the problems caused. The situation looks slightly different in terms of the verb *to steer* and the prepositional phrase *at the helm of* since neither is value-laden. This axiological neutrality makes it possible either to attribute blame for any wrong doings or to express praise for a successful action or decision. On conceptual grounds, this is possible thanks to a mapping between the captain of a boat in the source domain and the leader in charge of the EU in the target domain as steering a boat means chiefly being in charge of its helm.

The second of the two figurative construals is the EU IS A MACHINE metaphor. Since, compared to the previous metaphor, this one is characterized with a more schematic conceptual content, the frame evoked by it is conceptually poorer as well and gives rise to a smaller number of affordances. Examples (15)-(18) illustrate how the metaphor is activated in the context.

> (15) Jose Manuel Barroso, president of the European commission, said: "It is vital leaders reach an agreement [on the EU rebate], even if it is not perfect, to show Europe *works*."

> (16) "So if the election is next May, we will hold that referendum before we meet again next October. Europe *isn't working* properly today and the constitution will only make matters worse."

> (17) "This vote [France's vote on the EU constitution] was no minor internal affair – it had the potential *to put a serious spanner in the EU works*," said Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, the Danish president of the European Socialists. With the exception of the Belgian Socialist party, no European social democratic party shared France's misgivings about the treaty.

> (18) Proposals outlined in the summit's draft conclusions to reengage voters with Europe include opening up EU decision-making to more public scrutiny. But Britain is leading a small faction opposing the idea – on the grounds that putting the spotlight on the *mechanics* of the legislative *machinery* would make it harder than ever to get deals between 25 or more nations.

An interesting point to be mentioned about this metaphorical construal of the EU is that in my corpus the linguistic metaphorical vehicles which active the metaphor almost invariably constitute part of direct quotes from EU representatives.[8] A likely explanation of this situations seems to be the fact that the even more schematic INSTITUTIONS ARE MACHINES metaphor which the EU IS A MACHINE metaphor rests on is so common and pervasive in our human conceptual system that it seems to be the most natural (and arguably neutral) way of conceptualizing institutional bodies of great complexity, which EU definitely is an instance of.

In examples (15) and (16) we can see that the metaphor is activated by means of the verb *to work*. Our fundamental knowledge pertaining to machines is that for a machine to work properly, all the component parts must function correctly for even if one element is broken, the whole will not operate. Example (15) hinges upon this knowledge in particular as we can see in the context that only a joint decision on the EU rebate will prove that the whole institution works properly.

In example (17) the metaphorical construal manifests itself in the idiomatic expression *to put a spanner in the works*, which indicates an action taken in order to inhibit or even prevent a plan or process. Conceptually, the expression is based on the knowledge that putting something such as a metal pole in the works of a machine either blocks the running of the machine or destroys it completely. The context of example (17) makes it clear that the French no vote on the EU constitution could have put the whole project at great risk.

Another corollary of this metaphor is that different institutional instruments of the EU are conceptualized as a complex machinery. In example (18) there is a direct reference to EU legislative procedures in terms of a machinery and its complex mechanics. What this metaphor intends to communicate here is that EU legislation is a multifaceted mechanism whose complexity and meanders are far beyond an average person's perception. Hence, making the nuts and bolts of this procedure available to EU voters might be counterproductive for there seems to be a reasonable risk that the impossibility of digging through its complexity could paralyze the whole process of decision-making within the EU.

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8   While it can be argued that opinions of the EU representatives cannot be by default equated with *The Guardian*'s ideological stance, I agree with media discourse analysts (e.g., Fowler 1999; Richardson 2007; van Dijk 1988), who generally subscribe to the view that not a single choice with respect to what does (an equally importantly – what does not) find its way into a news text, including who gets quoted and who does not, is left to chance and hence invariably does comply with the news outlet's ideological slant.

5. Conclusions

The cognitive linguistic analysis of metaphorical construal of the EU carried out in this article has shown that framing discourse events/participants, the EU in the case of the present article, by means of metaphor can contribute to axiology-based ideology reproduction of a particular media outlet, here *The Guardian* daily newspaper. Specifically, it has been demonstrated that *The Guardian*'s pro-EU stance manifests itself in attributing positive axiological charge to the European Union as an institution in terms of both external and internal dimensions. The former has been achieved by means of two conceptual metaphors, namely EU IS A HOUSE and EU IS AN ELITE CLUB. Both these metaphorical construals, embedded in the context of EU integration-immigration issues, serve the same discursive function, that is, they aim at framing the EU as a safe haven where all want to be for it guarantees security and economic prosperity. The latter is realized via the EU IS A BOAT and EU IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphors, which are used in the context of the internal EU tensions concerning EU home affairs. These two metaphorical construals also act jointly to fulfill the same discursive function, namely, to emphasize the importance of cooperative attitude of all member states towards political issues concerning the functioning of the EU as a whole, which encodes the newspaper's praise of the EU as a family of states.

In accordance with Lakoff's (2004) claim that reframing can lead to social change, it may be concluded that the function of framing in general, and the share metaphor takes in this area in particular, should be of growing interest to discourse analysts and linguists of any persuasion. Given the dialectical relationship between discourse and society, research into the framing function of metaphor in discourse can shed some light on the dominant ideologies operating behind any discourse and hence can contribute to raising critical awareness in the media outlets' consumers.

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Streszczenie

'**Rocking the boat**' i '**putting spanners in the works**': o różnych metaforycznych konceptualizacjach Unii Europejskiej

Niniejszy artykuł wpisuje się w cieszący się dużą popularnością nurt badań nad alternatywnymi sposobami konceptualizacji wybranego pojęcia w danym dyskursie. Badanie dotyczy metaforycznych sposobów obrazowania pojęcia UNIA EUROPEJSKA w dyskursie prasowym liberalnego brytyjskiego dziennika *The Guardian*. Analiza przeprowadzona została na własnoręcznie skompilowanym korpusie tekstów prasowych z okresu od maja 2004 do grudnia 2009 włącznie i dostępnych w archiwum dziennika *The Guardian*. Korpus liczy około 930,000 słów i jest tematycznie zogniskowany: artykuły zostały wyselekcjonowane przy użyciu słowa klucza *EU*, które pozwoliło uwzględnić w wynikach wyszukiwania takie słowa jak *European* (w języku angielskim zarówno rzeczownik jak i przymiotnik) czy *Europe*. Analiza zebranego materiału pozwoliła ujawnić cztery główne metaforyczne reprezentacje Unii Europejskiej – dwie w kontekście rozszerzenia Unii Europejskiej o nowe kraje członkowskie i związanego z tym problemu imigracji (UNIA EUROPEJSKA TO DOM i UNIA EUROPEJSKA TO ELITARNY KLUB) oraz dwie w szerszym kontekście burzliwej polityki wewnętrznej Unii Europejskiej, charakteryzującej się tarciami pomiędzy krajami członkowskimi (UNIA EUROPEJSKA TO ŁÓDŹ i UNIA EUROPEJSKA TO MASZYNA).

W części teoretycznej metafora pojęciowa, wykorzystana na potrzeby artykułu w oryginalnej wersji zaproponowanej przez Lakoffa i Johnsona (1980), została zoperacjonalizowana w kontekście funkcji ramowania, jaką odgrywa w dyskursie. W tym celu posłużono się typologią zaproponowaną przez Harta (2010, 2014), w której metafora pojęciowa, ufundowana na bazie podstawowej umiejętności poznawczej człowieka umożliwiającej dostrzeganie różnic i podobieństw, odgrywa rolę ramy interpretacyjnej w dyskursie, dzięki której możliwe jest osadzenie uczestników i/lub wydarzeń dyskursywnych w danym kontekście. Tego rodzaju rekontekstualizacja zjawisk dyskursywnych pozwala odwzorować wartościowanie oraz ideologię w dyskursie w postaci alternatywnych konceptualizacji danego zjawiska.

W części analitycznej zilustrowano i omówiono cztery główne metaforyczne konceptualizacje Unii Europejskiej (UNIA EUROPEJSKA TO DOM, NIA EUROPEJSKA TO ELITARNY KLUB, UNIA EUROPEJSKA TO ŁÓDŹ oraz UNIA EUROPEJSKA TO MASZYNA), podkreślając ich rolę w odzwierciedlaniu wartościowania oraz ideologii dziennika *The Guardian*. Należy zauważyć, iż zgodnie z powszechnie przyjętą regułą dyskursu prasowego (por. Fowler

1999; Richardson 2007; van Dijk 1988) żadna informacja nie trafia do tekstu artykułu przypadkiem, lecz jest wynikiem świadomych decyzji podejmowanych w procesie jego tworzenia przez autorów i redaktorów, a więc jest co do zasady zgodna z linią ideologiczną danego publikatora. Biorąc pod uwagę powyższe, badaniu poddana została treść artykułów jako taka, bez rozgraniczenia treści na przykład ze względu na ich autorstwo w przypadku cytowania przez dziennik znanych polityków, a konkretne wartościowanie Unii Europejskiej przypisane zostało dziennikowi *The Guardian*.

Metafory UNIA EUROPEJSKA TO DOM oraz UNIA EUROPEJSKA TO ELITARNY KLUB pojawiają się w kontekście akcesji nowych krajów do wspólnoty europejskiej oraz powiązanego z tym zjawiska napływu imigrantów zarobkowych do Wielkiej Brytanii. Funkcja obu metafor, bazujących na przedpojęciowym schemacie wyobrażeniowym POJEMNIKA, jest zasadniczo tożsama i ma na celu ukazanie pozytywnego wartościowania Unii Europejskiej, w przypadku tej pierwszej poprzez aktywację domeny DOMU jako miejsca zapewniającego schronienie i poczucie komfortu, w przypadku tej drugiej dzięki uaktywnieniu domeny ELITARNEGO KLUBU, zapewniającego dobrobyt i bezpieczeństwo. W analizowanym korpusie metafora DOMU cechuje się zdecydowanie wyższą frekwencją oraz bogatszym zakresem językowych eksponentów tekstowych (np. rzeczowniki *kolejka*, *próg*, *wejście*, *brama* (ang. *queue*, *doorstep*, *entry*, *gate*) czy wyrażenia czasownikowe *walić w drzwi*, *pukać do bram* (ang. *hammer on the doors*, *knock at the gates*), co wiąże się bezpośrednio z większą ilością afordancji. W analizowanym materiale jedną z takich afordancji metafory DOMU jest możliwość zmiany perspektywy, a co za tym idzie odzwierciedlenia różnego punktu widzenia (ang. *vantage point*), czego przykładem mogą być wyrażenia *otworzyć/wyważyć drzwi (przy użyciu siły)* oraz *zatrzasnąć drzwi (przed kimś)* (ang. *to prise the door open*, *to slam the door shut*) – pierwsze z nich narzuca perspektywę zewnętrzną, drugie zaś wewnętrzną.

Druga para metafor pojęciowych ujawnionych w trakcie analizy (UNIA EUROPEJSKA TO ŁÓDŹ oraz UNIA EUROPEJSKA TO MASZYNA) jest osadzona w szerszym kontekście sporów i napięć wewnątrz Unii Europejskiej dotyczących różnych aspektów polityki wewnętrznej organizacji. Aktywowanie domen ŁODZI i MASZYNY umożliwia dziennikowi *The Guardian*, zgodnie z jego proeuropejskim nachyleniem ideologicznym, uwypuklenie działań wspólnotowych w celu wypracowania satysfakcjonującego wszystkie strony kompromisu oraz osiągnięcia wspólnych celów, a tym samym zapewnienie ciągłości i spójności całej organizacji. Metafora ŁODZI, a w szczególności wyrażenie *wiosłować wspólnie* (ang. *to row together*), jednoznacznie komunikuje potrzebę wspólnego wysiłku w celu zapewnienia spodziewanych efektów. Natomiast wyrażenia *wprowadzać zamieszanie* (tu dosł. *huśtać łodzią*), *sterować łodzią* czy *być u steru (łodzi/statku)* (ang. *to rock the*

boat, to steer (the boat/ship), to be at the helm (of the boat)) pozwalają na przykład jasno wskazać odpowiedzialnych za działania zarówno na szkodę wspólnoty jak i na jej korzyść. Metafora UNIA EUROPEJSKA TO MASZYNA, wywodząca się z bardziej schematycznej metafory INSTYTUCJE TO MASZYNY, charakteryzuje się wyższym stopniem ogólności niż metafora ŁODZI, co może sugerować jej bardziej powszechne i mniej nacechowane użycie, a tym samym tłumaczyć fakt, że w badanym korpusie pojawia się zasadniczo w formie cytatów znanych polityków. Dzięki tej metaforze podkreśla się, jak ważna jest kooperacja w ramach Unii Europejskiej wszystkich jej członków, aby zapewnić nieprzerwane i poprawne działanie całej instytucji. Uwidacznia się to w szczególności w idiomatycznym wyrażeniu *rzucać kłody pod nogi* (ang. to *put a spanner in the works*), które przypisuje znaczącą rolę współpracy i porozumieniu w ramach wspólnoty, gdyż nawet niewielkie rozbieżności mogą stworzyć zagrożenie dla danego przedsięwzięcia.

W konkluzjach zawarto ogólną sugestię, iż analiza metafory pod kątem jej funkcji ramowania w danym dyskursie jest wartościowym wkładem zarówno w badania nad metaforą, jak i w badania nad dyskursem, gdyż zwrócenie uwagi czytelnika na niejednokrotnie zamaskowane i znaturalizowane medialne przekazy wartościująco-ideologizujące może przyczynić się do wypracowania i rozwoju bardziej krytycznego podejścia odbiorcy danego dyskursu do proponowanych treści.