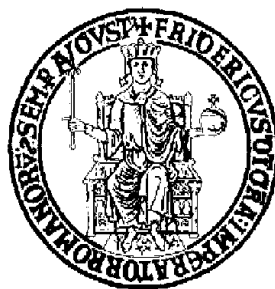


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TESI DI DOTTORATO

**Images of the Lisbon Treaty Debate in the British Press.
A Corpus-based Approach to Metaphor Analysis**

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Introduction

Metaphors play an important role in understanding social and political realities and in particular they are very useful to their user to present complex and abstract situations in terms of more simple and familiar ones. According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003) metaphors are not merely linguistic structures but they shape our thinking and define our social and political reality. Many scholars (Musolff et al 2001, Musolff 1996, Schäffner 1996) have also shown how metaphors are fundamental in interpreting and understanding the complex dynamics of the political debate about Europe. By presenting European issues in the form of well-known and recognisable schemas and scenarios metaphors make them accessible to the general reader. However, in order to understand complexity of metaphors, it is necessary to analyse them in the context where they occur. Metaphors have turned out to be particularly significant in the identification of ideologies and values of a discourse community (Charteris-Black 2004; Fairclough 1989). In the past many researchers regarded the conceptual form of metaphors as more important than their linguistic representation and largely ignored metaphor connection to real life issues. Many studies only involved investigation into the conceptual sphere and based their findings on intuitions or invented data without questioning the applicability of these results to the real world (Gibbs 1994; Lakoff and Johnson 2003). Nowadays, research is involving the application of metaphor analysis to real situations. Zanotto et al (2008) and Deignan (2005) have shown how some intuitions may reveal to be partially true or completely wrong when confronted with the real occurrences of metaphorical expressions in a corpus and suggest a new approach to metaphor as “social and situated, as a matter of language and discourse, and not just as a matter of thought” (Zanotto et al 2008: 1).

Against this background, this research project aims to investigate the representation and description of the European Union integration process related to the Lisbon Treaty debate in a selection of British tabloids and broadsheets. In particular, this presentation aims to explore the most recurrent conceptual metaphors in order to show how not only do they describe the scenario created by the Irish rejection of the treaty but also give information about Britain’s perception of the EU and its future. Starting from the results of previous metaphor analyses on the European debate over sensitive issues, the present research questions whether the British press is still Eurosceptic or its general negative stance towards the European Union has softened. The decision to investigate the British press is due to the fact that other studies have already been conducted in this field but also to the assumption that printed media are one of

the most attractive genres and may indicate the general overview and public perception of a specific topic. It has been argued that media represent our first contact with the external world (Van Dijk 1991) and in particular that through the printed media British people may have ready access to important information aimed at forming and reinforcing opinions especially on matters concerning Europe (Anderson and Weymouth 1999). Moreover, it is unquestionable that the British press has turned great attention to the European Integration process during the last ten years. Indeed, media's interest in the relationship between the UK and EU can be traced back to 1990s when the negotiations for the Maastricht Treaty were going to take place. The relationship between Britain and Europe has been a controversial issue and has occupied the pages of national newspapers and filled up the political agenda. This much debated issue has in fact seen both political and social supporters and opponents to the integration of Britain in the EU discussing over the best option to choose. Moreover, the several opt-outs from Britain to the proposals of the EU have attracted media's attention which on the one hand, has favoured the flow of information while, on the other hand, has contributed to influence the reader's image and perception of the UK and EU. This interest has increased and nowadays the British press is still focusing on political debates over Europe.

At the beginning of the European drafting stage of the new treaty, the British press seems to be interested in the worries and hopes of the European Commission President, José Barroso.

José Manuel Barroso, the European Commission president, told the national leaders last night that there were "no reasons, no excuses" why the treaty should not be agreed tomorrow. "This will not be the Battle of Lisbon," he said. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 18 October 2007)

The metaphorical expression used by the leader and reported by the *Daily Telegraph* might suggest the intention of persuading European Heads of Government to sign the Lisbon Treaty without difficulties or reserve. The following day, the *Daily Mail* and *The Independent*, respectively quoting Brown and Barroso, reported that it was necessary to *move on/forward* in order to get a renovated Europe.

In his first appearance on the European stage as Prime Minister, Mr Brown insisted it was time for Britain to 'move on' from the arguments it had had for 'many, many decades' over changes to the EU's powers and structure. (*Daily Mail*, 19 October 2007)

Jose Manuel Barroso, the European Commission President, criticised Britain for demanding so many opt-outs. "Of course we regret that it was necessary to have some opt-outs from some countries. But we respect this. We prefer to have a solution that is broadly agreed with some

specific opt-outs for some countries than not to move forward”. But the Tories dismissed Mr Brown’s “red lines”, and renewed their call for a referendum. (*The Independent*, 19 October 2007)

A common intention of finding a solution for the benefit of Europe was in the mind of both leaders. Barroso in particular stressed the importance of a solution agreed by all the member states. CONFLICT and MOVEMENT metaphors when speaking of Europe come as no surprise. Many scholars (Musolff 1996, 2004; Schäffner 1996; Musolff and Charteris-Black 2003) have shown that they are recurring conceptual metaphors of the debate about Europe. Images of *a train moving at different speeds along the path of the integration* are common during the years of the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties. While the conceptualisation of euro trading as PHYSICAL COMBAT is a common feature of the British press reporting during the years preceding euro adoption. Since then it is not surprising that politicians and newspapers as well have spoken of the European Union projects in terms of MOVEMENT and CONFLICT. Therefore, we could say that those metaphors are still used in the political debate over Europe even though the SOURCE domain appears to be different. To this regard, the movement seems to have a new destination: the renovation of the EU structure, i.e. the approval and later ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. It is this new destination that is going to be investigated.

The present research project is divided into 6 Chapters. The first Chapter provides a general overview of the political background to the Lisbon Treaty ratification. It tries to outline the most significant stages in the political process of European Institutional reforms started with the drafting and following rejection of the European Constitution in 2005. The second Chapter traces the main tenets of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory focusing in particular on the methodology of Cognitive Linguists to investigate metaphors. It argues that the traditional methodology merely explores a limited potential of metaphor that can be fully appreciated only by considering the pragmatic function of metaphors and combining a qualitative and quantitative approach. The second Chapter also gives an overview of the main findings of corpus-based studies focusing on the application of metaphor research onto the European framework and explaining why these studies are fundamental for this research project.

The third Chapter provides information on the selection of data, their collection steps and corpus size. It gives an overview of articles distribution in the entire corpus making parallels with the historical background traced in Chapter 1. Eventually, it also deals with corpus annotation and any other procedure carried out to make the data more comparable and suitable for the computational tool used for the metaphor analysis in this research project. Chapter 4 is concerned with the two stage analysis undertaken following Charteris-Black’s Critical Metaphor Analysis procedure. It focuses on the first stage of analysis carried out on a

sample of articles providing a basis for a more quantitative analysis. It shows how from a first reading it has been possible to individuate the most recurrent conceptual domains and draw some preliminary observations. In particular, Chapter 4 deals with the first stage analysis of the two most recurrent conceptual metaphors in the corpus: MOVEMENT and CONFLICT metaphor. The first reading of a sample of articles has given a perception of possible metaphorical expressions in the corpus as described in the second paragraph of Chapter 4, while further investigation with computer tools provided by the Software used (WordSmith 5) has offered a more detailed scenario of the real occurrences in the whole corpus. This second stage of analysis has provided the basis for a wider qualitative analysis whose description is part of Chapters 5 and 6.

The fifth Chapter deals with the analysis of MOVEMENT metaphors in detail. It examines the six scenarios emerged from the analysis of both the political scenario and the media coverage of the two conceptual metaphors identified: LISBON TREATY RATIFICATION IS MOVEMENT FORWARD/DIRECTION and REJECTION OF RATIFICATION IS LACK OF MOVEMENT/OPPOSITE DIRECTION. The sixth Chapter examines the CONFLICT metaphor in detail. It focuses on the three scenarios emerged, the Irish, the British and the European ones trying to identify commonalities and distinct features among them. Not only both Chapters try to describe the stereotyped role attributed to the participants in the ratification process but also highlight the different attitudes of the British press towards that event. The Conclusion indicates that the findings are consistent with some tenets of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory but also confirms its critics' insights into metaphor analysis application to real world issues. Moreover, it also tries to integrate the two metaphor analyses provided in Chapters 5 and 6 and identify the role of metaphor in the European debate on the Lisbon Treaty.

In conclusion, this project deals with the analysis of a specialised discourse topic – the newspaper discourse on the Lisbon Treaty ratification – and aims at investigating the stereotyped roles that metaphors both as a matter of thought and a linguistic phenomenon construe of participants in the event and what image of the event itself is provided. Moreover, it also intends to identify the role of metaphor in the public debate over Lisbon and, whenever possible, the specific attitudes of the British press towards the approval of this controversial treaty.

1 Political Background

1.1 Introduction

The Lisbon Treaty is the final stage of a wider institutional reform process that started with the drafting of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe. During the years preceding the Constitution, the European Union was growing faster and faster, and in 2004 it saw the entry of ten countries raising the number of its member states to 25. The future scenario foresaw a possible wider expansion including other Eastern countries and, in fact, in 2007 Bulgaria and Romania entered the EU which then reached 27 countries. This rapid integration process forced EU leaders to question the validity and effectiveness of the Treaties in force. As it always happens in reform periods, contrasts among member states arose. In order to enter into force Treaties have to be approved unanimously by member states in accordance with national constitutional requirements, as established by the Treaty on European Union¹.

The approval of the Lisbon Treaty was decided in parliaments, apart from Ireland whose constitution required a referendum. The Irish referendum marked a significant stage in the ratification process and made countries reflect on why this country that had long benefited from the EU, rejected the Treaty. The Irish referendum became a symbol of democracy that was being ignored by EU leaders who continued to press for ratification despite the negative result. In Britain, and in particular for the Tory party and some Eurosceptics, the Irish referendum was the last chance to express a different point of view and to prevent the British Government from following the rules of the EU, making it more powerful.

The present Chapter shows the different stages that brought to the Lisbon Treaty and the consequences the EU leaders had to face. In particular, it offers an overview of the consequences of the referendum in Ireland and focuses on the important impact that this event had on British citizens.

¹ For further references to the consolidated version of the Treaty on European Union, also known as Maastricht Treaty, see http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/12002M/pdf/12002M_EN.pdf

1.2 From the Constitution to the ‘period of reflection’

The reform process of the European Union has been a much-debated issue among its Member States. The Laeken Declaration of 13 December 2001 redrafted the issues raised in Nice (December 2000) regarding a reform of the institutions and set out the key issues to be discussed at a Convention on the Future of Europe whose inaugural session took place on February 28, 2002 in Brussels. In parallel with the proceedings of the Convention, with Mr V. Giscard d’Estaing as Chairman and Mr G. Amato and Mr J.L. Dehaene as Vice-Chairmen, a Forum was opened in order to involve all citizens in the debate about the Future of Europe². The Convention concluded on 10 July 2003 with the draft of a Constitutional Treaty which the European Council considered a first step towards the reform of the Union and convened an Inter-Governmental Conference (IGC) to discuss the matter. The IGC began its work on 4 October 2003 and concluded on 18 June 2004 with the agreement on a project for a Constitutional Treaty by all the Heads of State and Government.

On 29 October 2004, the 25 Heads of State and Government signed in Rome the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe. To enter into force, this Treaty had to be ratified by all the Member States in accordance with each one’s constitutional rules, namely either parliamentary ratification or referendum. Even though the Constitution for Europe was ratified by 18 Member States, the ratification was not completed because the two referendums held in France and The Netherlands produced a negative turnout. Following the difficulties in ratifying the Treaty, the Heads of State and Government decided to launch a “period of reflection” on the future of Europe, at the European Council meeting on 16 and 17 June 2005. This period of reflection was intended to prompt a wide debate with European citizens.

We have noted the outcome of the referendums in France and the Netherlands. We consider that these results do not call into question citizens’ attachment to the construction of Europe. Citizens have nevertheless expressed concerns and worries which need to be taken into account, hence the need for us to reflect together on this situation. This period of reflection will be used to enable a broad debate to take place in each of our countries, involving citizens, civil society,

2 For further references to the Laeken Declaration and Summit see:
http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/68827.pdf.

social partners, national parliaments and political parties. (*Declaration on the ratification of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe*, European Council 16-17 June 2005)³

It was necessary to unanimously reflect on the results of the referendums without questioning “the validity of continuing with the ratification process” and therefore the Heads of State and Government agreed to reconsider the issue in the first half of 2006.

The European Council of 15-16 June 2006 agreed that the German Presidency would present a report to the Council during the first semester of 2007, based on extensive consultation with the Member States. It also established that the report would assess the state of discussion with reference to the European Constitution and explore possible future solutions to continue with the reform process⁴.

1.3 The Reform Treaty and the Lisbon Summit

After “period of reflection”, the European Council of 21-22 June 2007 welcomed the report of the German Presidency and convened an Inter-Governmental Conference to set the basis for the continuation of the reform process⁵. It was agreed that the incoming (Portuguese) Presidency would draw up a draft Treaty and submit it to the IGC as soon as it started. It was also established that the work of the IGC would finish as quickly as possible in order to have the new Treaty ratified before the Parliament election in June 2009. The European Council adopted a detailed and precise mandate for the IGC, which would broadly take over the institutional reforms agreed in 2004, while taking into account the assessment resulted from the reflection period.

The work of the IGC began on 23 July 2007 and concluded on 17-18 October 2007 at the Lisbon Informal Summit. In that occasion, the President of the European Council, José Sócrates, said that the EU was close to a Reform Treaty which would be named Treaty of Lisbon whose adoption would be proof of a *Europe that moves forward* despite a limited numbers of problems that might be encountered for its ratification⁶. During that Summit, the Heads of

3 For further references see Declaration by the Heads of State or Government of The Member States of the European Union on the Ratification of the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/85325.pdf.

4 For further references see Presidency Conclusions 15/16 June 2006 available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/90111.pdf.

5 For further references see Presidency Conclusions 21-22 June 2007 available at: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/94932.pdf.

6 For further references see: http://www.eu2007.pt/UE/vEN/Noticias_Documentos/20071018noticiasocrates2.htm. (accessed April 2008)

State and Government informally adopted the Reform Treaty that would amend the Treaty on the European Union (TEU) and the Treaty establishing the European Community (TEC). The first one would keep its present name while the TEC would be called Treaty on the Functioning of the Union. As a consequence, the European Union would be based on these two Treaties and would abandon the project of a Constitution for Europe.

On December 3 and 4 MPs from all over the European Union met in Brussels to discuss the future of Europe and the Treaty of Lisbon. The two main issues on the agenda were how the Treaty would meet the expectations of Europeans and the increased power of the EU parliament.

The new Reform Treaty was officially signed by all the Heads of State and Government on December 13 in Lisbon. This Treaty was seen as a positive step for the construction of a better Europe and the completion of the European project of Institutional reform as the President of the Council, José Sócrates, stated in his speech at the signing ceremony of the Lisbon Treaty.

This Treaty is a new moment in the European adventure and of the European future. And we face this future with the same spirit we always had: certain of our values, confident in our project, strengthened in our Union. [...] The Treaty of Lisbon includes the best in the tradition and heritage of the European project but is not a Treaty for the past; it is a Treaty for the future. It is a Treaty for the construction of a more modern, efficient and democratic Europe. (José Sócrates, 13 December 2007)⁷

1.4 From the Lisbon Summit to the Ratification

The signature of the Treaty was followed by the ratification process, and it was expected that the Treaty would enter into force on 1 January 2009, as shown by article 6 of the Treaty:

This Treaty shall enter into force on 1 January 2009, provided that all the instruments of ratification have been deposited, or, failing that, on the first day of the month following the deposit of the instrument of ratification by the last signatory State to take this step. (Art.6, paragraph 2 of the Lisbon Treaty)⁸

⁷ For the complete speech see: http://www.eu2007.pt/UE/vEN/Noticias_Documentos/20071213DiscursoPMTratado.htm. (Accessed April 2008)

⁸ For the full text of the Treaty see http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/full_text/index_en.htm.

The emphasis on a quick ratification and entry into force of the Treaty was due to the fact that in June 2009, the European Parliament would hold the elections and that the mandate of the President of the European Commission, Barroso, would end in October 2009.

However, the ratification process was carried out in accordance with the constitutional requirements of each Member State and it was expected that all the 27 Member States ratified the Treaty in its entirety. Only a few days after its signature, the Lisbon Treaty was approved by the Hungarian Parliament on 17 December, and President Barroso lauded this action, in a speech at the European Parliament:

I wish to warmly salute Hungary, its government and its parliament for the ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon yesterday. The Treaty was ratified with an overwhelming majority, 385 yes votes and only 5 no votes. It is a very positive political signal that a new Member State is the first country to ratify the Treaty. Hungary deserves our applause. (José Manuel Durão Barroso, SPEECH/07/831, 18 December 2007–Brussels, European Parliament)⁹

On 29 January 2008, the Republic of Slovenia also approved the Treaty of Lisbon and its Prime Minister, who was also in charge of the rotating Presidency of the EU, welcomed the event and restated that the monitoring of the ratification was one of his Presidency's priorities. In February other two Member States approved the Treaty and the ratification process seemed to be proceeding as it was expected.¹⁰ While the other countries followed the parliamentary procedure for the ratification of the Treaty, Ireland held a referendum according to the provisions of its Constitution.

Before the Irish referendum, 12 June 2008, eighteen Member States had approved the Treaty. However, only eight of them had completed the process of ratification by depositing the instruments of ratification in Rome.¹¹

9 For the full text of the speech see

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/07/831&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>.

10 The two countries were Romania and France that approved the Treaty on 4 and 7 February respectively. France replaced Slovenia as head of the presidency of the EU Council. The two countries had set the entry into force of the Treaty by January 2009 among their priorities.

11 The other Member States that approved the Treaty before 12 June 2008 were Bulgaria (21 March 2008), Poland (2 April 2008), Slovakia (10 April 2008), Portugal (23 April 2008), Denmark (24 April 2008), Austria (24 April 2008), Latvia (8 May 2008), Lithuania (8 May 2008), Germany (23 May 2008), Luxemburg (29 May 2008), Finland (11 June 2008), Greece (11 June 2008) and Estonia (11 June 2008). Reported on the Lisbon Treaty website and available at

http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/news/index_en.htm?Page=5.

The Member States that ratified the Treaty before the Irish referendum were: Malta and Hungary (6 February 2008), France (14 February 2008), Romania (11 March 2008), Slovenia (24 April 2008) Bulgaria (28 April 2008), Austria (13 May 2008), Denmark (29 May 2008). Cfr. on http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/countries/index_en.htm.

1.5 The Ratification in Ireland

The ratification in Ireland differed from the procedures of the other countries. After the Irish Parliament's approval of the Treaty, the Irish Constitution required a referendum to discuss these important political matters and therefore a referendum was held on 12 June 2008.¹²

A proposal to amend the Constitution must be introduced in the Dáil as a Bill. When the Bill has been passed by both Houses of the Oireachtas (Parliament), it must be submitted to the people for approval at a referendum. If a majority of the votes cast at the referendum are in favour of the proposal, the Bill is signed by the President and the Constitution is amended accordingly. (Referendum results 1937-2009, page 7 paragraph 3)¹³

The ratification of the Lisbon Treaty saw a political division in Ireland. The main parties that shared the political ground were the Fine Gael, Fianna Fail, Labour and Progressive Democrats supporting the ratification and the Sinn Féin, Socialist Party and the think-tank Libertas Group campaigning for a 'no' vote. The prospects of a possible 'no' were visible from the beginning of the referendum campaign, and EU leaders spoke to the Irish People in order to highlight the positive aspects of the Lisbon Treaty.

The European Commission Vice President, Margot Wallström in her speech to the National Forum on Europe, on 28 February 2008, gave some reasons to vote for the Treaty. She stressed how this Treaty would be positive for each member of the EU and its citizens. She also focused on the fact that the European system was enlarging and therefore what had been useful for fifteen could have not been suitable for twenty seven members. In fact, she underlined this Treaty would "make the EU more efficient, more transparent, more secure, more united on the world stage, and more democratic".¹⁴

The same support came from the President of the Commission Barroso who pointed out some crucial elements of the Treaty in his speech at the National Forum on Europe in Dublin on 14 April 2008. He focused on three main areas such as the speed up of the

¹² The Irish Parliament approved the Treaty on 8 May 2008 as reported on the Lisbon Treaty website and available at http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/news/index_en.htm?Page=5.

¹³ For further references see:
<http://www.environ.ie/en/LocalGovernment/Voting/Referenda/PublicationsDocuments/FileDownload,1894,en.pdf>

¹⁴ For the complete speech see:
http://ec.europa.eu/ireland/press_office/speeches-press_releases/wallstromforumspeech_en.htm.

decision-making procedure, the possibility for citizens to make their proposals to the Commission through their national parliaments and the foreign policy. He also reassured Irish people that their main concerns such as taxation, neutrality and abortion would not undergo any changes. Therefore, he concluded as follows:

On 12 June, the Irish people will be sending a message to the rest of Europe, and the wider world. I hope it will be one that says you want a more efficient, effective and accountable Europe. That you want to see the EU play its unique role in helping to spread peace, progress and responsibility round the world. That Ireland wants to continue to be at the heart of an open Europe and to bring its unique contribution to all of the fora where decisions are taken¹⁵.

A few days later, Sinn Féin MEP Mary Lou McDonald challenging Barroso's claims on a better Europe said that "Ireland will not be damaged by a no vote"¹⁶. In later speeches MEP McDonald and other Sinn Féin MEPs expressed their reluctance to ratify the Treaty and advocated a negative outcome. Moreover, the leader of the group urged voters to vote 'no' in order to send the government back to secure a better deal for Ireland.¹⁷ According to them, the ratification of the Treaty would only cause a lack of influence in Europe and would lead the Irish to lose their neutrality, tax policy and abortion rules.

On the other hand, supporters of the Lisbon Treaty said that it was necessary for Ireland to vote 'yes' in order to fully participate to the European Union's activity and still have a central role in it.

With referendum approaching, the 'no' campaign intensified and gained a huge support as it was revealed by the last *Irish Times* polls¹⁸. On 12 June 2008, the Irish people went to the ballot box to vote for the approval of the Treaty. The turnout was negative with 53.4 'no' and 46.6 'yes' votes. The Irish people decided not to pass the Treaty as it was expected. The rejection put the European Union in a sort of 'institutional crisis' and made the ratification questionable for all the countries that had not completed the ratification and those that had not started the process yet. Moreover, this situation caused problems to the EU leaders' plans to have the Treaty ratified by 1 January 2009.

15 For the complete speech see:

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/08/204&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>.

16 Reported in Sinn Féin MEP Mary Lou McDonald's speech *No Way José* (Plenary Session 17 April 2008) for further references see <http://www.sinnfein.ie/contents/12273>.

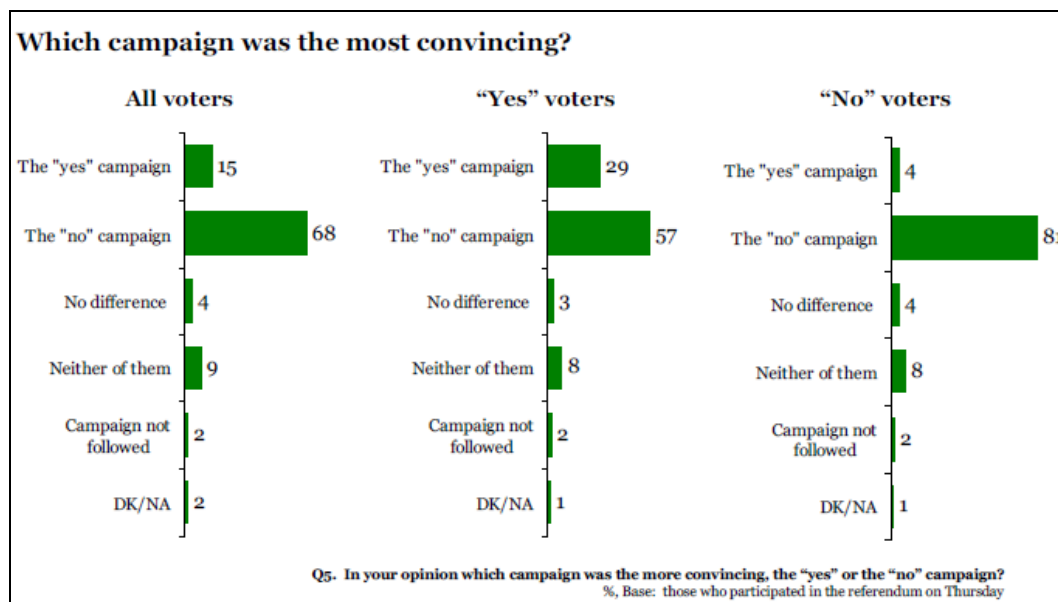
17 For further references see <http://www.sinnfein.ie>.

18 The newspaper reported (June 2008) that the 'no' camp was five points ahead of the 'yes' vote.

1.6 The Ratification Process after the Irish Rebuff

After the referendum, the European Commission Representation in Ireland requested a flash Eurobarometer survey which was conducted from 13 to 15 June. Two of the main objectives of this survey were to understand the reasons for non-participation in the referendum and the reasons for voting 'yes' or 'no'. The survey revealed that citizens didn't vote because "52% had not fully understood the referendum's issues, 42% had not been informed about the issues at stake and 37% felt they were not informed about the Lisbon Treaty's content or because the referendum was not important enough for them (45% said they were too busy to vote and 38% had something more important to do than vote in the referendum).¹⁹

Moreover, as Picture 1.1 shows, 68 % of Irish voters said that the 'no' campaign was the more convincing against 15% saying the same of the 'yes' camp.



Picture 1.1 Flash Eurobarometer Survey 13-15 June 2008.²⁰

Whatever the reason, something went wrong for the EU project. EU leaders did not welcome the rebuff, worried for the future of the Treaty, and underlined how it was necessary to continue ratification in the other Member States.

The rejection of the Treaty text by one European Union country cannot mean that the ratifications which have already been carried out by 18 EU countries become invalid. The ratifications in the other EU Member States must be respected just as much as the Irish vote. For that reason, the ratification process must continue in those Member States which have not yet ratified. (Hans-Gert Pöttering, President of the European Parliament – 13 June 2008)²¹

¹⁹ For further references see http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl_245_en.pdf.

²⁰ For further references see: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl_245_en.pdf.

²¹ For further references see:

A solution was needed and Hans-Gert Pöttering called on the Heads of State and Government to discuss the matter in Brussels. The European Council of 19-20 June 2008 took into account the results of the referendum and decided that more time was needed to come to a solution. It noted that ratification continued in other countries and agreed that the Irish government would actively consult both internally and with other Member States in order to propose a common solution at the European Council Summit in October 2009²². Soon after the European Council, the Irish Foreign Affairs Minister, Micheál Martin, announced that the government decided to deeply analyse and clarify the negative outcome of the Lisbon referendum by commissioning a research project aimed at evaluating the reasons underlying the rejection of the Treaty:

The outcome of the referendum on the Lisbon Treaty requires serious reflection and analysis in the period ahead. At last week's European Council, it was agreed that more time was needed to analyse the situation and that the Council's October meeting will receive a progress report. This project will allow for a deeper understanding of the factors that shaped the outcome of the referendum and will represent an important input into the Government's analysis of the best way forward for Ireland. (Mr. Micheál Martin, 24 June 2008)²³

In the meantime, as the Council had revealed, the ratification process was continuing in the other countries. However, the Irish rebuff created some problems to the completion of ratification in some countries. In Poland for example, the President refused to sign the instruments of ratification and suspended the entire process until the situation with Ireland was clarified. The United Kingdom, where the process of ratification had already started with the approval of the House of Commons on 5 March 2008 with a majority of 63 votes, was also affected by the referendum results. The Conservatives, in fact, began to oppose the ratification in the name of a referendum that had been promised but was simply ignored. They criticised Gordon Brown for not considering the will of British people and moreover, they also criticised the British government as it advocated another referendum for Ireland while it didn't give Britain the possibility to vote once. On 18 June 2008 the House of Lords passed the Treaty and the final step of the ratification was completed on 16 July.

The political crisis caused by the referendum and the slowing down of the ratification needed a quick solution. On 21 July Nicholas Sarkozy, the French Prime Minister, at that time also in charge of the rotating Presidency of the EU, visited Ireland and discussed the issue of

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+IM-PRESS+20080613STO31667+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN>.

²² See paragraphs 1 to 5 of the Presidency's conclusions of the European Council of 19-20 June 2008 on http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/101346.pdf.

²³ for further references see <http://www.dfa.ie/home/index.aspx?id=51879>

the Treaty and the referendum results with the Irish Prime Minister Brian Cowen. They agreed that Ireland presented suggestions on the matter by the next Summit and worked in consultation both at national and European level²⁴.

In the meantime, other countries started the ratification process raising the number of Member States to 23²⁵.

Sarkozy's visit was followed by another meeting with Cowen in Paris at the Palais de l'Elysee on 1 October 2008 in the context of the preparations for the European Council of 15-16 October. During this meeting Cowen anticipated the presentation of a survey conducted by the Irish government analysing the motivations which led to the referendum of 12 June and the conclusions he drew from it. At the European Council of October, after taking into account the survey presented by Cowen, it was agreed to return the matter of the Treaty ratification at the December Summit providing solutions and a common strategy to follow.²⁶ The core of the Summit was the increasing financial crisis in Europe.

After the October Summit there were only two Member States, in addition to Ireland, that had not approved the Treaty yet: Sweden and the Czech Republic. Sweden approved the Treaty of Lisbon on 20 November 2008 after a consultation period with national authorities and civil society organisations. Also in the Czech Republic the Institutions slowly proceeded to the ratification. On 26 November 2008, the Czech Constitutional Court gave a positive verdict on the compatibility of the Treaty with the Czech constitutional order. To complete the ratification process, the approval of the two houses of the parliament was necessary, and this required more time.

In the meantime, the European Council of 11-12 December 2008 agreed that provided the Treaty of Lisbon entered into force at the end of 2009, the Commission would continue to include one commissioner for each Member State despite what is provided for by the Treaties currently in force²⁷. It was also agreed that, provided the Irish approve the Treaty by the end of the presidency term, the Commission would give the guarantees they required concerning taxation policy, family, social and ethical issues, and Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) with regard to Ireland's traditional policy of neutrality.

24 For further references see the Lisbon Treaty website available at: http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/news/index_en.htm?Page=4.

25 The other Member States that approved the Treaty through parliamentary procedures were: Cyprus (3 July 2008), The Netherlands (8 July 2008), Belgium (10 July 2008), Spain (15 July 2008) and Italy (31 July 2008). see http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/news/index_en.htm.

26 For further references see European Council Summit of October 2008 Presidency's Conclusions available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/103441.pdf.

27 The Treaties currently in force require that the number of Commissioner is reduced by 2009. See European Council of December 2008 – Presidency Conclusions page 3 available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/104692.pdf.

On 1 January 2009 the Czech Republic took over the Presidency of the EU and a month later the lower house of its parliament approved the Treaty with 125 votes in favour and 61 against (18 February 2009). The ratification was not completed as the Czech Republic needed the approval of the Senate and then the signature of the President²⁸.

Even though the study under investigation covers the period from the European Council of 21-22 June up to the first step in the Czech ratification, it is important to have a wider view on the whole process and its development in order to understand the importance of such a debate in the political ground and the reasons why it deserves attention. Therefore the last paragraph will summarise the further steps in the ratification process and arrives to the final stage of its completion.

1.7 The Council Summit of June 2009 and further perspective.

As many Irish voters were worried about how the treaty would affect the country's taxation policies, its military neutrality and ethical issues such as abortion, the Council of June 2009 granted Ireland legal guarantees in those areas reassuring Irish people that the treaty would not infringe on the government's authority in those domains. The Council also agreed that Ireland held a referendum in autumn 2009 and on 8 July the Irish Prime Minister announced the 2 October as the official date for the second referendum in Ireland.

On 25 September 2009 another important step in the ratification process was accomplished. The German President Köler signed the Treaty after the approval of the legislation by both the Bundestag (8 September 2009) and Bundesrat (18 September 2009)²⁹. The ratification process was going closer to its completion; however, to enter into force the Treaty had to wait other two months.

On 2 October 2009, the Irish electorate voted by a majority of 67.13% to 32.87% in favour of ratification of the Lisbon Treaty with a turnout of 59%. The European Commission

28 On 6 May the Czech Republic's Senate approved the Treaty of Lisbon with 54 Senators in favour out of a total of 79 present. However, the ratification process was completed only after the signature of President Klaus (3 November 2009). Lisbon Treaty website – news section – available at http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/news/index_en.htm.

29 Germany had already approved the Treaty on 25 May 2008, however, the compatibility of the Treaty with the German Constitution was only declared later by Germany's Constitutional Court which also declared that the final step of the ratification procedure shall be suspended until the Bundestag and Bundesrat discussed and voted the law on parliamentary rights of participation. For further references see http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/news/index_en.htm?Page=2.

President José Manuel Barroso congratulated the Irish people “on reaching their overwhelming decision after such long and careful deliberation”.³⁰

On 10 October, Poland concluded the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. At a ceremony in Warsaw, the Polish President Lech Kaczynski signed the ratification instrument in the presence of the President of the European Council, Fredrik Reinfeldt, the President of the European Commission, José Manuel Barroso and the President of the European Parliament, Jerzy Buzek.

On 15 October, President Mary McAleese signed the bill reconciling the Lisbon Treaty with the Irish Constitution thereby completing the ratification process for the Treaty in Ireland. On 23 October, the Minister for European Affairs, Dick Roche, deposited the Instrument of Ratification with the Italian government in Rome.

On 3 November, the Czech Constitutional Court cleared the way for the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty by the Czech Republic. The Czech President Vaclav Klaus went on to sign the Lisbon Treaty on the same day.

An extraordinary informal summit took place on 19 November in order to fill top EU posts created under the Treaty, namely the President of the European Council that was given to the Belgian Premier Herman Van Rompuy and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy to which EU trade commissioner Catherine Ashton from the UK was appointed.

The Lisbon Treaty entered into force on 1 December 2009 with a ceremony in Lisbon where it was signed for the first time. Among many other changes, the treaty redistributes voting weights between member countries, removing national vetoes in a number of areas. It expands the commission’s powers and greatly increases parliament’s involvement in the legislative process. A new petition process will give citizens the opportunity to directly influence EU policy. The human rights charter becomes legally binding. Lisbon amends the Rome and Maastricht treaties, giving the EU a new legal framework and tools to tackle challenges in an increasingly interlinked world³¹.

30 Barroso Statement of 3 October 2009 in Brussels see:
http://ec.europa.eu/commission_barroso/president/pdf/Irish_referendum.pdf.

For further references see:

http://ec.europa.eu/ireland/lisbon_treaty/lisbon_treaty_progress/index_en.htm.

31 For further references see http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/glance/index_en.htm and http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/full_text/index_en.htm.

1.8 The impact of the Lisbon Treaty and the Irish referendum on Britain.

As reported by the *Daily Mail*, a poll carried out in December 2007 revealed that British citizens were still sceptics towards the EU and the Lisbon Treaty.

A poll today underlines just how little the British people want the Lisbon treaty, which revives the rejected European Constitution under a new name. Almost three-quarters say they want the referendum promised by Labour at the last election. Nearly half would prefer a looser relationship with the EU, and 23 per cent want to withdraw altogether. (*Daily Mail*, 10 December 2007)

The negative attitude towards the Lisbon Treaty was evident since the negotiation period. The Treaty was in fact seen as a 'repackaged' or 'disguised' constitution, a kind of travesty. It was argued that many of the changes and protocols provided for by the constitution were part of the new treaty, a position that is clearly visible in the following extract:

The Lisbon Treaty, after all, is another giant step towards a new form of government, empowered to decide most of the laws that govern our lives, making our Westminster MPs even more redundant than they are now. It was equally appropriate that Mr Brown and his puppet foreign minister, David Miliband, should have agreed this treaty on the basis of the most shameless political lie one can recall: that the new treaty is completely different from the rejected EU constitution - with which it is 96 per cent identical. (*The Sunday Telegraph*, 21 October 2007)

As a consequence, it was implied that EU leaders preferred to approve the treaty without a referendum via parliamentary procedures in order not to face another rejection. Britain also did not hold any referendum and widespread criticism among Eurosceptics, conservatives and British citizens arose. The Labour party was criticised because in its manifesto the party promised a referendum for the constitution but it did not give the possibility to vote on the treaty. Brown on the other hand, assured that the treaty was not a revised version of the constitution but it only amended the previous treaties. Even though Mr. Brown assured that the Treaty did not interfere with national justice, foreign, social security and employment policies, the Conservatives saw the Lisbon Treaty as a menace for Britain both at international and domestic level.

If he broke that promise "no one will trust him on anything else," the Tory leader said. He added: "The reason you won't have a referendum is that you are scared of losing it." The treaty, which Mr Brown says should be agreed by MPs in Parliament, will create a new EU foreign policy chief, a permanent president of the Council of Ministers, sweep away around 60 national

vetoed and give the community new powers to sign international treaties. Mr Brown argues that the right of the British government to run its own justice, foreign, social security and employment policies has been secured in protocols and opt-outs known as the “red lines”. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 18 October 2007)

The credibility of Gordon Brown was vacillating even though he publicly claimed his intents in safeguarding the interests of the UK. The idea of the repackaged document was also supported by former French President Valéry Giscard d’Estaing as reported in the *Daily Mail*.

THE man behind the rejected European Constitution today admits that the new EU Treaty is merely the old document repackaged to avoid referendums. Former French President Valéry Giscard d’Estaing said the Lisbon Treaty would be used to “rekindle from the ashes the flame of a United Europe”. His remarks will heap pressure on Gordon Brown to let the British public have their say on the blueprint for how Europe should be run. (*Daily Mail*, 30 October 2007)

Tories tried to oppose the parliamentary procedure and on March 5 proposed an amendment calling for a referendum which was defeated by 311 votes to 248. On the third reading, 11 March 2008, the House of Commons approved the treaty which passed to the Lords³². Many saw this stage as the last chance to change the course of the ratification. The government position was questioned; even the pro-European former Chancellor Ken Clarke expressed his concerns about the government’s action. “Will you stop all this nonsense about it being different from the constitution, because it is plainly the same in substance, and explain why it is better not to have a referendum but have it decided in parliament,” he said (*Daily Mail*, 6 March 2008).

In January soon after the signing ceremony in Lisbon, the British multi-millionaire Stuart Wheeler brought the legality of approving the Treaty without a referendum to the High Court. At the heart of the case there was the question whether a political party’s election manifesto was legally enforceable and whether the public have a “legitimate expectation” to see measures pledged during an election campaign enacted.³³ The principle of the legitimate expectation was described as “a requirement of good administration, by which public bodies ought to deal straightforwardly and consistently with the public” (*The Daily Telegraph* 22 April 2008). Wheeler argued that the Labour party had promised a referendum on the Constitutional Treaty which was not different from the Lisbon Treaty and therefore had to keep its promise. Many of the Tories proposed to suspend ratification and take time forcing Brown proceed with the procedure slowly. Wheeler’s hearing was held on June 9 and 10 a few

32 for further references to the complete stages of the ratification procedure in the UK see <http://services.parliament.uk/bills/2007-08/europeanunionamendment/stages.html>.

33 *The Daily Telegraph* 20 May 2008; *The Times* 10 June 2008.

days before the Irish referendum. A hint of hope for a suspension of the ratification was growing among Eurosceptics and conservatives. Against this framework, the Irish referendum marked a significant moment for British citizens who had been denied a referendum.

Ireland's 'No' vote is also bad news for Gordon Brown, as it can only serve to remind British voters of the voice they have been denied. An opinion poll published yesterday suggested that 51 per cent of British voters would have rejected the treaty if they had been given a vote, with just 28 per cent in favour. (*The Daily Telegraph* 14 June 2008)

The referendum's negative outcome had serious consequences on Brown's position. On the one hand, Brown was pressed by EU leaders to continue with the ratification while on the other hand he was worried for national protests.

In the meantime, the High Court refused Wheeler's petition and blocked his attempt to convince the government to hold a referendum. The judges said that they found nothing in his case to cast doubt on the lawfulness of ratifying the treaty³⁴.

The fact that Brown continued with ratification despite the Irish rejection and the case discussed by Wheeler was extremely appreciated by EU leaders who lauded him at the last summit in Brussels "Mr Brown has been praised by EU leaders for his 'courage' in going ahead with ratification" (*The Daily Telegraph* 21 June 2008). On the same day *The Independent*, too, reported the praise of EU leaders for Brown's behaviour.

The judge's remarks were embarrassing for Gordon Brown, who was showered with praise from EU leaders at their Brussels summit after going ahead with the Bill to implement the treaty, despite last week's 'no' vote in the Irish referendum. (*The Independent* 21 June 2008)

While EU leaders seemed to support Brown's action, some newspapers seemed to portray EU leaders as anti-democratic with no consideration for the opinion expressed by the Irish people while the British government appeared as if it had no backbone, therefore incapable of making decisions for its country freely without taking into account what had been established by the EU. The British government and the EU were somehow criticised by part of the British press. Even though the Irish people had made their choice, EU leaders – especially the French Prime Minister, Nicolas Sarkozy, at that time about to take over the presidency of the EU, the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel and the president of the EU Commission, Manuel Barroso – continued to insist on the necessity of ratifying the treaty and claimed that a new referendum was the right solution to the chaos created by the rejection of the Treaty. The British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown and the Foreign Secretary David Miliband, even

³⁴ *The Times* 26 June 2008.

though had stated that the Irish vote was to be respected, had never publicly admitted that the Lisbon Treaty was to be revised or suspended and therefore, seemed to support EU leaders' advocacy for a referendum. They also insisted that Ireland had to find out the right solution. The *Daily Mail* talked of "a political double speak game" the two leaders were playing and reported their ambivalent attitude:

Mr Brown and David Miliband said EU rules which require all 27 member countries to endorse a treaty should be respected. But, despite numerous hints that he would be happy to see it fail, the Prime Minister stopped short of saying in public that he wants the Lisbon Treaty to be junked. Instead, he left the door open to fudge by insisting it was up to Ireland to come up with a way out of the turmoil that has rocked Brussels. (*Daily Mail* 17 June 2008)

As a consequence, the most negative reactions of the conservatives and Eurosceptics began to arise. The Tory Leader David Cameron challenged Gordon Brown's position by saying that "it would be ridiculous to ask the Irish to vote twice, when we haven't even been allowed to vote once" (*The Times* 19 June 2008). The same criticism came from William Hague, the shadow foreign secretary, who said that "it would be [...] the height of arrogance for Gordon Brown to bully the Irish into voting twice before the British people are allowed to vote once." (*The Daily Telegraph* 19 June 2008). A few days later, also the *Daily Mail* reported that Tory Europe spokesman Mark Francois said it was undemocratic to give the possibility for a second referendum to the Irish people "before the British people got to vote once" (*Daily Mail* 6 June 2008).

Nevertheless, the Lords passed the treaty on June 18 and the following day the bill was given the Royal assent.³⁵ The final stage of the ratification was completed on July 16 with the deposit of the instruments of ratification in Rome.

1.9 Summary

In this Chapter I have tried to give an overview of the reasons that have brought to the drafting of the Lisbon Treaty and the main phases of its ratification process. What has emerged is that the European project of institutional reform was a much-debated issue among member states as some of them have regarded these reforms as a means to empower the European Union institutional system and weaken national parliaments. In particular, many

³⁵ The Bill received royal assent on Thursday but the treaty will not be ratified until documents are deposited in Rome - a process that is on hold but which must be done before the end of December (*The Independent* 21 June 2008).

British Eurosceptics have seen this Treaty as an excuse for the European Union to reach the 'super-state' condition and impose its rules on each member state. Moreover, the fact that Britain had been denied a referendum made Eurosceptics question the relationship between the British government and its citizens. The British government appeared at the service of European leaders and the European Union turned out to be anti-democratic even though it was always speaking in favour of its citizens.

The complexity of the Lisbon Treaty debate makes it a breeding ground for linguistic analysis in order to understand the dynamics of the relationship between the EU and its member states. In particular, this study aims to investigate the British press evaluation of the Lisbon Treaty event and its perception of the European Union.

2 Metaphors and Political Scenarios

Metaphor is everywhere in the language we use and there is no escape from it
(Goatly 1997: 2)

2.1 Introduction

Contrary to what was thought of metaphors in the past, these structures are primarily a matter of thought rather than language and are used in everyday life (Lakoff 1993). Metaphors do not transcend human experience but are fundamentally grounded in embodiment as Cognitive Science has demonstrated (Lakoff and Johnson 2003; Gibbs 1994). Nowadays, a large number of studies on figurative language are based on the premises that metaphor “is not only a phenomenon of language and thought but one which is pervasive in most language uses, from ordinary to scientific discourses” (Vereza 2008: 163). Scholars have also shown how metaphors play a fundamental role in many fields and in particular how they are necessary to make political issues more accessible to the general public (Musolff 2004). Metaphors, in fact, help political leaders and journalists to construe political scenarios which are immediately recognisable by their audience. In researching metaphor, however, it is necessary to set a metaphor definition according to which the researcher can establish a way to identify these structures in order to proceed to further analysis. This Chapter attempts at giving a general overview of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory; then it focuses on a general overview on the different frameworks for metaphor identification and analysis, and eventually on the role of metaphors in political and news discourse.

2.2 The Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Metaphors have been variously defined. The traditional view of metaphor defines it as “a novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside of its normal conventional meaning to express a similar concept” (Lakoff 1993: 202). Metaphorical expressions were considered to be used outside the realm of ordinary language. According to the traditional view ordinary language had no metaphors and metaphors were simply “an ornament” or “a mechanism for filling lexical gaps in the language” (Deignan 2005:

2). As a consequence, metaphors were assigned a peripheral role and were only used to express ideas that could not be expressed using literal language. Literal language was the norm and was easily recognizable and understandable for the hearer or the reader.

In the 1980s Lakoff and Johnson, challenging the traditional view of metaphor, argued that metaphors are not merely linguistic structures and are far from being considered as deviations from literal language or alternatives to abstract reasoning. According to them metaphors are necessary conditions of our language and thinking, our language and experience are in fact based on metaphors.

Metaphor is for most people a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish - a matter of extraordinary rather than ordinary language. [...] We have found, on the contrary, that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 3)

Lakoff and Johnson show that expressions usually seen as literal are metaphorical in nature. This finds its explanation in the fact that “metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person’s conceptual system” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 6). Moreover, the authors of *Metaphors we Live by* argue that metaphors create a coherent system of entailments through which we conceptualise our experience. They also give evidence of the fact that some aspects of our life along with social and political realities are based on metaphors and are conceptualised metaphorically.

Metaphors have entailments through which they highlight and make coherent certain aspects of our experience. A given metaphor may be the only way to highlight and coherently organize exactly those aspects of our experience. Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action. Such action will, of course, fit the metaphor. (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 156).

Hence we define our reality in terms of metaphors and form new realities that will fit those metaphors.

In all aspects of our life, not just in politics or in love, we define our reality in terms of metaphors and then proceed to act on the basis of the metaphors. We draw inferences, set goals, make commitments, and execute plans, all on the basis of how we in part structure our experience, consciously and unconsciously, by means of metaphors. (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 158).

Therefore, if metaphors are our main vehicle of understanding our experience and our actions and as they have a central role in creating social and political realities, these linguistic structures could offer a wider overview on the way we speak and think. The conclusion is that metaphors are “absolutely central to ordinary natural language semantics, and that the study of literary metaphor is an extension of the study of everyday metaphor” (Lakoff 1993: 203). It is necessary to define metaphor in order to widely understand this phenomenon of thought.

In Cognitive Linguistics, metaphor is defined as a structural mapping from a SOURCE domain onto a TARGET domain, a conceptual domain being any coherent organisation of experience. The SOURCE domain is referred to as a situation we are familiar with used to understand the TARGET domain that is a more abstract concept we are unfamiliar with. The process of understanding one concept in terms of another implies that there is a set of systematic correspondences between the source and target domains which is called mappings. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) defined conceptual metaphors using the formula TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN. The conceptual metaphor is in small capital letters in order not to make confusion between the name of the mapping and the mapping itself.

Given the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS JOURNEY, where JOURNEY is our SOURCE domain that provides the metaphor and LOVE our TARGET domain that is talked of metaphorically, we use the knowledge we have of the concept journey in order to understand the concept love. It is said that ideas and knowledge from the source domain are mapped onto the target domain by the conceptual metaphor. This conceptual metaphor manifests itself in language in the form of linguistic expressions (linguistic metaphors) as shown below³⁶.

Look how far we've come.
We're at a crossroads.
We'll just have to go our separate ways.
We can't turn back now.
I don't think this relationship is going anywhere.
Where are we?
We are stuck
It's been a long, bumpy road.
We're just spinning our wheels.
We've gotten off the track.
Our marriage is on the rocks.
The relationship is foundering

(Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 44-45)

³⁶ To distinguish linguistic metaphors from conceptual metaphors the first are in *italics* while the latter in SMALL CAPITAL following Lakoff and Johnson's definition.

These expressions are part of ordinary English language but realise metaphorical expressions when talking about love. We have a set of ontological correspondences between the two domains whose understanding realises the metaphorical scenario. Lovers are seen as travellers on a journey, their common goals of life are seen as the destination to be reached while their relationship is seen as a vehicle that helps them to reach their goals. However, difficulties in the progress of the journey are seen as impediments and lovers have to decide which directions to go or whether to interrupt the relationship. What has been observed about conceptual metaphor is that many of their source domains reflect significant patterns of bodily experience. When we talk about love in terms of journey we refer to the real experience of people moving from a starting point, along a path, to reach a destination (Gibbs 2004). Following this idea of the source domains, cognitive scientists argue that metaphors derive from recurring patterns of everyday embodied experience.

Cognitive Linguists have classified three different kinds of metaphors according to the cognitive function they perform: orientational, ontological and structural metaphors. An orientational metaphor “organizes a whole system of concept with respect to one another” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 14) and their names derive from the fact that they have to do with human spatial orientation such as up-down, in-out, front-back, and central-peripheral. Metaphor such as MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN (*speak up*, please/*keep your voice down*, please) and HAPPY IS UP/SAD IS DOWN (*I am feeling up* today/*he is really low* these days) are of this kind. Upward orientation tends to be positively evaluated while downward orientation tends to go with negative evaluation. However, positive-negative evaluation is not limited to up-down orientation; other spatial image schemas are also evaluated positively or negatively.

It could be said that the human experience of spatial orientation gives rise to orientational metaphors, therefore, our experience with physical objects or entities (in particular our body) provides the basis for ontological metaphors which Lakoff and Johnson define “ways of viewing events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities or substances” (2003: 25) “without specifying what kind of substance [...] is meant” Kövecses (2002: 34). Ontological metaphors enable speakers to delineate their experience and ‘deal rationally’ with it. An example of an ontological metaphor is INFLATION IS AN ENTITY which manifests in the following linguistic expressions.

Inflation is *lowering* our standards of living

If there is much *more inflation*, we’ll never survive

We need to *combat inflation*

Inflation is *backing us* into a corner

(Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 26)

Viewing inflation as an entity enables us to quantify it, refer to it, identify some aspects of it and therefore helps us to understand some of its characteristics. However, this does not allow us to fully comprehend it, but a more complex ontological metaphor might help as in the case of the metaphor THE MIND IS A MACHINE. This complex metaphor derives from the simple metaphor THE MIND IS AN ENTITY and enables us to focus on different aspects of mental experience. The MACHINE metaphor gives us the conception of the mind as having an on-off state, a level of efficiency, a productive capacity as shown in the examples below:

My mind just *isn't operating* today
Boys, the *wheels are turning* now!
I'm little *rusty* today

(Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 27)

These metaphors are so natural and pervasive in our conceptual system that they are usually seen as simple and direct descriptions of mental phenomena. Nobody thinks they are metaphorical and the reason is that they are part of the model of mind that we have in our culture.

The third kind of metaphor we find in Lakoff and Johnson's classification is the structural metaphor. This metaphor allows us to use a highly structured concept to conceive and understand another and not only to orientate or quantify things as orientational and ontological metaphors respectively do. What is central to Lakoff and Johnson's theory is that "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (2003: 5).

Cognitive linguists (Lakoff 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 2003; Kövecses 2002) have shown that metaphorical mappings are only partial. Concepts are characterised by a number of aspects but only some of them are brought to light when a SOURCE domain is applied to a TARGET domain. This also means that if concepts have different aspects and only some of them are highlighted, the rest remain hidden. Therefore the two processes go together. In order to clarify these aspects of the conceptual metaphor, Kövecses (2002: 80) gives some examples of the metaphors for the concept of ARGUMENT. He refers to the following metaphors arguing that each of them focuses on a particular aspect of the concept ARGUMENT.

AN ARGUMENT IS A CONTAINER (Your argument has a lot of *content*; What is the *core* of his argument); AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY (We will proceed in a *step-by-step* fashion; We have *covered a lot of ground*); AN ARGUMENT IS WAR (He *won* the argument; he couldn't *defend* his point);

AN ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING (She *constructed* a *solid* argument; We have got a *good foundation* for the argument).

The CONTAINER metaphor highlights the content of the argument and the centrality of its claims, the JOURNEY metaphor focuses on the progress and the content, the WAR metaphor instead bring into focus the control over the argument and the BUILDING metaphor involves the aspects of the construction of the argument and its strength.

As Kövecses notes metaphors tend to highlight some aspects and hide others. For example, the WAR metaphor, as we have seen, highlights the aspect of control but the other aspects of content, progress and construction are out of its focus.

As metaphors highlight some aspects of the TARGET domain, it is worth mentioning that we use only part of the concept of the SOURCE domain to conceptualise the TARGET domain. If we consider the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR we can see that only parts of the concept of war are used.

Your claims are *indefensible*
 He *attacked* every *weak point* in my argument
 His criticism were right *on target*
 I *demolished* his argument
 I have never *won* an argument with him
 You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*
 If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*
 He *shot down* all of my arguments

(Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 4)

As the linguistic expressions above clearly show, there are only references to victory (*won*), planning war (*strategy*, *attack*), destruction (*demolished*, *shoot*, *wipe out*, *shot down*). On the other hand, other concepts are not used. There are no references to victims, prisoners, aftermath and so on. This means that metaphors tend to highlight some aspects of the TARGET domain and hide others. The concept of war is only a SOURCE domain used to understand THE TARGET ARGUMENT and gives us only one dimension of the TARGET concept.³⁷ However, this offers us a wider perspective to understand how our conceptual and language systems work.

³⁷ For further reference to the cognitive theory of metaphor cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1993, 2003 and Kövecses 2002.

2.3 Degrees of metaphoricity

Metaphors have also been defined according to their degrees of conventionality. Goatly (1997) classifies five categories of metaphor: Active, Tired, Sleeping, Buried and Dead. In his study he then grouped Tired and Sleeping metaphors under the label Inactive. Before describing what each label exactly means, it is important to outline Goatly's definition of metaphors.

Metaphor occurs when a unit of discourse is used to refer unconventionally to an object, process or concept, or colligates in an unconventional way. And when this unconventional act of reference or colligation is understood on the basis of similarity, matching or analogy involving the conventional referent or colligates of the unit and the actual unconventional referent or colligates. (1997: 8)

Goatly refers to the conventional referent of the unit as the Vehicle (V-term), the actual unconventional referent as the Topic (T-term) and the similarities involved as the Grounds (G-term). According to Lakoff and Johnson definition, the V-term is the SOURCE domain and the T-term is the TARGET domain while the G-term is the set of correspondences mapped from the SOURCE onto the TARGET domains.

According to Goatly a Dead metaphor is realised when the Topics and the Grounds are inaccessible since the meaning of a word has evolved and modified and the current sense cannot be traced back to the original one as in the case of the words 'germ' (seeds/microbe) and 'pupil' (a young student/a circular opening in the iris). Buried metaphors are similar to the Dead ones as the connection between the former metaphorical sense and the current meaning has become so distant that speakers can no longer recognise it as in the case of the words 'clew' (a ball of thread) and 'clue' (a piece of evidence). In Inactive metaphors, the metaphorical meaning is conventional and can evoke the literal meaning still in use. Goatly's difference between Tired and Sleeping lays in the fact that in the first case the literal sense is more likely to be evoked than in the second one. In Active metaphors, on the other hand, the metaphorical sense is entirely evoked through literal sense. Active metaphors are context dependent for the Grounds they generate; as they depend on the interaction between the Vehicle and the Topic, the Grounds will change according to this context. According to Deignan (2005), this classification by Goatly can be complementary to Lakoff's vision of dead and conventionalised metaphors but it is difficult to operate. Therefore, she gives an overview of metaphorical expressions partly basing her classification on Goatly's and Lakoff's work and referring to corpus studies. Deignan refers to Innovative, Conventionalised, Dead and Historical metaphors. The boundary between innovative and conventional metaphors, she

observes, is blurry as all conventionalised metaphors have been innovative at first. Historical metaphors, on the other hand, are “senses originally formed by metaphorical extension of a literal sense that has since dropped out of use” (Deignan 2005: 40).

Deignan argues that innovative and historical metaphors can be easily recognised using corpora analysis. Innovative metaphors have shown to be infrequent in the analysis of concordance lines. Any metaphorical sense of a word that is found less than once in a corpus can be considered innovative while we are in presence of a historical metaphor if instances of a linguistic metaphor show no citations of a related literal sense.

Conventionalised and dead metaphors are less easily recognisable. Conventionalised metaphors are what Goatly calls Tired and dead metaphors are what he calls Sleeping. The fundamental distinction between dead and conventional metaphors is that a conventionalised metaphor is more dependent on the literal sense than dead ones. Conventionalised metaphors are expressions such as cut referred to economic expenditure (Goatly 1997: 32). According to Goatly the fact that a metaphor has become conventional “means that it may work to convey a latent ideology” (2007: 28). He gives the example of the linguistic metaphor “I don’t buy that” explaining that the term buy has become a conventional metaphor with the meaning of ‘accepting or agreeing with’ underlying the common beliefs that ideas are “a commodity which we choose and shop around for according to our needs and desire” (ibid). As Deignan points out, “linguistic conventional metaphors attracted little attention in the past” (2005: 15). One reason is that researchers focused on literature whose interest was on poetic metaphors and described conventional metaphors as dead implying that these structures were of little or no significance. Researchers belonging to the traditional view were more interested in novel and creative metaphors that often appear in poetry. Another reason lies in the fact that many speakers simply regarded those metaphors as literal language without recognising the importance of such linguistic structures in their communicative function.

From Cognitive Linguists’ studies onwards, conventional metaphors have acquired importance in the study of language. According to Charteris-Black a conventional metaphor is one that is “frequently used and is taken up in a language community, thereby reducing our awareness of its semantic tension” (2004: 21). As a consequence its permeability in our language system makes metaphor not easily recognisable to its receiver and conceals its underlying persuasive function. On the other hand, by applying language in new or unusual ways original metaphors have the potential of unsettle our modes of perception and challenging our common set of beliefs. They have also the merit of suggesting new cultural categories or ideologies. However, between the two, a conventional metaphor is more powerful “through its hidden workings” (Goatly 2007: 28). The kind of metaphors that

Conceptual Metaphor Theory and other scholars tend to focus on and investigate are conventionalised metaphors as they have turned out to be a useful tool in exploring the social and ideological settings of a certain type of discourse.

Within this framework, the analysis of the corpus focuses on conventional metaphors as carrier of distinct ideological frames. The analysis of these metaphors in different sub-corpora might reveal the attitude of the British press towards the event of the ratification and to what extent this attitude is the expression of a cultural identity or an ideological stance that vary according to the newspaper.

2.4 Metaphor and Discourse

Cognitive Linguists defined metaphor as a mapping from a SOURCE domain onto a TARGET domain and provided a list of the most common conventional metaphors in language basing their classification on their own intuition or experience. In order to attest that an expression is the conceptual representation of a metaphorical thought, it was necessary to identify the SOURCE and TARGET domains and establish the semantic tension that provides the set of correspondences between the two domains. Starting from the premises that metaphor is a set of underlying conceptual correspondences between two domains, its identification is not an easy task.

2.4.1 Identifying Metaphor

According to Steen “the great difficulty of linguistic metaphor identification and analysis is how we get from the discourse to the list of mapping in a reliable fashion” (2002: 20). He proposes five steps of analysis for linguistic metaphor identification in order to provide the linguist with a framework procedure to decide what counts as metaphor and what does not. Before doing so, Steen focuses on the need to translate all the linguistic manifestations into thoughts. In other words, he is claiming that metaphor identification cannot be separated from the analysis of the conceptual structure activated by language. The procedure he proposed is made up of the following steps:

1. metaphor focus identification
2. metaphorical idea identification
3. non-literal comparison identification
4. non-literal analogy identification
5. non-literal mapping identification

The first step involves the identification of metaphorical expressions in discourse. In particular, it involves the identification of metaphor focus that is the “linguistic expression used non literally in discourse” (ibid.: 61), it expresses a concept which is to be related to another concept to which it cannot be applied literally. Given the linguistic metaphor *I have seen the mermaids riding seawards on the waves* (T.S. Eliot *The love song of J. Alfred Prufrock*) the focus is ‘riding on’ which activates a concept that cannot be literally applied to the referents in the texts ‘mermaids’ and ‘waves’ (ibid.). Steen calls the other literal concept “the literal part of the metaphorical idea” that is what others call tenor or topic. In order to identify the metaphorical idea and a complete metaphor it is necessary to analyse propositions (step 2). Given a metaphorical expression, a metaphorical idea is identified when it is possible to substitute the focus with a literal expression getting a similar meaning. In the case of the metaphor above, the focus ‘riding on’ functions as predicate and the concept it expresses is the metaphorical idea. As a proof of this identification, it is possible to substitute this verb with the literal verb ‘floating’ and the result is a literal conceptualisation of the other literal referents (‘mermaids’ and ‘waves’) producing a similar meaning. These referents are in relation: one ‘riding on’ the other in the first case, one floating the other in the second example. The metaphorical idea, therefore, is the metaphorical concept implied by the expression ‘riding on’. The following step (step 3) consists in making a comparison of the non-literal mapping between the two domains. In this step the linguist has to establish that there are properties of a concept that are similar to properties of the other concept. As in the case of the metaphor from T.S. Eliot’s poem, “there is a similarity between mermaids and waves doing a certain type of activity on the one hand and entities riding on other entities on the other” (ibid: 67). In step 4 the linguist has to interpret these comparisons finding appropriate analogies between the focus and the vehicle that is, using the conceptual metaphor theory labels, between the TARGET and SOURCE domains. The last step consists in the production of mapping from analogies. Steen argues that there is a special relation between step 4 and 5 because the analogy provided by step 4 “acts as a target for the construction of the more complex mapping” (ibid.: 72), as a consequence, step 5 can be said to be a verification of step 4.

As Steen points out this procedure deals with metaphor analysis rather than metaphor understanding:

Metaphor analysis is a task for the linguist who wishes to describe and explain the structure and function of a language while metaphor understanding is a cognitive process which is the object

of investigation of psycholinguists and discourse psychologists who are conducting behavioural research. (Steen 1999: 59)

However, this procedure offers a logical framework for analytical process and a descriptive tool to be used in semantics.

Metaphor identification has been a thorny issue for many linguists and Graham Low (1999) enlists and comments on different procedures. He states that the most common way to identify metaphor is to examine the text and unilaterally decide what is metaphorical and what is not.

Unilateral identification has two main advantages apart from the ease and the speed with which the procedure can be carried out. Firstly, the researcher can establish identification criteria that are specific to the research progress. Secondly, he can bring a wide range of experience from different areas “to bear concurrently on identification decisions” (ibi.: 49). However, as Low observes, there are also some problems when choosing unilateral identification procedure. The identification of expressions which are not referred to or interpreted by the speaker as metaphoric is subject to randomness or subjectivity of the researcher. A second problem is the so called ‘recency effect’. Metaphor researchers can be more sensitive to metaphors with which they have been working in recent past or just to a particular metaphor. In the first case, this may lead to consistently over-interpreting expressions which are only peripherally relatable to the metaphor concerned while on the other hand the experience with one metaphor may lead to under-identifying others. The issue of familiarity can be very problematic and other variables have to be taken into consideration such as the number of readings or the time spent reflecting on the text or the familiarity with the topic under investigation.

Another way of identifying metaphor is the Think-Aloud protocols proposed by Steen (1994) and Cameron (1999b; 2003). This technique induces people to think aloud when they are carrying out some tasks or to talk afterwards and report what they said earlier. The problem that may arise is that people can create reports of their activities which can be either tailored to what the researcher wants to find, or which put themselves in a more favourable light. In this way the identification and following analysis of metaphors might not be completely objective.

Another method to identify metaphor is the consensus data technique. It consists of providing provisional interpretations to speakers until they agree that these interpretations are the ones they were probably thinking of. However, in situations where the speaker has no specific meaning in mind or is intentionally vague or is avoiding taking responsibility this technique does not work successfully. Moreover, as Low (1999) points out this method may

increase information density. When people are asked to decide about a number of similar linguistic data they face a rapid mental overload. A solution to this effect could be the pile sort that consists of arranging opinion cards, containing a statement of some sort, in a pile on a table according to a rating scale.

Referring to a third party is another procedure for metaphor identification. Also in this case the identification may encounter some problems. Firstly, different people may have different definitions of metaphors unless the researcher gives them one. In this case, however, the subjectivity of the researcher is going to prevail and it might seem as if s/he is applying his/her own ideas. The second difficulty that the researcher might face is that third parties may want to interpret their decisions using a wide range of terminology. If the researcher limits these interpretations the result won't show the way these people actually think. Another problem that might arise is that people who have read books on conceptual metaphors may constitute a set of metaphor recognisers and therefore objectivity might be lost.

In this regard, whatever metaphor identification procedure presents some difficulties to the researcher who should try to avoid them when possible. Moreover, when researchers choose to use corpora for metaphor identification and analysis may also encounter several problems. Firstly, metaphors belong to our conceptual system and therefore to the conceptual side of linguistic signs. For this reason it is difficult to set automatic parameters to find them. Corpus analysis in fact facilitates the research of a specific lexical item and can easily create a concordance in order to study how it is used in language. As a consequence, researchers have to find a way to cope with this problem.

One way to deal with this problem is to consult thesauri entries. It is necessary to list potential linguistic manifestations of the metaphor under investigation, and then look up into a thesaurus or thesauri for any lexical item in the source and target domains. Secondly, researchers have to trawl concordance lines for each lexical item and consequently manually explore the linguistic context. After deciding which occurrences have a metaphorical meaning, metaphors have to be classified into groups.

According to Charteris-Black identifying metaphor “is initially concerned with ideational meaning – that is, identifying whether they are present in a text and establishing whether there is a tension between a literal source domain and a metaphoric target domain” (2004: 34-35). His approach to metaphor identification has two stages. The first one consists in reading a sample of texts with the aim of identifying ‘candidate metaphors’ which are to be examined in relation to the criteria for the definition of metaphor. Charteris-Black defines these criteria starting from the assumption that a metaphor is not an “*exclusively* linguistic, pragmatic or cognitive phenomenon” but a combination of some characteristics of these phenomena that

may be present at varying degrees (2004: 21). According to these criteria, therefore, Charteris-Black defines metaphor as a linguistic representation that results from the shift of a word or phrase from one context or domain to another, causing semantic tension. At the first stage of metaphor identification, the occurrence of the semantic tension is also verified and the ‘candidate metaphors’ that do not satisfy this criterion are excluded from the analysis. The words that are identified as having metaphoric sense are classified as ‘keyword metaphors’ whose presence in the corpus can be attested quantitatively. The second stage consists in exploring the corpus contexts to determine whether each use of a keyword is metaphorical or literal. As Charteris-Black pointed out (2004), the investigation of metaphors needs both a qualitative and a quantitative approach. A qualitative approach is necessary firstly to establish what will be considered a metaphor, and secondly, to interpret the role of metaphors, the type of evaluation they convey and to what extent they are related to the intentions of the language user, to better understand what purposes they have in mind when speaking metaphorically. On the other hand, a quantitative analysis is necessary because it allows us to explore the most recurring metaphors in specific contexts and provides us with insights into the cognitive characteristics of that particular metaphor. This procedure has been applied to metaphor investigation in this research project and a more detailed analysis will be provided in Chapter 4.

2.4.2 Analysing Metaphor

Researchers following the cognitive approach (Lakoff and Johnson 2003; Gibbs, 1994 Kövecses 2002) argue that metaphor is primarily a matter of thought, however, this mental mapping is realised through language; they “depend on language to advance theory and knowledge” (Deignan 2008b: 151). Cognitive linguists tend to rely on intuition both in identifying and analysing metaphors and use experimental techniques to research metaphors. Data is often invented and can be produced by the researcher’s or participants’ intuitions or by testing and comparing participants’ reactions to various metaphorical and non-metaphorical items in invented texts. As Deignan observes (2005: 110) Kövecses makes extensive use of such techniques. In particular, in his work on happiness (1991), he focuses on unattested sources of data while in his research on friendship (1995, 2000) he uses data elicited from participants. Another way of researching metaphor was to test participants through reading entire stories or fragmented texts (Gibbs, 1999), observing eye movement as an indicator of what a person is concentrating on. In two of his experiments Gibbs examined

how people's intuitions of the bodily experience of containment underlie speakers' use and understanding of idioms.

Unquestionably, Cognitive studies on metaphors have changed the classical view of metaphor as originating only in poetry and works of art and also opened new fields of research in which applying metaphor analysis. Cognitive linguists have shown that even ordinary people, consciously or unconsciously, make use of metaphors as they are grounded in our embodied experience. As metaphors are deeply linked to our experience, their manifestation in language may result in a set of conventional linguistic metaphors which can be unnoticed, as the example of the LOVE metaphor above has shown. In this regard, metaphors have become a powerful analytical tool to investigate and explore different kinds of discourses (see paragraph 2.2).

However, from an applied or corpus linguistic perspective such methodologies cannot be regarded as empirically valid. Firstly, applied linguistics is concerned with "language use in real-life situations" and "is aiming to reveal and understand underlying processes of language learning or use, and perhaps to evaluate intervention in them" (Cameron 1999a: 3). Corpus linguistics does not rely on intuition for its analysis of naturally occurring language. As a result, texts cannot be analysed basing investigations on our "inventory of idiomatic expressions containing metaphors, on the assumption that such idioms are typical of language use in general" (Musolff 2004: 8). On the contrary a well-structured metaphor analysis needs statistical evidence of metaphor's use in order to claim that a particular metaphor is central to a specific discourse. Moreover, data provided by Cognitive researchers consist of single sentences or short paragraphs which lack in context and therefore ambiguity may result.

In order to give proof of the validity of corpus approaches to metaphor analysis, Deignan (2008b: 151-152) referring to the work by Gernsbacher et al (2001) reports how corpus analysis reveals the limits of their findings. The researchers claim that the metaphorical meaning of shark, referred to lawyers, is tenacious and vicious. On the other hand, Deignan suggests that the word shark is used "to connote unscrupulous and greedy behaviour in business and occasionally legal dealings" and that this meaning is also confirmed by the plural forms of the noun. Challenging the Cognitive tradition in analysing metaphors Deignan reports as following:

Researchers in this tradition make no claim that the language they use is natural. They are seeking to demonstrate the nature of mental links and categories rather than to explore the nature of metaphorical language in use. Nonetheless, it can be argued that the readers in their experiments are forced into atypical processing behaviour because they are required to deal with

very unusual language, largely devoid of the usual clues that people would use in natural language use. (2008b: 155)

The approach of Corpus Linguistics to metaphor analysis has proved to be helpful in better understanding the complexity of metaphor and its role in a discourse community. For example, Deignan's (2008a) research on the conventional metaphor for emotion finds discrepancies with the Cognitive research on the same metaphor. Cognitive linguists have shown that temperature is a common metaphor for feelings and that anger is talked in terms of pressure of a fluid in a container. They focus on individual experience of anger arguing that the metaphor is embodied in human interaction with the external world. On the contrary, corpus research into heat metaphors of anger has revealed that heat metaphors are often used in talk about collective anger rather than individual feelings.

Other studies (Zanotto et al 2008; Charteris-Black 2004; Deignan 1999, 2005, 2008a, 2008b; Goatly 2007; Musolff 2000, 2004) have questioned the validity of Cognitive Linguistic methodologies and argued that investigating metaphors only from a cognitive point of view provides a limited perspective to the whole analysis. Charteris-Black claims that one of the limitations of Conceptual Metaphor Theory is that "the only explanation for metaphor motivation is with reference to an underlying experiential basis" (Charteris-Black 2004: 11). Such a view does not consider the fact that metaphors may be chosen by speakers or writers "to achieve particular communication goals within particular contexts rather than being *predetermined* by bodily experience" (ibid: 247). Koller (2008: 105) as well, claims that the neural theory of metaphor, according to which conceptual metaphor emerges in early childhood when neural connections are established between two domains of experience that are regularly co-activated, is reductionist when applied to complex metaphors. She underlines that embodiment may determine usage of primary metaphors such as MORE IS UP or SAD IS DOWN but the usage and generation of complex metaphors such as WAR and RELATIONSHIP metaphors has to take into account the social and ideological constraints. Charteris-Black (2004) argues that not only should metaphors be analysed cognitively, but also pragmatically since they are powerful tools of persuasion in discourse.

The cognitive semantic approach also needs to be complemented with an analysis of pragmatic factors as metaphors are always used in a specific communication context that governs their role. Therefore their cognitive characteristics cannot be treated in isolation from their persuasive function in discourse. (Charteris-Black 2004: 9)

In this regard, metaphors can influence political and social judgments as well as develop new ideologies and therefore shape new ways of communicating. What emerges is that metaphor is

central to discourses and is a carrier of latent ideologies. The partial nature of metaphorical mappings, as we have seen in the previous paragraph, has shown us how metaphors tend to highlight certain aspects of a concept and hide other characteristics. This selective process, however, seems to be intentional, as the fathers of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory claim “whether in national politics or in everyday interaction, people in power get to impose their metaphors” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 157). As a consequence, the acceptance of those metaphors forces us to focus only on the aspects of our experience that they bring to light and in this regard metaphors can be powerful tools of those in power. According to Koller (2008) a given discourse will favour particular conceptual metaphors depending on the ideology that prevails in the socio-cultural formation. Also Fairclough acknowledges the ideological significance of metaphors when he states that:

any aspect of experience can be represented in terms of any number of metaphors, and it is the relationship between alternative metaphors that is of particular interest here, for different metaphors have different ideological attachments. (1989: 119)

Metaphors, therefore, are an important part of ideology as they provide the cognitive framework for our perception of the reality. As Zanotto et al point out “Metaphor surrounds us as we go about our daily business, impacting on how we understand ourselves and others” (2008: 1). Even though some might argue that this perception of the reality is partial, it is in this partiality that the role of metaphors becomes strategic. Charteris-Black (2004: 10) claims that speakers intentionally use particular metaphors in a specific discourse in order to get precise communicative goals. He also argues that the choice of a particular metaphor reflects the speakers’ intentions and ideologies:

metaphor selection in particular types of discourse is governed by the rhetorical aim of persuasion. In many cases, therefore, metaphor choice is motivated by ideology. The same notion could have been communicated using a different metaphor had the ideology been different [...]. (ibid: 247)

In his analysis of the Conservative, the Old Labour and the New Labour manifestos Charteris-Black (2004: 74-76) found that different aspects of the source domains correspond to different ideological outlooks. In particular he found that the Old Labour discourse conceived of journey as forward movement in space while Conservative and New Labour discourses conceived of journey as forward motions in time. This different choice is motivated by ideological differences even though bodily experience may be necessary for its interpretation. Such a difference is also visible in the use of the metaphorical item *burden*, used to express the

need for patience in order to achieve some political aims. The analysis revealed how a similar conceptual notion can be used to express different party political goals. In the Labour manifestos various social factors are described in terms of *burdens* such as unemployment, poverty, fear of the future while in the Conservative manifesto the income tax is presented as a *burden* and small-firms, companies and businesses are described as carriers of this *burden*. According to Charteris-Black this different conceptualisation underlies that the Labour Party has a social orientation whereas the Conservative Party a business one.

Metaphors may also activate emotional responses and according to Goatly (1997: 158) this potential of metaphor could explain its extensive use in poetry and literature. He also argues that the particular emotional effect of the metaphor varies across individuals and contexts. This variation can be explained by the fact that metaphors construe image-schemas which are based on specific experiences, actually perceived. In other words, these images can be associated with the emotions actually perceived at the time of perception. Therefore, emotions “rather like perception of metaphors, are ultimately part of a subjective world in which our interpretation depends on such diverse influences as our past experiences of people, of situations, and of language” (Charteris-Black 2004: 11).

As a consequence, analysing metaphor means to explore the inner subjectivity of speakers but also to investigate its impact on hearers. Metaphor in fact, presupposes an interaction between text-producers and text-consumers as one is the carrier of latent ideological messages and the other is the receiver of these hidden ideological thoughts. Metaphors are received and accepted by the text-consumer only when the metaphor is recognised as such. This means that just like concepts, metaphors are shared by members of a culture or language group. As a result, the speaker or writer has to bear this in mind when choosing the metaphor to use. The mind of the receiver is central for the awareness and understanding of metaphoric language. Hence the conception of metaphor is dependent on the receiver’s knowledge of the language (in which the metaphor is used), the receiver’s knowledge of the world and society, and on the context in which the metaphor is used (Goatly 1997: 137). Also Chilton and Ilyin focus on the importance of the receiver in the processing of metaphors since “it is left to the responsibility of hearers to infer metaphorical entailments and relevance to the communication situation” (1993: 9).

The new conceptual view of metaphors has raised the status of this figurative language to an object of systematic investigation in various fields of research. Metaphor investigation has become central to Discourse Analysis, Applied Linguistics, Cognitive Scientists and Cognitive Linguists. As metaphors are a powerful analytical tool “to understand human

interaction and thinking” (Zanotto et al 2008: 1). Moreover, a careful analysis of metaphors can raise awareness of the role they play in our ways of speaking and thinking.

2.5 Metaphors in Political and Media Discourse

The language of politics is a complex issue which includes many strategies of language use to influence the receiver towards a desired attitude or thought. Politicians use language to persuade people that their aims are fair and impartial and have to cope with the audience’s emotions and desires (Charteris-Black 2005; Chilton 2004; Partington 2010). As metaphors have the potential to transport the listener by evoking emotional responses, they appear to be a basic tool for politicians in order to reach their target by making their opinions more vivid and clear to the receiver, and by hiding and highlighting only some of the main issues. The activation of unconscious emotional associations influences the community values and beliefs by transferring positive or negative evaluation into the target metaphor and as a consequence, it influences the receiver’s emotional response (Charteris-Black 2004: 12-13). As we have seen, metaphors can be used consciously or unconsciously in political discourse to communicate ideologies covertly but persuasively. As Semino and Masci point out “increasing attention has been paid to the use of metaphors in politics and the media, where the implication of structuring of one domain in terms of another can influence the way in which large numbers of people conceive of sensitive and controversial aspects of the reality they live in” (1996: 244).

Many scholars (Musolff 2007; Semino and Masci 1996; Charteris-Black 2004) have proved that political discourse is filled with metaphorical expressions. These studies have revealed how metaphors simply reflect a particular ideology as in the previously mentioned case of the analysis of the British Party manifestos, or are used in order to achieve a particular political end as in the case of Berlusconi who uses football and religion metaphors in order to “justify his decision to enter politics, create his own particular image as a politician, attract votes and maintain support for his government after the election” (Semino and Masci 1996: 244). This study has shown how conventional metaphors may be an effective tool in conveying a political message as they are perceived as established ways of thinking.

Metaphors can also become a powerful propagandistic tool which is used to justify severe measures against specific social groups as in the case of the conceptualisation of Germany as a *human body* that needs to be cured and of the Jew as *parasites* causing disease in Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* (Musolff 2007). The analysis of the *Mein Kampf* has shown that Hitler

and his party are seen as the only *competent healers* capable to combat the *illness*. This scenario was at the basis of a racist discourse which considered the Jew as a danger for the Arian race (in terms of race mixing) and brought to their genocide. “Hitler’s multilayered illness-cure scenario of national and universal redemption-by-genocide would certainly count as one of the most powerful – and most destructive – conceptual constructs of all time” (ibid: 42).

Charteris-Black (2006) claims that politicians are attracted by metaphors as these linguistic structures perform a range of functions. Referring to his investigation of communication policy on immigration in Britain, he argues that metaphors communicate political arguments and ideology by political myth, heightening an emotional impact and establishing the ethical integrity of the speaker. His study has revealed that metaphors contribute to the formation of legitimacy in right-wing political communication on immigration.

According to these different studies we can say that metaphors exist as a feature of political discourse in different genres and that their role in this context is both ideological and strategic as they help to create a common shared framework of values and beliefs on which focuses and puts emphasis for various aims. It can be said that metaphors are related to the event and adjusted to the purpose and area in which the speech is delivered. Therefore, it is relevant to know the context, the purpose and beliefs of the speaker to be able to locate and interpret the metaphors. On the other hand, the speaker makes an active choice of words and a decision whether to use metaphors or not in order to make a point more vivid or persuasive (Charteris-Black 2004: 17). Metaphors can be used to make abstract political issues more accessible to the potential receiver of the political message by emphasising or softening certain aspects. They can be used to convey the problem as well as implying a solution in the same metaphor. The interpretation of the message can be influenced by the speaker’s values but its interpretation by the receiver is also subject to the different way people categorise, understand and receive certain issues (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 163).

Political discourse is a very wide concept since it involves internal and external discourses. The latter mainly finds its expression in the way politicians communicate their opinions and policies to the media. Among media genres, news report in the press is one of the most studied and this widely spread interest from linguists, discourse analysts and mass communication researchers can be explained by the fact that news plays a fundamental role in our everyday life, as van Dijk spells out in the following quotation:

Most of our social and political knowledge and beliefs about the world derive from the dozens of news reports we read or see every day. There is probably no other discursive practice, besides

everyday conversation, that is engaged in so frequently and by so many people as news in the press and on television. (van Dijk 1991: 110)

Newspapers and TV news are our first contact with the external world; they in fact filter our knowledge of the every day communicative practices. It is believed that newspapers have a neutral stance on the news they report and describe just facts as they happened. However, many studies on media communication have argued that newspapers are part of an industry and as a consequence, have to respect specific rules which are based on the final aim of such an industry that is selling the highest number of copies a day. In order to reach their scope news stories have to stick to the so called news values (Bell, 1991; Fowler, 1991). It has also been argued that journalists tend to express the ideology and opinions of the newspaper's editor and have to conform to those opinions.

In van Dijk's analysis of racism in news discourse (1991), he found that the language used by the *Daily Mail* in reporting about the story of the Sri Lankan refugee Mendis³⁸ clearly reveals its right-wing attitude. The study has shown that the *Mail* makes extensive use of the word 'illegal' to connote Mendis. This connotation may imply that it had better get rid of immigrants and refugees who are linked with crime. This may suggest a pressure for the expulsion of Mendis and other refugees from the country.

Metaphors also play an important role in press reports as they are the means through which complicated social situations and events, distant from the potential readers' direct experience, can be described in a more accessible way. As a consequence, metaphor analysis may reveal differences in the use of metaphors which depend on the message newspapers want to convey or transfer to the target audience. This message, of course, is reported from a particular angle as the expression of the ideology of the newspapers' industry.

In her analysis of different news stories in *The Sun*, the *Guardian* and the *New York Times*, Bednarek points out how metaphors are useful stylistic devices in building up event construals that is "the way in which a particular event in the 'real world' is construed via textualisation when it is reported in a newspaper" (2005: 10). In establishing these construals, metaphors help readers to create coherence and give them a conceptual representation of the world. In two texts, taken from *The Sun*, Bednarek shows how the stories are construed through the metaphor ARGUMENT IS A BATTLE. Bednarek's analysis has shown how metaphors contribute to create coherence and help readers to better understand the development of the story by recognising a well-known schema such as that of a battle and, have a more vivid and clear image of the situation.

38 After living two years on the sacristy of a church in Manchester, the Sri Lankan refugee Mendis was finally arrested during a massive police raid on the church.

In news reports metaphors are often used by the newspaper reporting expressions used by people involved in the report. These metaphors are in fact used by “people in power” who tend to “impose their metaphors on us” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 157) and in this process news stories help political leaders to impose their view of the world. To such extent, metaphors used by politicians and reported in the press are almost always conventional metaphors while innovative metaphors are rare. This may be explained by the fact that conventional metaphors appeal to the shared, hidden beliefs and values of each member of a community. In the media conventionalised metaphors

are potentially important because they provide excellent examples of these socially poignant representations. This is because they constitute verbal evidence for an underlying system of ideas – or ideology – whose assumptions may be ignored if we are unaware of them” (Charteris-Black 2004: 30).

2.6 Metaphors and the Political debate about Europe

A particular interest in the analysis of the political debate about Europe aroused in the 1990s when the European Union was going to approve the Maastricht Treaty. Numerous researchers (Musolff 1996 2001a, 2001b; Schäffner 1996; Charteris-Black and Musolff 2003; Chilton and Ilyin 1993) turned towards this issue and explored the use of metaphors in this public debate through a cross-cultural approach. Lakoff and Johnson claim the universality of metaphors but these studies have shown that metaphors may vary across culture and sometimes different interpretations may lead to misinterpretation of a metaphor.

As outlined in the previous paragraphs, the realisation of a metaphor implies the interaction between the speaker and the receiver, and presupposes a set of shared beliefs and schemas. Moreover, these studies have revealed that metaphors are relevant to politics as they define political problems and find solutions to those problems. They have also shown that metaphor analysis makes it possible to bring the inner thoughts of politicians and of news reporters to light.

During the years 1998-2002 a group of researchers carried out a research project named ARC which focused on public debates in Britain and Germany about the economic and political integration of Europe. In particular, it focused on debates about the common European currency ‘the Euro’ and on a possible closer economic and political integration. The main aim of the project was to provide comparative analyses of the main strands of the debates about Europe as they developed in the two countries. The two research groups had

different working plans. The British research group recorded and analysed key terminology, dominant metaphors as used by the press and in political discourse in Great Britain and Germany while the German research group investigated “the relationship between public discourse and traditions and changes of cultural/political attitudes in Britain and Germany towards Europe”.³⁹ The first phase of this joint project resulted in a publication entitled *Attitudes towards Europe. Language in the unification process* (Musolff, Andreas, Good Collin, Points Petra and Wittlinger Ruth eds. 2001). The aim of the publication was to investigate the British and German attitudes towards the European Union. The volume proceeded from “accounts of British discourse about EU politics via German Europe-debates to comparative/contrastive analysis, with two studies concentrating specifically on translation aspects” (ibid: xiv). What emerges is that the two nations have different attitudes towards ‘the community’ and precisely, Germany was more pro-European than Great Britain. This difference finds its explanation in the fact that Germany, after the post-war period, wanted to gain respectability and prove to be a reliable member of the international community. The birth of the EC was a great chance for Germany to abandon the horrible feeling of its nationalism and turn to the EC and identify with a supranational entity. On the other hand, the situation was rather different in Great Britain. The nation was not prepared to lose its power of an imperial force for being just a member, among others, of a community. Being part of a community meant for Britain to lose its sovereignty while for Germany it was as acquiring a new better identity (ibid: xi-xii).

Andreas Musolff (2001b) compares the imagery of British and German press dealing with the Euro-debates during the 1990s. In his analysis of print media Musolff groups metaphors in more than twenty thematic fields and observes that the metaphors describing political developments in the EU as a form of travel are the largest group in the corpus. In this travel towards the economic and political integration, the analysis reveals that countries do not move at the same speed. Britain was depicted both in the British and German press as the *latecomer* or *unwilling traveller* that may create problems to the *progress* of the whole group. In the German press, Germany itself is described in terms of *driver/locomotive* up to 1997/1998, as *being in charge of the locomotive* or *driving the EU-train* and the German press seems to be critical of other countries, such as Britain, that *are not on the train*. In the years following 1998, Germany is also perceived as a *problem passenger*, in particular the convoy scenario depicts Germany as a *slow ship*.

The journey scenario was also shared by British media which, however, differ over its political evaluation. Pro-EU voices take a pessimistic view of British lateness as nothing to be

39 For further references see <http://www.dur.ac.uk/mlac/german/resources/arcproject>.

proud of, “*missing the Euro train* became the catch phrase of Europhiles in their attempts to plead the urgency of the situation and warn of the consequences of Eurosceptic resistance against EU integration” (Musolff 2001b: 190). On the other hand, Eurosceptic media paint a picture of the Union *travelling towards disaster* and *missing the train* was perceived as the ideal solution.

The debate about Europe attracted many scholars who mostly focused on the emergence of the new currency ‘The Euro’. The analysis provided by Charteris-Black and Musolff (2003) aimed to compare the metaphor used to talk about the Euro in the English and German financial press during the autumn of 2000 when the currency was launched. They find commonalities between the two languages, particularly in the use of UP/DOWNWARD MOVEMENT metaphors and HEALTH metaphors. As far as conceptualisation of MOVEMENT is concerned, the analysis has revealed no differences between the two corpora, however, German data have shown a tendency to put emphasis on the impact of the downward movement using terms such as *downfall*, *downward spin* or *crash*. The authors have interpreted this tendency as an “indication that German perception of the euro is—to a certain extent—particularly focused on (and worried about) the rapidity and volatility of the currency’s ‘downfall’”(Charteris-Black and Musolff 2003: 169).

They also find evidence of a different attitude towards the Euro, in that the English metaphors present it as an active participant, by employing many COMBAT metaphors. The German metaphors on the other hand, present the currency as a *victim* that needs *intervention*. This study has shown how the choice of the VEHICLE or SOURCE domain can vary depending on the writer’s/speaker’s language, culture and attitudes to a particular topic.

A similar study was carried out by Semino (2002) who analysed corpora of English and Italian newspapers during the beginning of 1999 when the Euro was circulating together with the other currencies. She states that the differences found in metaphorical expressions used by the English and Italian press can be explained according to a different attitude of the two countries towards the acceptability of the Euro. Italy joined the Eurozone and was favourable to such a change while Britain was more Euro-sceptic towards the new introduction.

In her analysis on how the British and German press conceptualise European unity and integration, Christina Schäffner (1996) identified two main SOURCE domains: the MOVEMENT and CONSTRUCTION. She also identified other metaphors that recur less frequently than the previous ones such as CONTAINER, ILLNESS, MARRIAGE metaphors and other new models (CORE EUROPE, VARIABLE GEOMETRY, CONCENTRIC CIRCLES, and EUROPE À LA CARTE). As far as CONSTRUCTION metaphors are concerned, the author observes that, in both corpora, the structural elements of the building process are commonly used to conceptualise European

politics while metaphorical expressions related to the designing stage of the construction process are often found in bias for a non solid project and European *architects* are invited to *go back to the drawing board*.

In her analysis of MOVEMENT metaphors, Schäffner underlines that the related metaphorical expressions are also used to conceptualise political aims and projects. However, she finds out that the starting schema is not a concrete path with a starting point and a destination but the movement itself. The different uses of this metaphor have turned out to be not so much between Britain and Germany but between the positions of internal parties, their attitude towards the Union and the Maastricht Treaty. In English texts desirable endpoints are “a decentralized Europe of nations”, “a union of sovereign nation states” while undesirable destinations are “federal superstate”, a “federal Europe”, a “centralized Europe” and “United States of Europe”. On the other hand, proponents of the Maastricht Treaty characterise it as an “important staging-post”, and critics refer to it as a “step too far”, “a step towards a superstate”, “a stepping stone to the United States of Europe”. In German texts desirable endpoints are “federal Europe”, “Union of States” while undesirable ones are “European federal state”, “United States of Europe”. As in English texts also in German texts the author finds differences in the conceptualisation of the Maastricht treaty depending on a different attitude towards it. Proponents and supporters of the Treaty refer to it as a “milestone” or a “step in the right direction”; critics, on the contrary, denounce it as “having led to astray” or as “having set a wrong course”. One entailment that develops from the MOVEMENT metaphor is that countries are proceeding at different speed. In this period there was emphasis on a *two-speed Europe* or a *two-tier Europe* (Schäffner 1996: 48).

The two-speed image has become a basic model for conceptualising policies for the future development of Europe. It was extensively discussed by Musolff (1996, 2001a, 2004) who focuses on the pragmatic implications of this metaphor. Musolff points out how the evaluation of the *two-speed Europe* image varies with the passing of the years. At the beginning of the 1990s, both the British and German media conceptualise the image in a very similar way that is as a future risk. However, even if the two corpora have shown a common understanding of the *two-speed Europe* as denoting a division among European countries and in particular a division between Britain and the rest, there are some differences in attributing the responsibility for the split. The German papers identify Britain as the cause while the *Guardian* passed the responsibility to the whole Community. The public attitudes and discourses about the two-speed formula underwent changes during the years following the Maastricht Treaty. The British EU debate was characterised by the uses of the formula as an already established fact in sentences such as a *two speed Europe* “could leave Britain permanently in the slow lane”

or “could leave Britain sidelined in areas central to its national interest” while the German press continued to conceive the two speed Europe as a future threat to the entire Community.

Another metaphorical scenario, that Musolff (2004) analyses, is the FAMILY one. He finds out that the relationships among the member states or between single states and the EU is understood in terms of a FAMILY with PARENTS that are MARRIED and have CHILDREN. In the debate about Europe focusing on the introduction of the new currency in the years following the Amsterdam Treaty, the euro was described in terms of a CHILD and EU countries appeared as its PARENTS. His research has shown that British media positively comment on the *marriage problems* of the Franco-German couple that provide an opportunity for Britain to establish a *love triangle* or a *marriage à trios* while, on the other hand, the German press appears to be particularly worried for the possibility of a *break-up of the marriage* and possible new *flirts*. These two different attitudes appear to be a result of a Euro-sceptic vision on the one hand, and a more pro-European feeling on the other hand.

All the studies reported in this paragraph are corpus-based research and have proved how corpus linguistics can be a useful method for metaphor analysis as data is empirically testable in terms of frequency, representativeness and consistency. They have also underlined that metaphors can be used by media and politicians to conceptualise political events, aims or projects and attitudes towards a particular phenomenon. In particular, these studies have revealed that metaphors can be culturally related and can be shared by a discourse community. As these metaphors can show a vision of the world that can be shared or not according to different ways of conceptualising an event or different attitudinal behaviours towards a specific topic.

As my research project aims at investigating how the British press has described the European debate on the Lisbon Treaty through the use of metaphorical language, these studies have been of great interest and have proved a basis for the analysis of the corpus. Moreover, it has been useful to compare my results with previous studies in order to have a wider view on the political debate about Europe and the general attitude of the British press towards it.

2.7 Summary

In this Chapter I have outlined some of the fundamental tenets of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and possible ways of identifying and analysing metaphors. This Chapter has also shown that even though Conceptual Metaphor Theory provides a useful framework to analyse

linguistic metaphors, other studies have revealed how the cognitive approach needs to be complemented with pragmatic analysis of metaphor. Even though it is not easy for the researcher to retrieve data from corpora, it has been shown that Corpus Linguistics has turned out to be a useful methodology for metaphor research in order to make more general linguistic observations on the basis of documented data. Corpora provide the researcher with context that helps to explore metaphors in the situations where they really occur.

The corpus studies presented in this Chapter have demonstrated that the choice of a SOURCE domain used to talk about a particular event or topic can vary according to the speaker's language, culture, and attitudes to the topic. They have focused on finding which linguistic metaphor is used in different genres, languages and discourses.

3. Corpus Building

3.1 Introduction

A corpus is not a merely random collection of texts but, rather, it is a collection that has been put together according to specific criteria. These criteria are determined by the researcher's needs and the goal of his/her own project (Baker 2006; Bowker and Pearson 2002).

The corpus under investigation is a specialised corpus of newspaper articles dealing with the European debate about the Lisbon Treaty. This corpus is not very big but, considering that it has been collected with the aim of investigating how the British press constructs the discourse of the Lisbon debate, its size is not the main issue to consider. As Baker points out

One consideration when building a specialised corpus in order to investigate the discursive construction of a particular subject is perhaps not so much the size of the corpus, but how often we would expect to find that subject mentioned within it. (2006: 28)

As a consequence, when we are interested in investigating a particular subject “the quality or content of data takes equal or more precedence over issues of quantity” (ibid: 29)

The present Chapter focuses on the process of data selection and collection steps. It gives an overview of articles distribution in the entire corpus comparing with the historical background traced in Chapter 1. Eventually, it also deals with corpus annotation and any other procedure carried out to make the data more comparable and suitable for the computational tool used for this analysis.

3.2 The Corpus – data collection

The corpus on which this analysis is based consists of 1,263 articles taken from fourteen newspapers, three tabloids and their Sunday editions (*The Sun*, *News of The World*, *Daily Mail*, *Mail on Sunday*, *Mirror*, *Sunday Mirror*) and four broadsheets and their Sunday editions (*The Times*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Independent*, *The Independent on Sunday*, *Guardian*, *The Observer*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sunday Telegraph*). The corpus' full size consists of 607,290 running words. In order to make the corpus manageable and specific to the purpose of the research I collected the newspaper articles from 1 June 2007 to 31 March 2009 in two different steps. It

has been decided to start the research in June 2007 because on June 21 and 22 of the same year the European Summit agreed to convene an Inter-Governmental Conference to discuss the institutional reforms. On the other hand, it has been decided to end the research at the end of March 2009 because the Czech Republic's President was expected to make a decision on the ratification process in his country after its suspension following Ireland's decision. However, I noticed that the first article appeared on 10 October 2007 and the last article appeared on 26 March 2009, therefore the corpus started from that period. Table 3.1 shows the time-span in each newspaper (date of the first and last article), the number of articles, and the number of running words per newspaper.

Newspaper	Time-span	No Articles	No Tokens
Daily Mail	15/10/2007-17/01/2009	328	175,231
Sunday Times	21/10/2007-14/12/2008	110	90,950
The Times	10/10/2007-12/12/2008	102	59,824
The Guardian	10/10/2007-17/01/2009	88	54,557
The Daily Telegraph	15/10/2007-26/03/2009	92	48,303
The Independent	12/10/2007-19/12/2008	78	48,102
The Sun	19/10/2007-25/03/2009	212	46,806
The Mirror	15/10/2007-19/03/2009	132	27,989
Sunday Telegraph	21/10/2007-14/12/2008	29	21,278
The Observer	16/10/2007-28/07/2008	12	11,343
Independent on Sunday	04/11/2007-28/03/2009	10	6,598
Sunday Mirror	14/10/2007-01/03/2009	34	6,244
The News of the World	03/02/2008-15/03/2009	31	5,304
Mail On Sunday	16/12/2007-03/08/2008	5	4,761

Table 3.1 Description of the corpus – time span, articles and tokens. The newspapers are ordered by number of tokens

In order to construct the corpus of newspaper articles, an internet-based archive called Lexis Nexis was used⁴⁰. Lexis Nexis provides researchers with access to billions of searchable documents and records from more than 45,000 legal, news and business sources. The newspaper articles (which include both broadsheets and tabloids) contained in this database are stored as individual texts and a searchable interface allows the user to bring up all the articles which contain a specific word or phrase, restricted to a certain newspaper or a particular time period.

The accessibility and the opportunities provided by this database enabled the creation of a corpus containing all the articles from 1 June 2007 to 31 March 2009 which included the word 'Lisbon Treaty' in the headline and/or in the lead section. Therefore, it might happen that some articles may only refer to the Lisbon Treaty in the headline or in the lead. However,

⁴⁰ Further references available at www.lexisnexis.com.

it has been a useful procedure to collect data and build the specialised corpus investigated herein.

Once downloaded, the articles were saved in .txt format in order to be processed by the software *WordSmith Tools* 5 (Scott, 2008). *WordSmith Tools* has been developed in 1996 by Mike Scott of the University of Liverpool and a demo version is available at <http://www.lexically.net>.

Newspapers have turned out to have more articles in specific time period as Tables 3.2 and 3.3 show.

	The Guardian	The Observer	The Independent	The Independent on Sunday	The Daily Telegraph	Sunday Telegraph	The Times	Sunday Times	Total
Oct 2007	15	4	13		6	2	7	3	50
Nov. 2007	1	1			1		3		6
Dic.2007	7		8	1	4	4	5	2	31
Jan 2008	9		5	2	4	2	6	4	32
Feb. 2008	2	1	4		4	3	8		22
March 2008	6		10	1	14	4	11	4	50
April 2008	1		1		5	1	2	7	17
May 2008	2	1	2		8		3	12	28
June 2008	29	4	28	4	27	7	41	34	174
July 2008	5	1	3		8	2	10	8	37
Aug 2008	2		1		1	1		5	10
Sept 2008	1		2		2		2	10	17
Oct 2008	1				3	1		4	9
Nov. 2008	1							4	5
Dic.2008	3		1		2	2	4	6	18
Jan 2009					2			2	4
Feb.2009								3	3
March 2009	3			1	2			2	8
Total	88	12	78	10	92	29	102	110	521

Table 3.2 Article distribution in the Broadsheet sub-corpus. Data are chronologically ordered.

The distribution of articles in the broadsheets (Table 3.2) seems to follow the events of the ratification. In particular, from October 2007 to May 2008 there is a substantial number of articles with a major concentration in October and March. This comes as no surprise. In October in fact, there was the Lisbon Informal Summit where the Heads of States and Government informally adopted the reform treaty under the name of Lisbon Treaty. Since then the debate about whether signing it or not was growing and saw its supporters and opponents showing the benefits and disadvantages of a potential ratification. Another important step in the ratification was marked by the approval of the Treaty by the House of Commons on 5 March 2008. After that, opposition among Conservatives began to grow in the name of a referendum that had been promised beforehand. Among the broadsheets, *The Sunday Times*, *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, the *Guardian* and *The Independent* seem to have

largely focused on the debate. The closer we approach June 2008 the greater number of articles we encounter (33% of the total). This is also linked to the event of the ratification. On June 12, Ireland held a referendum on the Treaty which gave a negative turnout and forced EU leaders to face the result and its consequences. The British press seems to turn the attention to the referendum as a symbol of democracy that was negated to other countries.

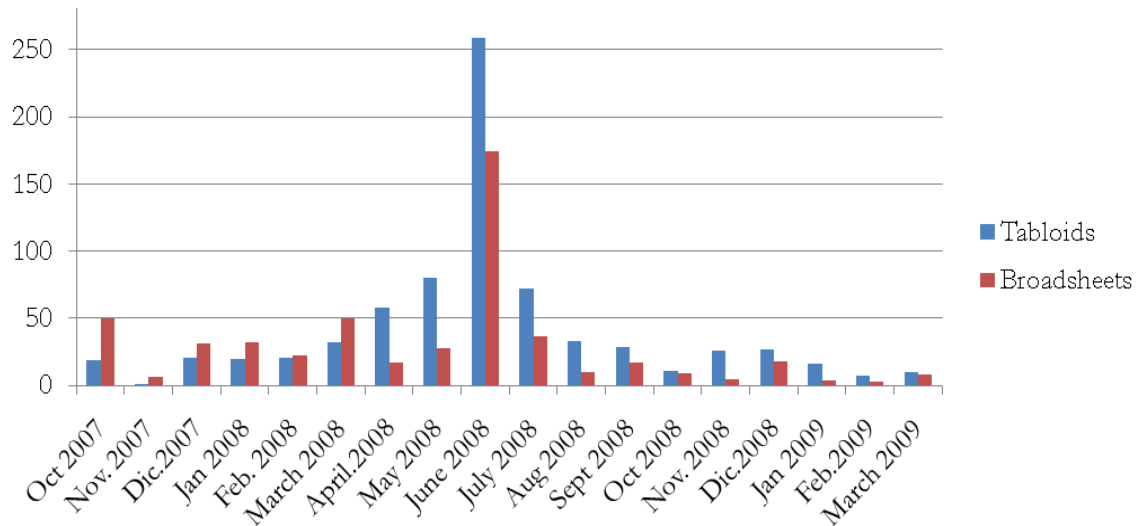
	Daily Mail	Mail on Sunday	Mirror	Sunday Mirror	The Sun	News of the World	Total
Oct 2007	12		3	1	3		19
Nov. 2007					1		1
Dic.2007	10	1	4		6		21
Jan 2008	8		1	3	8		20
Feb. 2008	11		1	1	5	3	21
March 2008	13		11	1	6	1	32
April.2008	22		7	3	23	3	58
May 2008	33	1	13	2	27	4	80
June 2008	116	2	49	12	70	10	259
July 2008	35		13	3	17	4	72
Aug 2008	20	1	4	3	4	1	33
Sept 2008	19		6	1	1	2	29
Oct 2008	4		2	1	4		11
Nov. 2008	13		5		7	1	26
Dic.2008	8		7	2	9	1	27
Jan 2009	4		3		9		16
Feb.2009			2		5		7
March 2009			1	1	7	1	10
Total	328	5	132	34	212	31	742

Table 3.3 Articles distribution in the Tabloid sub-corpus. Data are chronologically ordered

Looking at Table 3.3, we can see that the distribution of articles in the tabloids is also linked to the events of ratification. However, there seem to be differences between the quality and popular press. Tabloids in fact, seem to pay less attention to the period preceding and following the signing ceremony (only 2.5% of the total) while they seem to be more concentrated on the debate around the period from March 2008 to August 2008. Moreover, tabloids also contain fewer articles in November and December 2008 when the EU discussed and then approved the guarantees in the field of tax, neutrality and right to life, necessary for the Irish approval of the Treaty. The *Daily Mail*, *The Sun* and the *Mirror* contain more articles than their Sunday editions and in particular, the *Mail* (45%) and *The Sun* (20%) concentrate more on the referendum period than the *Mirror* (13%).

Picture 3.1 summarises how the number of articles is distributed in the tabloids and in the broadsheets along all the time span. Broadsheets contain more articles in the period going from October 2007 to March 2008 while Tabloids contain more articles in the period from April 2008 to March 2009. This might suggest that broadsheets concentrated more on the

debate about Lisbon in the first part of the corpus while tabloids on the second part. The picture also reveals that both the quality and the popular press largely focused on the referendum as there is a huge concentration of articles in the period from May to July 2008.



Picture 3.1 Articles distribution in Tabloids and Broadsheets

These first considerations only focus on the distribution of articles and not on their content nor on the distribution of metaphors in the corpus. As it will be shown in the following Chapters, linguistic metaphors seem to concentrate on the referendum period both in quality and popular press. The selection of different popular and quality newspapers, also referred to as broadsheets and tabloids according to the traditional definition, is mainly due to the fact that different ways of using the same metaphorical item might arise. It has been shown that tabloids and broadsheets differ in a number of factors both linguistically and non-linguistically (Bednarek 2006; Bell 1991; Jucker 1992). Firstly, they address different readerships. The popular press mainly addresses lower social group, especially the working class while broadsheets address upper-middle classes and better educated readers. As a consequence, they differ in content and language. Tabloids tend to focus more on human interest stories and celebrity gossips while broadsheets mainly concentrate on politics, economics and international news (Jucker 1992). Against this framework, it can be argued that a metaphor analysis in different newspapers may reveal a different use of metaphorical expressions. These considerations, however, are based on the assumption that popular and quality press differ to a greater extent. Only the analysis of the entire corpus may provide real evidence of such differences.

3.3 The Corpus – Labor limae

A corpus to be investigated through the help of computer tools needs annotation. “It is usually recommended that corpus builders employ some form of annotation scheme to their text files, however brief, in order to aid analysis and keep track of the structure of the corpus” (Baker 2006: 38). The mark-up language chosen for the annotation of the corpus under investigation is the XML. By using XML you can add information to texts such as: speaker identity, role, sex, origin; mode (written or spoken); text type. However, this language has been chosen because it allows the researcher to subdivide texts into sections, paragraphs and sentences. For the purpose of this study only tags adding information such as heading (<head>; </head>), by-line (<byline>; </byline>), section (<div type>; </div>), paragraphs (<p>; </p>), publication date (<date value>) and only when present, graphics (<graphics>; </graphics>) have been used. The corpus has been tagged through the help of the editing software TextPad⁴¹. This software provides the user with a variety of features for text editing such as indentation, regular expression, syntax highlighting and so on. For the purpose of this study, regular expressions have been used to tag the text and make it readable for the corpus software.

Once the corpus has been tagged, the whole corpus has been divided into sub-corpora, each newspaper was considered to be a sub-corpus, chronologically ordered by date. Before analysing the corpus it has been necessary to look at each sub-corpus to eliminate double articles in order to have real figures and proceed towards a faithful analysis. As the aim of the present research project is to investigate what kind of images does the British press give of the debate about the Lisbon Treaty and its attitude towards it, letters have been eliminated because they express the opinion of the readers and can be selected by editors or journalists according to their personal or political stance. The articles collected generally include sections such as features, comments, news and leading articles.

⁴¹ TextPad was first released in 1992, and is currently in its fifth major version. It is produced by Helios Software Solutions.

4. Corpus Analysis

4.1 Introduction

Corpus studies have shown that there are two methods of analysing corpora which are respectively known as *corpus-driven* and *corpus-based*. A corpus-driven approach starts with the corpus and not with pre-existing intuitions or theories while corpus-based research would examine pre-existing presuppositions and use the corpus only as a supporting tool to illustrate existing hypotheses. Tognini-Bonelli (2001) discusses the nature of the two methodologies and claims her preference for the former as it is not based on the researcher's intuition but just on evidence from the corpus. She points out that "in a corpus-driven approach, the linguist uses a corpus beyond the selection of examples to support linguistic argument or to validate a theoretical statement" (2001: 84) while corpus-based is a methodology that "avails itself of the corpus mainly to expound, test or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study" (ibid: 65). On the other hand, Deignan argues that both the approaches "could be seen as opposite ends of a cline" (2008b: 156).

As metaphors belong to our conceptual system, they are not easily recognisable also because corpora provide the user with tools that allow the researcher to make specific queries and search for specific linguistic patterns. Consequently the researcher, when choosing Corpus Linguistics to explore metaphors, has to take into account the difficulties that may rise and has to try to cope with them as we have seen in the second Chapter. Corpus-based analyses of a slightly different kind have already been conducted in the field of metaphor. Some studies' aims were cultural and ideological (Musolff 1996, 2001a, 2001b, 2004; Charteris-Balck 2004, 2006; Schäffner 1996) as we have seen in Chapter 2, while others were primarily linguistic (Cameron 1999a, 1999b; Deignan 1999, 2005, 2008a, 2008b; Cameron and Deignan 2006). The first set of studies made use of specialised corpora while the second one used large general corpora. The present research project uses a specialised corpus and aims at underlying different attitudes and persuasive devices in the different newspapers the corpus consists of, by identifying metaphors and revealing their entailments. Therefore, the present research project adopts the corpus-based methodology following Charteris-Black's approach to metaphor analysis. In this respect, metaphor identification procedure has been carried out in two stages.

4.2 First Stage of Analysis

In the first stage of analysis, a sample of articles (5% of the total) has been investigated qualitatively⁴². A close reading is necessary for a first identification of possible recurrent metaphors in the corpus. From the reading, it has been possible to identify different lexical items with a metaphoric sense and group them into different domains, i.e. larger conceptual units⁴³.

Through close reading twenty-five metaphorical domains were identified; they reveal that there is a varying distribution of metaphors in the corpus as shown in Table 4.1. This stage has been necessary to make predictions which enabled a more thorough investigation of the whole corpus. Moreover, the relationship between the target and the source domains has also been examined at this stage. This process of categorisation has led to the identification of various conceptual metaphors.

The results in the Tables have been normalised to 100,000 words in order to make the data more comparable. Table 4.1 shows that CONFLICT and MOVEMENT domains are the most frequent in the corpus followed by RACE and DISEASE conceptual units. Table 4.2, moreover, clearly shows that quality papers and tabloids slightly differ in the number of metaphors. Broadsheets seems to refer to conceptual domains such as DISEASE, ARCHITECTURE, NARRATION, PERSONIFICATION more often while tabloids deal more with WAR, CONSPIRACY, DEBATE domains. The present research does not analyse all the metaphorical expressions that underlie each conceptual domain, but will focus on the MOVEMENT and CONFLICT metaphors which are the most frequent in the corpus as Tables 4.1 and 4.2 show summing up to 47% of the total of the identified metaphorical domains. Researchers have revealed that these two domains are concepts ‘we live by’ and are widely used in English when speaking of activity or process (Goatly 2007; Lakoff and Johnson 2003). It has been argued that the two metaphors construe well-known schemas both to the speaker and the receiver and contribute to make communication goals effective.

42 The sample of articles has been selected according to the following criteria. Five articles per daily broadsheets and tabloids of which two articles have been taken from 2007 and the other three from 2008. Whereas four articles have been selected per Sunday broadsheets and tabloids of which two articles have been taken from 2007 and the other two from 2008. The decision to choose a different number of articles per daily and Sunday editions is due to the fact that dailies have a total higher number of articles has shown in Table 3.1.

43 For further reference to conceptual domains cf. Lakoff and Johnson 2003.

Conceptual Domains	Daily Mail	Mail on Sunday	The Sunday Mirror	The Sunday the Sun	the News of the world	The Guardian	The Observer	The Independent	Daily Telegraph	Sunday Telegraph	The Sunday Times	total		
1 War/Conflict/Violence	2.85	210.04	32.16	96.09	10.68	150.83	27.49	149.87	35.34	75.78	28.20	40.12	19.79	893.74
2 Movement/LackMovement/Journey/Transport		252.05	3.57	2.14	18.85	18.33	35.26	20.79	45.47	20.70	61.10	13.37	6.60	498.23
3 Sport/competition/game	1.14	147.03		16.02		3.67	44.08	12.47	60.62	10.35	28.20	11.70	9.90	345.17
4 Disease/Dying People			25.01	48.05	2.14	9.16	79.34	10.39	90.94		4.70	5.01		274.75
5 Group/container		21.00	3.57	16.02				6.24	45.47		14.10	3.34		109.74
6 Personification				4.27		20.16	52.90	12.47	6.21	4.70			2.20	102.91
7 Narration/story									90.94					90.94
8 Debate		42.01		2.14	18.85		8.82	4.16	2.07	4.70			1.10	83.84
9 Architecture/Construction	0.57	21.00				5.50	26.45	6.24		4.70	1.67	1.10		67.23
10 goods/resources/materials				2.14		3.67	17.63	2.08	45.47	14.10				65.37
11 Boys			3.57			3.67			30.31		5.01			62.28
12 Theatre		21.00		32.03		1.83					1.67			56.54
13 Natural elements					18.85			6.24		2.07	23.50	1.67	1.10	53.43
14 Conspiracy		42.01		2.14					2.07			3.34		49.56
15 Animal		42.01		2.14										44.14
16 Food				2.14				2.08		4.70	1.67			40.90
17 Physical activity									30.31					30.31
18 Friendship/Family			3.57						15.16	4.70				23.43
19 Business									15.16				1.10	16.26
20 Picture							8.82		15.16					15.16
21 Religion													2.20	11.02
22 Dream						1.83		2.08		9.40				9.40
23 Love											1.67			5.58
24 Machine											1.67			1.67
25 Liquids											1.67			1.67
total	4.57	798.15	71.46	208.20	29.91	207.40	95.31	423.17	120.58	591.09	206.79	93.61	45.08	2953.26

Table 4.1 Distribution of CONCEPTUAL domains. The results are relative to the analysis of the sample of articles. Results have been normalised to 100,000 words. Metaphorical domains are ordered according to their total frequency.

CONCEPTUAL DOMAINS	Broadsheets	Tabloids
1. WAR/CONFLICT/VIOLENCE	391.09	502.65
2. MOVEMENT/LACKMOVEMENT/JOURNEY/TRANSPORT	221.62	276.61
3. SPORT/COMPETITION/GAME	180.99	164.18
4. DISEASE/DYING PEOPLE	199.55	75.19
5. GROUP/CONTAINER	69.15	40.59
6. PERSONIFICATION	98.64	4.27
7. NARRATION/STORY	90.94	
8. DEBATE	20.84	63.00
9. ARCHITECTURE/CONSTRUCTION	45.65	21.57
10. GOODS/RESOURCES/MATERIALS	63.23	2.14
11. BOYS	58.70	3.57
12. THEATRE	3.50	53.03
13. NATURAL ELEMENTS	34.58	18.85
14. CONSPIRACY	5.41	44.14
15. ANIMAL		44.14
16. FOOD	38.76	2.14
17. PHYSICAL ACTIVITY	30.31	
18. FRIENDSHIP/FAMILY	19.86	3.57
19. BUSINESS	16.26	
20. PICTURE	15.16	
21. RELIGION	11.02	
22. DREAM	9.40	
23. LOVE	5.58	
24. MACHINE	1.67	
25. LIQUIDS	1.67	
Total	1633.59	1319.67

Table 4.2 CONCEPTUAL domains distribution in Broadsheets and Tabloids. The results have been taken from the sample and have been normalised to 100,000 words.

However, the tables above show that other conceptual domains are significantly frequent in the corpus and therefore, they can be assumed to be sufficiently representative of the debate on the Lisbon Treaty. Table 4.1, for example, shows that COMPETITION or SPORT metaphors have a significant distribution in the corpus. Semino and Masci (1996) have found that SPORT metaphor is used to describe Berlusconi's political campaign while other scholars (Charteris-Black 2004; Goatly 1997) have pointed out how SPORT metaphors are often found in war reports and vice versa. This conceptualisation has a strong ideological impact. In fact, if SPORT metaphors are normally used in war reports, they may have a subliminal function in conceptualising the war only in terms of competition, appealing to the entertaining and funny aspects of sports. As a consequence, this conceptualisation may minimise the action of resistance to war and favour the ones who used these metaphors with this aim in mind (Charteris-Black 2004: 114). In the debate on the Lisbon Treaty, the Irish referendum is described in terms of a race with the two opposing sides YES and NO which appear competing and challenging each other. Once the NO is *five points lead* while the YES side is

behind and at a certain point they appear to be *neck and neck*. And the race *is going down to the wire*.

The other relevant conceptual domain in the corpus is the DISEASE. The metaphorical concept of disease is often connected to the illness diffusion that may infect the body and cause death (Musolff 2007). In the debate on the Lisbon Treaty, the Irish referendum is given the stereotyped role of the *illness* that may cause the *death of the treaty*; hence the different political claims that the Treaty *is dead* or *still alive*. Moreover, the fact that tabloids and broadsheets differ in the distribution of each domain might be explained considering the fact that they address different readers. It has been shown that the *Daily Mail* addresses a mid-market audience while the *Mirror* and *The Sun* draw about 80 per cent of their readership from the working class (downmarket audience). As a consequence the high frequency of CONFLICT, GOODS and CONSPIRACY domains in the popular press and the high concentration of NARRATION and ARCHITECTURE domains in the qualities might be explained considering the fact that they have to appeal to their audience's tastes and customs. However, it is important to take into account that this is only an analysis based on a first qualitative investigation of a sample. Therefore, these results cannot be taken as representative of the newspaper discourse about the Lisbon Treaty.

4.3 First Stage of Analysis – MOVEMENT Metaphors

(A) LISBON RATIFICATION PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARD / DIRECTION		(B) REJECTION OF RATIFICATION PROCESS IS LACK OF MOVEMENT / OPPOSITE DIRECTION	
Direction	Movement	Opposite Direction	Lack of Movement
<i>Way</i>	<i>Move</i>	<i>Delay</i>	<i>Stall</i>
<i>Proceed</i>	<i>Go ahead</i>		<i>Stop</i>
<i>Path</i>	<i>Plough ahead</i>		<i>Halt</i>
<i>Course</i>	<i>Progress</i>		<i>Block</i>
<i>Track</i>			<i>Gridlock</i>
<i>Route</i>			<i>Impasse</i>
<i>Road</i>			<i>Standstill</i>

Table 4.3 List of all the lexical items related to MOVEMENT Metaphors identified in the sample.

In the first stage of analysis, as it has been mentioned above, some lexical items (Table 4.3) with a metaphorical meaning have been identified. The analysis of these lexemes has made it possible to identify the following conceptual metaphor: LISBON RATIFICATION PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARD / DIRECTION, also reported in the table below, and the relative

metaphorical expressions. Examples 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 below are exemplifications taken from the corpus.⁴⁴

4.3.1 No doubt the Eurocrats **will try to go ahead** as though nothing had happened in the Irish referendum. (*Mail on Sunday*, 16 June 2008)

4.3.2 Mr Brown **has pushed ahead with moves** to ratify the treaty despite Ireland's rejection of it in a referendum and the clear opposition of British voters [...] (*The Daily Telegraph*, 21 June 2008)

One entailment that follows from metaphor (A) is that along the movement there could be some impediments which are conceptualised in terms of lack of movement or opposite direction as exemplified by the conceptual metaphor (B) REJECTION OF THE RATIFICATION IS LACK OF MOVEMENT / OPPOSITE DIRECTION, also reported in Table 4.3, and its metaphorical expressions.

4.3.3 If Ireland votes no, the treaty **is stopped in its tracks** anyway. (*Guardian*, 17 May 2008)

4.3.4 In the debate in the House of Lords, one heard longstanding pro-Europeans who spoke of the referendums that did not agree with them as having '**gone the wrong way**'. (*Mail on Sunday*, 16 June 2008)

The analysis of the sample made it possible to infer that in this scenario, the ratification process is conceptualised as a movement forward, with the institution pressing towards that goal. As a consequence, the rejection of the process is conceived as a lack of movement or as a movement in the opposite direction.

The Lisbon Treaty appears to be a means of transport whose course has been stopped while the other countries/people that do not want to adopt the Treaty are seen as moving in the opposite direction.

4.4 First Stage of Analysis – CONFLICT Metaphors

As for the MOVEMENT metaphors, the reading of the sample has highlighted some lexical items with a metaphorical meaning related to the CONFLICT domain, shown in Table 4.4. The lexemes in the table below have been grouped according to the standard frame of the

⁴⁴ All the conceptual metaphors are in SMALL CAPITAL while their linguistic manifestations are in **bold** in the examples and in *italics* in the comments.

CONFLICT in which there is a beginning, a middle and an end of the battle as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 79-81).

(C) ARGUING ABOUT TREATY RATIFICATION IS A CONFLICT			
Start of the conflict	Middle of the conflict	Participants in the conflict	End of the conflict
<i>Run (re-run)</i>	<i>Resist</i>	<i>Allies</i>	<i>Win</i>
<i>Fight</i>	<i>Resistance</i>	<i>Victims</i>	<i>Defeat</i>
<i>Attack</i>	<i>Bombshell</i>	<i>Strategist</i>	<i>Lost</i>
<i>Threat</i>	<i>Ferocity</i>	<i>Army</i>	<i>Victory</i>
<i>Threaten</i>	<i>Torpedo</i>	<i>United front</i>	<i>Stalemate</i>
<i>Battle</i>	<i>Embattled</i>		<i>Aftermath</i>
<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Beleaguered</i>		<i>Cease fire</i>
<i>March</i>	<i>Spearhead</i>		<i>Surrender</i>
<i>Struggle</i>	<i>Scent blood</i>		<i>Throw in the towel</i>
<i>Put to the sword</i>	<i>Assault</i>		
<i>Hit out</i>	<i>Suicide</i>		
<i>Lash out</i>			

Table 4.4 Metaphorical expressions related to CONFLICT metaphor identified in the sample.

From the analysis of the lexical items grouped in Table 4.4 related to the CONFLICT domain, the following conceptual metaphor has been identified, ARGUING ABOUT TREATY RATIFICATION IS A CONFLICT whose linguistic realisations can be seen in the following examples.

4.4.1 Will Irish **put Europe to the sword**? (*The Times*, 12 June 2008)

4.4.2 But the Polish and Czech **resistance** indicates that Sarkozy's **strategy** of quarantining the Irish is unravelling (*Guardian*, 2 July 2008)

4.4.3 President Gerry Adams said: "The need for the Government to act in **the aftermath** of the Lisbon Treaty will remain a priority focus for the party. (*News of the World*, 15 July 2008)

As it is shown in the examples above, the linguistic manifestations belong to the semantic field of conflict (*put to the sword*, *strategy*, *resistance*, *aftermath*) and are used to understand the complex political event of the European political debate on the adoption of the new treaty. The examples show how the CONFLICT metaphor provides the typical scenario of a *battle field* with two participants namely Core Europe and Ireland having different positions as the Core Europe supports the treaty while Ireland is against it. With the advancement of the battle, the WAR/CONFLICT scenario changes. There are more participants which side the Irish position. These participants are Poland and the Czech Republic that after the rejection of the Treaty by the Irish electorate, *resist* and oppose the ratification process. As it happens in any conflict each participant adopts a *strategy to win*. The Core Europe is trying to isolate Ireland and prevent EU enlargement unless all the countries accept Lisbon. Moreover, a new referendum in Ireland is also advocated by Sarkozy. Ireland's *strategy* to survive the Lisbon Treaty is to vote NO and after the pressure of going to the ballot for a second time, Ireland's *counterattack* is the

rejection of a second vote. As it often happens there is a *stalemate* as none of the two is able to convince the other.

This scenario is obviously only relative to a preliminary analysis conducted on a sample of articles and as a consequence cannot be considered representative of all the metaphorical expressions in the entire corpus which have been investigated in the second stage of analysis.

4.5 Second Stage of Analysis

In the second part of the analysis, all the lexical items identified have been examined with the help of *WordSmith Tools 5*. In particular, a concordance for each item has been created to determine if their use was metaphorical or literal. Both the non-metaphorical occurrences and the metaphorical occurrences not related to the metaphor under investigation were eliminated. As a consequence, the concordance list including only the metaphorical items relevant to this study was saved. In this second stage of analysis, the concordances revealed other metaphorical expressions underlying each domain. As a consequence, these lexemes were included in the analysis and a concordance was created with the same criterion. Tables 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7 show the number of total occurrences per lexeme and the relative metaphorical occurrences.

Lexical items	No of total occurrences	No of metaphorical occurrences
<i>Delay</i>	98	38
<i>Stop</i>	193	35
<i>Halt</i>	50	27
<i>Impasse</i>	24	23
<i>Block</i>	92	15
<i>Stall</i>	16	10
<i>Derail</i>	16	10
<i>Brake</i>	10	7
<i>Reverse</i>	51	7
<i>Leave behind</i>	9	7
<i>Slow</i>	26	6
<i>Stand still</i>	7	3
Total	592	188

Table 4.5 Number of metaphorical and non metaphorical occurrences of lexical items relative to MOVEMENT metaphor (B). Results are ordered by frequency of their metaphorical occurrences

Tables 4.5 and 4.6 compared to Table 4.4, relative to MOVEMENT metaphors in this Chapter, contain new lexical items. These items have come out from the concordances of the lexemes in Table 4.4 and as they have been identified as metaphorical a new concordance line for each new word has been created, thus raising the number of metaphorical expressions related to

conceptual metaphors (A) and (B). This shows that the unexpected has been taken into account and that the premises based on a first qualitative analysis have been constantly compared with the real occurring language in order to have wide and exhaustive generalisation on the European debate about the Lisbon Treaty. However, this does not mean that all the metaphorical occurrences present in the corpus have been under investigation. Even though the new lexemes come up through the analysis of the concordances and possible items related to the same domains looked up into dictionaries have been taken into considerations, others may have been unnoticed or not considered and therefore not included in the analysis. As a consequence, it cannot be argued that all the metaphorical occurrences present in this analysis are representative of all the manifestations of the metaphors taken into account. However, they represent a considerable account of how the British press describes the event of the Lisbon Treaty's ratification.

While Tables 4.1 and 4.2 show that the CONFLICT domain is the most frequent, the analysis conducted in the second stage has revealed that the metaphorical expressions relative to the MOVEMENT domain are more frequent than the ones related to the CONFLICT conceptual frame. In fact CONFLICT metaphorical expressions account for a total of 713 occurrences whereas MOVEMENT metaphorical expressions related both to MOVEMENT metaphors (A) and (B) account for 950 occurrences. A more detailed account of the general observations taken from the second stage of analysis will be provided in the following Chapters.

Lexical items	No of total occurrences	No of metaphorical occurrences
<i>Way</i>	704	112
<i>Move</i>	357	93
<i>Push</i>	178	99
<i>Proceed</i>	91	49
<i>Step</i>	82	47
<i>Press ahead</i>	47	37
<i>Speed</i>	58	46
<i>Go ahead</i>	57	36
<i>Drive</i>	96	29
<i>Direction</i>	52	21
<i>Road</i>	54	20
<i>Bulldozer</i>	20	19
<i>Course</i>	197	15
<i>Route</i>	26	14
<i>Ram</i>	40	14
<i>Track</i>	18	13
<i>Progress</i>	67	11
<i>Plough</i>	19	11
<i>On board</i>	16	10
<i>Uncharted waters/ territory</i>	9	9
<i>Juggernaut</i>	7	7
<i>Railroad</i>	9	7
<i>Forge ahead</i>	9	7
<i>Train</i>	21	7
<i>Lane</i>	12	6
<i>Path</i>	22	5
<i>Steamroller</i>	6	5
<i>Steam</i>	4	4
<i>Sail</i>	10	2
<i>Milestone</i>	4	2
<i>Boat</i>	2	2
<i>Bicycle</i>	2	2
<i>Carriage</i>	3	1
Total	2299	762

Table 4.6 Number of metaphorical and non metaphorical occurrences of lexical items relative to MOVEMENT metaphor (A). Results are ordered by frequency of their metaphorical occurrences

Lexical items	No of total occurrences	No of metaphorical occurrences
<i>Defeat</i>	186	94
<i>Rebel</i>	89	75
<i>Threaten</i>	117	53
<i>Attack</i>	136	52
<i>Battle</i>	108	49
<i>Tactics</i>	59	44
<i>Fight</i>	153	41
<i>Threat</i>	124	35
<i>Revolt</i>	29	22
<i>Strategy</i>	66	25
<i>Win</i>	306	24
<i>Victory</i>	91	20
<i>Defend</i>	84	19
<i>Struggle</i>	61	16
<i>Surrender</i>	45	13
<i>Lost</i>	148	14
<i>Victims</i>	21	11
<i>Resistance</i>	15	10
<i>Enemy</i>	39	9
<i>Resist</i>	22	8
<i>Allies</i>	47	7
<i>Aftermath</i>	11	6
<i>Hit out</i>	9	6
<i>Strategist</i>	12	6
<i>Embattled</i>	7	6
<i>Assault</i>	21	6
<i>Torpedo</i>	7	5
<i>United front</i>	6	5
<i>March</i>	59	4
<i>Lash out</i>	12	4
<i>Beleaguered</i>	7	4
<i>Come under fire</i>	3	3
<i>Stalemate</i>	4	3
<i>Bombshell</i>	4	2
<i>Spearhead</i>	3	2
<i>Ferocity</i>	4	2
<i>Army</i>	118	2
<i>Suicide</i>	15	2
<i>Cease fire</i>	2	1
<i>Throw in the towel</i>	1	1
<i>Put to the sword</i>	1	1
<i>Scent blood</i>	1	1
Total	2253	713

Table 4.7 Number of metaphorical and non metaphorical occurrences of lexical items relative to CONFLICT metaphor (C). Results are ordered by frequency of their metaphorical occurrences.

5. MOVEMENT Metaphors

5.1 Introduction

MOVEMENT metaphors are commonly used both in everyday and political discourse. Therefore, their huge number in the corpus comes as no surprise. It has been shown how these metaphors are basic concepts in our everyday life and shape our basic knowledge of the world. It has also been revealed how MOVEMENT metaphors structure all kinds of events in terms of spatial relationships leading to basic metaphorical mappings such as STATES ARE LOCATIONS, CHANGES ARE MOVEMENT, ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION, PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD, PURPOSES OF ACTION ARE DESTINATION, DIFFICULTIES ARE OBSTACLES (Lakoff 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 41-45 and 89-96; Kövecses 2002: 134-139). Goatly (2007: 51-52) also highlights how one of the most important metaphors in the English language is ACTIVITY OR PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARDS that ramifies in other equations. He has found that a process or an activity is conceptualised as MOTION even if it does not involve any movement and that the intensity of this process or activity is associated with speed of movement.

When analysing MOVEMENT metaphors in the political debate about Europe, during the years of the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties (1989-2001), Musolff (2001b: 179-199, 2004: 30-62) found different journey and vehicle-specific journey scenarios that helped to construe the event of the European Union integration process and make it accessible to the general public in the form of well-known schemas. Schäffner's analysis of MOVEMENT metaphors (1996: 43) has revealed that they are used to bring the different attitudes towards the EU and European Integration to light and are often used to conceptualise political projects and aims.

As far as this research project is concerned, MOVEMENT metaphors have been analysed in two stages. The first reading of a sample of articles has given a perception of possible metaphorical expressions in the corpus as described in the second paragraph of Chapter 4 while the further investigation with computer tools provided by *WordSmith Tools 5* has offered a more detailed scenario of the real occurrences in the whole corpus thus providing the basis for a wider qualitative analysis that has focused on the role of metaphors in the British press and the evaluation they convey.

5.2 Second Stage of Analysis

The second stage of analysis has started with a more quantitative analysis of the results taken from the sample and then proceeded to a qualitative analysis of the quantitative data. The investigation of the corpus has shown how each lexical item is distributed in each sub-corpus (Tables 5.1 and 5.2). The two Tables show that the frequency of lexical items relative to metaphor (A) is higher in number than the one relative to metaphor (B).

As far as metaphor (A) is concerned, we can say that the five most frequent words are *way*, *move*, *push*, *proceed*, *step* and *go ahead*. Apart from the lexical item *push* that, both as a verb and noun, implies the use of force to move an object, the other words appear to be neutral and their high frequency does not come as a surprise. They occur in almost all the sub-corpora with the exception of some Sunday editions such as the *Sunday Mirror* (no occurrence of *move* and *go ahead*), *News of the World* (no occurrence of *move* and *proceed*), *Mail on Sunday* (no occurrence of *push* and *proceed*), *The Observer* (no occurrence of *proceed*, *push* and *step*) and *The Independent on Sunday* (no occurrence of *go ahead*, *move*, *push* and *step*). These newspapers use fewer lexical items related to metaphorical MOVEMENT; nevertheless, their frequency appears to be high. The relative high frequency might be explained considering the unbalance between the number of articles and the number of tokens each newspaper contains. The *Sunday Mirror* in fact has 34 articles and 6,244 tokens, the *News of the World* contains 31 articles and 5,304 tokens. On the other hand, the *Mail on Sunday* has 5 articles and 4,761 tokens, *The Observer* has 12 articles and 11,343 tokens while *The Independent on Sunday* has 10 articles and 6,598 tokens. Therefore, given the limited number of articles, it might be implied that either their articles are abundant in metaphors or that their articles have just few occurrences.

Table 5.1 also shows that almost all the lexical items are present in the daily tabloids and broadsheets; in particular the *Daily Mail* seems to have at least one occurrence per each lexeme with the exception of the verb *sail* and the nouns *steam* and *route*. As far as the Sunday editions are concerned, *The Sunday Telegraph* seems to be the most metaphorical while *The Sunday Times* seems to have the highest number of occurring metaphorical items (16 out of 27).

Table 5.2 shows that Sunday editions make a limited use of lexical items related to metaphor (B), with the exception of *The Sunday Times*. The other daily newspapers, on the other hand, seem to make an equal use of these lexemes. The table shows that *delay* is the most frequent word and is used in almost all the newspapers. The other lexemes on the contrary do

Lexical item	Daily Mail on Sun	The Sun	News of the World	The Mirror	The Sunday Mirror	The Guardian	The Observer	The Independent	Independent on Sunday	Daily Telegraph	Sunday Telegraph	The Sunday Times	Total
<i>move</i>	10.84	63.01	21.36	21.44	21.44	12.83	44.08	8.32	8.32	33.12	23.50	13.72	11.00
<i>way</i>	17.12	21.00	17.10	8.82	35.73	16.02	29.33	22.87	15.16	16.56	14.10	10.03	16.49
<i>push</i>	14.84	25.64	25.64	35.26	17.86	16.02	12.83	18.71	45.47	24.84	23.50	10.03	13.19
<i>proceed</i>	5.14	8.55	8.55	10.72	32.03	7.33	7.33	12.47	6.24	8.28	4.70	6.87	9.90
<i>step</i>	6.28	21.00	8.55	10.72	16.02	7.33	7.33	6.24	8.32	2.07	18.80	10.03	8.80
<i>go ahead</i>	5.14	21.00	4.27	37.71	7.15	5.50	8.82	8.32	4.16	10.35	9.40	1.67	4.40
<i>speed</i>	3.99	4.27	4.27	14.29	7.15	11.00	8.82	10.39	15.16	6.21	18.80	15.04	9.90
<i>press ahead</i>	5.14	12.82	8.55	3.57	7.15	5.40	8.82	10.39	15.16	10.35	9.40	1.67	3.25
<i>direction</i>	2.85	21.00	8.55	7.15	16.02	3.67	8.82	6.24	4.16	6.21	9.40	3.43	2.20
<i>road</i>	2.85	21.00	8.55	7.15	16.02	3.67	8.82	6.24	4.16	6.21	9.40	3.43	2.20
<i>progress</i>	1.71	21.00	6.41	10.72	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	16.56	4.70	1.67	5.50
<i>drive</i>	3.42	4.27	4.27	3.57	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	4.14	4.70	5.01	5.50
<i>course</i>	2.85	4.27	4.27	7.15	16.02	3.67	8.82	4.16	2.08	4.14	4.70	5.01	5.50
<i>bulldoz</i>	2.28	8.55	8.55	7.15	16.02	3.67	8.82	4.16	2.08	4.14	4.70	5.01	5.50
<i>route</i>	0.57	4.27	4.27	14.29	16.02	5.50	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>plough</i>	0.57	4.27	4.27	14.29	16.02	5.50	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>ram</i>	2.85	4.27	4.27	14.29	16.02	5.50	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>truck</i>	2.28	2.14	4.27	3.57	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>on board</i>	2.85	4.27	4.27	3.57	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>juggernaut</i>	0.57	4.27	4.27	3.57	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>bicycle</i>	0.57	4.27	4.27	3.57	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>railroad</i>	0.57	4.27	4.27	3.57	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>uncharted waters/territory</i>	2.28	2.14	4.27	3.57	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>path</i>	0.57	4.27	4.27	3.57	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>lane</i>	0.57	4.27	4.27	3.57	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>forge ahead</i>	1.14	4.27	4.27	3.57	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>train</i>	3.42	4.27	4.27	3.57	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>steam</i>	0.57	4.27	4.27	3.57	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>steamroller</i>	0.57	4.27	4.27	3.57	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>boat</i>	1.14	4.27	4.27	3.57	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>sail</i>	1.14	4.27	4.27	3.57	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>milestone</i>	0.57	4.27	4.27	3.57	16.02	1.83	8.82	4.16	2.08	6.21	9.40	6.69	40.27
<i>carriage</i>	104.43	168.03	160.24	90.60	189.36	112.11	135.64	118.50	106.09	169.76	187.99	106.98	102.20
<i>total</i>	104.43	168.03	160.24	90.60	189.36	112.11	135.64	118.50	106.09	169.76	187.99	106.98	102.20

Table 5.1 Distribution of metaphorical lexical items relative to the conceptual metaphor (A) RATIFICATION PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARD/DIRECTION, in each sub-corpus. The results have been normalised to 100,000 words and are ordered by frequency per lexical item occurring.

Lexical item	Daily Mail	Mail on Sunday	The Mirror	Sunday Mirror	The Sun	News of the World	The Guardian	The Observer	The Independent	The Independent on Sunday	Daily Telegraph	Sunday Telegraph	The Times	Sunday Times	Total
<i>delay</i>	2.28	21.00	3.57	16.02	10.68	18.85	3.67		12.47		14.49		13.37	2.20	118.61
<i>impasse</i>	3.42	21.00					11.00			15.16	2.07		3.43	6.60	62.59
<i>stop</i>	4.57		3.57		6.41		5.50		2.08		12.42	14.10	5.01	7.70	61.36
<i>halt</i>	3.42		10.72		2.14				2.08		12.42		10.03	4.40	45.21
<i>stall</i>		21.00					1.83		4.16		2.07		3.43	3.30	35.71
<i>block</i>	0.57		7.14		6.41		5.50					4.70	1.67	4.40	30.39
<i>derail</i>	1.71		3.57		4.27			8.82	2.07		4.14				24.59
<i>brake</i>	0.57							8.82			4.14	9.40		1.10	24.03
<i>reverse</i>			3.57								6.21	4.70	3.34		17.83
<i>leave behind</i>					2.14		1.83		2.08				6.69		12.73
<i>slow</i>	0.57		3.57				1.83						1.67	2.20	9.85
<i>stand</i>			7.15		2.14										9.28
<i>Laggard</i>											2.07				2.07
Total	17.12	63.01	42.87	16.02	34.18	18.85	31.16	17.63	24.95	15.16	60.04	32.90	48.48	31.89	454.25

Table 5.2 Distribution of metaphorical lexical items relative to the conceptual metaphor (B) REJECTION OF RATIFICATION IS LACK OF MOVEMENT/OPPOSITE DIRECTION, in each sub-corpus. The results have been normalised to 100,000 words and are ordered by frequency per lemma occurring.

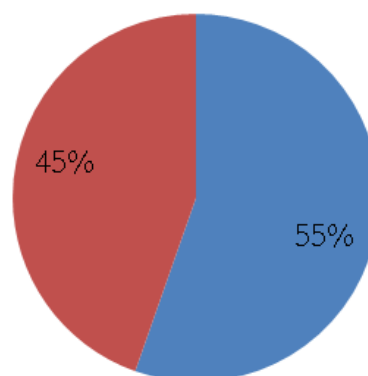
not appear in all the newspapers but seem to concentrate more in the daily editions. However, the *Mail on Sunday*, for the number of articles and running words it contains, appears to have a high number of metaphors.

What is important to comment is that broadsheets contain more metaphorical lexemes related to both the conceptual metaphors (A) and (B) than the tabloids if we consider the total frequency of their occurrences, as Picture 5.1 and 5.2 clearly show.

These pictures have revealed a slightly different result from Table 4.2 in Chapter 4. In that Table relative to the first stage of analysis, tabloids appeared to have slightly more occurrences of lexemes related to both conceptual units of MOVEMENT. These two pictures, on the contrary, have shown that broadsheets make a wider use of lexemes relative to both the MOVEMENT conceptual metaphors. However, when considering their usage per each lexeme, it has been revealed that some items are prevalent in tabloids while others in broadsheets. An overall analysis of the items distribution relative to both the metaphors (A) and (B) has revealed that the tabloids make an overall use of 45% of metaphorical lexemes relative to both the MOVEMENT units while the broadsheets use the 55% of those items, thus reversing the results shown in Table 4.2. This reversal supports the usefulness of corpora analysis as a valid method to attest the real presence of linguistic patterns in natural occurring language. These results have also proved that intuition in the identification of metaphors may be a starting point in the analysis but cannot fulfil the aim of the research which needs further investigation.

MOVEMENT

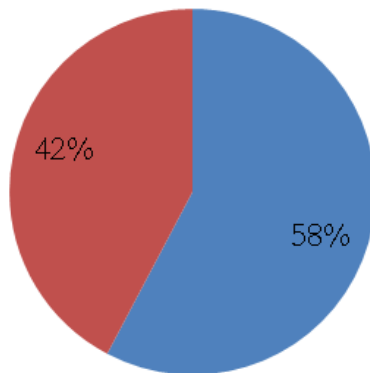
■ Broadsheets ■ Tabloids



Picture 5.1 Total distribution of words with a metaphorical sense relative to metaphor (A) in the Tabloids and Broadsheets.

LACK OF MOVEMENT

■ Broadsheets ■ Tabloids



Picture 5.2 Total distribution of words with a metaphorical sense relative to metaphor (B) in the Tabloids and Broadsheets.

5.3 MOVEMENT Scenarios.

From the analysis of both the political scenario and the media coverage, the following scenario has emerged:

- a) there is a movement towards a destination (ratification of Lisbon Treaty);
- b) at a certain point there are impediments on the journey (Ireland's NO, Polish and Czech's presidents suspensions of ratification);
- c) these impediments end into uncharted waters/territories;
- d) some countries are still moving towards the ratification leaving others behind;
- e) some countries proceed more quickly than others;
- f) some countries are forcing the movement towards the ratification.

As a consequence, the metaphorical occurrences have been grouped according to the outlined scenario. Six groups have been identified: movement (*go ahead, proceed, move*), journey (*path, course, step, route, road, track, way, direction, progress, on board, milestone, lane*), forced movement (*push, plough, bulldoze, ram, railroad, steamroller*), speed of movement (*slow, leave behind, speed, forge ahead, press ahead, steam*), means of transport (*juggernaut, bulldozer, train, bicycle, boat, sail, uncharted, drive, derail*) and impediments on the journey (*block, stall, stand still, impasse, stop, halt, brake*). Each group has been separately analysed and investigated.

5.4 Movement

The analysis has shown that the process of ratification is conceived in terms of movement. The action of moving itself is often expressed in combination with a direction (forward, towards, ahead) and lexicalised by the verbs *move*, *go*, *proceed* and nouns such as *move* as exemplified by Table 5.3. This table shows that the lexical items that express movement are distributed in each sub-corpus with the exception of the *Sunday Mirror*, the *News of the World* and *The Independent on Sunday* that only use one lexeme. This equal distribution can be explained considering the fact that the lexemes themselves show no positive or negative stance but are rather neutral.

Generally a movement or a journey has a departure and an arrival, however, the analysis of the items has revealed that the starting point has never been mentioned. It may be assumed that the starting point might be the signing ceremony or the drafting stage of the Lisbon Treaty. Nevertheless, the precise linguistic reference to a start has not been found in the corpus apart from just one reference to a *drive back* to the drawing board that is what Ganley saw as his mission to re-establish the status quo.⁴⁵ This might suggest the drawing board as a starting point but the lexeme only occurs once. As a consequence, we cannot take this assumption as a generalisation.

The movement forward appears to be extremely important for EU leaders who prefer granting some opt-outs to moving forward. During the drafting stage, Barroso stressed the importance of solving all the difficulties behind the treaty and approve it, as reported in the following example by the *Guardian*.

5.4.1 Mr Barroso said: “I have every reason to believe that the opt-outs that were so hard fought for by Britain are going to be kept in the text. Now we need to have this matter settled and **move forward**”. He said he fully respected the British opt-outs, and insisted, as a former constitutional lawyer, that the new treaty was not a reworking of the former constitution, as the Conservatives insist. (*Guardian*, 12 October 2007)

However, not all the people welcomed the treaty. The general attitude towards it was rather ambivalent, as the British press revealed at the beginning of the debate. The *Mail on Sunday* (16 December 2007) negatively evaluated the Treaty as *a further move towards* the United States of Europe. On the other hand, as it is reported in the *Daily Mail* (14 December 2007), Mr Ahern, at that time Irish Prime Minister, described the Treaty as an important

⁴⁵ Ganley is the founder of the anti-Lisbon Treaty Libertas Group.

Lexical item	Daily Mail	Mail on Sunday	The Sun	News of the World	The Mirror	The Sunday Mirror	The Guardian	The Observer	The Independent	The Independent on Sunday	The Telegraph	Sunday Telegraph	The Sunday Times	Total
<i>more</i>	10.84	63.01	21.36		21.44		12.83	44.08	8.32		33.12	23.50	13.37	262.87
<i>proceed</i>	5.14		8.55		10.72	32.03	7.34		12.47	45.47	8.28	4.70	6.69	151.27
<i>go ahead</i>	5.14	21.00	4.27	37.71	7.15		5.50	8.82	8.32		10.35	9.40	1.67	123.72
total	21.11	84.01	34.18	37.71	39.30	32.03	25.66	52.90	29.10	45.47	51.76	37.60	21.73	537.86

Table 5.3 Distribution of lexemes that connote the movement. The occurrences are ordered by total frequency.

milestone allowing the Union *to move from a period of introspection to face outward to the real challenges and opportunities*⁴⁶. The reference to an *important milestone* put the treaty in a positive light. However, it is important to notice that Mr. Ahern was one of the architects of Lisbon.

These opposing images of the Lisbon Treaty developed during the debate. Its supporters welcomed the treaty as a positive progress for Europe while its critics opposed it as leading to undesirable destinations (federalism, United States of Europe, federalist aims of the Union, the *Mirror*, 13 March 2008). These feelings grew with the referendum approaching, together with a perception that the European Union could continue with ratification even in case of an Irish negative turnout, as highlighted by the presence of the modal auxiliary ‘would’ in the following two examples.

5.4.2 The incontrovertible reality is that there is a very real contingency plan under which many of the structural changes being proposed to **the way the EU goes** about its business such as majority voting at Council level and the make-up of the Commission **would go ahead**, even if the treaty is defeated. (*Daily Mail*, 7 June 2008)

5.4.3 After outlining his defence plans for the French EU presidency recently, Jean-Pierre Jouyet, France’s Europe minister, said: “We will obviously take care not to jeopardise the ratification process of the Lisbon treaty, because we know that in certain countries these issues are sensitive”. The French would probably like to **move ahead** once the Irish referendum on June 12 is out of the way. (*The Sunday Times*, 25 May 2008)

As it might be expected, after the referendum the movement towards ratification still appears to be negatively evaluated as it is often put in contrast with the Irish rejection as the contrastive evaluator ‘despite’ in example 5.4.4, and the argumentative formulae ‘even if’ or ‘as if’ (in examples 5.4.2 and 5.4.5 respectively) indicate.

5.4.4 And it insults our Parliament, which today, without any time for reflection of any kind, is **going ahead** with Britain’s final ratification of the Treaty, despite Ireland’s ‘No’ vote. But, of course, ‘time for reflection’ is just another example of the kind of tactics Labour resorts to when it is discussing Europe. What it actually means is that Europe’s leaders hope that a combination of bullying and bribery will persuade the Irish people to hold a second referendum in a few months’ time and reverse their decision. This is what happened when Ireland voted against the Treaty of Nice in a referendum in 2002. (*Daily Mail*, 18 June 2008)

5.4.5 Irrespective of what moved the Irish electorate, the treaty has failed and must be redrafted. Yet Britain, France, Germany and the rest **are proceeding** with ratification as if the vote had gone

⁴⁶ Bertie Ahern was Irish Prime Minister before Brian Cowen.

the other way. They are saying that Europe's constitutional framework - good or bad - can be disregarded when inconvenient, for instance when democracy has rejected what they want. (*Guardian*, 18 June 2008)

In example 5.4.4, the action of *going ahead* is put in contrast with the Irish NO by using the contrastive evaluator 'despite' that might put emphasis on the anti-democratic attitude of the British government. The whole paragraph seems to be extremely negative towards Gordon Brown and EU leaders. The fact that Brown said the Irish need time for reflection is perceived as a triple offence ('insult') to the Irish people, British people and British Parliament. EU leaders are also described as dishonest, strong and powerful people as the evaluative terms 'bullying' and 'bribery' indicate. They are pictured as tactful leaders able to persuade less powerful people in order to get their aims. This negative image is supported by a previous similar situation: the referendum on the Treaty of Nice in 2002. Here the newspaper might be reporting the previous situation in order to support its opinion and make a sort of prediction.

In example 5.4.5, the action of *proceeding* is put in contrast with the Irish decision as the argumentative formula 'as if' indicates and is given a negative connotation. Moreover, EU leaders are depicted as anti-democratic and powerful leaders that create their laws for their own sake.

What is worth noting is that the *Daily Mail* focuses not only on the European scenario but also on the British one. This might suggest a more critical attitude of the newspaper towards the Labour party in charge.

The analysis has also revealed that the same image provided for by the contrastive evaluators is also construed through the collocation of the metaphorical expressions indicating movement with the preposition 'without'. This might suggest that the movement lacks something and indeed the preposition is followed by Ireland, a popular vote or the Irish as if the actors of the verbs *proceed* and *go ahead* were excluding Ireland from the ratification process and ignoring democracy.

5.4.6 EU foreign ministers, meeting in Luxembourg yesterday, admitted there could be "no quick fix" as they tried to calm Ireland's fears that the EU **will either go ahead** with the treaty without Ireland or ignore last week's referendum by pressurizing the country to vote a second time on an amended treaty. (*The Independent*, 17 June 2008)

In the example above, the action of leaving Ireland apart and continuing with ratification is evaluated negatively. By using the word 'fears' (emotivity), the writer underlines how this event is perceived as something dangerous, something capable of causing negative feelings and therefore itself negative. As a consequence, the proponents of the treaty are also described in a

negative light. EU leaders in fact co-occur with ‘admit’ and ‘reluctant’. The evaluative adjective and the reporting verb imply that EU leaders are not willing to say what they have to and that they say it only to gain the favour of the citizens, i.e. always for their aims. As Bednarek pointed out ‘admit’ has proved to be connected with negative evaluation; this verb “shows that a statement was produced reluctantly, carries the implied assumption that some negative act has been committed or suggests that the content of the reported proposition is negative” (Bednarek 2006: 151). Since the proposition is constructed as a negative act committed by EU leaders, this “clearly contributes to the negative evaluation of the Sayer” (ibid).

Moreover, some newspapers put emphasis on the illegality of *going ahead* without Ireland. They highlight that under the EU’s law still in force the treaty needs to be unanimously approved.

5.4.7 Though some countries may demand that the EU **goes ahead** with 26 out of its 27 member states implementing the Treaty, putting Ireland into some form of limbo, there is no legal mechanism for doing this and not much political enthusiasm for it either. (*The Sunday Telegraph*, 15 June 2008)

The emphasis on the illegality of the action of continuing with ratification excluding Ireland is also expressed by the overt negation ‘not’ in conjunction with the modal auxiliaries ‘may’ and ‘can’, as in the following examples.

5.4.8 So far, only the Czech Republic has indicated it **may not go ahead**. President Vaclav Klaus said on Friday that “the Lisbon treaty project is finished”. (*The Sunday Times*, 15 June 2008)

5.4.9 He (McCreevy) blasted: “The Irish position must be taken into account. The Irish haven’t ratified, so the Lisbon Treaty as was intended **cannot now go ahead** - what is not on is that the Irish people or the Irish Government can be bullied by anybody”. (*The Sun*, 17 June 2008)

5.4.10 Without the approval of all 27 member states **it cannot go ahead** next year as planned, prompting Brussels and EU superpowers France and Germany to try to force Ireland to think again. (*Daily Mail*, 21 June 2008)

In examples 5.4.8 and 5.4.9 the negation can be explained by the fact that both the Czech Republic’s president and Mr. McCreevy were against the ratification of Lisbon⁴⁷. In example 5.4.10 the negative attitude towards the treaty is the result of a criticism for the attempts to ratify Lisbon without considering the current EU’s rules. What can be added to the examples is that while the *Daily Mail* clearly expresses its position, the other two newspapers tend not to

⁴⁷ Mr. McCreevy was European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services from 2004-2010. He was against the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty.

take responsibility for the statement reported, attributing the negative judgement to authoritative sources. However, there is a difference in the choice of the reporting verb. While *The Sunday Times* uses the more neutral reporting verb 'indicate', *The Sun* uses the more evaluative 'blast' that expresses a severe criticism for European Leaders' behaviour. A final verdict on the proceeding of the treaty ratification is given by *The Daily Telegraph* on July 23 as reported in the following example, displaying once more the co-occurrence with 'cannot'.

5.4.11 The Lisbon Treaty ought to be dead and buried, committed to the ground with all due formality, but irreversibly and unambiguously interned nonetheless. Legally, of course, in no mere trivial sense, it actually is. The treaty **cannot proceed** because it cannot be ratified by member states, the Irish people having chosen to forbid that from happening. (*Daily Mail*, 23 July 2008)

The lack of legality is expressed by the negation of the modal 'can' and implies that it is impossible to continue with the ratification after the Irish rejection. In order to construe this scenario the newspaper makes use of another metaphor THE LISBON TREATY IS A HUMAN BEING as the lexemes *dead*, *buried*, the phrase *committed to the ground* and the verb *interned* indicate. Nevertheless, some newspapers believe the EU would find some legal manoeuvres to ratify Lisbon even if Ireland voted NO.

5.4.12 Refusing to take the Irish no for an answer, the Franco-German game plan, to be refined at a crucial EU summit in Brussels on Friday, is to get the other 26 EU states to ratify the treaty as soon as possible, quarantine the Irish, then come up with some legal manoeuvre enabling the treaty to **go ahead**. (*The Observer*, 18 June 2008)

This is not the only time in the occurrences for the movement group that France and Germany appear together on the scene. In two different articles appeared on the same day in the *Guardian*, they appear to be moving together in order to prevent unpleasant situations for the European Union that has been drafting the Treaty for long and solve the Irish problem.

5.4.13 Berlin and Paris **moved swiftly** last night to try to limit the damage, pressing Downing Street, according to sources in Brussels, not to make matters worse by abandoning Britain's ratification of the treaty, now in its final stages in the Lords. (*Guardian*, 14 June 2008)

5.4.14 On Thursday night, the French prime minister, Francois Fillon, said there could be no Lisbon Treaty with an Irish rejection. But the French are also sending mixed signals and there were signs yesterday that the Germans and the French **were moving** to head off a premature obituary. (*Guardian*, 14 June 2008)

In the sourced averral of the example 5.4.13 the newspaper is putting emphasis on the speed of the move as the adjective *swiftly* indicates and the action of ratifying the treaty in Britain appears to be a passive approval and acceptance of EU leaders' decisions, in particular those of France and Germany. On the other hand, in example 5.4.14 the action of the two nations appears to be vague and uncertain as the sourced averral 'there are signs' indicates. The two occurrences are based on the evidence of a source and this might imply that the newspaper does not take responsibility for what it is going to report.

The analysis has also revealed that when Gordon Brown is the actor of the verb *go ahead* and this action appears in attributed propositions by EU leaders, it is lauded as the evaluative verb 'praise' in example 5.4.15 and the phrase 'showered with praise' in example 5.4.16 indicate.

5.4.15 The judge's remarks were embarrassing for Gordon Brown, who was showered with praise from EU leaders at their Brussels summit after **going ahead** with the Bill to implement the treaty, despite last week's 'no' vote in the Irish referendum. (*The Independent*, 21 June 2008)

5.4.16 Mr Brown has been praised by EU leaders for his "courage" in **going ahead** with ratification. But at a press conference in Brussels Mr Brown was forced to admit that he cannot give final legal approval until after Lord Justice Richards' judgment. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 21 June 2008)

However, both newspapers negatively comment on the British Prime Minister's attitude towards the ratification. The use of the evaluative verb 'embarrass' and the contrastive evaluator 'despite' in example 5.4.15 and the use of the attributing verb 'admit' in example 5.4.16 give the action a negative connotation as if Brown has committed something wrong for which he has to feel ashamed.

The negative evaluation of the British Prime Minister is not limited to the two examples above. When the *going ahead* appears in an attribution by Brown or the British government the attributing verb used by some newspapers is 'to insist' as shown in the following examples.

5.4.17 Tomorrow night, Parliament has the opportunity to show that it rejects such arrogance. The Government has announced that it intends to **proceed** with the ratification of the Lisbon treaty, despite the Irish vote. (*The Times*, 17 June 2008)

5.4.18 Gordon Brown insisted yesterday that the Government **would go ahead** with parliamentary plans to ratify the treaty as EU foreign ministers meeting in Luxembourg agreed that last week's Irish referendum defeat **would not stop** the Lisbon process. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 17 June 2008)

The verb 'insist' indicates Brown or British government's power and the attributed propositions are represented as a sort of imposition of that power conferring the Sayer the

image of a powerful leader irrespective of his/its people's will. Moreover, in example 5.4.18 the British government appears to be the passive goal of EU leaders' decisions as the verb 'agree' suggests. The decision of continuing with ratification appears to be taken after a close and private consultation.

The analysis of the MOVEMENT schema has revealed that it is used to bring the opposing attitudes towards the Lisbon Treaty to light. It has been observed that irrespective of newspapers' stance, EU leaders are pictured as the *movers* of the ratification. They often appear to be actors of the verb *move* and *go ahead* as a united bloc or metonymically represented by France, Germany or Sarkozy. These actors also appear to be the supporters and proponents of the British movement. The British decision to move seems to be a passive acceptance of EU leaders' orders. A wide number of examples has also shown that the MOVEMENT schema is used to construe the event of the ratification in Britain and express a severe criticism towards the British Prime Minister and government as not capable of deliberately and freely deciding. The analysis has underlined how each sub-corpus generally tends to look at the movement towards ratification as dangerous because it leads to undesirable destinations. In particular, the Daily broadsheets and tabloids seem to consider the *movement without Ireland* as an illegitimate act, illegal under the EU's rules in force. The *Daily Mail*, *The Times*, *The Telegraph* seem to directly disapprove of the British government's attitude towards the Treaty while the *Guardian* and *The Independent's* criticisms appear to be veiled by the attributed propositions and sourced averrals they use.

5.5 Journey

The journey scenario has been identified by the lexical items listed in Table 5.4, which shows the different distribution of each lexeme in the sub-corpora. There is almost an equal distribution of metaphorical patterns between broadsheets and tabloids (348.09 total occurrences in the tabloids vs. 337.34 total occurrences in the broadsheets). All the lexemes that construe the journey scenario are nouns apart from *progress* that also occurs as a verb. Both in its verbal and nominal form, the lexeme *progress* always appears in quotations or attributions by politicians in particular by the Irish Prime Minister, Cowen. This might suggest that Cowen is particularly sensitive to the issue of Ireland's *progress* in Europe.

The analysis has shown that some lexemes collocate with prepositions indicating direction, in particular the lexeme *way* collocates with *ahead*, *forward*, *(a) round* and *through* while the lexical item *road* collocates with the preposition *ahead* only. The lexeme *way*, moreover, also

collocates with the preposition ‘out of’ that often co-occurs with the other metaphorical lexeme *impasse* (ten out of twenty-three occurrences). However, the analysis of the metaphorical expression *way out of the impasse* will be discussed in paragraph 5.8. As far as the noun *road* is concerned, it has emerged that the lexeme appears as a compound noun *roadmap* (seven occurrences) and *roadblock* (two occurrences), while in few occurrences it is only used to describe the different stages of the ratification process especially in *The Times* and its Sunday edition.

As for the lexeme *track*, the analysis has shown that in its singular form it is linked to the *train* metaphor (see 5.7) while in its plural form it always occurs in the idiomatic expression *stop/halt in its/their tracks* and helps to construe the *journey* scenario. However, as this idiomatic expression occurs in all the occurrences of the lexeme *track* and implies an interruption of the journey, its analysis has been discussed in paragraph 5.8. The analysis of the lexemes has also revealed that the majority of their occurrences appear a few months before and after the Irish referendum.

Before the referendum journalists and politicians as well seem to be interested in the possibility that Ireland has to change *Europe’s direction*. *The Sun*, in a leading article reporting what has been written in *The Irish Sun*, seems to raise Irish people’s consciousness on the important decision they are about to take implying that a rejection should be considered.

5.5.1 It is right we will have our say on the ratification of this Treaty. Indeed, we are the only nation among the 27-nation bloc that is allowing its people to decide. The future **direction** of the European Union is in your hands. (*The Sun*, 14 April 2008)

On the other hand, a few months later Irish politicians, in particular the Irish Prime Minister Brian Cowen and the Irish Foreign Affairs Michael Martin, seem to raise Irish people’s consciousness on the importance of their choice at the ballot. The emphasis on the *road to choose* and *not to take a far and more uncertain route* seems to suggest that the Ministers were in favour of a positive vote and were persuading their people to vote in that *direction* and not take a different one.

Lexical item	Daily Mail on Mail Sunday	The Sun the Sun the World	The News of Mirror Sunday	The Mirror Guardian Observer	The Observer Independent	The Independent on Sunday Telegraph	Daily Telegraph	Sunday Telegraph	The Sunday Times	Sunday Times	Total			
<i>way</i>	17.12	21.00	17.09	8.82	35.73	29.33	8.82	22.87	15.16	16.56	14.10	10.03	16.49	249.13
<i>step</i>	6.28	21.00	8.55	8.82	16.02	16.02	10.72	7.33	6.24	2.07	18.80	10.03	8.80	124.64
<i>direction</i>	2.85	21.00	8.55		7.15	3.67				6.21	9.40		2.20	61.02
<i>road</i>	2.85			16.02	10.72	3.67	8.82	6.24			4.70	3.34	2.20	58.55
<i>progress</i>	1.71	21.00	6.41	16.02		1.83					4.70	1.67		53.35
<i>course</i>	2.85		4.27			3.67		2.08	30.31	4.14	4.70			52.02
<i>route</i>			4.27		14.29	5.50		4.16		2.07		3.34		33.63
<i>truck</i>	2.28		2.14			1.83		4.16				1.67	4.40	16.48
<i>on board</i>	2.85		4.27			3.67					4.70			15.49
<i>path</i>	0.57				3.57	1.83		4.16						10.13
<i>lane</i>	0.57				3.57	1.83						1.67	2.20	9.85
<i>milestone</i>	1.14													1.14
total	41.09	84.00	55.55.	17.64	64.08	85.75	64.15	49.89	45.47	31.05	61.10	31.76	36.28	685.44

Table 5.4 Distribution of lexemes that connote the journey scenario. The occurrences are ordered by frequency.

5.5.2 He [Cowan] said: “The people of Ireland face a deeply important choice about the future of this country. Will we **move forward** as positive members of the European Union or will we take a new and far more uncertain **route**? **The road** we choose will not only determine the shape of our economy but define our role in the wider world and our destiny for years to come”. (*Mirror*, 9 June 2008)

5.5.3 No matter what way you look at it, this is a choice between Ireland **moving forward** as a positive member of the EU or **taking a different direction**” (*The Sun*, 10 June 2008)

In example 5.5.2, what is not European is evaluated as risky and unknown and emphasis is put on the importance of the final vote not only for Europe but for Ireland’s economy and future progress. In the second example, the different direction (voting against the treaty) is not positively evaluated by the Minister as it implies being distant from the EU and moving towards its back door.

After the referendum, EU leaders and treaty’s supporters suggest the idea of a common *direction* to be pursued together as example 5.5.4 shows.

5.5.4 At a two-day summit of EU leaders in Brussels dominated by the Irish debacle, the Czechs balked at pledging to ratify the treaty, despite intense pressure from France’s President Nicolas Sarkozy and Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany to get all **on board** to support it. (*Guardian*, 21 June 2008)

As it is evident from the *Guardian*’s quote, the expression *on board* is attributed to EU leaders in this case Sarkozy and Merkel. The analysis of the occurrences of the lexeme has shown that it is not the only case. However, journalists’ comments seem rather negative as they describe politicians that publicly stress the importance of proceeding *on board* or not proceeding unless Ireland is *on board* while privately they only want to complete the ratification at any cost as it is reported in the following examples.

5.5.5 The French president, who takes over the EU presidency next month, threatened to prevent new countries - notably Croatia - from joining if Ireland refuses to **come on board**. (*Daily Mail*, 21 June 2008)

5.5.6 So there will be no bullying at today’s six-monthly Brussels summit. On a practical note, it is not as if they have decided which of several backstairs options they should adopt to **proceed** with key Lisbon reforms, nor how best to haul the Irish people **back on board**. (*Guardian*, 19 June 2008)

5.5.7 Mr Miliband conceded the unpopular agreement cannot come into force without the Irish **on board**. In a statement to the Commons yesterday he insisted there is “no question of ignoring the Irish vote”. But he also said Britain - due to endorse the pact on Wednesday - must not be left in a state of limbo. He said the country will press on with ratification. (*The Sun*, 17 June 2008)

In the analysis of the lexeme *on board* it has emerged that only the *Daily Mail* uses the expression differently. In its use it stresses the fact that EU leaders need to take *on board* the Irish vote as they have to accept the democratic decision.

The rejection of the Lisbon Treaty has created a situation of great uncertainty not only for Ireland's future but also for the European Union's. This uncertainty has been variously expressed by politicians. Irish politicians and EU leaders described the situation created after the negative turnout in terms of *uncharted waters* (see paragraph 5.7). Since then newspapers and other politicians talk of a possible solution in terms of uncertainty. A few days after the Irish result Cowen, too, used that metaphor to express the necessity to find a solution.

5.5.8 A ‘no’ vote does send us into some **uncharted territory** and we have to try to chart that territory and see what **way forward** we can achieve. (*The Times*, 16 June 2008)

The *uncharted territory* needs to be explored in order to find a *way forward*. However, the *way forward* appears uncertain as nobody knows what to do. For Ireland re-establishing the status quo before the referendum and approving Lisbon was important in order to still have a positive and fundamental role in Europe. For European leaders, on the other hand, it means to continue with the set of reforms planned to change the European Union's institutional asset and make it more competitive in a globalised world. This atmosphere has also been confirmed by the investigation of the lexeme *way*. The analysis of *way* has revealed that it collocates with the preposition ‘forward’ to its right and with the verbs ‘find’, ‘plot’, ‘discuss’, ‘chart’, and ‘examine’ to its left. These verbs not only confer uncertainty to the lexical item but also make it appear rather problematic. The analysis has also shown that the majority of the occurrences of the lexeme *way forward* appears in quotations and attributions of Irish politicians, in particular the Irish Prime Minister, Brian Cowen and the Irish Foreign Affairs Minister, Michael Martin. This might suggest that the debate on the *way forward*, that is the solution after the referendum's negative outcome, is an Irish problem.

Moreover, when the lexeme *way forward* appears in quotations or attributions of other politicians, it often collocates with the phrase ‘it is up to the Irish to find’, clearly expressing Irish responsibility for the solution to find. Among the verb collocations, only one refers to the period before the referendum but it is a sort of prediction made by Mr. McDonough, an

Irish businessman, that if Ireland votes NO *a way forward would have to be found* (*The Sunday Times*, 2 March 2008). After the referendum, the situation appears rather complicated for Cowen and EU leaders. Barroso, for example, believed that it was necessary to stress the importance of continuing with the ratification process.

5.5.9 It is now DEAD under EU rules. But European Commission chief Barroso, left, ordered other countries to IGNORE our vote. President Barroso said: “I believe the Treaty is alive and we should now try to find a solution. The ratification process is made up of 27 national processes. Eighteen member states have already approved the treaty and the European Commission believes that the remaining ratifications **should continue to take their course**” (*The Sun*, 14 June 2008)

Barroso’s statement seems to be evaluated as a contempt for democracy as the use of the verb ignore in capital letters indicates. Moreover, by using capital letters *The Sun* seems to put in contrast the fact that the treaty has been rejected and that this is not being considered by EU leaders. In example 5.5.9 another metaphor is at work: LISBON TREATY IS A HUMAN BEING, whose metaphorical items depict the treaty as a dying, sick man. However, even if the item *dead* implies a negative connotation the newspaper seems to positively evaluate it by implying that the treaty’s death can put a stop to greater negative consequences. The *News of the World* also stresses how the issue of the ratification and its solution is rather complicated for Cowen and EU leaders.

5.5.10 Mr Cowen will meet other EU leaders at the European Council on Thursday and Friday to discuss **a way forward**. EU Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso said he believes the Treaty is still “alive”, while French President Nicolas Sarkozy urged all other member states to continue ratifying it. (*News of the World*, 15 June 2008)

For Cowen, it is problematic to discuss the issue because, on the one hand, the EU leaders expect directions on the proceedings from Ireland and on the other hand, Ireland is not ready to hold another referendum or propose any other solution. However, *a way forward* appears to be necessary but this does not mean to ratify Lisbon. In this quote from the *Mirror*, Cowen appears to be considering the treaty as something that is not to be pursued differently from what he said weeks before.

5.5.11 “We will work with others to see if there is **a way forward** here in which people would be prepared to agree, other than by the **Lisbon Treaty route**” (*Mirror*, 16 June 2008)

The *Daily Mail* (15 June 2008) seems to put emphasis on the sense of duty to *chart a new course* while the *Guardian* (17 June 2008) reports that the crisis of the treaty’s rejection has forced *a*

summit to chart an alternative path to EU continuity. The *new course*, the *alternative path*, the *way forward to find* seem to suggest that a solution is a sensitive issue among politicians and newspapers. A few days later the Irish Prime Minister stressed the importance of finding a solution that can be agreed by EU leaders and the Irish people.

5.5.12 He stressed the need to proceed in very close consultation with our EU partners as any potential **way forward** would have to be acceptable not just to Ireland but also to every other EU member state. (*Daily Mail*, 21 June 2008)

The article appears after the European Summit held on June 15-16 where the Irish government asked for more time to assess the cause that produced a negative result. At the same time, Sarkozy planned a visit to Ireland to agree a common solution. Probably by using the attribution, the *Daily Mail* is passing the responsibility to Cowen.

The collocations of *way forward* with the verb ‘find’ seem to suggest that the way to follow is not clear or planned even for the European leaders who want to continue ratification. Sarkozy seems intentioned to ratify the treaty and if a *way forward* is not possible or difficult to find he suggests a *way round*.

5.5.13 Mr Sarkozy wants to find a **way round** the Irish vote: he would like the Lisbon Treaty to be adopted anyway. But it is a cardinal rule that changes to the EU’s basic procedures must be unanimously approved. Mr Sarkozy visits Ireland this week in an attempt to begin the process of persuading them to hold a second referendum in which they change their minds. (*The Sunday Telegraph*, 10 July 2008)

The lexical item *way round* seems to describe the solution that Sarkozy is trying to come up with. Differently from *way out* and *way forward*, that are also used to refer to a possible solution, the *way round* seems to have a more negative connotation. *Way forward*, for example, stresses the continuation after a blockage while *way out* seems to suggest a complete overcome.⁴⁸ Even though these two lexical items appear uncertain they seem to have a positive meaning. On the other hand, *way round* focuses on an alternative to the Irish vote, emphasising the intention of EU leaders to avoid the Irish verdict. Indeed, the newspaper clearly expresses this opinion by using the verb ‘persuade’ and seems to criticise Sarkozy’s action by contrasting his intention with the EU’s rules still in force at that time. This might suggest that Sarkozy’s *way round* is illegal. Sarkozy is not the only one who advocates a *way round*. Other EU leaders also want to deviate from the way indicated by the Irish vote. As a consequence, the Irish situation seems to become more complicated especially after Sarkozy’s visit to Ireland on 22 July 2008, and

⁴⁸ For the analysis of *way out* see 5.9.

newspapers seem to stress the necessity to find a solution as it is expressed in the following examples where the lexeme *way forward* collocates with the verb ‘to plot’. This verb means to mark something on a map such as the position or course of something and its actor is the Irish parliamentary committee. This might imply that the course has not been marked yet, it is still uncertain. The verb ‘to plot’ not only enhances the metaphorical expression but also confers importance to its actor in the ratification process.

5.5.14 The Government wants the all-party body to plot **a way forward** following the voters’ massive rejection of the charter. Finance Minister Brian Lenihan said: “It’s important parliament reflects on the result and the implications for Ireland of this No vote”. (*The Sun*, 25 July 2008)

5.5.15 The Government hopes an Oireachtas committee can help plot **a way forward** following voters’ rejection of the charter in June. Taoiseach Brian Cowen is due to meet French President Nicolas Sarkozy in Paris in September for a progress report, ahead of a European Council meeting on Lisbon. (*Mirror*, 25 July 2008)

In the examples above the action of the parliamentary committee appears as an attributed proposition whose senser is always the Irish government. Not only do the attributing verbs ‘hope’ and ‘want’ express the emotive involvement of the government but also the importance of such an issue for Ireland. The government in fact, needs to find a solution to present before the European Summit of December 2008 as EU leaders expect and was agreed in June.

The atmosphere of uncertainty makes EU leaders aware of the necessity of a *roadmap*. However, Cowen underlines how important is for Ireland to have time in order to *chart a roadmap*.

5.5.16 Jose Manuel Barroso, the commission president, said that EU member states should act quickly to resolve the crisis. Although governments needed time to regroup, he added, “equally we should not take too long”. But Brian Cowen, the Irish Prime Minister, said his country must be allowed ample time to analyse the referendum result and **chart a road map**. (*The Independent*, 19 June 2008)

The atmosphere of uncertainty that characterises the *way forward* soon after the referendum implies the necessity of a *roadmap*, and seems to become more clear with December approaching.

5.5.17 “We hope by the end of the week to be in a position to agree **a road map forward**,” Micheal Martin, the Irish foreign minister, said in Brussels last night. Senior European diplomats said the two-day summit would agree a formula committing Ireland to aim to implement the treaty by the end of next year. The statement to be issued by the summit will not mention the word

referendum. But for the treaty to be implemented by January 2010, the Irish would need to vote again. Legally there might be other “ways to go”, said Martin, but they were all “fraught with risk”. A special parliamentary commission in Ireland concluded last month that there were no legal **obstacles** to another referendum. The risks, however, are political. Martin said that the prime minister, Brian Cowen, had a good meeting with Sarkozy last week and the French leader was “well aware of the **way forward**”. In return for agreeing to a rerun, the Irish are to be given pledges that the treaty will not affect their abortion ban, impinge on their military neutrality, or have any impact on Irish authority to set tax rates. Ireland will also be guaranteed a permanent seat in the European commission. (*Guardian*, 9 December 2008)

This *Guardian*’s quote appears a few days before the European Summit to be taken in December. It reports two points of view by Mr. Martin and Sarkozy. In Martin’s words the *roadmap* appears to be desirable. However, the only less dangerous solution seems to be a second vote. Moreover, as it might be expected the certainty on the *way forward* is attributed to Sarkozy by Mr. Martin. Sarkozy in fact welcomed the agreements taken at the December Summit and underlined the fact that the *Lisbon process is back on the road* (*The Independent*, 19 December 2008). A positive feeling on a resolution of the *impasse* was also perceived by Brian Cowen, as reported in the following example.

5.5.18 In an effort to win over the voters who rejected the treaty in June, EU leaders offered Mr Cowen guarantees all nations, including Ireland, could keep a permanent seat on the EU’s executive body. The Taoiseach added: “I am convinced **we are on the right path**. The views of the Irish people are being respected.” (*Mirror*, 13 December 2008)

On the contrary, *The Sunday Telegraph* gives a very negative image of the European Union’s decisions agreed at the Summit. The *way forward* appears in a wider metaphorical scenario, that of an automaton that after being hurt, stands up and continues its way. The emphasis seems to be on the blind force of the journey.

5.5.19 But the automaton keeps advancing, its flesh burned away, its charred metal skeleton stamped with the words “Lisbon Treaty”. Then - pow! - 53 per cent of Irish voters vote ‘No’. The machine is briefly swallowed by orange flames. Then, after a short lull, the red lights go on in its skull and, once again, **it starts clawing its way forward**. (*The Sunday Telegraph*, 14 December 2008)

Not only does the newspaper seem to put emphasis on the lack of human control in this *way forward* as the noun ‘automaton’ suggests but also on the strong determination of EU leaders to get their treaty approved as the verb ‘claw’ and the metaphorical expression ‘the red light go on in its skull’ indicate.

The analysis of the journey scenario has revealed that the metaphorical expressions are mainly used to describe political attitudes towards the ratification issue. It has emerged that treaty supporters conceive of the *Lisbon route* as a desirable destination and *the way forward* as a necessity. On the other hand, treaty opponents advocate *a new course*, stressing the EU's determination in *charting a roadmap*; they seem to criticise EU leaders' behaviour as anti-democratic. In particular, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sunday Telegraph*, *The Sun* and *Daily Mail* seem to be disapproving of EU leaders' insistence on the *way forward* or *roadmap* as an indication of their disrespect for democracy.

5.6 Forced Movement

As it is evident from Table 5.5, the daily tabloids and the broadsheets seem to have the higher number of occurrences with reference to the lexemes that express a forced movement. On the other hand, the *Mail on Sunday*, *The Observer* and *The Independent on Sunday* have no instances of such lexemes. However, it might not come as a surprise that *The Sunday Telegraph*, *The Sunday Times* and the *News of the World*, that is the Sunday editions of the newspapers that campaigned for a referendum on the treaty, show a wide use of these lexical items. The lexical items in the Table, show a varying degree of force. In particular, *bulldoze*, *railroad* and *steamroller* put emphasis on the violence of the force while the lexeme *ram* focuses on the deliberate action of pressing and forcing somebody to take action. Their evaluation is rather negative while the other lexemes *push* and *plough* seem to be more neutral.

The movement towards the ratification of the Treaty appears not to be natural or spontaneous but rather forced. The British government and Mr. Brown seem to acquire a very negative image in the British press as they appear to be the actors of the verbs *press ahead*, *push*, *ram*, *railroad* and *plough* that express the force of the movement. This collocation might suggest that both the British government and the Prime Minister have an active role in the process of the ratification. However, playing the role of enforcers they might lack the sympathy of the potential reader or the support of newspapers that seem to negatively comment on their action. In January the *Daily Mail* reported William Hague's negative comment on Gordon Brown's attitude towards the ratification.

Lexical item	Daily Mail on Mail Sunday	The Sun the Sun the World	The Mirror	The Sunday Mirror	The Guardian	The Observer	The Independent	The Independent on Sunday	Daily Telegraph	Sunday Telegraph	The Sunday Times	Total
<i>push</i>	14.84	25.64	35.26	17.86	16.02	12.83	18.71		24.84	23.50	10.03	212.72
<i>bulldoz</i>	2.28	8.55		7.15					6.21	9.40	6.67	40.27
<i>plough</i>	0.57	6.41		10.72					2.07	9.40	1.10	30.27
<i>ram</i>	2.85	4.27				1.83			6.21	9.40	1.67	26.24
<i>railroad</i>	0.57	2.14				1.83			4.14		1.67	11.45
<i>steamroller</i>	0.57					1.83			2.07		1.10	5.57
total	21.69	47.00	35.26	35.73	16.02	18.33	18.71		45.55	51.70	21.73	324.86

Table 5.5 Distribution of lexical items expressing a forced movement. The occurrences are ordered by total frequency.

- 5.6.1 He [William Hague] said: ‘We have an unelected minister appointed by an unelected prime minister trying to **ram through** an EU treaty, which the British people have never voted for and the Irish people have voted against.’ (*Daily Mail*, 15 January 2008)

In example 5.6.1, Hague is evaluating the action of *ramming through* as a lack of democratic values and respect for those people that want to say or have already expressed their opinion. The action of *pushing*, *ramming*, *ploughing* and *railroading* is often put in contrast with the rejection of the Irish people as the contrastive evaluative terms ‘despite’ (in examples 5.6.2), ‘against’ (in example 5.6.1), ‘even though’, ‘even after’ (in example 5.6.3) and the phrase ‘in the face of’ (in example 5.6.4) indicate.

- 5.6.2 GORDON Brown was blasted last night after he ploughed on with the hated EU Treaty - even after a huge ‘no’ vote in Ireland’s referendum left it dead in the water. Despite the extraordinary Friday the 13th massacre, the Prime Minister vowed to **push the Lisbon Treaty through** Parliament. (*The Sun*, 14 June 2008)
- 5.6.3 Brown has shamelessly vowed to **push the treaty through Parliament** even after it was rejected by the Republic of Ireland-and has refused to scrap a crucial Lords vote on it this Wednesday. (*News of the World*, 15 June 2008)
- 5.6.4 Might he not start to listen if he feared that **railroading through** the Treaty in the face of the Irish ‘No’ vote, not to mention EU law, might fatally undermine his already very shaky popularity? Bad faith has been piled on bad faith. (*Daily Mail*, 15 June 2008)

As a consequence, in the previous examples the action appears in a more negative light as if the British government and its Prime Minister only care for their plans without considering the will of the British people who were denied the opportunity to express their opinion in a referendum, and the Irish’s popular view that was being ignored.

On 16 June 2008, the British Foreign Secretary David Miliband, talking of the action to take after the Irish rejection of the Lisbon Treaty, claimed that “there can be no question of *bulldozing* or bamboozling or ignoring the Irish no vote” as it was reported in *The Times*. The negation of the lexeme *bulldoze* might have its explanation in the fact that EU leaders and Britain in particular have been described as *moving ahead* or *forward* with insistence or force in order to get the ratification of Lisbon passed (examples 5.6.1 to 5.6.4; see also examples in paragraph 5.3). The verb *bulldoze* has a very negative meaning. The bulldozer in fact, is a huge track with a blade in front used to knock down buildings or moving earth. This negativity is reinforced by the collocation with the verb ‘bamboozle’ that means “to confuse somebody, especially by tricking them” (Oxford Dictionary, 2000). Miliband’s words may also be seen as

an answer to a headline appeared on 15 June in *The Sunday Telegraph*, “*The Lords must stop Brown bulldozing Lisbon through*”. This way of speaking could be seen as a re-reading or a reversal of a metaphor used to communicate a different image of the British government. Miliband might intend to show an image of a government that is close both to its people and to the Irish. A government that cares for democracy. Nevertheless, the verb *bulldoze* and its noun *bulldozer* have been used days later, in *The Times* (5.6.5), *The Sun* (5.6.6) and *The Daily Telegraph* (5.6.7), to reinforce the British government’s action of passing the Lisbon Treaty despite the will of its citizens.

5.6.5 To pass the Bill on Wednesday is therefore to pass into law a treaty that may change profoundly, or may never be implemented at all. The only purpose in doing so is to bully the Irish. For all its talk, this Government seems to want to be in the **driver’s cab of a bulldozer** that we should be lying down in front of. (*The Times*, 17 June 2008)

5.6.6 The Tory chief accused ministers of betrayal, saying: “I’ve seen more spine and leadership from a bunch of jellyfish”. Despite the growing public opposition, Labour and Lib Dem peers **bulldozed the Treaty through** Parliament. (*The Sun*, 19 June 2008)

5.6.7 Irish voters may have thought they had killed the treaty, but, in the European Union, no never quite means no; or rather no seems not to matter. And last night, our peers also **bulldozed it through** the Lords. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 19 June 2008)

In these three examples, the British government is always the actor of the bulldozing action. This confers it the role of an enforcer whose passive goals are the British people and democracy in general. British people in fact, have supported a referendum on the Treaty which was promised by the Labour Party during the electoral campaign. The negated promise was criticised by the people and the newspapers that supported the referendum campaign (*The Times*, *The Sun*, *The Daily Telegraph*). This can explain the reason why the lexeme *bulldoze* taken from Miliband’s words was used to convey a negative image of the British government, irrespective of its people’s will. The negative image is made clear in the example from *The Sun* (5.6.6) where the quotation from Cameron, the then leader of the political opposition, with its analogy between the government and *a bunch of jellyfish* makes the action of *bulldozing* appear an act wanted by external forces and not by the government itself, unable to make a decision.

The British government’s final decision to approve the Lisbon Treaty was supported and appreciated by EU leaders and treaty supporters. On 20 June 2008, *The Sun* reports the EU leaders’ approval for Brown’s action as the use of the attributing evaluative verb ‘praise’ in the following example seems to suggest.

5.6.8 EU BIGWIGS led by French leader Nicolas Sarkozy last night tried to BULLY the plucky Irish into overturning their historic ‘no’ vote on the Lisbon Treaty. And they PRAISED Premier Gordon Brown’s “courage” **for ramming the hated document through** Parliament with no referendum. (*The Sun*, 20 June 2008)

By using an attributing verb the newspaper is passing the responsibility of what is said to the Sayers, it is keeping distance from what it is reporting. The evaluation of EU leaders, described as bigwigs, however, appears to be extremely negative. The use of capitals seems to put in contrast the negative forced action as the evaluative verb ‘bully’ indicates with the positive connotation of the attributing verb ‘praise’. This contrast is enhanced by the evaluation of the Irish vote in terms of importance as the evaluative adjective ‘historic’ suggests and the negative evaluation of the treaty as the evaluative adjective ‘hated’ seems to imply. The latter adjective also appears to suggest an emotive involvement of the writer. Moreover, a more negative connotation is given to the action of *ramming through* as it happens without a popular vote.

The actors of the verb ‘to praise’, that also occurs once in the occurrences of the verb *to push* are always Sarkozy and EU leaders. This comes as no surprise as EU leaders in general and Sarkozy in particular, at that time in charge of the Presidency of the European Union, supported the treaty and Sarkozy’s goal was to *put the treaty back on track by the end of his tenure* (*The Times*, 1 July 2008). However while EU leaders considered Brown’s approval of the treaty worth lauding, Tory Europe spokesman Mark Francois shows its concerns for this anti-democratic *ramming through* expressing a similar vision in example 5.6.9.

5.6.9 President Kaczynski is speaking up for the rights of Irish voters. Gordon Brown **has rammed this treaty through** Parliament to put pressure on the Irish without any democratic mandate from the British people. (*Daily Mail*, 2 July 2008)

The representation of Gordon Brown, Miliband and the British government as actors of this set of verbs is not surprising especially because it appears in *The Daily Telegraph* and its Sunday edition, *The Sun* and its Sunday edition, *The Times* and its Sunday edition, the *Daily Mail* and the *Mirror*. These newspapers did not welcome the fact that the British government had broken its promise on a referendum. *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun* in particular, had strongly advocated a referendum on the Treaty. Moreover, their negative evaluation of the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary might be explained considering the fact that they seem to be more in line with the Conservative’s policy than the Labour’s one. While these newspapers also report the British determination to ratify the Treaty, the *Guardian* and *The Independent* only concentrate on the European Union’s general attitude toward the issue. The image of the British Prime

Minister and the government as enforcers is not a prerogative of these last two broadsheets. *The Independent* has no occurrences of the lexemes *ram*, *plough* and *railroad* while among the occurrences of the verb *to push* it only once refers to Britain as the actor of the verb. However, this occurrence appears in an attributed proposition by the Prime Minister. On the other hand, although the *Guardian* has occurrences for each lexical item, it never refers to Britain or its government as the actor of those verbs. This might be explained by the fact that the two broadsheets seem to be more in line with the Labour Party or simply that they tend not to directly express their opinions about the British government's measures.

The image of enforcers is not only limited to the British scenario. However, it is extended to the European Union which appears as a united bloc (the EU, EU leaders, EU political and business establishment, European Countries, 26 EU nations, EU governments, EU member states, Europe), represented by a single leader (Sarkozy, Merkel, Barroso) or by a recurring couple (France and Germany, Sarkozy and Merkel). The newspapers seem to negatively evaluate the action of *pushing*, *ramming*, *ploughing the treaty through*, *on* or *ahead* as the contrastive terms 'despite' (5.6.11), 'against', 'regardless' (5.6.15), 'even though' (5.6.10) 'while' and the evaluative phrase 'the worst course of action' (5.6.12) and the nouns 'disaster' (5.6.15), 'pressure' (5.6.9) and 'fears' (5.8.30) indicate.

5.6.10 ARROGANT EU president Jose Manuel Barroso last night vowed to **push on** with the Lisbon Treaty - even though Ireland emphatically REJECTED it. (*The Sun*, 14 June 2008)

5.6.11 Everything suggested that Europe's key leaders were urgently conferring on a scheme to **steamroller** their blueprint through despite the Irish rejection, **a course** likely to trigger protest from Eurosceptics and deepen Europe's democratic legitimacy problems. (*Guardian*, 14 June 2008)

5.6.12 The very worst course of action from European governments would be to **push ahead** with implementing Lisbon's provisions as if nothing had happened. (*The Independent*, 2 July)

Examples 5.6.10, 5.6.11, 5.6.12 and the other evaluative terms listed above seem to suggest that there is a risk in continuing with ratification. In example 5.6.10 the evaluative adjective 'arrogant' confers Barroso the image of a disrespectful leader. This image is also enhanced by the contrast of the adjective with the action of the Irish as the capital letters indicate. The pressure towards the ratification of the treaty might have unpleasant consequences. In example 5.6.11, the contrast is negatively evaluated and criticised as the phrases '*a course likely to trigger protest*' and '*deepen Europe's democratic legitimacy problems*' seem to suggest. In

example 5.6.12 the negative evaluation of the action of *pushing ahead* is enhanced not only by the evaluative phrase but also by the use of the argumentative formula ‘as if’.

5.6.13 Admittedly the celebratory Guinness might well have been a contributing factor, but it is clear that the large European powers have decided that Ireland, and the rest of us, **can be railroaded**. Yesterday, protesters demanding a referendum were dragged from the gallery of the Lords as Europhiles such as Lord Kinnock **rammed the treaty through** the Upper Chamber. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 19 June 2008)

In example 5.6.13 above, the newspaper seems to be very critical of the pressure that EU leaders are putting on the completion of the ratification. All the action appears to be an imposition by EU leaders while their citizens are described as passive goals of their action. As mentioned before, Gordon Brown, Miliband, France and Germany appear to be determined towards the ratification’s goal as the verbs ‘insist’ (5.6.17) and ‘defy’ (5.6.14), the noun ‘insistence’ (5.6.16) and the idiom ‘by hook and crook’ (5.6.15) reveal.

5.6.14 Mr Brown, however, is preparing to defy public opinion by **pushing ahead** with the ratification of the treaty’s text in Parliament. Legislation is due for its third and final reading in the Lords on Wednesday. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 14 June 2008)

5.6.15 This weekend it became clear that the “core” European states of France and Germany were preparing to **push on** with integration by hook or by crook. (*The Sunday Times*, 15 June 2008)

5.6.16 The Premier and Foreign Secretary David Miliband are fatally misguided in their insistence on **pushing the plan through** its final Parliamentary stages. This administration sold us out once. No one will ever forgive the government that does it twice. (*News of the World*, 15 June 2008)

5.6.17 Despite the vote, France, Germany and senior Brussels officials are insisting on **pushing it through**, creating a **two-tier Europe**. (*The Sun*, 16 June 2008)

In all these examples, however, the evaluation of the newspapers seems to be rather negative. In example 5.6.16 in particular the British government is given the role of a liar. The collocation with the noun ‘insistence’ seems to indicate that this pushing is the result of the power of Miliband and Brown. Moreover, the negative image of the British government is enhanced by the evaluative noun ‘misguided’ and the adverb ‘fatally’. Miliband and Brown appear to lack good judgement and as a consequence their action is evaluated as causing disasters. Indeed, EU leaders wanted to set the Lisbon agenda and complete the ratification before the elections of June 2009; therefore this might explain why they always appear as

actors of those verbs. They had no intention of abandoning the project of the ratification and were finding alternatives to the Irish negative turnout.

Some political leaders warned that it was dangerous to ratify the treaty after the Irish result. Speaking of the situation in Britain, for example, Lord Howell referred to the *push through* as “very unwise” (*The Times*, 19 June 2008). On the other hand, EU leaders negate their action of pushing as *The Independent* (22 July 2008) quoting Sarkozy reports “‘We don’t want to push you into anything’, he declared. ‘I did not meddle in any way’”. The quotation refers to Sarkozy’s public speech in Dublin’s Merrion Square during his visit to Ireland in order to discuss with Cowen the solutions to present at the following EU summit (15-16 October 2008). He was trying to give a positive image of the European Union and change Irish protesters’ opinion of the Treaty.

Apart from all the verbs that are also used when newspapers report about Britain’s ratification, European enforcers are actors of another verb: to *steamroller* (5.6.11). The verb occurs only four times and in three out of four occurrences the actors are Sarkozy and EU leaders as shown in the following examples.

5.6.18 There are already signs that Nicolas Sarkozy plans to use France’s EU presidency to **steamroller the treaty through** by “legal” measures. This sort of behaviour could destroy the union altogether. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 14 June 2008)

5.6.19 But that treaty’s rejection by Ireland is something that can be fixed, in time-honoured EU fashion, by fudge and sleight of hand. Indeed, if anybody wanted confirmation of the way Europe is heading, it is in the way the big boys are ganging up **to steamroller** Ireland’s voters into submission. (*The Sunday Times*, 22 June 2008)

Just once the actor of the verb is the Labour Party but this occurrence refers to the period before the ratification when the treaty was being drafted. The verb to steamroller means to force somebody to do something using your power and authority. However, its meaning can be linked to the noun which connotes a large slow vehicle with a roller used for flattening roads. As a consequence, its actor acquire a very negative connotation while the beneficiary of the action is assumed to be a simple passive goal. *The Daily Telegraph* and the *Guardian* describe this action as leading to devastating consequences as the evaluating verb ‘destroy’ (5.6.18) and the phrase ‘trigger protests and deepen Europe’s democratic legitimacy problems’ (5.6.11) indicate. *The Sunday Times* also criticises EU’s action of steamrolling but puts emphasis on another aspect using irony. EU leaders in fact are pictured as *big boys ganging up to steamroller Ireland’s voters into submission* (5.6.19). The collocation of the verb to ‘gang up’ with the verb

steamroller makes the action more negative. ‘Gang up’ in fact puts emphasis on the close relation among the big boys united to hurt or frighten Ireland’s voters.

The only positive evaluations of the forced movement are found in quotations and attributed propositions by Brown, Sarkozy, Barroso and other supporters of the ratification. The attributing verbs ‘praise’ (5.6.8), ‘vowed’ (5.6.10) and the negation of the verb ‘rule out’ (5.6.20) clearly suggest the positive and determinate intention of the Sayer/Senser.

5.6.20 Sinn Féin MEP Mary-Lou McDonald said that any attempt to pass the rejected treaty through the Dáil and Seanad would be ‘politically untenable’. However, the possibility that the Government will overturn the public No vote **by pushing Lisbon through** the back door has not been ruled out by the Taoiseach. The Lisbon Treaty has remained top of the political agenda since the June 12 referendum. (*Daily Mail*, 11 August 2008)

In the example above the action of *pushing* appears to be secretly planned as the lexeme ‘back door’ seems to suggest. The newspaper’s use of the weak contrastive evaluator ‘however’ to contrast the attribution with the quotation ‘politically untenable’ might imply a veiled disapproval of the Irish government’s action.

All the verbs, related to the group analysed in this paragraph, seem to emphasise the uncontrolled, deliberate movement of European politicians towards the ratification, and the British press seems to evaluate this movement as wrong since it leads to undesirable consequences. The movement forward appears to be the action of forceful leaders only pursuing their own interest. The stereotyped role of enforcers is given to EU leaders and The British Prime Minister. In particular France and, to a lesser degree, Germany are those countries that *push ahead* ignoring consequences and the popular vote. The fact that France and Germany are the main actors of these set of verbs implying a forced movement has a reason. The German Chancellor, Angela Merkel was President of the European Union in the first semester 2007 when the European Union was discussing the future of the institutional reforms after the rejection of the Constitution (see paragraph 1.2). While the French Prime Minister, Sarkozy, was in charge of the EU presidency during the debate on the rejection of the treaty. This might explain the fact that these movers *push ahead* together and were the focus of attention of the British press. The British press seems to be generally disapproving of leaders that want to continue with the ratification process after the Irish rebuff. However, while some newspapers seem to be particularly critical of the British government’s decision of ratifying Lisbon others only seem to limit their comments to the European scenario or use more neutral terms when referring to the British situation. As the analysis has revealed *The Sun*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Times* and their Sunday editions seem to be particularly critical of

the British government which is attributing the role of a *mover* that is forcing the ratification. However, this forced action, in some examples, appears to be part of a wider forced action towards the completion of ratification by EU leaders.

5.7 Speed of movement

During the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty not all the member states appear to proceed at the same speed or towards the same destination. Metaphorical items that connote this scenario are *speed*, *slow*, *forge ahead*, *press ahead*, *steam*, *leave behind* and *laggard* as shown in Table 5.6.

Looking at the distribution of each lexeme in the time span of collected data, it emerges that all the occurrences appear between June 7 and July 11. This indicates that the debate on whether continuing with the ratification despite the negative turnout concentrated in a few days before and a month following the referendum.

It is not surprising that the lexical item *speed* collocates with ‘multi’, ‘two’, and ‘Europe’ as it suggests the use of an already established metaphor that is *two/multi-speed* Europe. This metaphor was used during the 1990s-2000s to describe the fact that some countries agreed on the integration of Europe and others didn’t (Schäffner, 1996; Musolff, 1996, 2001b, 2004). These countries were on different positions described in terms of different speeds. In the debate about the Lisbon Treaty the situation is almost the same. There was a suspicion about the Lisbon treaty in many countries especially in Britain and Ireland. The situation got worse after the Irish referendum as other countries such as Poland and The Czech Republic put ratification aside, and in Britain Gordon Brown was criticised for its determination in completing the ratification process. On the other hand, EU leaders asked all member states to continue with their ratification process for the benefits of Europe and their countries. These different positions are described in terms of different speeds with Europe going faster than Ireland. But what is the risk for those who do not catch up? *to be left behind* or *at the sidelines*. Christina Schäffner comments the linguistic and conceptual aspects of the *two-speed* metaphor.

The idea of different speeds raises some questions that are based on the epistemic correspondences the movement schema allows for. There are two possibilities: all bodies, moving at different speeds, may still move into the same direction, arriving ultimately at the same destination; or, on the other hand, the bodies, moving at different speeds, may actually be moving towards different destinations. Another entailment concerns the spatial position of the moving bodies towards each other: the slow moving ones will be overtaken by the faster moving ones, thus arriving late (maybe too late) at the destination. (Schäffner, 1996: 48)

Lexical item	Daily Mail on Mail Sunday	The Sun the Sun the World	The Sunday Mirror	The Guardian	The Observer	The Independent	The Independent on Sunday	Daily Telegraph	Sunday Telegraph	The Sunday Times	Total
<i>speed</i>	3.99	4.27	14.29	11.00		4.16		6.21	18.80	15.04	87.66
<i>press ahead</i>	5.14	12.82	3.57	5.50	8.82	10.39	15.16	10.35	9.40	1.67	86.06
<i>leave behind</i>		2.14		1.83		2.08				6.67	12.73
<i>slow</i>	0.57		3.57	1.83						1.67	9.85
<i>forge ahead</i>	1.14			3.67						5.01	9.82
<i>steam</i>		2.14		3.67				2.07			7.87
<i>laggard</i>								2.07			2.07
total	10.84	21.37	21.44	27.49	8.82	16.63	15.16	20.70	28.20	30.08	216.07

Table 5.6 Distribution of lexemes related to the speed of movement. The occurrences are ordered by total frequency.

The Daily Telegraph is the first newspaper to use the metaphorical expression with reference to the possible situation in case of an Irish NO.

5.7.1 A “No” vote could also encourage integration-minded member states to **press ahead** with plans for more power-sharing in a **“two speed”** EU, in which **“laggards”** such as Britain and Ireland **were left behind**. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 7 June 2008)

5.7.2 What will happen if they vote “No”? The European Commission says there is no “Plan B”, but the truth is that the EU **will simply steam on** its merry way towards the creation of a superstate, the “ever-closer Union” of the Treaty of Rome, whatever its people want (*The Daily Telegraph*, 7 June 2008)

In example 5.7.1 the prospect of a *two-speed EU* seems to be negatively evaluated as a result of pressure by EU leaders. The newspaper, moreover, seems to be critical of member states’ attitude of achieving their aims as the adjective ‘integration-minded’ suggests. In example 5.7.2 *The Daily Telegraph* evaluates the action forward as certain, predictable and strongly criticises that action as leading to undesirable destinations ‘superstate’ or ‘even closer Union’. In the scenario created by example 5.7.1, Britain and Ireland play the role of *laggards left behind*. This role is also attributed to Britain because before the Irish referendum and soon after the approval of the Treaty in the Commons (11 March 2008), opponents of the Treaty were calling for a referendum trying to prevent the ratification. On June 9 in fact, Britain and Ireland appear in the *slow lane*.

5.7.3 But, given the strong views of the rank and file party members, it’s hard to see the leadership arguing against a new model for Europe that saw Britain and Ireland **in a slow lane**. (*Guardian*, 9 June 2008)

A week later, in *The Daily Telegraph* and the *Guardian*, the role of the country that is *left behind* or is in the *slow lane* is only attributed to Ireland. The approval of the Treaty by the Lords (18 June 2008) and its complete ratification (16 July 2008), might have changed the role of Britain from a country that takes the risk of *being left behind* to one that is determined to *plough the treaty through* (see paragraph 5.6). Even though the idiomatic expression *in/into the slow lane* is nowadays used to indicate progresses are not made as fast as in other countries, it is based on the original meaning of slow lane that is the part of a major road such as a motorway or interstate where vehicles drive more slowly. Therefore, this idiom creates the image of a country, Ireland, that is driving slowly in the ‘appropriate’ lane. Ireland always appears *in the slow lane* both as ‘Ireland’ or in form of a pronoun (‘it’, ‘us’, ‘we’).

After the referendum, the debate on a *two-speed Europe* became a certainty as the German Euro MP, Martin Schultz observed.

- 5.7.4 A German Euro MP, Martin Schultz, who leads the Socialist bloc, said the Irish “No” had ensured the option of a **two-speed Europe** would be on the table when EU leaders meet in Brussels. (*The Sunday Telegraph*, 15 June 2008)

In example 5.7.4 the expression ‘would be on the table’ seems to evaluate the two-speed EU debate as a highly certain option. And in fact, the debate started. There were supporters that saw the *two-speed* as a ‘unifying mechanism’ while opponents described it as ‘a divisive move’ (*Guardian* 14 June 2008; *The Independent* 17 June 2008).

Philip Bushill-Matthews, the euro MP and acting leader of the EU Tory delegation continued the metaphor focusing on the *direction* rather than *the speed of the movement*. According to him it was more important to fix a destination rather than going on without a precise goal.

- 5.7.5 “Rather than which **speed**, the question should be, in which **direction** do we believe we should be going?” (*The Sunday Telegraph*, 15 June 2008)

Nevertheless, on the same date the President of the European Commission, Barroso stressed the necessity for Ireland to align to the EU’s decisions as suggested by the example below.

- 5.7.6 Jose Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, yesterday indicated that he thought the Lisbon Treaty remains alive. EU countries which have not ratified it - 14 out of 27 have already done so - will almost certainly try to **forge ahead**, and the Irish will be told to **catch up** so that the Treaty can be universally adopted before the EU elections, which are due next June. (*Daily Mail*, 15 June 2008)

The high degree of certainty expressed by Barroso was due to the fact that most of the countries had already ratified the Treaty. The action of *forging ahead* used to express the quick movement, as in example 5.7.6, is performed by some EU countries and France and Germany who appear to be put in contrast with the Irish turnout or with the *slow movement* of Ireland that needs to *catch up* or *will be left behind* as it is also visible in the following examples.

- 5.7.7 Suspicions grew of a Franco-German plot to **forge ahead** and **leave Ireland behind** after Jean-Pierre Jouyet, the French Europe Minister, said: “The most important thing is that the ratification process must continue in the other countries and then we shall see with the Irish what type of legal arrangement could be found”. (*The Times*, 14 June 2008)

- 5.7.8 Signs are emerging that some EU countries would consider **forging ahead in a “two-speed Europe”, leaving Ireland and others behind** (*The Times*, 16 June 2008)

5.7.9 EU president José Manuel Barroso appeared to suggest that the other countries would **simply forge ahead** and ignore the Irish result. I believe the treaty is alive, he insisted, adding that other countries would carry on ratifying the treaty in their own parliaments. (*Daily Mail*, 15 June 2008)

Most of the occurrences of the metaphorical expression *two/multi-speed Europe* (32 out of 46) appear in quotations and attributed propositions by politicians. Politicians tend to negate, more or less overtly, the necessity of proceeding at *two speeds*. In particular, Sarkozy, Merkel, Miliband and Minister Hanafin from Fianna Fail overtly negate the metaphorical expression. In the attributed propositions this negation is indicated by the attributing verb ‘reject’ (examples 5.7.11- 12 - 14) while in the quotations the negation ‘not’ (5.7.13) and the phrase ‘the last thing’ (5.7.10) are used.

5.7.10 Hanafin said: “The last thing we want is **a two-speed Europe** and us **in the slow lane**. There is no way the Irish government will allow this to become a crisis. We will be very calm”. (*Mirror*, 15 June 2008)

5.7.11 EU should take new **route**, says Miliband: Foreign secretary rejects **two-speed Europe**: Leaders urged to put aside institutional reform (*Guardian*, 16 June 2008)

5.7.12 Mr Miliband rejected the idea put forward by some politicians in France and Germany of a **“two-speed Europe”**. (*Mirror*, 16 June 2008)

5.7.13 German Chancellor Angela Merkel said: “**A two-speed Europe** is not the **way forward**. We must ensure that treaties in the EU are promoted unanimously”. (*Mirror*, 20 June 2008)

5.7.14 Nice or Lisbon? That is the only choice, Mr Sarkozy said. There cannot be a third alternative. The French president, who pays an official visit here later this month, rejected the idea that there could be **a multi-speed Europe**, saying: This would only be the last resort. Everyone must be on board in the European family, he stressed. (*Daily Mail*, 11 July 2008)

In other politicians’ attributed propositions and quotations the evaluative terms ‘fears’, ‘risk’, ‘concerned’, ‘collapse’ make the *two-speed* image a dangerous and problematic development. As a consequence, in order not to spread panic the EU foreign ministers *play down talks of a two-speed Europe* as reported in *The Times* and *The Independent* on June 17. Newspapers also see the *two-speed* Europe prospect as leading to unpleasant consequences. The evaluative terms such as ‘pejorative language’, ‘frightening’, ‘disaster’ (5.7.15) and ‘nightmare’ confer a negative connotation to the scenario created by the metaphorical item: some countries moving towards the centre of Europe and others left at the margins. And according to *The Sunday Telegraph* this situation could be dangerous for the whole EU in the future.

5.7.15 Ireland could simply be excluded from the treaty by everyone else, though this would not be a very friendly thing to do to a pro-European country. Is that what people mean by a **“two speed Europe”**? How likely is that? Quite likely. A few countries will want to **push on** with integration without the Irish and **leave them**, and anyone else who is not keen, **behind**. That too could spell disaster for the EU in the long run. Countries on the periphery might well decide that they are better off out altogether. (*The Sunday Telegraph*, 15 June 2008)

As it is evident from the example above, the newspaper does welcome the *two-speed* plan which could lead to the end of the EU as a better condition for those who have been marginalised. Moreover, supporters of the Lisbon Treaty and the integration process see the Irish NO as carrier of negative consequences for the country as the phrase ‘would lose influence’ (5.7.16) and the attributing verb ‘warn’ (5.7.17) seem to suggest. On the other hand, opponents of the treaty attribute the *multi-speed Europe* to a result of disagreement among member states (5.7.18).

5.7.16 Then the other 26 members **would proceed along their path and leave Ireland tagging along behind** as a sort of associate member. The country would lose influence as a result. (*The Independent*, 16 June 2008)

5.7.17 And Luxembourg’s Prime Minister Jean-Claude Juncker warned that Ireland could be **LEFT BEHIND** because we rejected the Treaty. (*The Sun*, 23 June 2008)

5.7.18 He [Sarkozy] told Poland’s president, Lech Kaczynski, that he had to keep his word on the treaty, warned that a failure to agree on a new way of running the EU could result in a **multi-speed Europe**, and regretted the “mistakes” that had been made when the EU admitted 10 new members, most of post-communist Europe, in 2004. (*Guardian*, 11 July 2008)

As it has been shown, the *two-speed* movement is described as having negative consequences not only for Ireland but also for the rest of Europe (5.7.18). However, as it might be expected, supporters of the Treaty focus on the unpleasant consequences that this could have on Ireland. This appears to be a result of the Irish decision of voting NO and not a consequence of EU leaders’ intention of continuing with ratification. The British press, on the other hand, seems to be critical of EU’s attitude of pursuing its aims. However, the high number of quotations, attributions and sourced averrals might imply that newspapers are passing the responsibility for what is being said to politicians. As Bednarek points out (2006) the use of quotations is also fundamental to dramatise the event and is of great relevance in the news story as they are related to the news value of facticity and give the “illusion of the truth” (Van Dijk 1988: 86).

The analysis has also revealed that the actors of the verb to *press ahead* are the European Union, which appears as a single entity (the EU, EU leaders/elite, EU governments, EU states, member states, Europe, European partners) or represented by one of its representatives (Sarkozy, leaders of France and Germany), Gordon Brown and the British government.

References to Brown and the British government occur in the *Mirror*, *The Sun*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Times*, *The Independent*, the *Guardian*, *The Independent on Sunday*. The only two references to Brown and the British ministers in *The Independent* occur in attributed propositions one by EU leaders (5.7.20) and the other by Lord Richards (5.7.21). In the *Guardian* the reference to British ministers occurs in an attributed proposition by Lord Richards while the reference to Brown in a quotation from David Cameron (5.7.19). And in *The Independent on Sunday* the occurrence appears in an attributed proposition by Downing Street. This might imply that these newspapers are passing the responsibility onto the Sayers and at the same time are adding authority to their reports.

5.7.19 “It is the height of arrogance for Gordon Brown to **press ahead** with ratifying this treaty, flying in the face of public opinion”, said the Tory leader, David Cameron. (*Guardian*, 14 June 2008)

5.7.20 Mr Brown won plaudits from his EU counterparts yesterday for **pressing ahead** with the Bill implementing it after the Irish ‘no’ vote. It received royal assent yesterday. (*The Independent*, 20 June 2008)

5.7.21 Ministers were rebuked by Lord Justice Richards, who said he was “very surprised” they were **pressing ahead** before he gave his judgment in a case brought by the Eurosceptic millionaire Stuart Wheeler. (*The Independent*, 21 June 2008)

As it might be expected, in the attribution by Lord Richards, example 5.7.21, the evaluative term ‘surprised’ in its intensified form ‘very surprised’ evaluates the event of *pressing ahead* before the ruling as unexpected. Examples 5.7.19 and 5.7.20 refer to the case that Mr. Wheeler put before the High Court concerning the legality of adopting the treaty without the promised referendum. But while EU leaders seem to approve the action of Gordon Brown as the evaluative expression ‘won plaudits’ (5.7.20) indicates, the attributing expression ‘was very surprised’ (5.7.21) confers a negative connotation to the *pressing ahead* of the British government. A negative image is also visible in the quotation from the Tory leader, Cameron, who uses the evaluative noun ‘arrogance’ and the contrastive phrase ‘flying in the face of public opinion’ (5.7.19). These terms confer Brown the image of a forceful leader able to impose his decision regardless of the High Court’s verdict and of democracy. These newspapers seem to report the position of the opposing parties in the debate. *The Daily*

Telegraph, the *Mirror* and *The Sun* are limited to the different positions in the political debate. Quoting Cameron and William Hague, *The Sun* reports the opposition's point of view and in the other two attributed propositions it reports the opinion of Brown and Miliband determined to *press ahead*. The *Mirror* simply refers to Brown's determination in continuing with the action of pressing and *The Daily Telegraph* reports the opposition's negative evaluation of Brown's action. The *Daily Mail*, on the other hand, seems to be very critical of the British Prime Minister's behaviour as suggested by the following examples.

5.7.22 To the dismay of his backers, Mr Brown refused to honour Labour's manifesto pledge to put the document to a referendum. Instead **he pressed ahead** with its ratification in Parliament. (*Daily Mail*, 15 June 2008)

5.7.23 Mr Brown's determination to **press ahead** appeared to fly in the face of a growing popular revolt breaking out against the treaty in the EU. (*Daily Mail*, 19 June 2008)

5.7.24 He **has pressed ahead** with British ratification and forced it through the Lords in time for the summit, which ended yesterday with an agreement to delay a decision to October. (*Daily Mail*, 21 June 2008)

As examples 5.7.22 and 5.7.23 show Brown's action of *pressing ahead* is put in contrast with the Labour's promise of a referendum (*instead he pressed ahead*) and with popular opinion (*fly in the face of a growing popular revolt*) respectively. Moreover, in example 5.7.24 this *pressing ahead* appears to be a forced action as the evaluative verb 'force through', whose actor is always Brown, indicates. All these contrastive phrases and the negative evaluative verb contribute to the construction of the British Prime Minister's image of an enforcer.

When looking at the European actors, few occurrences of the verb to *press ahead* seem to be used just in order to describe the event of the ratification without carrying any positive or negative evaluation as in the case of *The Observer* (18 June 2008) and *The Sun* (16 June 2008). In general, the action of *pressing ahead* seems to be negatively evaluated as shown in the following examples.

5.7.25 The leaders of France and Germany **pressed ahead**. They lost their gamble and will have to resort to shabby methods that will further sap the democratic legitimacy of the EU. This is dangerous. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 14 June 2008)

5.7.26 France and Germany **would press ahead** with further integration without other nations - **a move** which would deeply divide the Union. (*The Independent*, 17 June 2008)

In the examples above EU leaders/members seem to be determined to get to the final stage of the ratification as the metaphorical lexeme *press ahead* indicates. This obstinacy, however, was perceived as bringing unpleasant consequences as the evaluative adjective ‘dangerous’ and the verb ‘divide’ seem to suggest in examples 5.7.25 and 5.7.26 respectively.

In the few occurrences of the verb to *steam* and its noun form the emphasis is on the *speed of the movement* and on the quantity of energy necessary to make progress. When it occurs as a verb it collocates once with the preposition ‘on’ that puts emphasis on the continuity and repetition of the action and the other time with the preposition ‘ahead’ that emphasises the quick movement forward. When it appears as a noun it is used in the following idiomatic expressions: *full steam ahead* that puts emphasis on the speed and energy needed for that action and *a head of steam* that, based on the literal meaning of a head of steam (the pressure that is needed in the engine of an old-fashioned steam train to make it start moving), means to quickly make progress. It is not surprising that the actors of the verb *steam* are the EU leaders before the referendum (as already highlighted in example 5.7.2) and the British Prime Minister after the rebuff (5.7.27).

5.7.27 One leader who has not blinked is Brown. Faced with demands from David Cameron, William Hague and the Eurosceptic coalition to delay the UK ratification until October the prime minister **steamed ahead** with the final votes in the Lords last night, mocking Tory opportunism (*Guardian*, 19 June 2008)

In the example 5.7.27 the action of Brown on the other hand, seems to be positively evaluated by the *Guardian* as it is put in contrast with ‘Tories’ opportunism’ indicating a disapproval of Tories’ action. In both the occurrences as a noun the lexeme *steam* appears in attributed propositions by The Czech Republic and Barroso as shown by the following examples.

5.7.28 France and Germany were warned yesterday that their attempts to build **a head of steam** behind the treaty designed to reshape the EU, despite its rejection by Irish voters, could backfire and kill it off. The warning came from the Czech Republic where the French president, Nicolas Sarkozy, met four central European leaders to shore up support for the Lisbon treaty. (*Guardian*, 17 June 2008)

5.7.29 Ireland was the only EU country to hold a referendum on the treaty and the nation voted to reject it. But No campaigners were infuriated afterwards when Mr Barroso announced that **it was full steam ahead** regardless. Now French President Nicolas Sarkozy has postponed his trip to Dublin to discuss the treaty. (*The Sun*, 2 July 2008)

In example 5.7.28 the action of France and Germany to *build a head of steam behind the treaty* appears as a destructive attempt as the attributing verb ‘warn’ and the evaluative verbs ‘backfire’ and ‘kill off’ seem to suggest. In example 5.7.29, the attributing verb ‘announce’ confers authority to the proposition where the ratification process appears to be moving as fast as possible (*it was full steam ahead*).

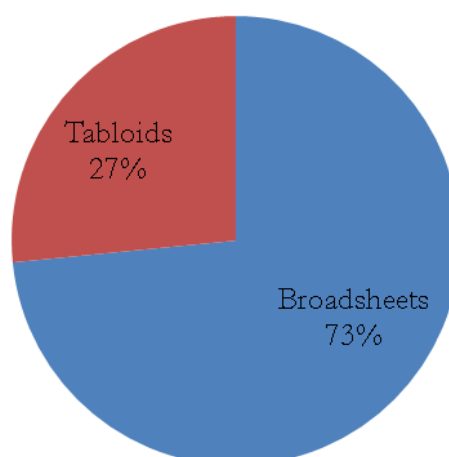
The scenario created by the speed of movement schema regards Ireland as *the slowest mover* irrespective of the political stance of the newspaper or politicians’ approval or criticism of this stereotyped role. In the corpus there are no similar stigmatisations of other EU countries as *laggard* apart from few references to Britain before the first Irish referendum. On the other hand, in the occurrences appearing after the Irish referendum in June, France, Germany and Britain are stereotyped as the EU’s *fast movers*. However, the quick movement of Britain is particularly mentioned in *The Sun*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*. This might not only suggest that newspapers are concerned with the national debate about the treaty but also their disapproval of the British Prime Minister’s behaviour as the analysis has shown.

5.8 Means of transport.

The analysis has also shown that the EU and the Lisbon Treaty appear to be means of transport. In particular the EU has been described in terms of *juggernaut*, *steamroller*, *train* and *boat*. While the ratification of Lisbon was only referred to as *boat* and *train*. Table 5.7 shows the different distribution of the lexemes in each sub-corpus. The lexemes relative to the means of transport represent only a small part of the total occurrences for the MOVEMENT conceptualisation. It has also emerged that these lexemes are not equally distributed in all the sub-corpora but seem to be prevalent in the broadsheets (73 % of the occurrences vs. 27% of the occurrences in the tabloids) as shown in Picture 5.3.

Lexical item	Daily Mail on Mail Sunday	The Sun of the Sun	The News of the world	The Mirror	The Sunday Mirror	The Guardian	The Observer	The Independent	Daily Telegraph	Sunday Telegraph	The Sunday Times	Total
<i>drive</i>	3.42	4.27		3.57		1.83	8.82	4.16	16.56		5.01	53.15
<i>derail</i>	1.71	3.57		4.27			8.82	2.08	4.14			24.59
<i>Juggernaut</i>	0.57			3.57		1.83		2.08	6.21			14.27
<i>bicycle</i>							8.82			4.70		13.52
<i>uncharted waters/territory</i>	2.28			3.57							1.67	10.83
<i>train</i>	3.42									4.70		8.12
<i>boat</i>											1.67	2.77
<i>steamroller</i>											1.67	1.67
<i>bulldozer</i>											1.67	1.67
<i>carriage</i>	0.57											0.57
Total	12.55			14.99		5.50	26.45	8.32	28.98	9.40	11.70	131.16

Table 5.7 Distribution of lexical items relative to means of transport. The occurrences are ordered by total frequency.



Picture 5.3 Total distribution of lexical items relative to means of transport in Broadsheets and Tabloids

However, while *The Times* and its Sunday edition seem to focus on the maritime vehicle, the other newspapers appear to be interested in the runaway train or simply in the travel by wheeled vehicles as the high frequency of the lexemes *drive*, *derail* and *juggernaut* seems to suggest.

During the drafting stage of the Lisbon Treaty Barroso claimed to put the institutional debate behind and used a metaphor related to the maritime journey scenario.

5.8.1 Jose Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, pleaded with EU leaders yesterday not to rock the **boat** over the new treaty so that they could put four years of wrangling behind them. (*The Times*, 18 October 2007)

It was necessary to solve the problems around the Treaty and continue towards a new reformed Europe. The occurrence of this metaphor does not count much as it appears just once. However, it can be included in the general overview of metaphorical instances related to the MOVEMENT domain that express a similar vision.

The Lisbon Treaty was not welcomed by everyone. The negative attitude towards the Lisbon treaty was perceived before the signing and intensified afterward. According to its critics, it was leading to undesirable destinations such as the construction of the Euro army (5.8.3) and, as a consequence, there was a hint at *driving* for its rejection (5.8.4). The Irish rejection in fact was considered by treaty opponents as the only means to put an end to the EU advancement (5.8.2), which seems to be perceived as dangerous (5.8.5).

- 5.8.2 But the sceptics are not giving up, believing as they do that national survival is at stake. Though they insist this is the last chance to **stop the federalist juggernaut**, they will be back if defeated. (*Guardian*, 23 January 2008)
- 5.8.3 In the coming weeks when the campaign really gets underway, it is my intention to concretely demonstrate how Lisbon **would drive** the EU in a more right-wing and militaristic direction and be highly detrimental for the vast majority of ordinary working people in Europe. (*Daily Mail*, 30 January 2008)
- 5.8.4 AROUND THE WORLD: **DRIVE ON** FOR LISBON NO (*Mirror*, 13 March 2008)
- 5.8.5 Having spent two years rebuilding the Treaty of Lisbon from the scrap parts of the defeated European Constitution, the Eurocrats can only watch **as a learner driver takes the wheel of their juggernaut and drives it towards the edge of a cliff**. This scenario has arisen because, while all 26 of the other member states have decided to wave through the treaty via their parliaments (the UK included), Ireland alone has a legal obligation under its constitution to put the matter to a public vote. Because the treaty must be passed unanimously by all 27 member states, an Irish No vote would kill it. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 31 May 2008)

In example 5.8.2 the journalist is attributing the metaphorical expression to the Tories who seem not to be positively evaluated as the term ‘sceptics’ suggests. Moreover, the newspaper seems to be emphasising Tories’ authority and power by using the attributing verb ‘insist’ (Bednarek 2005). In example 5.8.3, the use of the evaluative adjective ‘detrimental’ indicates a negative evaluation of the treaty as something harmful. The criticism comes as no surprise because the writer is the Irish Social party politician Joe Higgins, who strongly campaigned against the treaty both before the referendum and after the guarantees granted to Ireland by EU leaders in June 2009⁴⁹. In example 5.8.4 the emphasis is on the continuation of the *driving* as suggested by the preposition ‘on’. In example 5.8.5 Gordon Rayner, *The Telegraph*’s chief reporter, using the metaphorical expression *juggernaut*, comments that EU leaders can only be spectators of their ruin after having re-elaborated the European Constitution with a new name. The stress seems to be on the sinister fate that the EU is going to experience due to its previous actions.

In other occurrences preceding the referendum in Ireland, *The Daily Telegraph* and its Sunday edition express fears for the European project (5.8.6) and the almost certain actions of the EU in case of a NO vote (5.8.7-5.8.8).

⁴⁹ Further references available at <http://www.joehiggins.eu/?s=lisbon+treaty>.

- 5.8.6 We fear the **European train** has left **the station** and that, **trapped on board**, we might as well enjoy the view and meagre refreshments. (*The Sunday Telegraph*, 10 February 2008)
- 5.8.7 This newspaper has campaigned hard for a referendum and our readers have responded magnificently. The battle is not yet done. Ireland is constitutionally obliged to hold a referendum which may yet **stall the federalist juggernaut** (though experience indicates that, if this were the happy outcome, the voters would be required to vote again to produce the “right” result). (*The Daily Telegraph*, 6 March 2008)
- 5.8.8 Those who believe a “No” vote in Ireland will somehow **halt the EU juggernaut** have clearly not been paying attention over the past 30 years. Even before the Lisbon Treaty is ratified, with its removal of vetoes over justice and home affairs matters, its creation of a European presidency and the arrogation of further powers from sovereign national parliaments to the centre, the next stage of this aggrandisement is already being planned. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 7 June 2008)

In example 5.8.6 Ian Martin from *The Sunday Telegraph* expresses British people’s fears for the EU project which seems to be perceived as a danger. Even though there is no explicit reference to passengers, the British people appear to be *travellers* forced to stay *on board* but at the same time pleased to enjoy the *journey*. In examples 5.8.7 and 5.8.8, the emphasis seems to be on the continuation of the *juggernaut’s movement* even in case of a rejection. EU leaders appear more concentrated on their policies rather than on their citizens, and the newspaper’s attitude towards this behaviour appears to be rather critical. In both examples newspaper’s considerations are based on previous similar events, and this makes the *juggernaut’s movement* more predictable. In example 5.8.8 in particular, the movement seems to be the result of an already planned schema.

When speaking of the European Union the terms *juggernaut* and *train* come as no surprise. They have been already found in Musolff’s analysis (2001b). Musolff points out how the metaphorical expression *juggernaut* is used to express the Eurosceptics’ fears of the European integration. The term ‘juggernaut’ is based on a dead metaphor and it derives from the Hindi word Jagannath for an idol of Krishna that was dragged on a huge car in processions (ibid: 197). The juggernaut is the equivalent of a runaway train but Musolff (ibid) found that the emphasis was on the blind force of the vehicle rather than on a catastrophe like the derailment of a train. Musolff also shows that the metaphorical expression *train* is mainly used to describe the process of economic and political integration of the European Union with European nations identified as carriages of the train and Britain as missing the EU train (ibid: 187). In this analysis, it has emerged that a negative evaluation is given to the term

juggernaut as its repeated collocation with the adjective ‘federalist’ seems to suggest. It also appears that the juggernaut’s advancement is perceived as dangerous or causing negative consequences. The same image is provided by the occurrence of *train* in example 5.8.6 and by the other frequent collocates of *train* when referred to the EU that is ‘gravy’ (5 out of six occurrences). This co-occurrence implies a negative connotation for the European Union as only capable of and interested in making money (see also example 5.8.13).

A few days before the referendum the possibility of a negative turnout is seen as an impediment to the completion of the ratification and therefore the cause of the derailment as shown in the examples below. In the occurrences that precede the referendum the Irish NO is often the actor of the verb *derail* and the reports assume the role of a prediction.

5.8.9 IRISH voters are set to reject the hated EU constitution in a referendum. **The move would derail** the Lisbon Treaty - which must be ratified by all 27 EU countries if it is to come into effect. (*The Sun*, 7 June 2008)

5.8.10 A Yes verdict will ensure Ireland remains at the heart of influence in Brussels but a No vote **could derail** the Treaty and almost seven years’ of work by EU member states. (*Mirror*, 12 June 2008)

5.8.11 CAMPAIGNERS against the Lisbon Treaty will find out today if their efforts to **derail it** have succeeded when the votes cast in Ireland’s referendum are counted. The fate of Europe lay in the hands of the Irish electorate after they were given the opportunity of a vote denied to the British people. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 13 June 2008)

However, in example 5.8.9 *The Sun* seems to evaluate the derailment as a certainty considering EU’s rules, while the *Mirror* in example 5.8.10 seems to evaluate it in terms of a low degree of certainty. This might imply *The Sun* is strongly hoping for a suspension of ratification. *The Daily Telegraph* (5.8.11), on the other hand, seems to be questioning the possibility of putting an end to the ratification process as the dubitative ‘if’ appears to suggest. This might imply that the newspaper already knows what will be the action of EU leaders in case of a NO vote (examples 5.9.7 – 5.8.8).

The maritime journey is not used very often in the corpus. Lexical items related to the movement in waters only occur in *The Times*, *The Sunday Times* and two daily tabloids, the *Mirror* and the *Daily Mail*. References to *uncharted waters* and the verb to *sail* indicate that the *boat* metaphor is at work. On 13 June 2008, the Irish Justice Minister Dermot Ahern described the situation created by the negative turnout of the Irish referendum in terms of *uncharted waters*. This metaphor was used to stress the uncertainty created by the Irish NO and the possible danger of having rejected the treaty, i.e. the possibility of being excluded from the EU

decision-making process. A few days later, this expression was used by other EU leaders and Irish politicians to express the danger that Ireland was about to experience. Journalists too, used the expression *uncharted waters* to describe the situation that was going on in the EU. On the one hand, European leaders were still promoting the ratification of the treaty, and on the other hand, Ireland was wondering about the results and the possible solutions. Stephen O'Brien and Richard Oakley from *The Sunday Times* seem to put in contrast the increasing confusion in Ireland and the European power of pursuing the treaty.

5.8.12 While Ireland bobs about in these **uncharted waters**, most of the rest of Europe has insisted that the **Lisbon ratification boat will sail boldly on** (*The Sunday Times*, 15 June 2008)

In fact, as the example 5.8.12 shows, the use of the reporting verb 'insist' in the attributed proposition, 'the rest of Europe insist', proves the authority and power of Europe while the use of the verb *bobs*, from the same domain of *uncharted waters*, puts Ireland in a marginalised position and as a consequence the EU appears to be negatively evaluated. The newspaper seems to put emphasis on the fiery attitude of EU leaders that continue without considering the popular expression.

Soon after the referendum, a positive attitude towards the rejection of the treaty was clearly visible in some newspapers evaluating the results in terms of effectiveness.

5.8.13 **THE wheels came off the EU juggernaut** yesterday after voters in the Republic said "non". Punters in one of Europe's smaller countries brought the **unstoppable union of states to a grinding halt**. It showed the political classes that the people are not to be taken for granted. Those in positions of power seemed to think a yes vote was a cert. Many others did not understand or care about the Lisbon Treaty. Maybe the lesson to be learned is that the European Union needs to connect more with its members. If there is more to the EU than **gravy trains** and grants perhaps they should let us all know. (*Mirror*, 14 June 2008)

5.8.14 Ireland was the only one of the 27 EU member states to hold a referendum on the Treaty - as written into our constitution - and 18 members states had already ratified it. Despite accounting for less than one per cent of the bloc's 490 million population we have effectively **derailed** the pact. (*The Sun*, 14 June 2008)

The *Mirror's* quote gives the image of the *juggernaut* separated from its wheels due to the Irish verdict. This *grinding halt* and these *wheels that came off* are the expression of the Irish voice that enters the scenario in a resounding way forcing in some ways the EU to think about the direction it was going. The newspaper seems very critical of the EU and the metaphorical expressions *unstoppable*, *juggernaut*, *gravy trains* are used to construe this negative image. The Irish

outcome is evaluated as problematic for the EU because it cannot do what it wants but has to listen to the voice of the Irish people. In example 5.8.14 *The Sun* appears to evaluate the derailment in terms of importance and effectiveness, by putting in contrast the limited number of Irish population in Europe with the result of the referendum, as it seems to be also suggested by the adverb ‘effectively’.

On the other hand, EU leaders seem not to be satisfied but rather disappointed by the derailment as shown by the following examples.

5.8.15 Many Europeans seem annoyed that one tiny country **derailed** Lisbon when so many others had ratified it. They say it was undemocratic. In fact, we have struck a massive blow in favour of democracy. We were lectured on what was right for us. We understood the argument but the majority of us didn’t feel it and I can think of no finer demonstration of what democracy truly is. (*Daily Mail*, 15 June 2008)

5.8.16 Pro-Europeans lament that the Lisbon treaty **was derailed** by a majority of 100,000, a minute fraction of the EU population. But they cannot credibly deny that those voters reflect a much larger constituency. Paradoxically, Europeans seem to be converging around a common scepticism. (*The Observer*, 18 June 2008)

In examples 5.8.15 and 5.8.16 we have two attributions by treaty supporters. In both cases newspapers are not taking responsibility for what they are reporting but pass it onto the Sayers. However, the difference in the choice of the attributing verbs might suggest a different attitude of newspapers towards the reaction of treaty supporters to the referendum turnout. In example 5.8.15 the verb ‘annoy’ seems to have a stronger negative evaluation than ‘lament’ in example 5.8.16 as it implies anger rather than sorrow. In both examples there seems to be a criticism to treaty supporters’ attitude but *The Observer*’s quote appears to be less direct and open than the *Daily Mail*’s one.

Soon after the referendum *The Independent* reports the necessity for political leaders to re-establish the status-quo of the ratification process.

5.8.17 Political leaders across Europe were trying desperately last night to **keep EU reform plans on track** after Irish voters overwhelmingly rejected the Lisbon Treaty. The French and German governments led calls for the other 26 EU nations to **push ahead** regardless with the ratification of the treaty. (*The Independent*, 14 June 2008)

In example 5.8.17 the evaluative adverb ‘desperately’ seems to suggest a less negative opinion of EU leaders suggesting that they have no other option but to make their treaty be accepted.

In particular, this appears to be a priority for Sarkozy and Merkel, who appear to be forcing the movement as their role of actors of the verb *push ahead* indicates.

The same metaphorical expression is found in *The Times* and its Sunday edition which report France's volition and difficulty in putting the treaty *back on track*.

5.8.18 Since the Irish rejection of the Lisbon treaty "Super Sarko" has recast himself as would-be saviour of the Union during the six-month French presidency of the 27-nation group, which began at midnight and was marked by the Eiffel Tower being lit up in blue and gold. The French President wants to rekindle trust in the EU and **put the treaty** - which he helped to broker a year ago - **back on track** by the end of his tenure. (*The Times*, 1 July 2008)

The collocation of the metaphorical expression *put the treaty back on track* with the verb 'want' indicates that Sarkozy is determined to continue with the ratification of the treaty. *The Times* seems to put irony on Sarkozy's goal to *put the treaty back on track by the end of his tenure* as the only one able 'to rekindle trust in the EU'. The irony is enhanced by the nouns used to refer to Sarkozy that are 'Super Sarko' and 'saviour' and by the headline "Citizen Sarkozy' embarks on a new mission: to save the European Union'.

In *The Sunday Times*' report that appears on July 6, the backward movement of the treaty is perceived as a menace to combat by the Czech President and as a consequence acquires a negative connotation (as it will be shown in example 6.5.9 in the next Chapter).

After the referendum, there seems to be emphasis on the determination of the EU to continue its journey without respecting the popular vote.

5.8.19 The complaint from Europe that there is no Plan B looks still more hollow now eurocrats work overtime to engineer a **way around** the result. Nor has the EU crisis predicted from Dublin to Berlin materialised on the contrary, the gargantuan workings of the **EU juggernaut** continue to trundle on steadily as if, in the words of Madame Sarkozy's new album nothing happened. (*Daily Mail*, 2 July 2008)

5.8.20 Eurosceptics in Eastern Europe are coming out in support of the Irish, determined to **halt the Brussels steamroller**. Lech Kaczynski, the President of Poland, is refusing to sign the treaty's ratification by the Polish parliament. He argues that it is now pointless. The Czech parliament may still reject ratification. Even in Germany, where enthusiasm for the treaty crosses all party boundaries, President Kohler has decided not to sign the documents until a legal challenge is heard by the country's Constitutional Court. (*The Times*, 2 July 2008)

In example 5.8.19 the movement of the *juggernaut* appears to be slow but steady and is evaluated as contempt for democracy. The negative evaluation of EU leaders is also enhanced by the phrase *engineer a way round the result* that suggests a sort of plot among Eurocrats.

In example 5.8.20 the Europeans' lack of respect for citizens is visible in the use of the lexeme *steamroller*. Only *The Times* refers to the EU in terms of this vehicle. The lexical item's meaning is rather negative. It connotes a large slow vehicle with a roller used for making roads flat. The association of the European Union to a steamroller is due to the fact that its action of continuing without considering the Irish people's opinion is interpreted as an imposition. This lexeme gives the image of people that have to bow and stick to EU's decisions. And EU citizens appear to be passive goals of EU leaders' action.

However, a possibility for the treaty to be reconsidered and approved became more likely towards the end of September 2008. The necessity for Ireland to vote again on Lisbon was being discussed: in that case, *the controversial treaty could be back on track* as reported in *The Sunday Times* (20 September 2008).

The EU decision of ratifying the treaty and holding another referendum in Ireland seems to disappoint treaty opponents and part of the British press that supported a referendum in Britain. The fears or the negative scenario presented by some newspapers becomes more intense soon after the December EU Summit. On 20 March 2009, *The Daily Telegraph* stresses the intention of EU leaders not to let the treaty *derail*.

5.8.21 It has often been claimed that the project of "ever-closer union" within the EU is over, killed when the Lisbon Treaty was rejected by the Irish, the only people who had the chance to vote on it. That's a big mistake. The Eurocrats think integration is inevitable and essential - and they are certainly not going to **let it be derailed** by anything as vulgar as the fact that most of the EU's citizens do not want it. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 20 March 2009)

This *Daily Telegraph's* quote appears a few months after the European Summit held in December when it was agreed that the Irish would set a new date for a second referendum in order to see the inclusion of the guarantees they brought before the Summit. Probably, this event was seen as a confirmation of what many newspapers predicted: the EU would continue with ratification anyway.

The analysis of the lexical items connoting the means of transport has revealed that the ratification process is conceived in terms of a vehicle journey and more precisely in terms of a train journey. Even though there are few occurrences of the lexeme *train*, the *train* metaphor is at work as the presence of the metaphorical lexemes *derail* and *track* have shown. The verb *derail* in fact is specific of the train scenario and means to make a train leave the track. The

noun *track* too indicates the rails that a train moves along. As a consequence, the references to these terms are identifiable marks of the train metaphor. This metaphor is also visible in the use of the term *juggernaut* which is used to describe the obstinate decision of EU leaders to ratify. It has emerged that the prediction of some newspapers before the referendum is confirmed by the final decision taken at the December Summit. This might suggest that EU leaders' actions are predictable especially when they are given an answer they are not prepared or don't want to accept. The analysis has also revealed that some newspapers (*The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sun*, *The Times* and *The Sunday Times*) strongly criticise and appear to disapprove of EU leaders' decision to ratify even though this decision is evaluated in terms of expectedness and certainty. *The Daily Mail* also appears to negatively comment on the lack of respect for the Irish people and democracy. *The Independent*, on the other hand seems to justify EU leaders' action as the only possible option.

5.9 Impediments on the Journey

As the Table 5.8 indicates, the debate on the impediments on a journey seems to be slightly more present in the broadsheets than in the tabloids (228.78 total no of occurrences in the broadsheets vs. 176.22 total no of occurrences in the tabloids). In particular *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph* and their Sunday editions seem to be particularly interested in this debate. The most recurrent item is *delay* that almost occurs in the entire corpus. Differently from the other lexical items *delay* does not express a complete *blockage* but might suggest that the *journey* will be completed after an interruption and the destination will be reached later. This neutral stance might explain its recurring usage and suggest that not all the British press is against a completion of the ratification.

The analysis has revealed that when the verb *stop* and the verb *halt* collocate with the lexeme *tracks* (for a total number of 9 instances), they occur in the metaphorical idiomatic expression *stop/halt it/them in its/their tracks*. Both the verbs indicate a lack of movement but while *stop* is neutral, the verb to *halt* implies a command. It is in fact often used in military contexts. In 6 out of 9 instances the actor of the verb to *stop* or *halt* is the Irish negative vote that is described as an impediment in the treaty's path towards ratification while the beneficiary of the action is the treaty or the other countries that want to ratify it. On 2 March 2008, *The Sunday Times* questions whether there is a real possibility that EU member states put an end to their journey if Ireland votes NO.

Lexical item	Daily Mail on Mail Sunday	The Sun	News of the World	The Sunday Mirror	The Guardian	The Observer	The Independent	The Independent on Sunday	Daily Telegraph	Sunday Telegraph	The Sunday Times	Total
<i>delay</i>	2.82	21.00	10.68	18.85	3.67		12.47		14.49		13.37	118.61
<i>impasse</i>	3.42	21.00			11.00			15.16	2.07		3.43	62.59
<i>stop</i>	4.57	6.41	6.41	3.57	5.50		2.08		12.42	14.10	5.01	61.36
<i>halt</i>	3.42	2.14	2.14	10.72			2.08		12.42		10.03	45.21
<i>stall</i>		21.00			1.83		4.16		2.07		3.34	35.71
<i>block</i>	0.57	6.41	6.41	7.15	5.50					4.70	1.67	30.39
<i>brake</i>	0.57					8.82			4.14	9.40	1.10	24.03
<i>reverse</i>				3.57					6.21	4.70	3.43	17.83
<i>stand</i>		2.14	2.14	7.15								9.28
<i>Total</i>	14.84	63.01	27.77	18.85	27.49	8.82	20.79	15.16	53.83	32.90	40.12	405.01

Table 5.8 Distribution of lexical items related to impediments on the journey.

- 5.9.1 There is also a perception that the EU will continue with its plans, leaving Ireland out if it says No. Again Roche insists that this will not be the case. “Look, there is no plan B here, there is no alternative”, he said. Will 27 countries really **stop in their tracks** because 4m people say they have to? McDonagh is not sure what happens if Ireland rejects the treaty, just that his job will not be made easier. “This has been a six-year process and **if it is blocked**, then who knows what will happen. (*The Sunday Times*, 2 March 2008)

What emerges from this quote is that there is great uncertainty of what could happen in case of a rejection at least according to the Irish politician McDonagh as the rhetorical question, the dubitative ‘if’ and the phrase ‘who knows’ indicate.

Before the referendum the possibility of a negative result that prevents the treaty from continuing along its *path* is evaluated in terms of evidentiality in the *Guardian* and expectedness in *The Independent*. *The Daily Telegraph*, on the other hand, seems to advocate a *halt* to the entire process.

- 5.9.2 The Lisbon ratification bill, passed by MPs in March, is on course for royal assent by early June, just before the Irish referendum. If Ireland votes no, **the treaty is stopped in its tracks** anyway. (*Guardian*, 17 May 2008)
- 5.9.3 Rejection of Lisbon by the only country holding a referendum on it would put pressure on British MPs to **halt the ratification process**. Last night there were signs that Brussels officials would try to convene an emergency summit of EU leaders in the event of a “No” vote to find a way to satisfy Irish voters, before calling for a repeat referendum. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 7 June 2008)
- 5.9.4 If the Irish vote against the treaty - a streamlined version of the draft constitution that was rejected by French and Dutch voters - **it would be stopped in its tracks** as it requires ratification in all of the EU’s member states. (*The Independent*, 12 June 2008)

In example 5.9.3 even though the action of halting the ratification appears to be the result of a pressure, the newspaper seems not to negatively evaluate the enforcer as it focuses on the fact that Ireland is the only country to hold a referendum. Therefore, it seems to give positive connotation to the popular vote as capable of forcing the British government to suspend ratification and keep the promise of 2005. In example 5.9.2 the *Guardian* only refers to the situation in Britain, while in example 5.9.4 *The Independent* is reporting a wider setting and is focusing on the legal aspect of the ratification. The possibility of a negative result seems to be particularly important for Cowen. A similar scenario is found in the occurrences of the verb to *halt*. What emerges is that Cowen perceived the *halt to ratification* as dangerous for Ireland as it

will cost the country an influential position in Europe and in a globalised world. Before the ratification in fact, he stresses the importance of voting in favour of the Treaty to assure Ireland its benefits.

5.9.5 He also warned that a No win could be damaging for Irish people for years to come. Future generations will not thank us if we are the ones who **bring to a halt** a union which has been the greatest force for peace and prosperity in our history and the history of Europe. (*Daily Mail*, 11 June 2008)

5.9.6 THE Taoiseach yesterday warned that future generations will not thank Irish voters if they reject the Lisbon Treaty and **halt Ireland's progress** in Europe. (*Mirror*, 11 June 2008)

The adjective 'damaging' in example 5.9.5, the attributing verb 'warned' and the negation of the verb 'thank' in both examples clearly express Cowen's fears for a possible negative outcome. Cowen's negation of a stop of the EU and Ireland is also visible in the few occurrences of the lexeme *stand*. All the occurrences refer to Cowen's quotation and this might suggest that the Irish Prime Minister is very sensitive to the issue of ratification. He knows that EU leaders expect Irish people to vote in favour of the Treaty in order to pass it. The analysis has shown that the lexeme collocates with the adverb *still* that indicates lack of movement.

5.9.7 He warned: "Europe **cannot stand still**. We live in a more competitive and global environment. We must ensure it can compete in that environment". (*The Sun*, 11 June 2008)

However, in example 5.9.7 the negation of the verb *stand* is evaluated as impossible and emphasis is put on the movement forward as a positive development. On the other hand, before the referendum some newspapers continue to focus on the suspension of the ratification in order to present a negative image of the EU.

5.9.8 Rejection will further expose the profoundly dirigiste nature of the EU. And that will hasten the day when the electorate, not least in Britain, finally **slams the brakes** on the apparently irreversible **drive towards** ever greater union. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 12 June 2008)

In example 5.9.8, not only does the newspaper directly address its readers to raise their consciousness on the denied referendum in Britain but also seems to suggest that the Irish people can stop the ratification process. The electorate has an active role in this quote and as a consequence it acquires a relevant importance in the process of ratification. *The Daily Telegraph* appears to comment negatively on the superpower Europe as the evaluative adjective 'dirigiste' indicates.

A few days after the referendum in Ireland, the *Daily Mail* and *The Sunday Times* underline the decisive and effective impact of this vote.

5.9.9 There was jubilation after the country voted by 53.4 per cent to 46.6 per cent against a revived version of the discredited EU constitution, effectively **stopping it dead in its tracks**. The Treaty cannot be put into force if just one of the 27 member countries **blocks** it under the EU's own rules. (*Daily Mail*, 15 June 2008)

5.9.10 The Lisbon treaty is dead. A cynical attempt to foist this reheated constitution on Europe's near 500m citizens **has been stopped in its tracks** by an Irish electorate that took full advantage of the potential presented by the requirement of a constitutional referendum. They have sent a powerful message to the continent's political elite: if you want to create a better Europe then create one that speaks to the people. (*The Sunday Times*, 15 June 2008)

Both newspapers negatively describe the treaty as the evaluative adjectives 'discredited' and 'reheated' suggest. In this framework the act of *stopping the course* of the ratification appears to be positive as the adverb 'effectively' (5.9.9) and the phrase 'took full advantage of' (5.9.10) indicate. *The Sunday Times*, moreover, seems to stress the importance of listening to and respecting the will of the citizens. The overall image is that of a European Union only capable of caring about its plans even if this implies going against its own rules.

A few days later in fact, the *Daily Mail* comments on the fact that EU leaders will find a solution to the Irish negative turnout.

5.9.11 A crisis summit in Brussels this week is likely to reprieve the document - which had been repackaged as the Lisbon Treaty - despite a decisive 'No' vote in Ireland that **should have stopped it in its tracks**. (*Daily Mail*, 17 June 2008)

The Summit the *Daily Mail* refers to is the European Summit of June 19-20 held soon after the referendum in order to discuss the reason why the Irish electorate voted against the treaty and propose a solution.

As it might be expected, after the referendum, preventing ratification becomes a necessity for Treaty opponents. The noun ratification in fact is found to be the actor of the verb to *stop* preceded by modals expressing the necessity at varying degrees. In particular, newspapers quote or attribute such positions to the Czech President (5.9.12), Sinn Féin MEP Mary Lou McDonald (5.9.13) and TD Aengus O Snodaigh (5.9.14).

5.9.12 Another eight countries, including Britain, have yet to complete their ratification of the treaty. At least one, the Czech Republic, is already having second thoughts. The Czech people are about as Eurosceptic as Britons are, but, like us, don't get a chance to vote in a referendum. And

to judge by declarations from their politicians, including the country's president, it will be difficult to get the treaty ratified there, too. The president has said ratification **should now stop**. (*The Sunday Telegraph*, 15 June 2008)

5.9.13 Sinn Féin MEP Mary Lou McDonald said: Sarkozy's admission of his ambition for an EU army and Britain's support of this proposal cannot be ignored by the Irish government. The ratification process of Lisbon needs **to stop** and discussions on a new treaty begin. (*Daily Mail*, 7 July 2008)

5.9.14 Sinn Féin TD Aengus O Snodaigh complained that various EU leaders have been trying to "bully and coerce us into doing what they want". He added: "The fact is that the people have spoken and that the Lisbon Treaty is dead. "The ratification process **should stop** and the leaders of the EU must negotiate a new treaty" (*The Sun*, 16 July 2008)

The issue of ratification suspension seems to be particularly sensitive for the *Daily Mail* which counts four occurrences where the lexeme *stop* collocates with a modal auxiliary. Only when we have an attribution by EU leaders (5.9.15), a quotation from Cowen (5.9.16) or when the actors of the verb *to stop* are treaty supporters there is a negation of the action of stopping the ratification.

5.9.15 Gordon Brown insisted yesterday that the Government **would go ahead** with parliamentary plans to ratify the treaty as EU foreign ministers meeting in Luxembourg agreed that last week's Irish referendum defeat **would not stop the Lisbon process**. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 17 June 2008)

5.9.16 He [Cowen] pleaded for more time to analyse the results but insisted that the lost referendum **should not stop** other countries ratifying. (*The Times*, 20 June 2008)

Differently from the verb *to stop* which is mostly used to describe the European scenario, the lexical item *halt* seems to be also used with reference to the British set (when it occurs as a verb it refers to the British situation 8 times, to the European one 7 times and to the Irish 3 times; when it occurs as a noun, it refers to Britain twice, to Europe 4 times and to Ireland 3 times).

When the referendum result became clear in Britain, Treaty opponents were insisting on suspending or interrupting the ratification as suggested by the following examples.

5.9.17 MPs and campaigners called on the Prime Minister to **halt moves towards British ratification** of the text, with David Cameron saying the treaty should be "declared dead". (*The Daily Telegraph*, 14 June 2008)

5.9.18 “The only people to have a say on the treaty have kicked it into the long grass”, said a gleeful Nigel Farage, the leader of the UK Independence party. “This means that the British government **must halt the ratification of the treaty**”. (*The Sunday Times*, 15 June 2008)

5.9.19 However, with the EU plunged into crisis following the Irish “No” vote, Lord Owen said peers had one last chance to **put the brakes on** the process, by voting to put the treaty “on ice”. (*The Sunday Telegraph*, 15 June 2008)

5.9.20 William Hague, the shadow foreign secretary, accused the Government of political cowardice for failing to admit that the treaty had been killed off by the Irish “no”. He called for **a halt to ratification**. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 16 June 2008)

In examples 5.9.17, 5.9.18 and 5.9.20 the lexeme *halt* collocates with verbs that express a necessity ‘must’ or an official demand to do something ‘call on’, ‘call for’. This might imply that the Sayers perceive the issue of the ratification suspension as a commitment the British government has to comply with. In example 5.9.19, Lord Owen is expressing the same necessity as the phrase ‘the last chance’ seems to suggest. During the same period there is a hint at *delaying* ratification. The debate on the *delay* seems to concentrate in Britain. Part of the occurrences refer to the fact that the Lords have not yet passed the Treaty bill while other instances focus on Mr. Wheeler’s case brought before the British High Court. Most occurrences of the verb *delay* have as actor the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats, and are mostly used to just describe the event of ratification. Only *The Times* (17 June 2008) expresses explicitly its hope: *Peers will be given the chance to vote to delay the third reading. They should take it*. Looking at the occurrences that refer to Wheeler’s case, it is worth noting that in the *Guardian* and in *The Independent* the lexeme *delay*, both as a verb and a noun, collocates with other verbs indicating an order or a forced demand (5.9.23, 5.9.24). On the other hand, *The Sun* and *The Daily Telegraph* use the more neutral reporting verb ‘tell’ (5.9.21, 5.9.22).

5.9.21 A HIGH Court judge has told Gordon Brown **to delay British moves** to ratify the EU’s Lisbon Treaty. The unusual public intervention of Lord Justice Richards in the political debate over the controversial text has forced the Prime Minister to admit that ratification will not be immediate. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 21 June 2008)

5.9.22 A HIGH Court judge told Gordon Brown yesterday **to delay** his plans to ratify the Lisbon Treaty. Lord Justice Richards said the process should stop until he rules on a legal bid to force a UK referendum. (*The Sun*, 21 June 2008)

5.9.23 Britain’s approval of the EU’s Lisbon Treaty suffered a last-minute hitch when a High Court judge ordered the Government **to delay** ratification. (*The Independent*, 21 June 2008)

5.9.24 Judge forces **delay** in ratification of Lisbon treaty to await legal ruling (*Guardian*, 21 June 2008)

These collocations might suggest a different approach to the issue of suspending ratification. *The Sun* and *The Daily Telegraph* seem to evaluate Richards' intervention as necessary while the *Guardian* and *The Independent* appear to consider the Judge's intervention as a forced action as if the newspapers do not want to express a negative judgment on the behaviour of the British government. It is important to remember that *The Sun* and *The Daily Telegraph* advocated a referendum in Britain. However, this pressure on a suspension turned out to be useless as Britain ratified the Treaty on June 18. The day following Britain's ratification, Miliband seemed to justify it as necessary to keep the influential role that Britain has in Europe.

5.9.25 Later, in a separate Commons debate on the EU, Mr Miliband argued that **any delay** to British ratification would weaken its negotiating hand at a crucial juncture. "**If we halt ratification**, the UK will be leaving itself in limbo, unable to state clearly its own position", he said. "To choose limbo would be a crazy way to seek influence in the EU. (*The Times*, 19 June 2008)

In example 5.9.25 the disapproval of ratification is expressed through the verb 'weaken', the noun 'limbo' and the adjective 'crazy'. The *delay* seems to be evaluated in terms of negative uncertainty. In the same article, moreover, it is also reported Lord Kinnock's opinion that *any delay would leave Britain on the sidelines*. The negative evaluation of the action of *delay* is also found in *The Daily Telegraph* (19 June 2008) that reports Lord Wallace's reference to a *delay* as 'irresponsible populism', and a strong criticism also comes from 'Paris' as reported in *The Sunday Times*.

5.9.26 Ireland is not the only country to have been "Sarkozyed" in recent weeks. Both Poland and the Czech Republic have also been subject to tirades from Paris **for delaying** ratification of the Lisbon treaty. (*The Sunday Times*, 20 June 2008)

In example 5.9.26, the use of the expression 'Sarkozyed' also implies a negative evaluation of the French Prime Minister who is trying to persuade people to ratify Lisbon. The negative evaluation of Sarkozy's action is also expressed through the use of the noun 'tirades'.

Also the French Minister for European Affairs, Jouyet, stressed the fact that *Europe didn't come to a halt on June 13* (*Daily Mail*, 20 June 2008). Moreover, it has been also observed that some politicians tend to negate a *delay*.

5.9.27 Sarkozy, who takes over the rolling six-month EU Presidency next month, said the No vote **should not mean any delays** in ratifying the treaty in the rest of the EU. (*Sunday Mirror*, 15 June 2008)

5.9.28 Despite the outcome of the Irish referendum, France, Germany and senior Brussels officials have insisted there **should be no delay** in implementing the European Union blueprint. (*The Sunday Times*, 15 June 2008)

5.9.29 But Mr Miliband argued that Britain should approve the treaty so that it could influence the debate in Europe on the **way ahead. Delay** “is not a recipe for strength for Britain but would represent weakness for Britain”, he said. (*The Independent*, 17 June 2008)

As it is shown by the examples above, the politicians that tend to negate a *delay* are Sarkozy (5.9.27), EU leaders metonymically referred to as ‘France’, ‘Germany’ and ‘Brussels’ (5.9.28) and Miliband (5.9.29). These negations therefore, come as no surprise since these politicians supported the treaty and made efforts to get it approved.

In this debate on the *delay, stop, halt* to the ratification it has been observed that some newspapers and politicians as well put emphasis on a solution. This is evident in the occurrences of the lexeme *impasse* that is employed to describe the situation created after the Irish rejection. This term is nowadays used to describe a difficult situation, however, its meaning can be traced back to Voltaire’s use of the word as a euphemism for *cul de sac* (1851, from Fr. *impasse* “impassable road, blind alley, *impasse*,” from in- “not” + M. Fr. *passé* “a passing,” from *passer* “to pass.” Supposedly coined by Voltaire as a euphemism for *cul de sac*. Online Etymology Dictionary, 2010 Douglas Harper).

As a consequence *impasse* may indicate a street with only one way in or out. In our case the way under discussion is the *way out of the impasse* that occurs 9 times in the corpus. Its collocation with verbs such as ‘find’ and ‘chart’ even though confers uncertainty to the lemma as it has not been planned yet, puts emphasis on the necessity and importance of a resolution. European leaders, especially Cowen and Sarkozy, seem to be particularly sensitive to this issue as shown by the following examples.

5.9.30 EU leaders, including Mr Brown, meet in Brussels tonight to try to find **a way out of the impasse** amid fears that France and Germany will try to **ram** the treaty past Irish objections. (*Daily Mail*, 19 June 2008)

5.9.31 THE French president, Nicolas Sarkozy, will use a Paris summit next weekend to increase pressure on Ireland’s prime minister to find **a way out of the impasse** created by his country’s rejection of the Lisbon treaty, aimed at reorganising the European Union. (*The Sunday Times*, 7 July 2008)

5.9.32 While Sarkozy highlighted policies on climate change, defence, agriculture and immigration as his priorities for the next six months setting the EU agenda, it was clear that his focus is the Irish quandary and charting **a way out of the impasse**. (*Guardian*, 11 July 2008)

As it is visible from the examples above in fact, EU leaders, Cowen and Sarkozy are the actors of the verbs ‘try to find’, ‘find’ and ‘chart’ respectively. In particular, in the *Guardian*’s quote Sarkozy’s interest in the *way out* appears to be evaluated in terms of importance as the noun ‘focus’ indicates and evidentiality as the evidential phrase ‘it was clear’ suggests.

The necessity to solve the *impasse* is also found in the other collocations of *impasse* with the verbs ‘(re)solve’, ‘break’ and the other most frequent collocate ‘solution’. The latter appears in the phrase ‘x find/propose/offer/contribute (to) a solution to the *impasse*’ and a similar scenario has emerged. The actor of these verbs is always the Irish government and it might suggest Irish government’s complete involvement in the process. However, the expression of Irish government’s responsibility is attributed to Jim Murphy (5.9.33) or is based on the evidence of a source, and when the writer of the *Daily Mail* is the Irish Labour party leader Eamon Gilmore, the *impasse* to solve becomes a problematic issue for EU leaders who do not consider the *road-block* but continue with ratification (5.9.34).

5.9.33 Murphy also said that it was up to the Irish government to find a solution to **the impasse**. “The Irish government need to come to the European council meeting next week to tell us how they think we should be taking this forward, based on the sovereign decision of the Irish people”, he said. (*The Sunday Times*, 15 June 2008)

5.9.34 Clearly, Ireland has a responsibility to contribute to the solution to the present **impasse**, but, I repeat, this is a European problem as well as an Irish one. When a proud and confident people, who want to be at the centre of the European project, throw up **a road-block** to a new treaty, Europe’s leaders would be very unwise to try to go around it. (*Daily Mail*, 19 July 2008)

The debate on the possible solution saw some politicians proposing opt-outs, as reported in *The Sunday Times*, or a second referendum as proposed by Mr. Roche; on the other hand other politicians negated such options.

5.9.35 Some EU officials were pointing towards attaching a protocol to the treaty allowing Irish “opt-outs” on issues such as abortion, tax and defence as the simplest way of breaking **the impasse**. (*The Sunday Times*, 15 June 2008)

5.9.36 In breach of a clear manifesto commitment, it has refused to allow a referendum on the new treaty. Yet Mr Miliband dropped the broadest of hints yesterday that the best **way out of this impasse** would be for Ireland to vote again. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 17 June 2008)

Nevertheless, the situation created by the referendum result saw other countries – such as Poland and the Czech Republic – opposing the ratification. And some of the most euro-sceptic press focused on the possibility of a reverse in the ratification process.

5.9.37 THE ultra-Europeans have overplayed their hand. We can now glimpse a chain of events that **will halt, and reverse**, this extremist **push towards** an Über-state that almost no one wants. The attempt to override the triple “No” votes of the French, Dutch, and Irish peoples has brought the EU to a systemic crisis of legitimacy. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 23 June 2008)

In the example above, the ratification appears in a negative light *extremist push* whose destination appears to be undesirable ‘an Über-state that almost no one wants’. The emphasis seems to be on the lack of respect and democracy. This might suggest a strong opposition to the Treaty seen as a sort of imposition by EU leaders. The newspaper expected a referendum in Britain that was promised but never held. In this *Telegraph’s* quote it there might still be hope for the suspension. With the approaching of the election in Britain, in fact, Conservatives were proposing a referendum on the issue in case of victory. However, this referendum was never run because the second referendum in Ireland gave a positive turnout.

Even though EU leaders seem to have a clear idea on what could be a solution, the obstacle in the path seems to be always the Irish.

5.9.38 With the decision by the Czech Constitutional Court not to block Prague’s ratification of the Treaty, Ireland’s No is now the only **obstacle** to EU-wide adoption of Lisbon. (*Mirror*, 10 December 2008)

The quote appears a few days before the European December Summit where it was decided that a second referendum was necessary to see Ireland’s guarantees included in the Treaty. But *The Sun* seems to criticise EU leaders’ option of a second referendum.

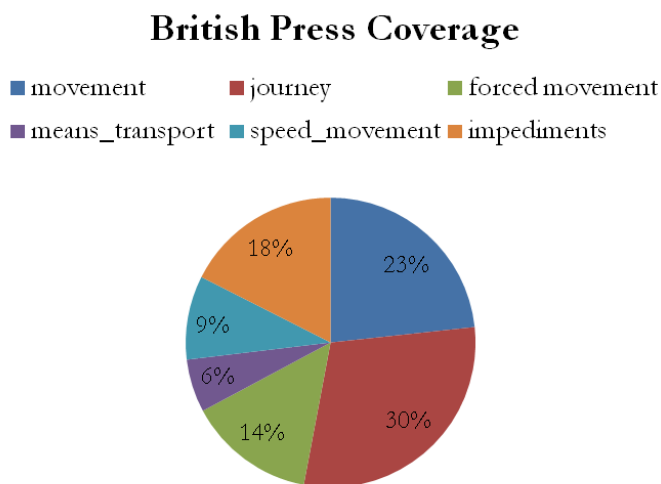
5.9.39 It is anticipated the referendum could take place in October - just 16 months after the majority of voters here **blocked** the ratification of the new law by saying No in June. (*The Sun*, 12 December 2008)

By putting in contrast the decision of holding a re-run with the previous negative turnout, the newspaper is simply disapproving of such an agreement. As this last example might suggest, in December, the debate on *blocking or finding a way out of the impasse of the ratification* seems not to be over. Indeed, it was not over. At the December Summit it was only anticipated that Ireland would go to the ballot again. It was only on July 2, 2009 that the Irish Prime Minister announced the date of the second referendum (see Chapter 1).

The investigation has confirmed the scenario provided for by the first stage analysis that any rejection or opposition to the ratification is conceived as an impediment in the journey. A possible NO vote in fact is conceived as the cause that may lead the treaty process to *halt or stop in its tracks*. As it might be expected, the second stage analysis has revealed that treaty supporters tend to negate a *delay* or a *halt to ratification* while its opponents are pressing towards it. It has emerged that when the enforcer's role is given to treaty opponents, they appear to be positively evaluated by some newspapers especially *The Sun* and *The Daily Telegraph*. On the other hand when *The Independent* and the *Guardian* refer to the British situation before the ruling of the High Court, Lord Richards' warning not to proceed but delay is interpreted as an imposition and negatively evaluated. It has also been observed that EU leaders tend to evaluate *a way out of the impasse* as important and necessary and their focus is to prevent *a halt*.

5.10 Summary

The analysis has revealed that British press interest in each metaphorical group is variously distributed as shown by the following Picture.



Picture 5.4 British Press Coverage – MOVEMENT metaphor.

The high percentage of the journey and movement group comes as no surprise. The metaphorical items relative to those groups are neutral and each sub-corpus might be using them with or without showing a particular attitude. On the other hand, the lexemes relative to means of transport, speed of movement and forced movement show a limited application because given their strong evaluative meaning their use might imply a more evident stance towards the ratification issue.

The analysis has revealed that MOVEMENT metaphors are generally used to express a negative evaluation of the treaty ratification. This generalisation contrasts with the traditional conceptualisation of the MOVEMENT that evaluates it as leading to positive developments. However, the analysis has also shown how the evaluation of the movement tends to change depending on whether it comes from a supporter or an opponent of the ratification. Moreover, it has emerged that the British press generally describes the movement as leading to undesirable endpoints and welcomes the possibility of a rejection as an impediment towards the destination, highlighting the importance of an empirical analysis of conceptual domains.

The analysis has also confirmed one of the tenets of the conceptual metaphor theory: partial mapping. Metaphors tend to highlight particular aspects of the respective knowledge domain and hide others. In the investigation of each lexeme it has emerged that in this journey towards the ratification there is no reference to a departure or to travellers/passengers and there are just few references to vehicles. Moreover, the scenario offered by the metaphorical expressions is only limited to the maritime and road journey without any reference to the air one. This does not mean that when politicians debate over European projects or policies only use road and maritime scenarios. However, these schemas are the ones found in the corpus under investigation.

It is worth noting that important metaphorical scenarios widely shared in a discourse community acquire a prominent value that forces all the participants in the debate to define their attitudes towards them (Musolff 2004). As MOVEMENT metaphors are commonly used to refer to political process and in particular to European projects and processes, it comes as no surprise that EU politicians make extensive use of such a metaphor. The analysis of the ‘forced movement’ and ‘the speed of movement’ metaphorical groups has revealed a common actor: the European Union which appears in different forms. This common pattern might suggest that EU countries, France, Germany and Britain in particular are enforcers moving faster towards their destination trying to take other countries *on board* and if these countries won’t come they are willing to *proceed at different speeds leaving the laggard country (Ireland) behind* even if these enforcers try to negate it. Particular metaphorical expressions such as the *two-speed Europe*, the metaphorical image of the country that has been *left behind* or *in the slow lane*, the *way forward* described in terms of *uncharted territory/waters* and other countries that *press or forge ahead* can be linked to the primary conceptual metaphor POLITICAL PROCESSES ARE SPATIAL MOVEMENTS and, when used repeatedly, such expressions become fixed in their meaning and in the minds of their receivers. As a consequence, politicians’ repetitive usage might imply a communicative aim. In the case of the *two-speed* metaphor and its ontological correspondences (see paragraph 5.7) the communicative goal might be to raise Irish people

consciousness of the importance to meet the European project irrespective of the political bias or the different evaluation of newspapers towards such metaphor. A similar goal might be suggested by the *uncharted waters* expression. When Dermot Ahern used the metaphor for the first time on 13 June, it was to stress the importance of the Irish vote and the uncertainty that this vote has meant for Ireland's future.

The analysed data must be regarded as limited to the corpus under investigation. The number of metaphorical occurrences relative to the MOVEMENT domain, even though it is sufficient for the formulation of hypotheses about the importance of the conceptual scenario in the debate about the Lisbon Treaty, does not provide a reliable basis for statistical assessments. The distribution of metaphorical items for particular scenarios, in fact, can be seen as indicative of typical British attitudes and argumentative trends. However, only a few differences emerge among each sub-corpus. It has been shown that only the *Daily Mail*, *Mirror*, *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* tend to conceptualise the event of ratification in terms of a *uncharted waters/territory* or a boat trip and evaluate the resulting scenarios as dangerous and uncertain. The analysis has also proved that the *Daily Mail*, *Mirror*, *The Sun*, *The Observer*, *The Independent*, *The Telegraph* and *The Sunday Telegraph* construe the event of ratification in terms of a train journey. Among these newspapers, *The Telegraph* and *The Sun* seem to support a derailment, however, only *The Telegraph* appears to evaluate it in terms of uncertainty. Probably this might be explained considering the fact that this broadsheet regards the European advancement as certain. It has also been described that some lexical items expressing a high degree of violence in the movement towards ratification are mostly used in newspapers that strongly advocated a referendum in Britain. These lexical items are also used in the *Guardian* that did not campaign for a popular vote in Britain. However, it uses these lexemes only with references to the EU scenario while *The Telegraph*, *The Sun* and *The Times*, in some occurrences, refer to the situation in Britain. From a cognitive point of view, it can be said that the MOVEMENT scenario created by the metaphorical expressions are almost the same in each newspaper. However, when the pragmatic aspect of metaphors is considered, it can be argued that *The Sun*, the *Daily Mail*, *The Telegraph*, *The Times* and to a lesser degree also their Sunday editions tend to present a dominance of Britain as a faster or forcing mover following the scheme of the EU *juggernaut*; a scheme that can only lead to EU's ruin or other undesirable endpoints. On the other hand, the *Guardian*, *The Independent* and to a lesser degree their Sunday editions describe the movement towards ratification as leading to undesirable endpoints only when it means leaving Ireland *in the slow lane*. They tend to focus on the EU *fast mover* rather than on Britain.

6. CONFLICT Metaphors

6.1 Introduction

Like MOVEMENT metaphors, CONFLICT metaphors are largely used in public political discourses and in everyday language. As a consequence their high frequency in the corpus might be expected. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) have shown how verbal battles are similar to physical battles and involve the same practices. They have found that (RATIONAL) ARGUMENT IS WAR is one of those concepts we live by and is grounded in our culture and experience. It will be difficult to imagine a culture where arguments are not conceived as CONFLICT. Goatly (2007) has also shown that metaphors which construct activity or arguing as fighting are one of the most prevalent groups of metaphor themes in English. He suggests that adversariality has its origin in the medieval trial by combat where knights used physical combat to resolve guilt or innocence either of themselves or of third parties. Moreover, the idea that one may exert force against others opposing your opinion is widely rooted in Western cultures. This adversarial contest is particularly visible in parliamentary debates or in political campaigns. According to Goatly (*ibid.*), the mass media seem to have a fundamental role in favouring the creation of this fight scenario. “The mass media encourages adversarial politics by constructing it in terms of an entertaining contest between rival personalities” (*ibid.*: 80). In particular in newspapers, he continues, headlines tend to express criticism or argument through military metaphors in order to produce a sensational and dramatic effect. Gibbs also recognises the importance of war metaphors when talking of politics: “[...] war metaphors are not just rhetorical devices for talking about politics, for they exemplify how people ordinarily conceive of politics” (1994: 142). However, the unconscious nature of metaphorical speaking may lead to misinterpretation as people tend to conceptualise political arguments as a battle against a possible enemy without taking into consideration possible negotiation or compromise; “It is as if there are no other ways, no other metaphors, in which people can think of politics” (*ibid.*).

In this research project, CONFLICT metaphors have been manually searched in the sample of articles and in a second stage each metaphorical item identified has been analysed exploring the context with the help of concordances as it has been shown in Chapter 4. This Chapter will explore the second stage of analysis in detail and will try to focus on the role of CONFLICT metaphors in the debate about the Lisbon Treaty.

6.2 Second Stage of Analysis

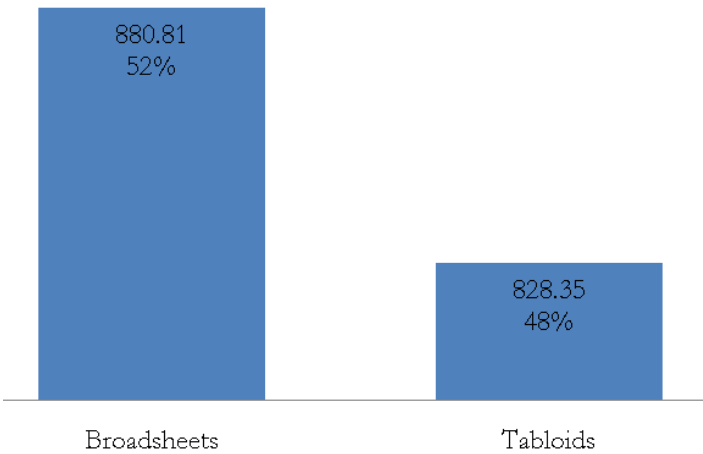
In this second stage, a more detailed analysis of the CONFLICT domain and its relative metaphorical expressions has been undertaken in order to investigate the textual and interpersonal function of metaphor use. This stage has led to a wider analysis of the rhetorical goals and the textual cohesion that metaphors realise. The investigation of the corpus has revealed how each lexical item related to the CONFLICT domain is distributed in each sub-corpus as Table 6.1 shows. The five most recurring words are *defeat*, *rebel*, *threaten*, *battle*, *run(re-run)*, and *attack* which are almost present in all the newspapers. The table also reveals that the *Mirror*, *The Sun* and their Sunday editions are abundant in CONFLICT metaphors. The *News of the World* appears to use the highest number of metaphors. It is important to remember, however, that this newspaper has only 31 articles for a number of 5,304 running words (see Table 3.1). And therefore the high frequency might be due to the unbalance between the number of articles and running words the newspaper contains.

As far as the broadsheets are concerned, *The Observer* appears to use the highest number of metaphorical expressions related to the CONFLICT domain, followed by the *Guardian*, *The Times*, *The Independent* and *The Telegraph*. On the other hand, the other Sunday editions show fewer instances of CONFLICT metaphors. However, the same observations made for the *News of the World* can be drawn for these broadsheet Sunday editions. In particular, as it has been shown in Table 3.1, *The Observer* has a limited number of articles 11 in total and a total of 11,434 running words. Therefore, this unbalance might explain its high frequency of CONFLICT metaphorical lexemes. Some expressions such as *cease fire*, *scent blood* and *put to the sword* only appear once in three different newspapers, *The Sunday Times*, *The Independent* and *The Times* respectively.

The overall consideration is that broadsheets tend to use more metaphorical expressions related to the CONFLICT domain than tabloids. As Picture 6.1 clearly shows, broadsheets make use of 52% of metaphorical expressions while tabloids use 48 % of items related to CONFLICT with a metaphorical sense. This Picture seems to overturn the results of the first stage of analysis where broadsheets resulted to use fewer metaphorical expressions related to the CONFLICT domain (44%) than tabloids (56%) (see Table 4.1).

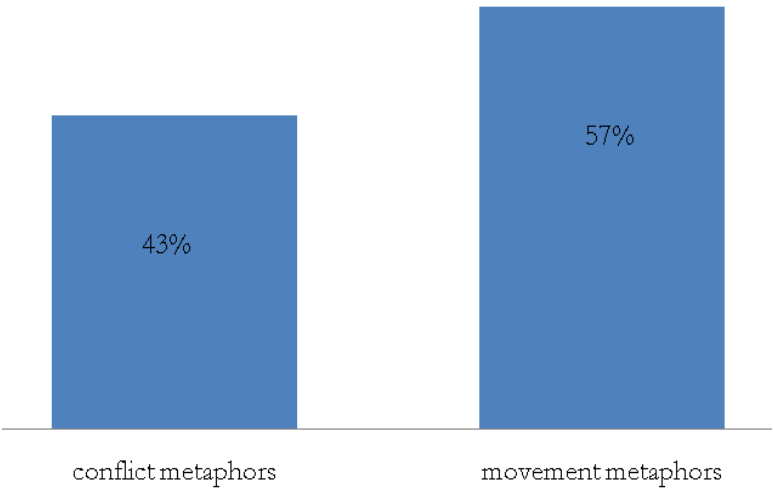
Lexical item	Daily Mail	Mail on Sunday	Mirror	Sunday Mirror	The Sun	News of the World	Guardian	The Observer	The Independent	Independent on Sunday	Daily Telegraph	Sunday Telegraph	The Times	Sunday Times	Total
<i>Defeat</i>	16.55	21.00	35.73	32.03	23.50	18.85	12.83	8.82	6.24	12.47	8.28	9.40	18.39	13.19	224.81
<i>Rebel</i>	6.28				2.14		25.66	8.82		12.47	43.48	14.10	28.42		156.51
<i>Threaten</i>	6.85		32.16		14.96	18.85	7.33	8.82		12.47	10.35	4.70	6.69	4.40	118.75
<i>Battle</i>	3.42		7.15		12.82	18.85	7.33			14.55	10.35	9.40	5.01	13.14	102.09
<i>Run (re-run)</i>	4.57		7.15		8.55	18.85	1.83	17.63	2.08				5.01		65.67
<i>Attack</i>	11.98		7.15	16.02	19.23		9.16		6.24		2.07		5.01	7.70	84.56
<i>Fight</i>	7.42				6.41	18.85	11.00	8.82	10.40		6.21	4.70	5.01	5.50	84.32
<i>Victory</i>	0.57		10.72	48.05	4.27		1.83		4.16		2.07	4.70	3.34	4.40	84.11
<i>Tactics</i>	9.70				6.41		7.33	17.63	6.24		4.14	4.70	5.01	9.90	71.06
<i>Threat</i>	5.71				12.82		5.50	8.82	8.32		6.21	4.70	6.69	3.30	62.05
<i>Torpedo</i>	0.57	21.00		16.02		18.85	7.33		10.39			4.70	3.43	1.10	61.14
<i>Defend</i>	3.42					18.85	7.33				2.07		1.10		44.45
<i>Resistance</i>	1.14			32.03			7.33						43.67		43.67
<i>Win</i>	3.99		14.29		10.68		9.16				4.14		1.67		43.95
<i>Revolt</i>	1.71				4.27		5.50		8.32		12.42		6.69		38.91
<i>Strategist</i>							1.83	26.45					1.67	1.10	31.05
<i>Lost</i>	3.42				12.82		5.50		4.16				3.34	1.10	30.34
<i>Strategy</i>	6.85				4.27		5.50		6.24				5.01	2.20	30.07
<i>Embattled</i>	1.14			16.02	2.14			8.82					1.67		29.78
<i>Struggle</i>			7.15		2.14		5.50		2.08		2.07		5.01	5.50	29.44
<i>Surrender</i>	2.85				10.68			8.82				4.70	1.67		28.72
<i>Spearhead</i>						18.85		8.82							27.67
<i>Aftermath</i>	1.71					18.85	1.83							1.10	23.50
<i>Resist</i>							1.83	8.82			6.21		3.34	1.10	21.30
<i>Allies</i>	2.28							17.63					1.67		21.59
<i>Army</i>						18.85			2.08					20.93	20.93
<i>Victims</i>	1.71		3.57		10.68		1.83						1.67	1.10	19.47
<i>Assault</i>							1.83		2.08			9.40	1.67		16.08
<i>Throw in the towel</i>															15.16
<i>United front</i>			7.15						2.08		2.07		1.67		12.97
<i>Suicide</i>	0.57							8.82							9.38
<i>Hit out</i>	1.71		3.57		2.14									1.10	8.52
<i>Enemy</i>	3.99										2.07			1.10	7.16
<i>Beleaguered</i>	0.57				4.27				2.08						6.92
<i>March</i>	1.14		3.57								2.07				6.78
<i>Lash out</i>	1.71		3.57												5.28
<i>come under fire</i>	0.57				2.14				2.08						4.79
<i>Bombshell</i>					2.14										3.97
<i>Stalemate</i>	0.57						1.83							1.10	3.50
<i>Skirmish</i>							1.83		2.08					2.20	2.20
<i>Scent blood</i>															2.08
<i>Fervency</i>	0.57												1.67	1.10	1.67
<i>Put to the sword</i>															1.10
<i>Cease fire</i>															1.10
Total	115.28	42.01	142.91	160.15	179.46	188.54	148.47	158.69	126.82	30.31	126.29	75.20	130.38	84.66	1709.61

Table 6.1 Distribution of metaphorical expressions related to CONFLICT metaphor in the whole corpus. The results have been normalised to 100,000 words and ordered by total frequency.



Picture 6.1 Usage of metaphorical expressions related to the CONFLICT domain in broadsheets and tabloids

Although Table 4.1 indicates that CONFLICT metaphors are the most frequent metaphorical domain in the corpus, the second stage of analysis has revealed that newspapers tend to make a slightly wider use of MOVEMENT metaphors as shown in Picture 6.2 below.



Picture 6.2 Distribution of metaphorical expressions related to the CONFLICT and the MOVEMENT domains in the whole corpus.

This picture reveals how the use of corpora may help to attest the actual distribution and presence of metaphorical expressions in real occurring data. Moreover, these results might suggest that the conceptualisation of the treaty in terms of MOVEMENT, or better the debate on whether moving ahead or not is prevalent in the British Press. However, even though this might be true for an overall analysis, the extent to which each newspaper uses the different lexical items cannot be assessed at this stage. Only after a further analysis of metaphorical expressions related to the CONFLICT domain, it will be possible to make valid comparisons with the MOVEMENT domain in order to have a detailed description and evaluation of the Lisbon Treaty issue.

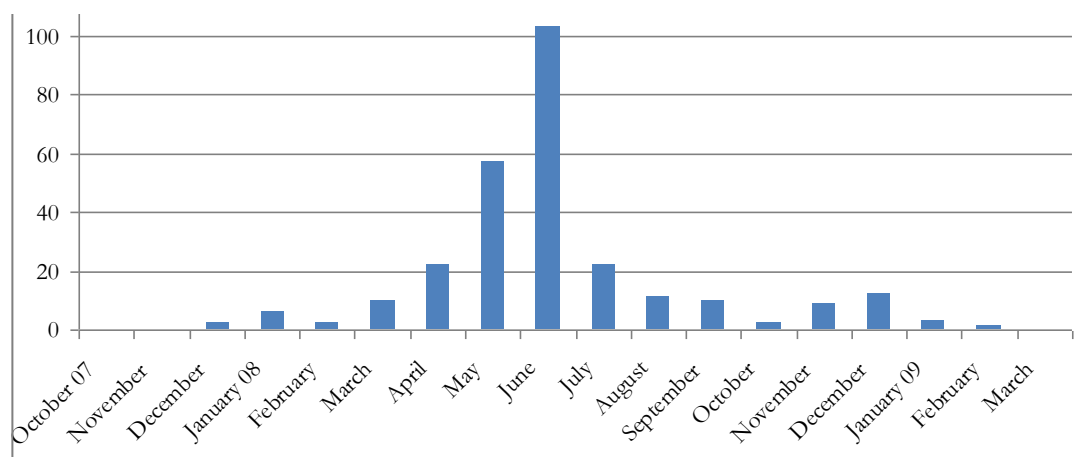
6.3 CONFLICT Scenarios

Concordance analysis of metaphorical lexical items relative to CONFLICT metaphors has revealed that there are three battlefields in the Lisbon debate. It has emerged that in Ireland a debate on the first and later on a second referendum arose among supporters of the YES and NO sides. In Britain a conflict between proponents of a referendum promised by the Labour Party in its electoral campaign in 2005 took place. Both conflicts have turned out to be part of a wider setting: the European one where Ireland seems to be the main enemy of the EU followed by others after the negative turnout of the referendum held in June 2008. As a consequence, these three different scenarios have been analysed and discussed separately.

6.4 The Irish Scenario

The analysis of the lexical items relative to the CONFLICT domain that refers to the Irish scenario, has revealed that the majority of occurrences appears a few months before and after the referendum as visible in Picture 6.3 The fact that there is a high percentage of lexemes between May and June comes as no surprise because the Irish referendum on the treaty was set on 12 June 2008 and in the months preceding and following that date the debate increased. Some occurrences also refer to the possibility of a second referendum and few instances appear at the beginning of December 2008. In December there was the European Summit where Ireland presented its proposal for guarantees in order to adopt the Treaty .

The analysis has also revealed that there is a varying distribution of lexical items in each sub-corpus as shown in Table 6.2.

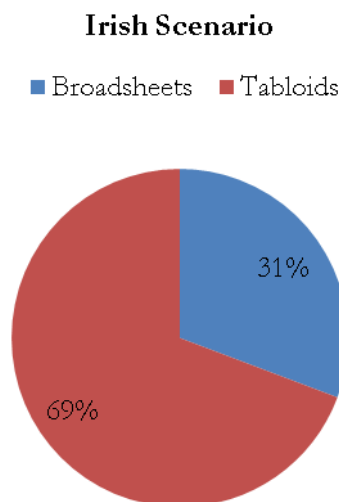


Picture 6.3 Chronological distribution of metaphorical lexemes related to the CONFLICT metaphor and only relative to the Irish scenario.

Lexical item	Daily Mail	Mail on Sunday	Mirror	Sunday Mirror	The Sun	News of the World	The Guardian	The Observer	The Independent	The Independent on Sunday	Daily Telegraph	Sunday Telegraph	The Times	Sunday Times	Total
<i>Defeat</i>	10.27		17.86	32.03	12.82	18.85	5.50	8.82				4.70	3.34	8.80	122.99
<i>Threaten</i>	2.85		28.58		10.68						4.14		3.34	2.20	51.80
<i>Victory</i>	0.57			48.05	2.14						2.07		1.67	1.10	55.59
<i>Attack</i>	6.85		7.15		19.23									7.70	42.75
<i>Fight</i>	5.14				6.41	18.85	1.83					4.70		5.50	40.60
<i>Battle</i>	2.85		7.15			18.85							3.34	9.90	42.09
<i>Ran (re-run)</i>	2.85				2.14	18.85		17.63							41.47
<i>Tactics</i>	7.42				4.27		3.67	8.82						7.70	31.87
<i>Strategist</i>							1.83	26.45					1.67		29.95
<i>Embattled</i>	1.14				2.14			8.82					1.67		29.78
<i>Threat</i>	4.57				8.55			8.82	2.08				1.67	3.30	28.98
<i>Aftermath</i>						18.85								1.10	19.95
<i>Struggle</i>			7.15		2.14		3.67						1.67	4.40	19.02
<i>Spearhead</i>						18.85									18.85
<i>Win</i>	2.85		7.15		8.55										18.55
<i>Resistance</i>	0.57			16.02										1.10	17.69
<i>Strategy</i>	5.71				4.27								3.34	1.10	14.42
<i>Lost</i>	2.28				6.41		1.83						3.34	1.10	14.97
<i>Suicide</i>								8.82							8.82
<i>United front</i>			7.15										1.67		8.82
<i>Hit out</i>	1.71		3.57												5.28
<i>Lash out</i>	1.14		3.57												4.71
<i>Enemy</i>	2.28													1.10	3.38
<i>Come under fire</i>	0.57				2.14										2.71
<i>Ferocity</i>	0.57													1.10	1.67
<i>Skirmish</i>														1.10	1.10
<i>Beleaguered</i>	0.57														0.57
<i>Torpedo</i>	0.57														0.57
<i>Allies</i>	0.57														0.57
<i>Revolt</i>	0.57														0.57
<i>Rebel</i>	0.57														0.57
Total	65.06		89.32	112.11	91.87	113.12	18.33	88.16	2.08		6.21	9.40	26.75	58.27	680.67

Table 6.2 Distribution of metaphorical lexemes related to CONFLICT domain in each newspaper. The results are only relative to the Irish scenario and are ordered by total frequency.

As far as tabloids are concerned, Table 6.2 shows that the *Daily Mail* and *The Sun* make use of the majority of the lexemes found in the corpus while the *News of the World* and the *Sunday Mirror* only use few items. This might find its explanation in the fact that the latter are published at the weekend while the *Mail* and *The Sun* circulate daily. Therefore, these two tabloids may have dedicated more attention to the Lisbon treaty event. As for the broadsheets, Table 6.2 shows that *The Times* and its Sunday edition use a high number of lexemes even though their frequency is very low compared to *The Observer* that, on the other hand, appears to use a limited number of lexemes showing a higher frequency. This is due to the fact that *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* have a relevant high number of articles and tokens while *The Observer* has an unbalanced number of articles and tokens as reported in Table 4.2. The table reveals that *The Sun*, *Daily Mail*, *Mirror*, *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* turn a remarkable attention to the Irish situation. What might be surprising is the fact that *The Daily Telegraph* shows only few occurrences relative to the Irish scenario as this newspaper campaigned for a referendum in Britain, and therefore a comment on the Irish cause might have been expected. A general consideration that can be drawn by Table 6.2 is that tabloids are more concerned with the Irish problem than broadsheets as they tend to use a higher number of metaphorical lexemes than broadsheets as summarised in Picture 6.4.



Picture 6.4 Total distribution of lexemes related to CONFLICT metaphor in broadsheets and tabloids. Irish scenario.

In the Irish scenario the battle is namely between two opposite factions: the NO and YES side in the referendum campaign. As it might be expected, both factions attack each other. In any conflict each party involved adopts a *strategy* or uses *tactics*. In this Irish setting we have references to government and Libertas' *strategies*. The majority of the occurrences of both lexemes appears before the referendum (*strategy*: 5 out of 7 occurrences; *tactics*: 16 out of 20). However, before the referendum we only have references to the Irish government's *strategy*.

The *Daily Mail* seems particularly interested in the government's *strategy* whose evaluation is rather negative as the evaluators 'sinister', 'blackmail', and 'sneaky' indicate. These evaluators appear in the same article and contribute to create coherence and construe the debate in a crescendo of newspaper's disapproval of government's behaviour as shown by the following example.

6.4.1 THOUGH a vote is several months away at a minimum, already the Governments **strategy** for forcing through the Lisbon Treaty is becoming apparent and what a deeply dishonest, sinister **strategy** it is. (*Daily Mail*, 1 January 2008)

In the example above, the occurrence of the verb 'to force' and the evaluative adjectives 'dishonest' and 'sinister' clearly show newspaper's disapproval of the government's action which seems to be enhanced by the intensifier 'deeply'. Government's decision to support the YES side and therefore the treaty appears not to be a natural development but rather a forced illegal action which citizens are obliged to accept.

In the other reference to government's *strategy* the newspaper attributes its negative evaluation to Libertas spokesman, Caroline Simons. The Irish government appears to be acting in secret. The *Daily Mail* also seems to put emphasis on the *tactics* used by the Irish government which are described as 'scare', 'bullying' and 'bullyboy'. These evaluative adjectives are also used by other newspapers even though they do not appear as frequently as in the *Daily Mail*. However, while the evaluator 'scare' is also used to describe NO campaigners' tactics, the others only refer to government's plans.

6.4.2 Bully-boy **tactics** on the part of the government reveal its frustration that the electorate is being allowed to have any say in this matter at all. (*The Sunday Times*, 1 June 2008)

6.4.3 Please stop bullyboy **tactics**, Mr Lenihan

BRIAN Lenihan could not have been more emphatic: if the Lisbon Treaty is defeated, he declared on yesterday s Morning Ireland, there is no Plan B. It was, of course, another gross oversimplification, yet another example of the bombastic scare **tactics** the Government has deployed time after time in this referendum campaign. (*Daily Mail*, 7 June 2008)

This might confer the government the role of a powerful aggressor threatening the weaker Irish voters. The newspapers that refer to NO camp's *scare tactics* are the *Guardian* and *The Observer*. However, the *Guardian*'s occurrences are attributed to Cowen who appears to be the actor of the verb 'reject' (6.4.4) and 'attack' that might imply a negative evaluation of the Prime Minister.

- 6.4.4 EU treaty: Neutrality, abortion and Dustin the turkey threaten to cause Irish referendum upset: Merkel's reforms at risk as voters go to the polls PM Cowen rejects no camp's 'scare **tactics**'. (*Guardian*, 12 June 2008)

In the example above, Cowen appears to be careless of oppositions' concerns. Nevertheless, *The Observer*'s occurrence soon after the referendum (18 June 2008) seems to remind him that *scare tactics worked*. A few months before the referendum in Ireland, Mr. McCreevy, at the time European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services, foresaw the violent nature of these attacks.

- 6.4.5 The former finance minister was keen to find out who was **winning** the campaign's early **skirmishes**. His guests from Ireland were anxious to hear his opinion first. "Well", McCreevy said, "I know one thing for sure and that is that it's going to be **a tremendous battle**". (*The Sunday Times*, 2 March 2008)

In the example above, the occurrence of three lexemes related to the CONFLICT domain creates coherence and helps the journalist to construe the event of the referendum campaign on Lisbon. The conflicting attitude of opposing parties is visible in the use of the lexeme *skirmishes* which indicates a fight between a small group of soldiers, an unplanned fight which occurs away from the main area of fighting. In this case the Irish internal referendum debate occurs away from any European Summit or formal meetings. However, the paragraph seems to suggest that although this battle is only part of a wider fighting context the intensity is not less effective. The sharpening tone of the debate in fact is emphasised and reaches its crescendo in the collocation of the metaphorical item *battle* with the evaluative adjective 'tremendous'. In a few lines following the quotation, the newspaper comments that the Minister 'is right' and expresses its opinion that this *battle* will not only be an Irish one but will extend to European Yes and No sides. As a consequence, newspapers describe the battle in terms of difficulties. Looking at the collocates of the nouns *battle* and *struggle*, it has emerged that 'uphill' is one of their strongest collocates. When 'uphill' collocates with *battle*, it appears four times in three different sub-corpora while when it collocates with *struggle*, it appears three times in three different sub-corpora. In both cases it always refers to the Irish situation. This might suggest that the Irish discussion on whether favouring the treaty is particularly difficult. It is difficult both for the Irish government that is the actor of the verb 'face' and 'have' and for the NO campaigners that appear to be certain of their difficult project of rejecting Lisbon, as suggested by the following examples.

6.4.6 Mr Gormley also seemed to have little faith in the success of the Yes campaign, saying: There is no question in my mind that the Government is going to have **an uphill battle** in relation to this document. (*Daily Mail*, 22 January 2008)

6.4.7 Groups on the No side, such as Libertas, know they face an **“uphill battle”** because Irish people are “generally pro-European”, but in a referendum in which the material in question is unlikely to be read in detail by voters, trust, as the e-mail put it, will be crucial. (*The Sunday Times*, 20 April 2008)

6.4.8 However, the Taoiseach is facing an **uphill struggle** to secure the crucial vote as farmers, trade unions and other groups have declared their intention to vote No in protest at the Government. (*Mirror*, 13 May 2008)

In example 6.4.6 the Irish government’s difficulty in supporting its cause appears to be evaluated in terms of certainty by the Green Party member Gormely as the expression ‘there is no question in my mind’ seems to suggest. A similar degree of certainty also appears in example 6.4.7 as the attributing verb ‘know’ indicates. However, the situation for NO campaigners seems to be different. The use of the contrastive evaluator ‘but’ seems to suggest that this certainty may be put in question and the situation may change. These positions towards the treaty come as no surprise. Gormely in fact, has campaigned for a rejection of the treaty while *The Sunday Times* has favoured a referendum in Britain and as a consequence it might be supporting the Irish cause. Supporting the treaty, however, appears to be more difficult. In fact there is just one reference to an *uphill battle* faced by NO campaigners.

Difficulty in campaigning for the treaty might find its explanation in the fact that before the referendum treaty opponents refer to the treaty in terms of a *threat* to Ireland’s important social issues. As a consequence, the Treaty is conceptualised as an enemy of Irish neutrality, economy (6.4.9) and workers (6.4.11). On the other hand, Treaty supporters tend to express a different view trying to undermine Lisbon’s *threats* and to present Treaty’s opposition as a powerful enemy (6.4.10).

6.4.9 The Irish Right, which includes people like Mr Ganley, are sophisticated citizens who worry about the **threat** posed by Lisbon to Ireland’s economic competitiveness and national sovereignty. (*Daily Mail*, 21 January 2008)

6.4.10 Foreign Affairs Minister Dermot Ahern has dismissed claims the treaty **will threaten** Ireland’s neutrality. He said: ‘The Bill clearly reaffirms the prohibition of Irish participation in a common defence alliance in the EU and there is no proposal at all in that respect’. (*Mirror*, 10 March 2008)

6.4.11 THERE are many reasons to vote No to the Lisbon Treaty. Unaltered, it is a huge **threat** to Irish salaries and standard of living. And **it threatens** Ireland's low corporate tax rate, essential to keeping jobs in Ireland. (*The Sun*, 14 April 2008)

As it is visible in example 6.4.12 the debate on Lisbon intensifies a month before the referendum. The CONFLICT metaphor helps the journalist to create coherence and construe the debate on Lisbon as the repetition of lexical items indicates. The evaluative adjective 'scathing' and the attributing verb 'blast' seem to recall the evaluative adjective 'tremendous' of example 6.4.5, however, the repetition in the same sentence of these evaluators intensifies the stinging tone of the argument.

6.4.12 THE Lisbon Treaty sparked a **major war of words** yesterday as **the struggle** to sway public opinion intensifies. A leading Yes campaigner launched **a scathing attack** on the No camp, blasting their claims as "uninspired, negative and bedeviled with inaccuracy". (*The Sun*, 10 May 2008)

The *attacks* of the two sides seem to differ. While politicians supporting the treaty attack the NO campaigners as a global entity defining their attacks 'aggressive' or putting emphasis on their 'ferocity' and *scare tactics*, politicians opposing the treaty directly address the single political leader of the opposing faction or the government itself. The references to *barrage of aggressive attacks* always occur in a quotation from Micheál Martin, the Irish Foreign Affairs Minister or refer to it (6.4.13 and 6.4.14). In his words the Irish government seems to be a victim of the NO camp.

6.4.13 The government, which is facing a difficult final fortnight of campaigning, insisted that it was encouraged by the fact that the Yes vote was up "in spite of the incredible **barrage of aggressive attacks** on the treaty". Micheal Martin, minister for foreign affairs, said: "The scale and **ferocity of these attacks - threatening** economic and social ruin - makes the result significant, showing the Irish public refuses to demonise the EU." "We know that **the attacks** will continue and there are a lot of people who have still to decide. That's why we are taking nothing for granted and are going to redouble our efforts over the next 18 days". (*The Sunday Times*, 25 May 2008)

6.4.14 Micheal Martin said that he was "encouraged" by the fact the Yes vote has increased. He added: "I am very encouraged by the fact that the Yes vote is up in spite of **the incredible barrage of aggressive attacks** on the Treaty launched in recent weeks. (*Mirror*, 26 May 2008)

The fact that the NO camp seems to have no specific identity in the words of Martin might imply that Mr. Martin is using a communicative strategy to present the enemy as a big menace

to Ireland and to the YES side as it is not measurable. In this way he might be persuading his potential addressee to vote in favour of the treaty. In *The Sunday Times*' quotation there seems to be a crescendo of violence as the expressions *incredible barrage of aggressive attacks*, *the scale and ferocity of these attacks* and finally the *attacks will continue* indicate. In particular, the last expression seems to suggest that the conflict is not over.

On the other hand, the fact that newspapers picture attacks of Treaty opponents as addressed to politicians rather than to the YES campaigners as a united block and quote opponents' words directed to a politician supporting the treaty might imply that they are conferring responsibility to those politicians for the consequences of their campaign. The politicians addressed to are Mr. Martin and Cowen in particular and as a consequence the criticism is also passed onto the Irish government.

6.4.15 Brian Cowen's admission he had not studied full details of the Lisbon Treaty sparked a **scathing attack** from anti-Treaty group Libertas. Its founder, Declan Ganley, pictured right, said: "We need to send him back to Brussels to get a better deal for Irish businessmen and farmers." (*The Sun*, 14 May 2008)

6.4.16 John McGuirk, a Libertas spokesman, said **Martin's attack** on the organisation was another example of the government "playing the man and not the ball. All Libertas has said on abortion is that the government's position on the Lisbon treaty not affecting it is not entirely accurate in that it's not guaranteed", he said. (*The Sunday Times*, 1 June 2008)

In example 6.4.15 the violent attacks on Mr. Cowen seem to acquire a positive connotation. The noun 'admission' in fact implies that Cowen has committed something wrong, that is he has not read the treaty in its entirety and he is supporting its cause. As a consequence, the *scathing attack* might be interpreted as a rightful reaction to protect the Irish people's interests. In example 6.4.16 Libertas' spokesman, John McGuirk seems to reply to Martin's words in order to criticise the Irish government. By using the idiomatic expression 'playing the man not the ball', McGuirk is disapproving of the government's attitude towards the debate on Lisbon as if it were not capable of focusing on the main topic.

The Irish Prime Minister is not only *attacked* by treaty's opponents but also by his *allies* for not having read the treaty in its entirety. *The Sun* in particular also refers to ordinary people *attacking* the government and to Christians that before the referendum are praying for a *defeat of the godless treaty* (*The Sun*, 26 May 2008). This comes as no surprise if we consider the target of the newspaper's readers. The fact that the newspaper refers to religion might imply that it is appealing to the wide shared Christian values of the Irish people in order to sensitise public awareness to the Lisbon issue.

Soon after the referendum the government, metonymically referred to as Cowen and Ahern, recognises that it has lost the battle. *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* also emphasise the importance that such a defeat has for Irish voters.

After the negative turnout, the prospects of a second referendum arise and another debate comes to light. Irish politicians are discussing whether voting a second time. This new argument is expressed in terms of *refighting the battle* or through the expression *(re)-run a referendum/Lisbon treaty/second vote*. This last syntactic structure is similar to run a campaign that is typical of the CONFLICT domain and means to lead a military campaign. The analysis has shown that when ‘referendum’, ‘Lisbon Treaty’ and ‘second vote’ appear as objects of the verb ‘run’ they acquire the same meaning of the syntactic structure ‘run a campaign’. Soon after the referendum, Cowen doesn’t rule out the option of *rerunning Lisbon* (*Mirror*, 14 June 2008) but opposition and the Labour leader, who at the beginning of the debate supported the treaty, were expressing their disapproval of this option.

6.4.17 One option, of course, is to hold another referendum and Cowen has pointedly avoided consigning the Lisbon treaty to the dustbin. But the opposition parties were indicating their lack of interest in **re fighting this particular battle**. “The Lisbon treaty is dead”, proclaimed Eamon Gilmore, the Labour leader. (*The Sunday Times*, 15 June 2008)

6.4.18 **EMBATTLED** Taoiseach Brian Cowen last night raised the prospect of **re-running the Lisbon Treaty** poll despite its massive rejection. Despite saying he accepted the verdict of the Irish people, Mr Cowen repeatedly refused to rule out another referendum. (*Daily Mail*, 15 June 2008)

In example 6.4.17, ‘the lack of interest’ seems to be justified by Gilmore’s quotation. The *enemy* Lisbon is *dead* so there is no need to *fight* again. In order to complete the scenario of the battlefield, the metaphor LISBON TREATY IS A HUMAN BEING is probably used to enhance the concept of the useless *fight*. In example 6.4.18 the option of a second referendum acquires a more negative evaluation as the contrastive evaluator ‘despite’ and the evaluative term ‘massive’ seem to suggest. This contrast makes the second vote appear a lack of respect for the public, evident opinion of the Irish. A month after the referendum, the government seems to be focusing on a solution and other leaders appear to stress the need for the government to act in the *Lisbon aftermath*. The occurrences found in this period might be explained by the fact that soon after the European Council of 19-20 June 2008 Mr. Michael Martin announced that the Irish government intended to analyse the reasons of the negative outcome in order to see if the ratification can continue in Ireland (see paragraph 1.5). The solution to the *defeat* appears to be problematic for Sinn Fein, Cowen and Gilmore who are respectively the Sayers of the

attributing verb ‘discuss’, the expression ‘no obvious solution’ and the phrase ‘strangled any hope of a *united front*’. Moreover, newspapers stress the risky consequences that a second *defeat* could bring to Cowen’s leadership as they did before the first referendum. Probably they wanted to sensitise Cowen’s awareness not to risk his office and as a consequence to reject the second referendum option.

In this atmosphere of uncertainty and difficulty, Ganley expresses his determination in continuing his *fight* throughout Europe. Ganley’s encouragement to fighting often appears in headlines and in particular it is mentioned by *The Sun*, the *Daily Mail*, *The Sunday Telegraph* and *The Sunday Times*, as shown by the following examples.

6.4.19 Libertas set to unveil EU-wide *Lisbon fight* (*The Sunday Times*, 7 December 2008)

6.4.20 Ganley: **I’ll fight** Treaty in Europe (*The Sun*, 8 December 2008)

The attention these newspapers turn to Ganley’s action might suggest their support to the fight against Europe. It is important to remember that some of these newspapers, in particular *The Sun* have campaigned for a referendum in Britain. As a consequence its focus on a wider conflict might be explained considering its negative attitude towards the treaty.

In the end, the conflict was won by the supporters of the YES side as it was decided that the second referendum should be held. *The Sunday Times*, however, expressed its concerns for this decision.

6.4.21 The Irish Government bowed to pressure from European leaders yesterday and rang the starting bell on round two of its **battle** to pass the Lisbon treaty by **rerunning the referendum** that it **lost** decisively last summer. (*The Sunday Times*, 12 December 2008)

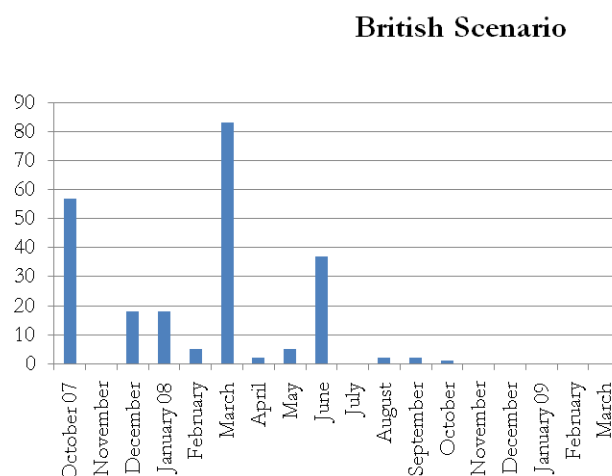
The Sunday Times’ passage is full of metaphorical expressions which are not only linked to the CONFLICT domain. The whole passage enhances the CONFLICT metaphor, the use of the expression *re-run a referendum* and the verb *lost* make it clear. This repetition of metaphorical terms related to the CONFLICT domain creates coherence and helps the journalist to construe the debate on ratification. The battle also appears to be a boxing match as the expression *rang the starting bell on round two* suggests. This is not unnatural or new. In Chapter 4 it has been argued that sport metaphors can be used in war reports and vice versa, therefore, this combination of metaphorical expressions from two different domains reveals to be a common practice. Moreover, the use of metaphorical terms from two different domains makes the battle appear an entertaining contest and might imply a negative evaluation. As if an important issue such as the second vote on Lisbon is only a game for its contenders. The overall evaluation seems to be negative. The metaphorical setting describing the decision to hold

another referendum appears to be a passive action of the Irish government as the expression ‘bowed to pressure from European Leaders’ indicates and as a consequence the Irish government appears to be a passive goal of EU’s power.

The analysis of the Irish scenario has revealed that the CONFLICT metaphor is used to describe the different attitudes towards the treaty not only between the opposing factions but also between the Irish government and the voters. In particular each faction presents its opponent as an aggressor putting emphasis on the *tactics* used in the conflict. From the analysis it has also emerged that some newspapers tend to focus on the Irish government’s strategies conferring it the role of a forceful aggressor. The *Daily Mail* in particular seems to dedicate great attention to this image. An interesting number of occurrences also appear in *The Sunday Times* that seems to criticise the Irish government’s actions. As a consequence the role of the ‘weaker’ seems to be attributed to the voters which are the goals of the government’s *bullyboy tactics*. It has also emerged that some broadsheets do not participate in or have just few occurrences related to the overall description of the Irish scenario. On the other hand, the Irish debate seems to be widely reported by the tabloids and especially the *Daily Mail* and *The Sun* that appear to be negatively evaluating the Irish government’s forceful action.

6.5 The British Scenario

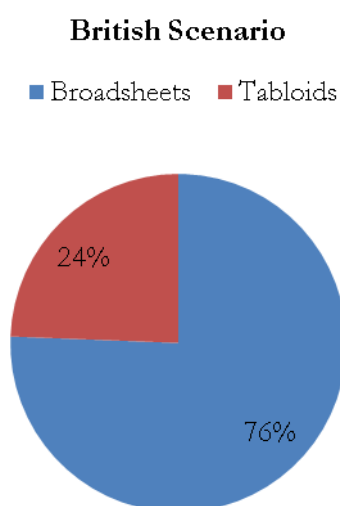
The analysis of the data indicates that the debate in Britain seems to focus on the denied referendum on the Lisbon Treaty. This conflict among supporters and opponents of the referendum concentrates in some particular periods of the corpus as Picture 6.5 shows.



Picture 6.5 Chronological distribution of metaphorical expressions related to the CONFLICT metaphor. British Scenario.

As it is visible in Picture 6.5, metaphorical expressions frequently occur in three periods of the corpus and namely in October 2007, March and June 2008. In Chapter 1, it has been reported how these three months have been significant in Britain. In October, in fact there was the informal meeting to discuss Lisbon Treaty's conditions. It marked a remarkable step for Britain as it was capable of obtaining some 'red lines' that were to grant British internal rules. The opt-outs concerned the European policy and judicial integration, the charter of fundamental rights and foreign policy. In March there was a debate on whether holding a referendum as Labour had promised. Nevertheless, the Commons voted to pass the Treaty and, as a consequence, criticisms arose. In the end, the Irish referendum held in June had a great impact on the British government considered to be careless of its people as at the same time, it was breaking its promise and asking to grant Ireland time for reflection. Moreover, it was hoped that the results of the referendum would influence the Lords' decision on the Treaty Bill which was going to take place on 18 June. The analysis has shown that there is a varying distribution of lexemes in each sub-corpus as shown in Table 6.3. If the Table is compared with Table 6.1, it can be noticed that not all the metaphorical items are used with reference to the British scenario. This might imply that only some aspects of the conflict are emphasised and might remind us of the partial mappings (see Chapter 2). Table 6.3 also shows that the *Guardian* and *The Independent* make large use of lexemes related to the CONFLICT domain and also have a wide number of metaphorical instances.

It has also emerged that broadsheets tend to focus more on the debate in Britain than tabloids as shown in Picture 6.6.



Picture 6.6 Distribution of metaphorical expressions in Broadsheets and Tabloids. The percentage is calculated on the basis of the results shown in Table 6.3.

Lexical item	Daily Mail	Mail on Sunday	Mirror	Sunday Mirror	The Sun	News of the World	The Observer	The Independent	The Independent on Sunday	The Daily Telegraph	Sunday Telegraph	The Sunday Times	Total
<i>Rebel</i>	4.57						25.66	8.82	12.47	15.16	43.48	14.10	25.07
<i>Defeat</i>	1.71	21.00	10.72					4.16	4.16	4.14		8.36	50.09
<i>Battle</i>	0.57				12.82		5.50	12.47	12.47	6.21	9.40	1.67	48.64
<i>Torpedo</i>		21.00				18.85							39.86
<i>Revolt</i>	1.14				2.14		5.50	6.24	6.24	12.42		6.69	34.12
<i>Fight</i>	2.28						9.16	8.32	8.32	6.21		1.67	27.65
<i>Attack</i>	1.14						7.33	6.24	6.24	2.07		5.01	21.79
<i>Surrender</i>	1.14				6.41			8.82			4.70		21.07
<i>Win</i>			3.57		2.14		9.16			4.14		1.67	20.69
<i>Tactics</i>	1.14						1.83	6.24	6.24	4.14	4.70	1.67	19.72
<i>Defend</i>	2.28						5.50	8.32	8.32			3.34	19.44
<i>Retreat</i>								8.82		4.14		1.67	15.73
<i>Lost</i>	0.57				6.41		3.67	4.16	4.16				14.80
<i>Victory</i>			3.57				1.83	4.16	4.16			1.67	11.24
<i>Allies</i>	1.14							8.82					9.96
<i>Threat</i>					2.14		5.50	2.08	2.08		4.70	1.10	9.71
<i>Assault</i>							1.83						7.63
<i>Threaten</i>	0.57				2.14			2.08	2.08				4.79
<i>Strategy</i>								2.08	2.08				2.08
<i>Belaguered</i>								2.08	2.08				2.08
<i>come under fire</i>								2.08	2.08				2.08
<i>Scent blood</i>												1.67	1.67
<i>Struggle</i>													1.10
<i>Cease fire</i>													1.10
<i>Strategist</i>													1.10
<i>Skirmish</i>													1.10
<i>Suicide</i>	0.57												0.57
Total	18.83	42.01	17.86	34.18	18.85	82.48	35.26	82.24	15.16	86.95	37.60	60.18	540.10

Table 6.3 Distribution of metaphorical lexemes related to the CONFLICT domain in each sub-corpus. The results have been normalised to 100,000 words and are only relative to the British scenario.

As far as the occurrences relative to 2007 are concerned, it can be said that the British press seems to focus on the impact that Brown's decision to get 'red lines' and not to *fight for* the referendum cause had in Britain. On October 12 the *Guardian* reports that the treaty was perceived as a menace to Britain's sovereignty (6.5.1).

6.5.1 Gordon Brown's efforts to protect Britain's opt-outs on the new EU treaty at next week's summit in Lisbon came under fresh pressure yesterday when a Labour-dominated committee of MPs claimed the latest draft of the treaty presented fresh **threats to** British sovereignty. (*Guardian*, 12 October 2007)

In the example above, the newspaper seems to negatively evaluate the committee's claim as the noun 'pressure' suggests. Committee's action is also put in contrast with 'Brown's efforts' to assure opt-outs, that is some guarantees for Britain. As a consequence, this contrast might enhance the negative evaluation of the noun 'pressure'. As it might be expected, treaty opponents seem to criticise opt-outs while its supporters appear to defend them.

6.5.2 Brown is unmoved by Barroso's objections because he regards a toughening of Britain's 'red lines' as the price he must pay to **resist** Tory demands for a referendum on the treaty. British officials have made clear in private that the treaty would be killed off in a British referendum. (*The Observer*, 16 October 2007)

6.5.3 The Government **has attacked** as "myths" claims that the treaty will continue the drift to an EU superstate. But its critics have dismissed the "red lines" as a "red herring" designed to allow Mr Brown to **claim victory**. (*The Independent*, 18 October 2007)

6.5.4 Giscard throws Mr Brown a lifeline. He stresses, with undisguised frustration, the importance of Britain's opt-outs, so confirming that at Lisbon the Prime Minister successfully **defended** those "red lines". (*The Independent*, 30 October 2007)

In examples 6.5.2 and 6.5.4 Brown appears to be the *defender* of 'red lines'. However, example 6.5.2 seems to suggest that Brown's resistance is due to prevent a referendum in order to get the treaty approved in Britain. Therefore, he is sacrificing 'red lines' as the phrase 'the price he must pay' seems to imply. Example 6.5.3 seems to suggest a disapproval of those 'red lines' described only as a means to *claim victory*. Brown appears as the *defender* of British national interests, even though this stereotype seems to be ironically used, but also as the only *defender* of the treaty. The disapproval of example 6.5.2 is not surprising because it is attributed to government's critics. Soon after the informal Summit of October, Brown *came under fire* by his opponents.

6.5.5 Opposition to the treaty is such that **a defeat** in any referendum would be highly likely. That is why Mr Brown does not want one: yet it is the worst possible reason not to have one. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 18 October 2007)

6.5.6 The Tory leader continued: “The last Prime Minister, standing there, said, ‘Let battle be joined’, whereas this Prime Minister says **let battle be avoided** wherever possible. That’s why you are not having a referendum. You don’t think you **would win** it”. (*The Times*, 23 October 2007)

In both examples the reason why Brown avoided a referendum seems to be attributed to his fear of losing it. In this framework Brown appears to be a coward, unable to fight for the British cause. It is not surprising that *The Daily Telegraph* and Mr. Cameron disapprove of Brown’s decision as they both supported the referendum pledge.

Few days before and after the October Summit, references to *attacks* towards Brown and the government are common in the British press. The actors of the verb *attack* are often politicians of the opposing party and Brown’s political establishment who do not agree with his attitude towards the treaty. Tories, David Cameron, at that time leader of the Conservatives, and Gisela Stuart, member of the Labour Party seems to be the main actors of these *attacks*.

6.5.7 Gisela Stuart, a former minister and leading Blairite, yesterday **attacked** the government’s insistence that the new treaty was different from the abandoned constitution as “patently dishonest”. (*Guardian*, 16 October 2007)

6.5.8 Conservative leader David Cameron launched a **scathing attack** on Mr Brown for breaking Labour’s pledge for a vote on the constitutional treaty. **‘We will fight for** a referendum,’ said Mr Cameron. (*Daily Mail*, 21 October 2007)

In the examples above Ms. Stuart and Mr. Cameron are described as *attackers* while Gordon Brown referred to as Brown in example 6.5.8 and metonymically as government in example 6.5.7 appears to be the *victim*. However, the usually negative evaluation that connotes people who attack other people, seems to be neutralised by the noun ‘insistence’ and the quotation ‘patently dishonest’ in example 6.5.7 and the phrase ‘breaking Labour’s pledge’ in example 6.5.8.

Soon after the Summit, another stereotyped role that part of the British press seems to attribute to Brown is that of a compliant leader as it is visible in the occurrences of the lexeme *surrender*. Brown in fact is always the actor of the metaphorical verb *surrender* in the syntactic structure *surrender powers to Europe* and the evaluation provided by the two newspapers that mostly use this expression seems to be rather negative. The expression itself implies that

Brown has passively accepted the treaty. What is worth noting is that *The Sun* and the *Daily Mail* use this lexeme while the other newspapers have no occurrences of the item apart from *The Sunday Telegraph* and *The Observer*. However, *The Observer* in its occurrence quotes *The Sun* while *The Sunday Telegraph* implicitly refers to Brown.

The consequences of Brown's surrendering of powers and the following attacks were described by the British press in terms of *a battle* which appears to be difficult and rather violent as the evaluative adjectives 'bruising', 'lengthy' and 'bloody' collocating with the lexeme indicate. Brown appears to be particularly sensitive to *the battle* issue as he is the actor of the verbs 'face' and 'expect'. But while the *Guardian* seems to present the *battle* in terms of expectedness, *The Sun* and *The Independent* seem to focus on the violent aspect of the *battle*. The fact that Brown faces a battle and is under attack might imply that he has not started the conflict but he is only dealing with the consequences of his decision of not holding a referendum. Even though there seems to be emphasis on the difficulty of this conflict especially for Brown, a possible *defeat* of the government is evaluated as impossible not only by the government supporters but also by its opponents if the opposition parties do not join their forces.

6.5.9 William Hague admitted this week that without the Liberal Democrats it is unlikely that the Conservatives **could force a defeat** in the Commons. (*The Times*, 18 October 2007)

6.5.10 The Government chief whip, Geoff Hoon, has assured the Cabinet that with Lib Dem support for the treaty, the Government **will not be defeated** on the bill, but the lengthy debate promised by Mr Brown to his MPs is likely to be bloody and debilitating for the Government. (*The Independent*, 23 October 2007)

Mr. Hoon was right. After Liberal Democras discussed their *tactics* for the referendum their leader Mr. Clegg *helped rescue Brown from defeat in two crucial votes on the Lisbon Treaty* (*Daily Mail*, 6 March 2008). *The Mirror* that foresaw the 'inevitable' *defeat* described it as 'devastating' for Eurosceptics on March 6. The *victory* for the government was easy not only because of government's *tactics* but also because the number of *rebels* was not enough to *win*.

6.5.11 But with most of the Liberal Democrats and a handful of Tory **rebels resisting a referendum**, Mr Brown **won through easily**. The treaty will now be considered by the Lords, where the Government is reasonably confident of winning the day. (*The Times*, 6 March 2008)

6.5.12 David Miliband, the Foreign Secretary, insisted a referendum should only be held when a "fundamental" shift of power was to take place - and that the Lisbon Treaty did not involve

one. But **rebel** Labour MPs accused government whips of using “**strong arm tactics**” to try to quell the **revolt**. (*The Independent*, 6 March 2008)

In example 6.5.11 the newspaper might be slightly criticising the lack of support for the referendum as the evaluative adverb ‘easily’ seems to suggest. As a consequence the newspaper also seems to stress the fact that this result is a prevision of the Lords’ decision. In example 6.5.12 the attributed proposition by Labour MPs appears to evaluate the government as a powerful actor only able to use force in order to get its aim as the adjective ‘strong-arm’ and the verb ‘quell’ seem to suggest.

Once the bill was passed by the Commons, it was subject to the vote in the Lords. In the meantime, Brown had to face another *battle* which he eventually *won*. The battle the newspapers refer to is the case brought about by Mr. Wheeler before the High Court on whether it was legal to pass the treaty without a referendum that was promised in 2005. However, there are just few references to this event and only *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sun* and *The Times* seem to refer to that debate. This comes as no surprise because these newspapers supported the referendum cause.

After the referendum in June some newspapers hoped that the government’s plans to reject the referendum and accept Lisbon could be destroyed.

6.5.13 GORDON Brown’s arrogant plan to sign Britain up to the hated EU Lisbon Treaty **will be torpedoed** by the Lords this week. But the PM has hatched a secret stitch-up with French premier Nicolas Sarkozy to make sure the Brussels power grab still goes ahead. (*News of the World*, 15 June 2008)

6.5.14 The Government’s refusal to hold a referendum on Lisbon **has torpedoed** its own cause. (*Mail on Sunday*, 16 June 2008)

Nevertheless, as it is known, the Lords voted to approve the Treaty bill. However, the analysis has revealed that there are few occurrences of the final *victory* of the government and the final *defeat* of the Tories. Metaphorical expressions describing the last part of the conflict seem to be only used as descriptors of the debate.

6.5.15 The Government **won** a final House of Lords vote on a bill ratifying the treaty on Wednesday, and the new law enabling ratification received Royal Assent on Thursday. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 21 June 2008)

6.5.16 An attempt by the Tories to delay parliamentary approval of the treaty until the autumn **was defeated** in the House of Lords by 277 votes to 184 after Liberal Democrat peers voted with the Government. (*The Independent*, 19 June 2008)

This might suggest that the British press has nothing to comment on the Lords' decision and the Eurosceptics' failure as it is evident in the examples above. Implications can be twofold. The British press may simply be avoiding to comment because it might be favourable to the result and there is no need to express its opinion. Or it may simply be indicating that its expectations have been belied and therefore any comment might be useless. In any case, it leaves the question open to reasoning. It can be argued that those newspapers such as the *Guardian* and *The Independent* that seem to be more neutral towards the government's decisions might be implicitly supporting the government's cause while *The Sun*, *Daily Mail*, *The Daily Telegraph* that campaigned for a referendum in Britain from the beginning – might be silently criticising the results.

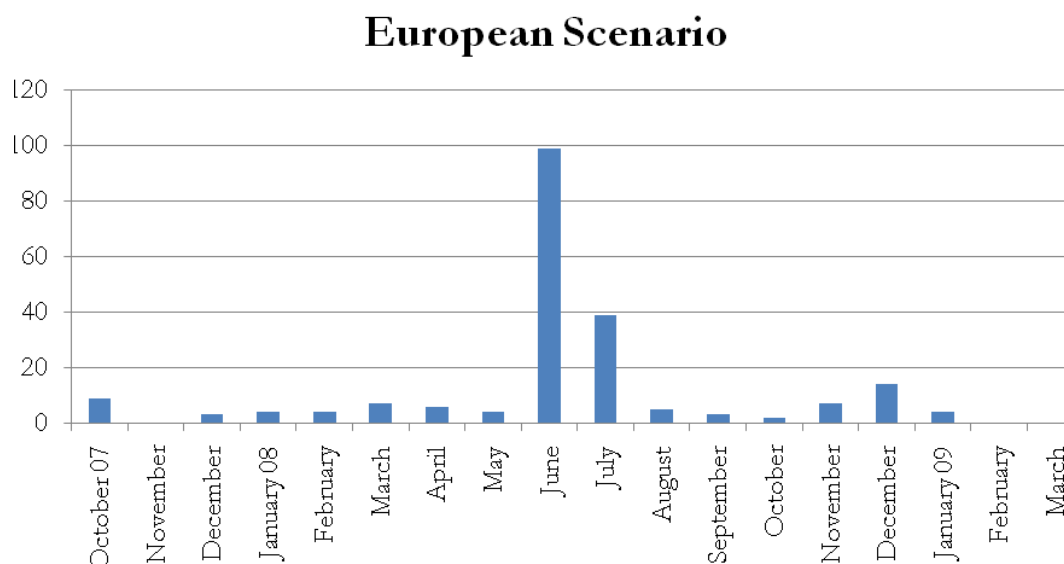
Brown's stereotyped role as the *defender* of the Treaty and British interests is also repeated in the occurrences that refer to the third readings in the Commons and the Lords. Moreover, in these occurrences I have found that the same role is also attributed to Miliband.

The analysis has revealed how the lexemes relative to the CONFLICT are used in the British scenario to describe the opposing attitudes towards the issue of holding a referendum in Britain and towards the treaty's approval in general. Within the British macro-scenario three settings have been identified: the debate on the consequences of opt-outs, the debate on the third readings in both parliamentary Houses and the debate on Wheeler's case that can be considered an appendix to the *parliamentary battle*. Irrespective of the evaluative stance of each sub-corpus, it can be argued that Brown and Miliband are presented as *defenders* of the Treaty and British national interests while Conservatives are pictured as *attackers* or *fighters* in a difficult and violent *battle*. Some newspapers, in particular *The Sun* and *Daily Mail*, tend to represent Brown as a coward, unable to *fight for* his people's will. Both newspapers hoped that Brown could grant Britain a better deal and were disappointed by his *surrendering of powers* to the European Union. Other references to Brown as a coward can be visible in *The Daily Telegraph*. The overall scenario of the British situation seems to be summarised by the *Guardian's* journalist Simon Jenkins. The Journalist's evaluation seems to be rather negative. The government attitude towards the referendum cause is seen as antidemocratic.

6.5.17 Parliament cannot now alter the Lisbon treaty, but it can accept or reject it and determine the means of ratification. Any argument about any referendum is dogged by the outcome usually being predictable from opinion polls. At the present moment 80% of the public wants one, though opinion is evenly divided on whether the treaty should be approved. Nonetheless, its advocates do not want to take the risk. Thus to want a referendum is seen as opposing the treaty, and to argue against one is seen as **defending it**. The democratic case for a referendum as such is corrupted. (*Guardian*, 23 January 2008)

6.6 The European Scenario

The data analysed have revealed that the European debate on the treaty concentrates between June and July 2008 as it is shown in Picture 6.7.



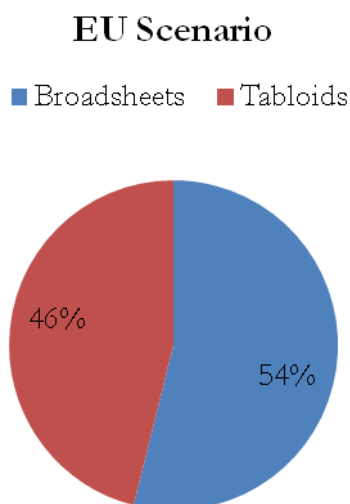
Picture 6.7 Chronological distribution of metaphorical expressions related to CONFLICT domain in the European Scenario.

This result is not surprising. The outcome of the Irish referendum had a great impact all over Europe and many countries, began to support the Irish people and their vote. Suspensions of ratification were demanded in other European countries and some European member states were questioning about the negated possibility of democratically expressing their opinion about the Lisbon issue (see Chapter 1). The analysis has also revealed that there is a varying distribution of each lexeme in the sub-corpora and that not all the lexemes are present in this scenario as it is shown in Table 6.4.

It has also emerged that the number of the lexemes which create the European scenario are 28 percent of the total number of occurrences related to the CONFLICT domain. This means that the 72 percent is distributed between the Irish and the British scenarios (40% and 32% respectively) and that the British press turns greater attention to domestic or better inland news.

The table shows that great attention is given to the start and the middle of the conflict as the high frequency of the lexemes *threat*, *threaten*, *re-run* and *defend* seems to suggest. It is also evident that there is emphasis on the victims of the conflict and on the end of the conflict that seems to be unfavourable as the high frequency of the item *defeat* seems to indicate. However, it is only a supposition. A further analysis of each occurrence will give proof of how

the debate has developed. The analysis has also indicated that there is a slightly higher percentage of lexemes in the broadsheets rather than in tabloids as it is visible in Picture 6.8.



Picture 6.8 Distribution of metaphorical expressions related to the CONFLICT domain in Broadsheets and Tabloids relative only to the European Scenario. The percentage is calculated on the basis of the results shown in Table 6.4.

This might imply that broadsheets tend to focus more on the European debate. In particular the *Guardian* and *The Times* seem to concentrate on this debate as Table 6.4 shows.

A further analysis has revealed that the majority of the occurrences that appear in June are relative to the days following the Irish referendum. As a consequence, it can be argued that the debate mainly concentrates up to a month after the referendum result.

The few references before the referendum evaluate a possible *defeat* of the treaty as dangerous both for Europe and Ireland. And after the referendum the dangerousness of the NO result was made explicit.

- 6.6.1 Friday 13th was a bad day for the EU. The **fight back** from its supporters must begin without delay. (*The Independent*, 14 June 2008)
- 6.6.2 Such a comprehensive **defeat**...is an indictment of the distance between the people and the politics at the top. (*The Times*, 14 June 2008)
- 6.6.3 The reaction in Europe was one shock. Luxembourg Premier and Finance Minister Jean-Claude Juncker said **the defeat** of the Lisbon Treaty represents a new European crisis. He said: Ireland said No to the Lisbon Treaty, this is not good for Europe. (*Daily Mail*, 15 June 2008)

Lexical item	Daily Mail on Sunday	The Sunday Mirror	The Sun	News of the world	The Guardian	The Observer	The Independent	The Independent on Sunday	Daily Telegraph	Sunday Telegraph	The Times	Sunday Times	Total
<i>Threaten</i>	3.42	3.57	2.14	18.85	7.33		10.39		6.21	4.70	3.34	2.20	62.17
<i>Defeat</i>	4.57	7.15	10.68		7.33		2.08		4.14	4.70	6.69	4.40	51.73
<i>Threat</i>	1.14		2.14	18.85	1.83		4.16		6.21	4.70	5.01		23.36
<i>Defend</i>	1.14				1.83		2.08					1.10	25.01
<i>Run(re-run)</i>	1.71	7.15	6.41		1.83		2.08				5.01		24.19
<i>Resistance</i>	0.57	16.02			7.33				2.07				25.99
<i>Army</i>				18.85			2.08						20.93
<i>Torpedo</i>		16.02								4.70			20.72
<i>Attack</i>	3.99	16.02											20.01
<i>Victims</i>	1.71	3.57	10.68		1.83						1.67		19.47
<i>Fight</i>					1.83	8.82	2.08				3.34		16.07
<i>Tactics</i>	1.14		2.14		1.83	8.82					3.34	2.20	19.47
<i>Strategy</i>	1.14				5.50		4.16				1.67	1.10	13.57
<i>Throw in the towel</i>								15.16					15.16
<i>Victory</i>		7.15	2.14		1.83		2.08		4.14	4.70		3.30	17.28
<i>Battle</i>						8.82						3.30	11.35
<i>Allies</i>	0.57					8.82					1.67		11.06
<i>Spearhead</i>													8.82
<i>Struggle</i>					1.83		2.08		2.07		1.67	1.10	8.75
<i>Assault</i>			4.27				2.08			4.70	1.67		8.45
<i>Surrender</i>	1.71										1.67		7.66
<i>March</i>	1.14	3.57							2.07				6.78
<i>Rebel</i>	1.14		2.14								3.34		6.62
<i>Resist</i>					1.83				2.07		1.67		5.57
<i>Win</i>	1.14	3.57											4.71
<i>Belaguered</i>			4.27										4.27
<i>Lost</i>	0.57												0.57
<i>Revolt</i>			2.14				2.08						4.22
<i>United front</i>							2.08		2.07				4.15
<i>Lash out</i>	0.57		2.14										0.57
<i>Bombshell</i>					1.83								3.97
<i>Aftermath</i>	1.71				1.83								3.54
<i>Stalemate</i>	0.57				1.83							1.10	3.50
<i>Hit out</i>			2.14									1.10	3.24
<i>Enemy</i>	1.71								2.07				3.78
<i>Put to the sword</i>											1.67		1.67
Total	31.39	35.73	48.05	53.41	56.56	47.66	35.26	39.50	15.16	28.20	43.46	20.89	488.38

Table 6.4 Distribution of metaphorical lexemes related to the CONFLICT domain in each sub-corpus. The results have been normalised to 100,000 words and are only relative to the European Scenario

However, while examples 6.6.1 and 6.6.2 appear to be comments of the newspapers pending for the supporters and opponents of the treaty respectively, in example 6.6.3 the newspaper is attributing the statement to Mr. Jean Claude Juncker who negatively evaluates the result as a cause of problems for Europe. In all the examples the overall image is that the negative outcome has not been welcomed by EU leaders and, therefore, a *fight back* is to be expected. After the referendum EU leaders are often actors of the attributing verbs *attack* and *threatens* which seem to picture them as aggressors. The main goals of EU's attacks appear to be the electorate and Cowen.

6.6.4 The electorate **was threatened**, cajoled, blackmailed and bullied. They were told their economy would collapse and their country would be ostracised, and still they voted "No". And what was the response to this, the only expression of popular opinion on the treaty among any of the 27 member states? It was a collective sucking of teeth, a shaking of heads, and expressions of bewilderment that a country that had benefited so mightily and visibly from EU largesse should bite the hand that fed it. In normal democratic and accountable institutions, the democratic will, voiced several times over, must eventually be heeded. In the EU, as if to prove the point that its detractors continually make about its arrogance and complacency, "No" is not an answer anyone is prepared to accept. (*The Times*, 14 June 2008)

6.6.5 What next? They can rewrite some bits of the treaty and call it something else. They can cajole and **threaten**. They can persuade the Irish to go back to the polls and vote again. (*Daily Mail*, 16 June 2008)

6.6.6 BRIAN COWEN **has come under sustained attack** from Europe over his failure to persuade voters here to ratify the Lisbon Treaty. (*Daily Mail*, 5 July 2008)

The verb *threaten* is often associated with undesirability and negative connotation (Bednarek 2006: 137) and in example 6.6.4 this negativity is enhanced by the other verbs 'cajoled', 'blackmailed' and 'bullied' which are also connected with negative evaluation as the definitions in the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary indicate ('cajole' means to persuade someone to do something they might not want to do, by pleasant talk and, sometimes false, promises; 'blackmail' means when you get money from people or force them to do something by threatening to tell a secret of theirs or to harm them; 'bully' means to hurt or frighten someone who is smaller or less powerful than you, often forcing them to do something they do not want to do). As a consequence, EU leaders appear to be powerful enforcers able to force people to get their aim. *The Times'* overall evaluation of EU leaders seems rather negative and the electorate appears to be the passive goal of EU leaders' actions. Example 6.6.5 also gives a negative evaluation of EU leaders as the metaphorical attributing verb *threaten* indicates.

In this example the collocation of the verb ‘cajole’ and the occurrence of the verb ‘persuade’ in the following line also enhance the negative connotation of *threaten* giving EU leaders the image of powerful politicians engaged in a conflict with only one aim in mind: win the battle. In the last example (6.6.6) the goal of EU’s attacks is Cowen. So we understand that Cowen and EU are engaged in a conflicting relationship.

The actors of the conflict are not limited to Cowen and the EU but are extended to the Czech Republic, Poland, and to a lesser degree Britain. After the referendum these countries expressed their support hailing the result as *a victory* not only for Ireland but also *on behalf of ordinary people* and in July the month when Sarkozy planned to visit Ireland their support increased and linguistically resulted in *treats* to Europe (for a reference to Sarkozy’s visit see Chapter 1).

6.6.7 With a Conservative government in Britain a prospect by the spring of 2010, Euro-federalist efforts to isolate or **threaten** Ireland, would inevitably be opposed by Britain. (*The Times*, 26 June 2008)

6.6.8 Poland **threatens** Sarkozy’s scheme to rescue Lisbon treaty: President refuses to ratify without Irish decision: Reforms central to French EU presidency (*Guardian*, 2 July 2008)

6.6.9 Vaclav Klaus, the Czech president, **has threatened** to block the treaty pending the court’s verdict. He recently **hit out** at French efforts to put the treaty back on track and ignore Irish public opinion. (*The Sunday Times*, 6 July 2008)

Apart from example 6.6.7 that sees EU leaders as actors of *threaten*, the other two examples show Poland and the Czech president as actors of the verb *threaten*. As this verb connotes negative evaluation, the newspapers and the news actors are evaluating the attribution as negative. However, Bednarek (2006: 137-140) has pointed out that is not easy to spot whether the writer or the news actor is emotionally involved in the evaluation. What might be worth noting here is that the EU, Poland and the Czech Republic are actors of the CONFLICT construal, contribute to create the news story and give the readers the shared schema of WAR in which participants struggle for their expression of power.

The analysis has revealed that EU leaders seem to lead the conflict especially when looking at occurrences of *strategy* and *tactics*. Apart from two occurrences which refer to the strategy adopted by the Irish government in the conflict against Europe, the other occurrences only refer to EU leaders connoted as *skilled strategists*. The metaphorical lexeme *tactics* is also mainly used with reference to EU leaders.

6.6.10 For the German, French and EU leadership such **strong-arm tactics** are now the only way to achieve the political advances they seek - and it is surely right to expect such **threats** to intensify in the months ahead. Where the conventional wisdom seem wrong, however, is in assuming that these bullying **tactics** will work. The Irish are a notoriously stubborn people who have withstood many generations of external bullying and they may now start to treat Europe, instead of Britain, as an overbearing colonial power. (*The Times*, 26 June 2008)

6.6.11 The Franco-German **strategy** for dealing with the Irish rebuff is to get the other 26 EU countries to ratify the treaty as quickly as possible and to isolate the Irish. (*Guardian*, 2 July 2008)

In example 6.6.10 EU leaders' *tactics* seem to be negatively evaluated as the adjectives 'strong-arm' and 'bullying' indicate. These adjectives suggest an image of powerful leaders which use their authority towards weaker people. Example 6.6.11 uses two different metaphorical domains in order to construe the event of ratification. The *strategy* used by France and Germany seems to put emphasis on the *speed* of the ratification process. While *The Times* seems to directly evaluate EU leaders' behaviour, the *Guardian* only uses the metaphorical lexeme to describe the event. This might imply that *The Times* is not in favour of EU's attitude towards its citizens.

The scenario provided by the two examples above and the concordances analysed, might imply that EU leaders are planning the course of the conflict and studying their enemy. On the contrary, the lack of references to opponents of the treaty as *strategists* might indicate that their *attacks* or *threats* have not been planned beforehand but are only the results of EU leaders' actions towards Ireland. Another common role played by EU leaders seems to be the one of forceful aggressors as it is visible in the occurrences of the lexemes *re-run* and *assault*.

6.6.12 Ireland is in danger of being bullied. The big boys planning the **assault** are France and Germany. That is the plain meaning of the statement they issued on Friday in response to the news that Irish voters had rejected the Lisbon Treaty designed to streamline the European Union. (*The Independent*, 16 June 2008)

6.6.13 Prime Minister Brian Cowen is under pressure from Europe to **re-run the referendum** next year and produce a different result. (*The Independent*, 26 June 2008)

In both examples Ireland is the passive goal of EU's pressure which is perceived as a danger in example 6.6.12. In the former example, the image of EU leaders as bullies recurs. In particular France and Germany appear to be the leaders of the EU's action. This comes as no surprise as it has already been mentioned in the previous paragraph that the leaders of those countries occupied a basic role in the EU and ratification process. On the other hand, the role of *resisters*

is given to the Czech, Ireland and Poland as they often appear as actors of the verb *resist* and show *resistance*.

6.6.14 The Irish **resistance** to the pressure is being bolstered by Britain and others. Dublin sources said that Cowen was “very happy” with the British position following his talks with Gordon Brown in Belfast on Monday. (*Guardian*, 19 June 2008)

6.6.15 But the Polish and Czech **resistance** indicates that Sarkozy’s **strategy** of quarantining the Irish is unravelling and that the Irish contagion is spreading. (*Guardian*, 2 July 2008)

6.6.16 It is therefore welcome that Poland, which suffered so long from Soviet oppression, **is resisting** the authoritarianism of Brussels by backing the Irish, in the process destabilising the French presidency on its first day. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 15 July 2008)

These occurrences seem to enhance the vision that Poland and the Czech only *attack* in response to EU’s *threats*. In particular, in example 6.6.16 *The Daily Telegraph* seems to picture the EU under a strong negative light. Its parallel with the Soviet oppression and the description of EU policies and actions in terms of ‘authoritarianism’ make the European Union a careless leader only intent on pursuing its aim. As a consequence, the *resistance* appears a positive event as the phrase ‘it is therefore welcome’ seems to suggest. The *Guardian*’s quotes on the other hand, even though conferring the Irish, the Polish and the Czech the role of *resisters*, simply indicate that there are attempts to resist Europe. In example 6.6.14 after showing the opposing faction, it avoids to specify that the pressures are European and passes the responsibility of presenting British support to Ireland as a positive outcome to Cowen. In example 6.6.15, the presentation of Irish NO in terms of an ILLNESS metaphor might imply a negative evaluation of the referendum result as causing disease. Therefore, it can be argued that even though the resistance is a response to EU’s pressure and threats opposing EU is not a positive or a welcomed option.

The analysis has also revealed that there are few references towards December 2008 which coincide with the European Summit where the future of the treaty was discussed (see Chapter 1). In particular, it signs a new beginning for the European Union as it was agreed that guarantees for Ireland would be granted unless the treaty was approved. The British press described this event in terms of lack of *resistance* and a result of EU’s pressure to *rerun Lisbon*.

6.6.17 Mr Cowen **could not resist** intense lobbying led by President Sarkozy of France to try to salvage a document that was itself drawn up to rescue many of the reforms in the EU constitution that was defeated by French and Dutch voters in 2005. (*The Times*, 12 December 2008)

6.6.18 **EMBATTLED** Brian Cowen will give in to pressure from arrogant EU chiefs and **RE-RUN the rejected Lisbon Treaty**, a Government minister admitted last night. (*The Sun*, 12 December 2008)

Both examples picture EU leaders as enforcers. However, while *The Times* directly addresses the EU leaders, *The Sun*'s quote is construed as an attribution by an Irish government minister and this might imply that the newspaper is passing the responsibility onto that minister. This image often occurs in these two newspapers especially towards December and might suggest their disapproval of what was agreed at the Summit. However, this attitude is not surprising especially for *The Sun* that campaigned for a referendum in Britain.

The analysis of the European scenario has shown that metaphorical lexemes related to the CONFLICT domain are used to describe the different attitudes towards the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. In particular, irrespective of the evaluative stance of each newspaper, the analysis has revealed that EU leaders are skilled *strategists* planning their *tactics* in order to *defeat the enemies* opposing the treaty. A common stereotyped role attributed to EU leaders is that of forceful aggressors or bullies who *attack* the weaker opponents. On the other hand, even though there are some references to the Czech or Poland as actors of the attributing verb *threaten* or the non attributing *threat* they are usually given the stereotyped role of *resisters* to pressures. In the end it appears as if EU leaders are too strong to be resisted and eventually appear to win the conflict even though in the occurrences of the lexemes *victory* there is no reference in December. The only reference to a possibility of winning for EU leaders occurs in the *Mirror* where the action of *winning* is connected to the guarantees that should be granted. The occurrences of the lexemes *victory* and *win* which mainly refer to the Irish *victory* of the first referendum might suggest that the British press seems to be favourable to the referendum results. On the contrary the lack of instances of *victory* and the only occurrence of *win* at the end of the corpus might imply that there is nothing to be proud of or happy about the decision agreed at the Summit. As it might be expected tabloids refer to *victory* after the Irish referendum in June which appears in quotations or attributions by treaty opponents. The analysis has also revealed that *The Times* is particularly critical of EU policies and actions. Its quotes contain a high number of negative intensifiers – the ones used with reference to EU's strategies and comments on EU leaders as threateners urging Cowen give in. The presentation of Cowen as a passive agent of EU leaders' mandate or policies is also shared by the *Daily Mail* (6.6.6) and *The Independent* (6.6.12) that appear to disapprove the final surrender to the European Union. The *Guardian* seems to be more neutral in its use of neutral modifiers such as the ones indicating the nationality of Sarkozy and Merkel metonymically used with the reference to their strategies. On the other hand, the newspaper has also revealed an

ambivalent attitude towards the European elite when presents other countries resistance and indicates that even though it appears to be a response to EU's pressure, opposing EU policies might have negative consequences (6.6.15).

6.7 Summary

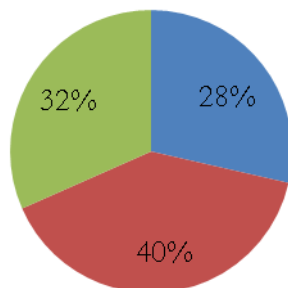
The analysis of the three scenarios has shown that CONFLICT metaphors are mainly used to describe opposing attitudes towards the approval of the treaty. Even though these scenarios present distinct features, commonalities may be found. In the analysis of the Irish and European scenarios it has emerged that CONFLICT metaphors are found in combination with the BULLY metaphor where Cowen and EU leaders are described as *bullies* or *big boys* acquiring negative connotation. This metaphor is linked to A NATION IS A HUMAN BEING metaphor and the countries/nations are represented as human members of the neighbourhood under attack from bullies (Deignan 2005: 129). This scenario suggests the necessity of an intervention that if missed might imply a lack of moral duty or cowardice. As a consequence, the Czech and Polish might be playing the role of saviours or powerful neighbours, and *resistance* might be seen as the only possible intervention. The negative connotation of EU leaders has also been visible in the stereotyped role of *strategists* and *threateners* that the British press is attributing to them.

Moreover, as CONFLICT metaphors are “common rhetorical strategies for identifying what is valued and what is rejected and therefore become a heuristic for creating political identity” (Charteris-Black 2004: 93) it can be argued that in showing the treaty as a menace, as revealed by the analysis of the Irish and British scenarios in particular, the British press is focusing on the values of sovereignty and national identity and raising people's consciousness to keep them alive by rejecting the treaty. The analysis has revealed that metaphorical expressions relative to the CONFLICT domain can be linked to the conceptual metaphors ARGUMENT IS WAR, POLITICS IS CONFLICT and ACTIVITY OR PROCESS IS FIGHTING.

It has been shown that the British press interest in each single scenario has turned out to be distributed as shown in Picture 6.9.

British Press Coverage - CONFLICT metaphor

■ EU scenario ■ Irish Scenario ■ British Scenario



Picture 6.9 British press coverage in the three scenarios relative to CONFLICT metaphor.

It can be argued that the British press equally focuses on the British and European debates while dedicates a greater attention to the Irish background. However, each detailed analysis has revealed that broadsheets percentage is higher in the British and European scenarios while tabloids show a higher percentage of metaphorical occurrences in the Irish setting. Therefore, it might be argued that the quality press focuses more both on the British and European situations whereas the popular press is particularly interested in the Irish internal debate.

The Irish Scenario has shown that the *Daily Mail* and *The Sun* are particularly critical of the Irish government. With its use of negative intensifiers with reference to the government's strategies and tactics, the *Daily Mail* seems to strongly disapprove of the government's actions and confers it a negative role. *The Sunday Times*, more than other newspapers, has turned out to be particularly interested in the violence of the conflict. Through the use of intensifiers it puts emphasis on the scathing tone of the debate. This might indicate that there is no other way of conceptualising the argument in political debate but also that the referendum is a sensitive issue for this newspaper that together with others has campaigned for a referendum in Britain. *The Sunday Times* and its daily edition have also emphasised the importance of the referendum *defeat* for Irish voters and this seems to confirm their dedication to the referendum cause. *The Sun*, which has also advocated a referendum in Britain, has revealed its critical attitude towards the approval of the treaty, not only by using negative intensifiers or negatively commenting on the treaty but also by reporting the criticism of common people. By doing so, it aims at raising Irish people's consciousness on important values such as Christianity and employment which were described to be under Lisbon *threats* by treaty opponents. The other newspapers seem to use metaphorical items just as descriptor of the ratification event. The *Mirror* in particular only limits to report quotations and attributions of the participants in the conflict, especially Irish government's representatives.

As far as the British scenario is concerned, the analysis has revealed that the *Daily Mail* and *The Sun* appear to be particularly critical of Brown in his surrendering of power to Europe. *The Daily Telegraph* also disapproves of Brown's decision to adopt red lines before signing the treaty and negatively attributes him the role of coward. It has emerged that the British scenario can be sub-divided into three sections and that only *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sun* and *The Times* refer to Wheeler's case. This comes as no surprise considering that these newspapers supported the referendum pledge in Britain. As a consequence their disapproval of the government's conduct in the first part of the debate might be due to Labour Party's broken promise of holding a referendum on any European constitution. The *Guardian* and *The Independent* on the other hand, seem not to take a clear position in the debate. In fact when these newspapers describe opposing opinions and attitudes towards the British government or refer to the position of government's representatives they often use attributions and quotations. This might imply that the newspapers are passing responsibility for their reports to the Sayers and are only describing the event of ratification. Moreover, it has been argued that the few references to the British government's final victory or 'Tories' defeat are only used to describe the development of the debate. As a consequence, it has been suggested that in avoiding comments some newspapers such as the *Guardian*, *The Independent* and their Sunday editions might be simply supporting the Government's action of ratifying the treaty, whereas other newspapers such as *The Sun*, *Daily Mail*, *The Telegraph* and their Sunday editions might be deeply but silently criticising the results.

The analysis of the European scenario has shown that even though the only possible intervention to save the weaker Irish is the Czech and Polish resistance, EU leaders are too strong to be resisted and eventually appear to win the conflict. Nevertheless, the analysis has shown that there are few occurrences of the lexemes *victory* and among these there is no reference to victory in December when the development of the debate seems to be favouring the EU elite. The fact that the references to *victory* appear to be related to the first Irish referendum and that there is no occurrence of this item in the last part of the corpus, has suggested that the British press seems to be favourable to the first referendum results and has nothing to comment on the decision agreed at the European Summit of December 2008. The *Daily Mail*, *The Times* and *The Independent* appear particularly critical of Cowen's surrendering to the European Union that is also negatively evaluated. Cowen appears only to be meeting EU leaders' schedule. The analysis has also shown that the *Guardian* shows an ambivalent attitude towards the EU establishment. On the one hand, it presents the Czechs and Polish resistance as a response to the pressures of European leaders. On the other hand, it evaluates this

opposition in terms of a spreading disease and therefore it seems to attribute to the reactions brought about by the Irish NO a negative connotation.

Against these data, it can be argued that *The Times*, *The Sun*, the *Daily Mail*, *The Sunday Times* and to a lesser degree *The Daily Telegraph* in their use of metaphorical items relative to the CONFLICT domain show a strong disapproval of the ratification of the new treaty. These newspapers are particularly concerned with the referendum pledge and focus greater attention both on the Irish and British scenarios. *The Times* has also turned out to be deeply interested in the European scenario and strongly criticises European *strategies* and attitudes towards the electorate stressing that the referendum *defeat* is the result of the distance between Europe and its people.

7. Conclusions

7.1 General observations

The findings of this research project are consistent with the view proposed by Conceptual Metaphor Theory that we use metaphor to structure our understanding of the world. They also support Lakoff and Johnson's argument that metaphors can give form to social and political ideas, and that they can be exploited to suggest that a particular understanding of the events is the natural, ordinary, inevitable interpretation. The findings have also confirmed scholars' criticism of Cognitive Linguistics' methodology as they have shown that a first analysis based on a sample of reading and intuition has revealed to be only partially consistent with the findings of further analysis operated through the help of computational tools and pragmatic analysis of metaphors in discourse. Moreover, the co-occurrence of metaphorical lexemes relative to the same or different domains in the same article or paragraph has revealed that metaphors are useful tools to create coherence and construe the event of ratification. It has also emerged that the same metaphorical lexeme or other lexemes related to the same or different domains might be used by newspapers to create a crescendo and to express their opinion towards ratification.

From the analysis of the metaphorical expressions revealing the two conceptual domains of MOVEMENT and CONFLICT, it can be argued that there is a parallel between the stereotyped role of enforcers emerged by the investigation of the lexemes expressing a forced movement (5.5) and the role of *threateners*, *strategists* and aggressors emerged by the European scenario (6.5) and attributed to EU leaders and supporters of the ratification. This negative image has also been enhanced by the BULLY metaphor as argued in Chapter 6 and might imply that the Czech and the Polish are meeting their public function of saviours without missing moral duties and customs. In this scenario, the Irish are given the role of *victims* that need intervention and in the MOVEMENT analysis they appear passive goals of EU leaders' action. It has also emerged that EU leaders are pictured as *fast movers* while Ireland is the *laggard* country that is going to be *left behind*. It can be argued that even though the role of *movers* confers EU leaders an active role in the process, it is not always welcomed or approved by newspapers.

It has emerged that both metaphors are used to show different attitudes towards the approval of the treaty and that their positive or negative evaluation varies depending on the stance of each newspaper or journalist. The overall attitude of the British press towards the

ratification of Lisbon and the EU in general seems to be still negative. However, not all the newspapers are directly addressing to EU leaders or governments supporting the European project as anti-democratic. Nevertheless, the following paragraphs will try to summarise the attitudes of sub-corpora which have been grouped according to commonalities shown in the approach to the debate. Even though each paragraph heading only mentions the daily newspapers, it also takes into account the position of their Sunday edition.

7.2 Representation of the EU and governments supporting treaty ratification in the *Daily Mail*, *The Sun*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*.

The analysis of the data has shown that the *Daily Mail*, *The Sun*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Times* and to a lesser degree their Sunday editions are opposing the ratification of the Treaty especially in Britain and, more evidently in the CONFLICT metaphor analysis, in Ireland. The analysis has revealed that these newspapers are particularly critical of the British government's decision of ratifying Lisbon. This decision is seen as a lack of respect for the British people's national interests. In particular, this disapproval has been revealed by the analysis of the forced movement as the exemplifications taken from the relative paragraph shows.

7.2.1 To pass the Bill on Wednesday is therefore to pass into law a treaty that may change profoundly, or may never be implemented at all. The only purpose in doing so is to bully the Irish. For all its talk, this Government seems to want to be in **the driver's cab of a bulldozer** that we should be lying down in front of. (*The Times*, 17 June 2008)

7.2.2 President Kaczynski is speaking up for the rights of Irish voters. Gordon Brown has **rammed this treaty through** Parliament to put pressure on the Irish without any democratic mandate from the British people. (*Daily Mail*, 2 July 2008)

7.2.3 Mr Brown, however, is preparing to defy public opinion by **pushing ahead** with the ratification of the treaty's text in Parliament. Legislation is due for its third and final reading in the Lords on Wednesday. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 14 June 2008)

The negative stance towards the British government has also emerged from the analysis of CONFLICT metaphors relative to the British scenario. In particular, the *Daily Mail* and *The Sun* picture Brown as a compliant leader as visible in the occurrences of the verb *surrender*.

7.2.4 Brown's done deal; Premier **surrenders** powers to the EU, agrees to 'a debate' but still refuses a referendum insisting: We must **move on** (*Daily Mail*, 19 October 2007)

7.2.5 The PM **will surrender the UK's sovereign powers** when he puts his name to the new EU treaty in Lisbon. (*The Sun*, 12 December 2007)

It seems that they are directly disapproving Brown's decision of signing the treaty and proceeding towards its ratification. Moreover, these newspapers are raising British people's awareness of the fact that approving Lisbon would mean losing their beloved value of sovereignty.

It has also emerged that the *Daily Mail* has turned out to be particularly critical of the Irish government (6.3). In its analysis, the Irish government appears to play the role of a *skilful strategist* as the following exemplification taken from the corpus seems to suggest.

7.2.6 THOUGH a vote is several months away at a minimum, already the Governments **strategy** for forcing through the Lisbon Treaty is becoming apparent and what a deeply dishonest, sinister **strategy** it is. Before a single vote is cast, the Government is assiduously working to nobble the opposition and prepare the battleground in its favour. Whatever about the question of whether the repackaged constitution will pass or not, it is an increasingly doubtful prospect that voters will be afforded a fair contest. The first part of the Governments strategy is the tried-and-tested **tactic** of blackmail. (*Daily Mail*, 12 January 2008)

Not only do these newspapers seem to evaluate EU leaders' action as predictable (7.2.7) but also to bias EU's action of *moving forward* without Ireland as a manifestation of its disrespect for democracy (7.2.9; 7.2.10; 7.2.11) and the resulting defeat as a lack of communication with its people (7.2.8) as shown in the exemplifications taken from previous Chapters.

7.2.7 Having spent two years rebuilding the Treaty of Lisbon from the scrap parts of the defeated European Constitution, the Eurocrats can only watch as a **learner driver takes the wheel of their juggernaut and drives it towards the edge of a cliff**. This scenario has arisen because, while all 26 of the other member states have decided to wave through the treaty via their parliaments (the UK included), Ireland alone has a legal obligation under its constitution to put the matter to a public vote. Because the treaty must be passed unanimously by all 27 member states, an Irish No vote would kill it. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 31 May 2008)

7.2.8 Such a comprehensive **defeat**...is an indictment of the distance between the people and the politics at the top. (*The Times*, 14 June 2008)

7.2.9 Admittedly the celebratory Guinness might well have been a contributing factor, but it is clear that the large European powers have decided that Ireland, and the rest of us, **can be railroaded**. Yesterday, protesters demanding a referendum were dragged from the gallery of the

Lords as Europhiles such as Lord Kinnock **rammed the treaty through** the Upper Chamber. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 19 June 2008)

7.2.10 No doubt the Eurocrats will try to **go ahead** as though nothing had happened in the Irish referendum. That would be both stupid and illegal. If they try to impose the Lisbon Treaty they will be moving in precisely the wrong **direction**. (*Mail on Sunday*, 16 June 2008)

7.2.11 For the German, French and EU leadership such strong-arm **tactics** are now the only way to achieve the political advances they seek - and it is surely right to expect such **threats** to intensify in the months ahead. Where the conventional wisdom seem wrong, however, is in assuming that these bullying **tactics** will work. The Irish are a notoriously stubborn people who have withstood many generations of external bullying and they may now start to treat Europe, instead of Britain, as an overbearing colonial power. (*The Times*, 26 June 2008)

It can be argued that both metaphors create a common ground in the event construal among these newspapers. They are emphasising that the ratification process is being carried out regardless of citizens' popular will whether the actor is either the British government, the Irish establishment or Europe. It is only by means of forcing the movement or moving faster and using *tactics* that these political elites can overturn or reverse public opinion.

7.3 Representation of the European Union and governments supporting treaty ratification in the *Mirror*, *The Independent* and *Guardian*.

On the other hand, the analysis has highlighted that the *Guardian*, *The Independent* and their Sunday editions express a more neutral stance towards the British government. *The Independent*, for example, has no occurrences of lexemes expressing a forced movement such as *ram*, *railroad* and *plough* and when it refers to Britain in one of the occurrences *to push* as its actor it attributes the statement to the British Prime Minister keeping its distance from what he is saying. The analysis of the British scenario within the CONFLICT metaphor seems to suggest a similar attitude towards the British government. In the examples provided in Chapter 6 (6.5.2, 6.5.3, 6.5.4) Brown is attributed the role of a *defender* of Britain's national interests. *The Independent* simply present the position of both opponents and supporters of the treaty through attributions. On the other hand *The Observer*, differently from the MOVEMENT metaphor analysis, seems to disapprove of Brown and criticise red lines implying that Brown cannot be considered a *defender* of Britain but is only using red lines as a means to resist referendum. As the occurrence appears in October 2007, that is during the drafting stage, it might be implied

that the newspaper was questioning the validity of opting out while after the signing of the treaty it can only present the situation avoiding any comment. This might suggest that the newspaper does not want to get directly involved in the debate or better in the decision of the British government.

The *Guardian*, even though it uses verbs expressing a forced action, never refers to Britain or the British government as their actors. This newspaper along with *The Independent*, as the analysis of MOVEMENT metaphors and in particular the forced movement scenario has revealed, limits its comments to the European Union attributing it a more negative connotation for its insistent advancement without Ireland. In particular, these newspapers seem to disapprove of EU leaders' action of pursuing the ratification with a strong determination stressing, in some examples, the illegality of this action under EU rules as the following exemplifications taken from the previous analyses indicate.

7.3.1 Everything suggested that Europe's key leaders were urgently conferring on a scheme to **steamroller** their blueprint through despite the Irish rejection, a course likely to trigger protest from Eurosceptics and deepen Europe's democratic legitimacy problems. (*Guardian*, 14 June 2008)

7.3.2 EU foreign ministers, meeting in Luxembourg yesterday, admitted there could be "no quick fix" as they tried to calm Ireland's fears that the EU will either **go ahead** with the treaty without Ireland or ignore last week's referendum by pressurizing the country to vote a second time on an amended treaty. (*The Independent*, 17 June 2008)

7.3.4 Irrespective of what moved the Irish electorate, the treaty has failed and must be redrafted. Yet Britain, France, Germany and the rest **are proceeding** with ratification as if the vote had gone the other way. They are saying that Europe's constitutional framework - good or bad - can be disregarded when inconvenient, for instance when democracy has rejected what they want. (*Guardian*, 18 June 2008)

7.3.5 The very worst course of action from European governments would be to **push ahead** with implementing Lisbon's provisions as if nothing had happened. (*The Independent*, 2 July)

The same negative attitude has also been revealed by the CONFLICT metaphor analysis. *The Independent* describes France and Germany as aggressors who are planning their strategists. On the other hand, the *Guardian* seems to give a positive role to Britain as saviour of Ireland from EU's pressure. Differently from the newspapers' examples reported in paragraph 7.2 the *Guardian* appears to be evaluating Brown as capable of responding to moral customs and prevent dangerous consequences.

7.3.6 Ireland is in danger of being bullied. The big boys planning the **assault** are France and Germany. That is the plain meaning of the statement they issued on Friday in response to the news that Irish voters had rejected the Lisbon Treaty designed to streamline the European Union. (*The Independent*, 16 June 2008)

7.3.7 The Irish **resistance** to the pressure is being bolstered by Britain and others. Dublin sources said that Cowen was “very happy” with the British position following his talks with Gordon Brown in Belfast on Monday. (*Guardian*, 19 June 2008)

A similar positive stance is also expressed by the occurrences of the lexeme *delay* as the analysis of the impediment scenario has shown (5.8.23; 5.8.24).

As far as the *Mirror* is concerned, the analysis has revealed that the newspaper does not present a relevant use of metaphors relative to both domains. However, in its occurrences it has been observed that the newspaper makes a relevant use of quotations and attributions which might imply that it is avoiding to take part in the debate directly, and is simply using them to confer authority to its reports. Nevertheless, before the referendum it tends to show an ambivalent attitude towards the European Union. It hints at voting NO but on the other hand it seems to stress the negative effect that this rejection could have on the seven years’ efforts of Europe. Soon after the referendum on the contrary, it shows a strong criticism and emphasises the importance of respecting people’s opinion as shown by the following exemplifications.

7.3.8 AROUND THE WORLD...: **DRIVE ON** FOR LISBON NO (*Mirror*, 13 March 2008)

7.3.9 A Yes verdict will ensure Ireland remains at the heart of influence in Brussels but a No vote **could derail** the Treaty and almost seven years’ of work by EU member states. (*Mirror*, 12 June 2008)

7.3.10 THE **wheels came off the EU juggernaut** yesterday after voters in the Republic said “non”. Punters in one of Europe’s smaller countries brought the **unstoppable union of states to a grinding halt**. It showed the political classes that the people are not to be taken for granted. Those in positions of power seemed to think a yes vote was a cert. Many others did not understand or care about the Lisbon Treaty. Maybe the lesson to be learned is that the European Union needs to connect more with its members. If there is more to the EU than gravy trains and grants perhaps they should let us all know. (*Mirror*, 14 June 2008)

As for the previous paragraph, it can be argued that both metaphors tend to create a common description of the debate over Lisbon in these newspapers. However, the *Guardian* and *The Independent* seem not to contrast or negatively evaluate the action of the British government.

Like the *Mirror* these two newspapers limit to report the position of both political factions through attributions and quotations.

7.4 Concluding observations

In general the British press seems to be still sceptic towards the European Union even though some newspapers tend to express this negative image in a more direct way and others only veil their positions. The criticism of the most Eurosceptic press, as it has been shown in paragraph 7.2, seems to be based on the fact that the Lisbon Treaty is a menace for important socio-political and cultural issues both for the British and Irish People. Both countries are presented as losing their sovereignty and Ireland in particular is presented as losing its power of freely and independently deciding on sensitive issues such as abortion, tax and employment. The treaty itself is also presented as leading to undesirable destinations such as a Federal Europe or an EU army. As a consequence there is emphasis on its rejection.

In the introduction it has already been discussed that European issues are sensitive issues for the British press since 1990s and that studies have shown how this debate is intense. This analysis has also revealed, especially in the CONFLICT metaphor analysis, that the debate on the Lisbon treaty is very combative as the analysis of the metaphorical lexemes *battle* and *struggle* has suggested. However, this combative debate is not only limited to the political arena. It also fills the pages of newspapers that appear to vividly describe this event. Since the beginning of the drafting stage, the London correspondent for the German newspaper *Die Welt*, Thomas Kielinger, in his description of media's interest in the debate over Lisbon, seems to summarise the general attitude of the British press without refraining from expressing its criticism.

More pit bull than lapdog: that's how I would describe the combative DNA of the British media. There's often a touch of class to the jousting, for sure, but equally often the fighting descends into a slugfest with no holds barred. That's how the world has come to see, and mostly enjoy, the British print media in particular: hooked on personal drama, raw and adversarial, given to the robust exchange customary in an open society and an old democracy, at that. Nowhere is this more true than in the great fight over the new Lisbon treaty. Europe seems to trigger some of the most visceral reactions in the British psyche. If you are a Eurosceptic - which is how about 70 per cent of the British people would describe themselves - you only need turn to history to find all the relevant buzzwords to get worked up about Europe and the bureaucrats in Brussels. (Guardian, 22 October 2007)

To draw the study to a close, it can be said that this research project seems to confirm the results of previous analyses on the political debate over European issues which show the British press as providing a general negative description of the European Union (Anderson and Weymouth 1999; Semino 2002; Musolff 2004). It might be argued that the British press is still Eurosceptic. The analysis has also revealed that the most Eurosceptic British press provides a general negative evaluation of the British government and its Prime Minister by disapproving their decision of not holding a referendum and ratifying Lisbon. Moreover, it can also be added that metaphor has turned out to be a useful tool for identifying stereotyped roles of the participants in the ratification process and has been functional to explore both political and journalistic attitudes towards that event.

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