# Ideological imagination: intertextual and correlational metaphors in political discourse

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ABSTRACT. This article explores the role that metaphors play in the ideological interpretation of events. Research in cognitive linguistics has brought rich evidence of the enormous influence that body experience has on (metaphorical) conceptualization. However, the role of the *cultural net* in which an individual is embedded has mostly been neglected. As a step towards the integration of cultural experience into the experientialist framework in cognitive metaphor research I propose to differentiate two ideal types of motivation for metaphor: *correlation* and *intertextuality*. Evidence for the important role that intertextual metaphors play in ideological discourse comes from an analysis of Polish newspaper discourse on the tenth anniversary of the end of communism.

KEY WORDS: *cognitive linguistics, ideology, imagination, metaphor, political discourse*

The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 1999) rests on an experientialist framework. Our minds are regarded as working the way they do because of the ways our bodies interact with, that is experience, the world. Though it has been stated that experience should not be understood as individual body experience alone, but also as a sociocultural experience (Johnson, 1992; Lakoff, 1987), the subject's cultural situatedness has hardly been modeled by cognitive linguists. Analyses of public discourse, however, show that often metaphors that seem quite different from the classic examples of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor play the most important part in negotiating and popularizing an understanding of poorly known phenomena. This has been shown in analyses of metaphors in public discourses such as discourse on political topics (e.g. Chilton and Ilyin, 1993; Musolff, 2000; Schäffner, 1993)[1] or on genetics and

biotechnology (Hellsten, 2000; Nerlich et al., 2000). It seems that participants of discourses on topics of social life tend to incorporate new events by interpreting them metaphorically as some culturally salient phenomenon, and not via projection of knowledge schemata abstracted from universal aspects of body experience. From a linguistic point of view, the typical examples that the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor cites are historically motivated by experience. The metaphors used by speakers in discourse to get a grip on new events are motivated by their personal experience as members of a cultural group. My interest in this article is to examine the differences and interactions of these two types of metaphor in authentic political discourse. First, I discuss the two different types of metaphor in more detail. Then I present an analysis of the metaphorical interpretation of *communism* and *change* in Polish newspapers. Finally, I suggest ideological macromodels that motivate both types of metaphor in the analyzed discourse.

## Types of metaphoric imagination

The importance of metaphor for human cognition has been maintained by philosophers and linguists from Vico (1948) to Blumenberg (2001) and Weinrich (1958).[2] The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor formulated such a theory of cognition, which grants metaphor a central place. According to Johnson (1987) and Lakoff (1987) metaphor is of crucial importance for human imagination because humans can only make immediate sense of what they *experience*. The notion of experience is a broad one, incorporating social experience, and even the historical experience of a community (Lakoff, 1987). However, the individual experience of the body in its interaction with the physical world is the experiential domain which has been stressed by the proponents of so-called second generation cognitive linguistics (e.g. Grady and Johnson, 2002; Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999). The theoretical notion within the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor which has gained the broadest popularity, that of *image schemata,*[3] captures the abstraction of recurrent body experience. It is hypothesized, for example, that from the experience of taking up and excreting food we abstract the image schema of CONTAINER, from the experience of crawling from *A* to *B* we abstract the image schema of SOURCE–PATH–GOAL and so forth.[4] To interpret a more complex world, knowledge patterns from these foundations of cognition are projected onto abstract conceptual domains. Thus, the conceptual domain of ACTION seems to be structured to some degree by knowledge from the image schema SOURCE–PATH–GOAL which makes sense to us, because we experience from early on that we have to literally go somewhere to metaphorically reach some goal. Grady (1999) calls conceptual metaphors like these *correlational metaphors*. In this article, I use the term for linguistic metaphors fitting such conceptual metaphors as well.

The notion of image schema does not seem to capture cultural experience at all. A person is seen as a self-sufficient *agent* who from the manipulation of the

physical world abstracts schemata that can reflectively be reorganized to understand a new domain of experience. In this model, linguistic metaphors are but a function of non-linguistic imagination. In modeling human imagination with the notion of image schema, cognitive semantics adopt what I call a *Piaget-Metaphor of Imagination.*[5]

There is, however, a type of imagination which does not project physical experience onto abstract domains, but seems to be rather culturally grounded, and which is very important in the linguistic interpretation of the world. This type of imagination is realized in what I call *intertextual metaphor* (Zinken, 2002; Zinken et al., in press). Here are some examples:

1. Jim is a pig.
2. Scientific progress leads to new Frankensteins.
3. There are too many unknown variables in this equation.

These linguistic metaphors are no expressions of conceptual metaphors motivated by body experience. They are originated in semiotic experience: stereotypes (1), culturally salient texts, films, pieces of art (2), school knowledge (3) and so forth. Metaphors such as these tend to sound more 'original'. Their metaphorical character is felt at once. But that does not mean that they are the product of a singularly creative mind; rather, intertextual metaphors are the product of a specific cultural situatedness of the metaphor producer. They are motivated by the speaker's adaptation to a certain cultural structure or substructure, which provides specific imaginative resources.

As has been claimed recently (e.g. Hellsten, 2000; Nerlich et al., 2000), metaphors of this type play an important part in the linguistic, discursive interpretation of novel phenomena. This idea finds support in the database on which the following analysis is grounded.[6] In this database intertextual metaphors appeared relatively often in headlines, leads, first and last section of texts, and in the texts underneath pictures of newspaper articles, that is, in those parts of the text where journalists (hypothetically) convey the most relevant information.[7] This is illustrated in Figure 1.
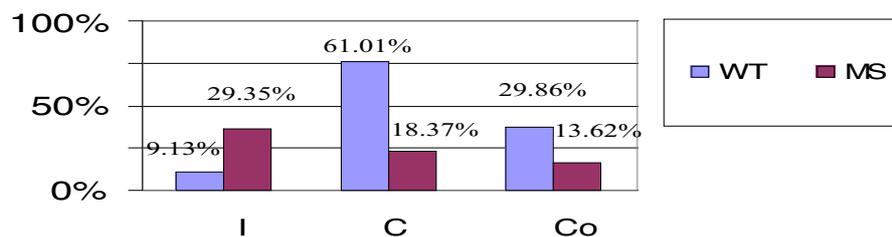


FIGURE 1. *Types of motivation and percentage of metaphors in different text fragments. Text fragments: WT = whole text; MS = parts of the text that are especially salient, that is headlines, leads, first and last sections, texts underneath pictures. Types of motivation: I, Intertextuality; C, Combined motivation; Co, Correlation of body experience and cognitive reaction.*[8]

TABLE 1. *Contexts of interpretation of the Round Table. Frequency of metaphorical target concepts in absolute and relative numbers. Database entries from articles on the Round Table: 432; Frequency of the target concept Round Table: 70 (16.20%)*

| | Gazeta Wyborcza | Nasz Dziennik | Polityka | Rzeczpospolita | Trybuna | Tygodnik Powszechny | Wprost | Życie |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Change | 14 (14.74%) | 0 | 17 (26.56%) | 7 (12.07%) | 7 (8.54%) | 2 (11.76%) | 6 (27.27%) | 12 (16.90%) |
| Communism | 27 (28.42%) | 3 (15.00%) | 9 (14.06%) | 2 (3.45%) | 10 (12.20%) | 1 (5.88%) | 8 (36.36%) | 29 (40.85%) |
| Compromise | 4 (4.21%) | 2 (10.00%) | 2 (3.12%) | 4 (6.90%) | 4 (4.88%) | 0 | 1 (4.55%) | 2 (2.82%) |
| Conflict | 4 (4.21%) | 1 (5.00%) | 2 (3.12%) | 0 | 2 (2.44%) | 1 (5.88%) | 0 | 1 (1.41%) |
| People (Naród)* | 1 (1.05%) | 4 (20.00%) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 (4.23%) |
| Society | 0 | 1 (5.00%) | 1 (1.56%) | 2 (3.45%) | 7 (8.54%) | 0 | 1 (4.55%) | 1 (1.41%) |
| Solidarity | 3 (3.16%) | 1 (5.00%) | 5 (7.81%) | 1 (1.73%) | 3 (3.66%) | 3 (17.65%) | 2 (9.09%) | 3 (4.23%) |

*There are two words for 'people' in Polish, one with a strong socialist association (*lud*) and one with a strong conservative association (naród).

Only 9.13 percent of all the metaphors in the database are intertextual metaphors, but among them 29.35 percent were found in the most important parts of the texts. The ratio between the appearance of metaphors in the whole texts and their appearance in the most salient parts of the texts is thus the reverse for intertextual metaphors of what it is like for metaphors showing a combined motivation or being motivated by correlation. This hints at the importance of culturally stabilized models in the *conscious* imagination of abstract social phenomena.

## Ten years after the end of communism: Polish newspapers on the events of 1989

Nineteen ninety-nine was the tenth anniversary of several political events in Poland that had a great impact on the fate of Polish and European history: the 'Round Table Talks', starting in February, at which representatives of the communist government and the opposing 'Solidarity' negotiated half-free elections, the elections themselves in June, the reestablishment of the Senate in July, and the inauguration of the new government under a non-communist prime minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, in September.

All these events found coverage in the major Polish dailies and weeklies in 1999. The best covered topic by far was the Round Table Talks which functioned as a 'starting point' for the political transformations in Poland and other satellite states of the Soviet Union. Sixty-eight percent of all the metaphors in the database come from articles on the Round Table. I therefore restrict my analysis to these data.

## Communists and the opposition at the Round Table

Virtually all journalists writing for Polish newspapers today draw part of their identity from their past as part of either the opposing solidarity or the socialist reformers. Accordingly, the behavior of both groups in the Polish transformation is one of the main topics in the texts on 1989. The articles show a strong need to establish a picture of how 'real' Poles behaved during this critical time.

If we look at the context in which the Round Table is interpreted, we see that this event is discussed mainly in the context of *communism*. In total, 20.60 percent of the metaphors interpret a concept that is tightly bound to the system of that time: *komunizm* (*communism*), *socjalizm* (*socialism*), *PZPR* (*Polish Unified Workers Party*), *PRL* (*Polish People's Republic*).[9] Hence the ideological aspect is the strongest in these articles. The *Round Table* itself is the target concept in 16.20 percent of the metaphors, and the concept of *change* is metaphorized in 15.28 percent of the data. No other target concept reaches more than 5.01 percent (*Solidarity*). Data for the individual newspapers are shown in Table 1.[10]

Obviously, the emphasis on how the past is remembered differs depending on the character of the newspaper. Some of the quantitative differences shown in

Table 1 are statistically relevant when judged using the chi-square test: in the socialist *Trybuna*, *society* is significantly more important as a context for the interpretation of the *Round Table* than it is in other newspapers. The nationalist *Nasz Dziennik* talks significantly more often about the *nation*. This concept is also important in the conservative *Życie* (although there is no statistical relevance here), in other papers it does not play any role as a context of interpretation. Statistically relevant is the high frequency of the concept *communism* in the conservative newspaper *Życie* and in the liberal newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza*.

The imaginative activity of text producers thus indexes to some degree their communicative needs and ideological standpoints. I further narrow the analysis to three newspapers: *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Życie* and *Trybuna*. These three papers wrote about the Round Table most frequently and most extensively. Fifty-seven percent of the database entries on the Round Table come from these papers.[11] Apart from that, these papers can be regarded as representing three prototypical political points of view in Poland today: the liberal post-Solidarity one (*Gazeta Wyborcza*), the conservative post-Solidarity one (*Życie*) and the post-communist one (*Trybuna*).

In *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Życie* the Round Table – and the period of transformation generally – is seen as a *battle* of the opposition against the communists. However, in *Gazeta Wyborcza* the event, assessed as a *battle without losers*, is evaluated positively as a *miracle*. In *Życie* the evaluation is different: the *Poles* WON against the *communists*, but because of an exaggerated indulgence on the part of the *winners*, the communists stayed on the political scene. The compromise of the Round Table turned out to be a *lifebelt* for the communists.

*GAZETA WYBORCZA*

(4) *CUD* OKRĄGŁEGO STOŁU (06.02.99)[12]

The *Miracle* of the Round Table (headline)

(5) A przecież rad jestem, że do tego nie doszło. Że żyję w kraju *bez zwycięzców i zwyciężonych* (08.02.99)

I am happy that it didn't come to that. That I live in a country *without winners and losers*.

*ŻYCIE*

(6) Okrągły Stół to był wielki odwrót komunistów. Krytykując to *polskie zwycięstwo*, obarczając je ciężarem późniejszych zaniechań, wzmacniamy tych, którzy chętnie powiedzieliby jak Mieczysław Jagielski 31 sierpnia 1980 roku: 'Nie ma zwyciężonych i zwycięzców'. Byli, byli. (08.02.99)

The Round Table was the big defeat of the communists. Criticizing this *Polish victory*, loading upon it the burden of later neglects, we strengthen those who would like to say, as Mieczysław Jagielski did on January 31, 1980: 'There are no winners and losers'. Yes, there were.

(7) A od dnia upadku muru berlińskiego ugoda stała się już po prostu *kołem ratunkowym*. Kto je rzucał, błądził (08.02.99)

And from the day the Berlin wall fell, the compromise has simply become a *lifebelt*. Those who threw it were mistaken.

In the *Trybuna*, the role of the communists at the Round Table is regarded quite differently. The communists are 'ours' in this newspaper, and as a consequence, its authors try to emphasize or construe the merits that the communist government had in participating in the negotiations and in the peaceful transformation in Poland.

*TRYBUNA*

(8) *Pokonując* rozliczne *wzajemne uprzedzenia*, nagromadzone przez lata stereotypy, potrafili wypracować kompromis, który miał nas przywrócić nowoczesnemu światu. (06.02.99)

*Overcoming* many *mutual prejudices* and accumulated with the years stereotypes, they managed to work out a compromise that returned us to the modern world.

(9) Potrzebę takiego porozumienia odczuwali *światli* przedstawiciele *władzy i opozycji* (06.02.99)

The need for such an agreement was felt by the *enlightened* representatives of *both government and opposition*.

(10) I my ochroniliśmy rząd 'S' przed tymi wszystkimi siłami. *Parasol ochronny* nad rządem 'Solidarności' był konieczny. (06.02.99).

Also we protected the 'Solidarity' government against all these powers. A *shield* above the 'Solidarity' government was necessary.

Examples (8) and (9) show the attempt to present government and opposition as similar to one another: there were more and less sensible representatives on both sides, and each had a wrong image of the other. To present the Polish dialog that led to transformation as a voluntary cooperation of 'enlightened' communists with the 'enlightened' opposition is an evident historical bias, that should not contribute to an open discussion of totalitarianism in Poland. In Extract (10) the communists are presented as a positive force in transformation, using a logic similar to that which was used to justify the State of War in the early 1980s: with their decisions, moderate communists prevented the intervention of more dangerous powers.

As I showed earlier, intertextual metaphors play an important part in the interpretation of complicated social phenomena. I now want to present the intertextual metaphors that appeared in the headlines, under pictures, and in the first and last sections of the articles on the Round Table published in the three analyzed newspapers.

In *Gazeta Wyborcza* I found three intertextual metaphoric imaginations.

### 'COMMUNISM AS A PREDACIOUS ANIMAL'[13]

> (11) Gdy polski komunizm chował *pazury*, chiński komunizm obnażył *długie, wilcze zęby*. (06.02.99)

> When Polish communism hid its *claws*, Chinese communism showed its *long wolf's teeth*.

The metaphor of the predacious animal interprets communism as a dangerous phenomenon that is at odds with civilized, human life.

### 'THE ROUND TABLE AS A SUPERNATURAL EVENT'

> (12) *CUD* OKRĄGŁEGO STOŁU (06.02.99)

> The *Wonder* of the Round Table (headline)

Interpreting the Round Table as a wonder puts this event alongside biblical tales, which are the foundation of European culture. The metaphor of the wonder is thus apt to establish the Round Table as a positive foundation-stone of the new Poland.

### 'THE ROUND TABLE AS AN EXAM PASSED BY ALL PARTICIPANTS'

> (13) A przecież dla jednych i drugich był to moment *egzaminu* – nie bójmy się wielkich słów – z patriotyzmu i odpowiedzialności za Polskę. Myślę, że wszyscy w tamtych dniach *zdaliśmy* ten *egzamin*. (06.02.99)

> And this was a moment where both sides had to pass an *exam* – let's not be frightened of big terms – in patriotism and responsibility for Poland. I think that in those days all of us *passed* this *exam*.

> (14) Wtedy, przy Okrągłym Stole, okazało się, że Polsce lepiej służy dialog niż obrzucanie się wyzwiskami i policyjne szarże. Tę *naukę* warto zapamiętać na zawsze. (06.02.99)

> Then, at the Round Table, it became evident that dialogue serves Poland better than throwing offences at each other and battles with the police. It's worth remembering this *lesson*.

This metaphorical interpretation of the situation in 1989 gives a picture of the position of *Gazeta Wyborcza* between the conservative *Życie* and the socialist *Trybuna*. Despite the opposition towards communism, which is expressed in the assimilation of communism to a wild animal, the ability of both sides to cooperate for the sake of a higher goal, the benefit of the country, is highlighted in the metaphor of the passed exam.

In the *Trybuna* there was only one intertextual metaphor.

### 'PUBLIC LIFE AS DEPENDING ON FASHION'

> (15) Natomiast jest szczególnie przykre, jeśli ktoś znalazł się za burtą, gdyż ma *niemodną* dziś biografię, czy nie mieści się w aktualnych układach. (08.02.99)

> But it is a real pity when someone has gone over board because he has a biography that is not *fashionable* nowadays or does not fit into the momentary relations.

Success in public life can be achieved only by someone who adopts to a fashion. Changes in society and public discourse are no more than a – perhaps momentary – change of taste.

In *Życie* there were three intertextual metaphors.

### 'THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE ROUND TABLE AS A THEATER PERFORMANCE'

> (16) *SPEKTAKL* POSTKOMMUNISTÓW (08.02.99)

> Post-Communist *Spectacle* (headline)

The theater metaphor is one of the most frequent metaphors in the interpretation of *politics* in general, and at the same time one of the most negative.

### 'OVERCOMING COMMUNISM AS THE COMPENSATION OF LOSSES'

> (17) Wszelkie niespełnienia i zaniedbania w dziele definitywnego *rozliczenia się* z komunizmem – to dopiero odpowiedzialność kolejnych solidarnościowych rządów [. . .] (06.02.99)

> All neglects and faults in the definite *settlement of accounts* with communism – that is the responsibility only of the later Solidarity governments [. . .]

This metaphor is consistent with the model of morality as the balancing of books (Lakoff, 1995).

### 'COMMUNISTS AS KNIGHTS OF THE CROSS'

> (18) Krzyżacy nigdy całej Polski nie *podbili*. Komuniści, niestety, *panowali nad nią* prawie pół wieku. Jak to zwykle przy takiej okazji bywa, sporo '*Krzyżaków*' *pożenilo się z polskimi dziewczynami*, sporo *Polaków przywdziało krzyżackie płaszcze*. [. . .][14]

> The Knights of the Cross have never *conquered* the whole of Poland. The communists, unfortunately, *exerted power over her* for nearly half a century. As it uses to be in such cases, a lot of *'Knights' married Polish girls*, a lot of *Poles put on the Knights' coats*. [. . .]

> (6) Okrągły Stół to był wielki odwrót komunistów. Krytykując to *polskie zwycięstwo*, obarczając je ciężarem późniejszych zaniechań, wzmacniamy tych, którzy chętnie powiedzieliby jak Mieczysław Jagielski 31 sierpnia 1980 roku: 'Nie ma zwyciężonych i zwycięzców'. Byli, byli. (08.02.99)

> The Round Table was the big defeat of the communists. Criticizing this *Polish victory*, loading upon it the burden of later neglects, we strengthen those who would like to say, as Mieczyslaw Jagielski did on January 31, 1980: 'There are no winners and losers'. Yes, there were.'[15]

*Życie* published a long article on the Round Table, which is wholly built upon seeing the communists as the Knights of the Cross. This metaphor is introduced step by step, starting from analogy and quotation marks. This example is especially interesting, so I comment upon it in greater detail later.

What seems striking is the fact that all of these intertextual metaphors interpret the role of the communists in the transformation. This points, on the one hand, to the need to establish a picture of the merits and faults of the Polish communists during transformation. On the other hand, it points to the importance of intertextual metaphors in interpreting social aspects of life, such as intergroup relations.

## The communists as Knights of the Cross

When imagining something new, one has to build on something one already knows. This is exemplified clearly in intertextual metaphors. Imagining the role of communism and the communists in Poland, an author in the conservative daily *Życie* builds on a stereotype of the Knights of the Cross.

The main sense of this metaphor is not to say anything about communists, but rather to tell what 'real Poles' are like. It is thus consistent with the high importance of the concept of *nation* (*naród*) in conservative discourse. The communists are seen as the *representatives of a foreign reign*, and as such form a category that is clearly distinct from the category *Poles*. I regard the discursive sense of this metaphor to be mainly in the exclusion of communists from the category of *real Poles*. The victory against the communists is a Polish victory, and only an anti-Communist can be a real Pole.

I want to take a closer look at how the intertextual metaphor of communists as Knights of the Cross works. It is important to note that the Knights of the Cross in Poland are basically associated with the German Knights of the Cross in the Baltic region. The Polish stereotype of the Knights of the Cross is part of the stereotype of the German. The basic feature of the Polish stereotype of the German is *foreignness*.[16] Historical experience from different times filled up the experiential base organized in stereotyping, so that a historical profile of the Polish stereotype of German looks roughly as given in Table 2 (Bartmiński, 1998).

The Knights of the Cross, popular characters in the public historical imagination, take up two of these features: that of the foreigner (a) and that of the

TABLE 2. *Historical profile of the stereotype of German as established in Polish*

(d) The German as the prototype of a European

↑

(c) The German as an enemy and occupant

↑

(b) The German as a funny looking person

↑

(a) The German as a foreigner

TABLE 3. *The projection of the Knights of the Cross onto the communists*

| (c) | ← | (c) | X | (d) |
| (a) | ← | (a) | X | X  (c) |
| (m) | | n | | (b) |
| (m1) | | n1 | X | (a) |
| Communists as Knights of the Cross | | | German | |

enemy and occupant (c). These two features make the metaphor of the communists as Knights of the Cross sensible (Table 3).

Much like every metaphor, the interpretation of the communists as Knights of the Cross provides a *cognitive frame* for text comprehension. Intertextual metaphors like the one analyzed also seem especially apt to provide a *social frame*. In this case, the metaphor determines who should have a right to participate in public discourse and political life and who should not. It delimits the groups of *ours* and *theirs*. In a sovereign Poland, Poles should govern the country. As communists are not real Poles, there is no place for them in public life. The metaphor not only interprets a fragment of the society's history, but also bears implications for the construction of the society's future.

## Continuity and change

The question of continuity and change in the political transformation is firmly linked to the discursive work on the autostereotype of the 'real Pole'. Interestingly, this topic of discourse is taken up mainly through metaphors that can be described using the metalanguage of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor.

The most significant metaphors interpreting the question of continuity and change can be seen as resting on the image schema LINK.

BUILDING MODEL
Buildings stand as long as their walls are intact. When these 'links' between the floors break, the building crashes down. In the database *communist ideology* and the *communist system* are such *buildings*, as in the following examples.

(19) Nowy świat, wyłaniający się z <u>ruin</u> komunizmu [. . .] (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, 08.02.99)

The new world appearing out of the *ruins* of communism [. . .].

(20) system komunistyczny w całym sowieckim bloku *chylił się ku upadkowi*, dożywając ostatnich dni. (*Życie*, 06.02.99)

the communist system in the whole soviet block was *tilting towards its fall*, it was facing its last days.

A metaphor like this does not appear in the socialist *Trybuna*.

The building metaphor also interprets the formation of a new state. The Round Table is the *foundation* of this state.

(21) I chociaż w pamięci potomnych pierwszą doniosłą cezurą, oddzielającą czasy PRL-u od nowej epoki Polski odrodzonej, pozostanie 4 czerwca 1989 r., to przecież u *podstaw* procesu odzyskiwania niepodległości znaleźć się musi także Okrągły Stół. (*Życie*, 06.02.99)

And although in the memory of our descendants the first important cut that separates the time of the People's Republic from the new era of the re-born Poland will remain June 4th 1989, at the *foundations* of the process of regaining independence there must also be the Round Table.

(22) To, co w ugodzie Okrągłego Stołu było naszym ustępstwem, zniknęło bez śladu. To, co dzięki niej stało się możliwe, *legło u podwalin* polskiej demokracji. (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, 08.02.99)

What in the compromise of the Round Table was our sacrifice vanished without a trace. What became possible because of the compromise *laid the ground* for Polish democracy.

Building metaphors are most frequent in the liberal *Gazeta Wyborcza*, least frequent in the socialist *Trybuna*.

TOUCHING MODEL

This model most directly interprets the feeling of continuity and change. The differences between newspapers are rather clear regarding this model. Whereas *Gazeta Wyborcza* interprets the beginning transformation as a *przełom* (*break-through*), in this way separating the old era from the new, the conservative *Życie* tends to also criticize a continuity with the People's Republic, for example, the Round Table did not cut the umbilical cord.

*Gazeta Wyborcza*

(23) W miarę upływu lat od *przełomowych* wydarzeń przybywa zwykle kombatantów Słusznej Sprawy [. . .]. (05.06.99)

With the passing of years since the *breaking* events, the combatants for the Right Cause usually multiply.

(24) Znak Solidarności i twarz Wałęsy, Okrągły Stół i Plan Balcerowicza to natychmiast rozpoznawane odsyłacze do polskich sukcesów okresu *przełomu*. (08.02.99)

The symbol of 'Solidarity' and Walesa's face, the Round Table and the Balcerowicz-plan – these are immediately recognized links to the Polish successes of the *break* period.

*Życie*

(25) Nie przeciął on wprawdzie *pępowiny* łączącej nas z PRL-em. (06.02.99)

True, it [the Round Table, J.Z.] didn't cut the *umbilical cord* that links us to the People's Republic.

The touching metaphor also does not appear in the socialist *Trybuna*. This newspaper published few own texts on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the

Round Table. It basically published interviews with representatives of the socialist government.

CYCLICITY MODEL

In one interview, General Kiszczak, the leading representative for the communist government, presents an interesting metaphor that is consistent with the already mentioned effort of the post-communist side to present the transformation as a merit of both government and opposition. Much like the metaphor of fashion it involves an idea of cyclicity and of a limited influence of the subject on the course of events. It might rest on bodily experiences of cyclicity, such as breathing in and out, which might lead to an image schema that can be termed EXTENSION/ SHRINKAGE.

> (26) – Jaki proces – intelektualny i emocjonalny – doprowadził do tego, że zasiadł Pan za jednym stołem z Jackiem Kuroniem i Adamem Michnikiem?
>
> – Taki proces Dojrzewał od bardzo dawna. Właściwie od lat 50. (06.02.99)
>
> – What intellectual and emotional process lead to Your decision to sit down at one table with Jacek Kuroń and Adam Michnik?
>
> – Such a process was *ripening* from very early on. From the 1950s really.

The metaphor of *ripening* has two ideologically important implications. First, it takes the abruptness away from the transformation. It suggests continuity with the old system, which is explicitly denied in metaphors of *moving* (like the German term 'Wende', that is something like 'turn') or *touching* (*przełom/break*). Hiding the abruptness of transformation and highlighting continuity helps construe the communists as a positive force in political change. Second, the metaphor of ripening suggests that Kiszczak's readiness regarding a dialog with the opposition grew continually from the 1950s onwards. The logic of *ripening* does not allow for – translated into the metaphor of *moving – stepping back* or even *slowing down*. In fact, however, the refusal to take up a dialog with Kuroń and Michnik on the government's side was one of the main problems in preparing the Round Table.

## Imagining transformation: Types of metaphor in ideological discourse

What can, on the basis of the conducted analysis, be said about the differences and interactions between intertextual and correlational metaphors in discourse? On the one hand, it seems that there is a sort of 'division of labor' between the two types of metaphor. Intertextual metaphors might be especially apt for interpreting social aspects of a phenomenon, whereas correlational metaphors interpret notions that are not themselves the main topic of discourse. On the other hand, there are similarities between the intertextual and the correlational metaphors found in the three newspapers analyzed. They show a coherent ideological interpretation with the intertextual metaphors linking the author to a specific

semiotic environment, a community of stereotypes, and the correlational metaphors objectifying an interpretation in 'ordinary' language.

In short, the macromodels used and formed in understanding transformation can be characterized as such.

*TRYBUNA*

People's Republic        3rd Republic
⎯⎯⎯⎯➤    ⎯⎯⎯⎯➤

- The need for change was felt by government and opposition alike. At the end of the 1980s both sides got together to improve the condition of the state.
- A real Pole is a sensible citizen, ready for dialogue and cooperation. Such people could be found in the government as well as in the opposition.

*GAZETA WYBORCZA*

People's Republic        3rd Republic
⎯⎯⎯⎯➤    ⎯⎯⎯⎯➤

- The transformation is in the first place a merit of the opposition, which took up the dangerous fight with a totalitarian system. The communist system was overcome. Some of the Polish communists proved able to act for the good of the country, because no violence was used and a compromise with the opposition sought. After the 'break' it is necessary to concentrate on building a new state.
- A real Pole is a citizen who fights for freedom, but is also ready for dialogue. Such people were active in the 'Solidarity'.

*ŻYCIE*

People's Republic        3rd Republic
⎯⎯⎯⎯➤    ⎯⎯⎯⎯➤

- Transformation is an exclusive merit of the opposition, which took up the dangerous fight with a totalitarian system. Unfortunately, not all elements of the former system have been eliminated, and this is necessary to guarantee power for the democratic victors.
- A real Pole is an anti-Communist.

NOTES

1. For a broader discussion of the literature on metaphors in political discourse, see Zinken and Bolotova (2003).

2. On resemblances between Cognitive Metaphor Theory and the works of Kant, Blumenberg, and Weinrich, see also Jäkel (1999).

3. The notion of *image-schema*, introduced by Johnson (1987) and inspired by the Kantian notion of *schema*, has been taken up widely by cognitive linguists (e.g. see the contributions to recent anthologies such as Gibbs and Steen, 1999 or Dirven and Pörings, 2002). It has also been elaborated upon, e.g. seeking evidence for its cognitive psychological reality (Gibbs and Colston, 1995) or analyzing its meaning for axiology (Krzeszowski, 1997).

4. In recent years, scholars have tried to give a neurobiological basis for such basic schemas within the so-called *Neural Theory of Language* (see Lakoff and Johnson, 1999). However, there is important evidence that the ontogenesis of spatial concepts such as CONTAINMENT is far more open to cultural variety than has been tradition-ally assumed in western science (e.g. Bowerman, 1996).

5. Piaget's model of ontogenetic cognitive development is an important forerunner of Cognitive Linguistics. As Sinha (2003) writes: 'Piaget's account of sensori-motor development in infancy is one in which successive re-organizations and co-ordinations of action schemata, arising from bodily movement and interactions with the physical world, lead to increasingly abstract cognitive representations (or internalized oper-ational structures)' (p. 12).

6. The analysis is based on a database of metaphors with 1008 entries coming from articles on several events that took place in Poland in 1989, published at the tenth anniversary in 1999. The articles are taken from the following newspapers and mag-azines: *Gazeta Wyborcza* (liberal), *Życie* (conservative), *Trybuna* (socialist), *Rzeczpospolita* (conservative/liberal), *Nasz Dziennik* (nationalist), *Tygodnik Powszechny* (catholic/lib-eral), *Polityka* (leftist/liberal), *Wprost* (conservative/populist), *Super-Express* (rainbow press).

7. Van Dijk (1985) confines a similar claim to headlines and leads.

8. The coding of metaphors as being motivated by intertextuality, correlation or both is a serious methodological problem. I tried to count only 'clear' examples as being motiv-ated by intertextuality or correlation, putting the other examples into the *combined* cat-egory. Clear cases of intertextual metaphors would be the examples (1) and (2) cited above, clear examples of correlational metaphors would be cases described in the cog-nitive linguistic literature, such as 'the negotiations *have made a step forwards*' (ACTION IS MOVEMENT). However, the qualitative analysis below does not treat these cat-egories so strictly.

9. Further I comprise these concepts under the notion of *communism*.

10. The percentages show the relative salience of a concept within a newspaper, whereas the chi-square test (below) was used to measure the relevance of a concept to a news-paper with regard to the same concept in the other newspapers.

11. *Gazeta Wyborcza*: 21.99 percent; *Trybuna*: 18.98 percent; *Życie*: 16.44 percent.

12. All italics in the examples added.

13. The notation established in Cognitive Metaphor Theory would be 'COMMUNISM *IS* A PREDACIOUS ANIMAL'. However, I prefer the term *AS* because it highlights the dynamic aspect of seeing something as something else. With this alternative notation I also would like to catch my scepticism towards the conviction of cognitive semanti-cists that metaphorical models are stable mappings in people's heads.

14. An interesting question would be to think about in how far the fact that the word 'Polska' (Poland) is feminine evokes talk about 'Polish girls' and the picture of a hostile conquest by the Knights of the Cross. The topic of metaphoric usages of genus in slavic languages has been brought up by Cienki (2000).

15. Examples (18) and (6) are taken from the final section of one article.
16. This feature is expressed in the name *Niemiec* (German), which is etymologically related to *niemy* (mute). The Germans as the Poles' non-slavic neighbours are those with whom no conversation is possible.

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