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Metaphorical models in EU discourse in the Croatian media

This paper aims at reconstructing aspects of the current conceptualization and linguistic representation of issues concerning the European Union and its expansion, while exploring the role of metaphors and mappings from the embodied image schemata found in Croatian public discourse. The data were collected from newspaper articles and other media texts currently available online.

Keywords: media discourse; conceptualization; European Union; metaphorical models.

Introduction

Political changes in Europe in recent decades have created a new and unfamiliar political landscape, which has required subjects to adjust both cognitively and linguistically. These changes have left their trace in different discourse types, especially in those media texts dealing with the concept of a “new Europe.” Many studies have indicated that the building of links among reality, cognition and language relies on metaphorical processes, by which aspects of similarity between familiar and new phenomena are sought and subsequently used in conceptualization. Scholars working within the cognitive linguistics paradigm have presented numerous analyses and theoretical models of such processes: Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Gibbs (1994), Fauconnier (1997), among others. During the last decade many corpus-based linguistic analyses have examined images of Europe in the media of various countries (cf. e.g. Musolff 2000a, 2000b; Zinken

& Bolotova 2001, Zbierska-Sawala 2004), linking this topic with cognitive linguistic theory. Little attention has been paid so far to the Croatian media regarding this topic.

Relying on the insights offered by the cognitive linguistic research on conceptualization and metaphor, I am going to analyze those examples of metaphorical language in Croatian media texts which thematize European Union expansion, with a particular focus on Croatia and its integration. The leading assumption is that metaphors play a significant role in filling Euro-political concepts with meaning and in integrating those concepts into existing structures. This paper is part of a broader analysis of the metaphorical models in South-Slavic media texts. To illustrate the common nature of some metaphorical models, examples from media texts of the other South-Slavic countries are included in the analysis as well. The analysis is based on a corpus of various media texts currently available online. Using an internet search engine, I searched for texts in which the terms Croatia, Europe and European Union occurred in the same context. Most of the texts in the small corpus¹ deal with European integration processes and with Croatia's position within that processes, as well as with the position of other countries of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.

The data collected reflect processes described by Lakoff and Turner (1989: 67-72), according to which mappings established in the human experience are extended, elaborated and questioned. Furthermore, many mappings can be seen as an intertextuality phenomenon; after a metaphor has entered the public domain, it is picked up by other participants in the discourse. It should also be kept in mind that many metaphors and images are shared in the "Europe-discourses" of the different European countries. Some of them enter a particular national discourse as a direct or indirect translation from another national discourse. However, similarities and differences in the metaphorical models in the "discourses on Europe" of different European countries are a matter that deserves thorough attention itself and goes beyond this analysis.

Spatial metaphorical models

The term *Europe* has a complex internal structure independent of the metaphorical projections that may be developed in connection with it within a specific discourse. In Croatian media discourses, three denotative levels of the term Europe can be found. Examples from the corpus illustrate three usage types, i.e. situations in which different meanings of the word are realized:

¹ It consists of ca. 150 texts published from 1997 to 2005.

- (1) [Norveška] je svejedno jedna od prvih država po otvaranju novih radnih mjesta u trenutku kada se u ostaloj *Europi* gomila nezaposlenost (*Vijenac* 80, 30.01.1997).
([Norway], however, is one of the first countries in opening new work places at a time when in the rest of *Europe* unemployment is high.)
- (2) *Europa* se opet treba vratiti vremenu razmišljanja ili jednostavno svojoj duhovnoj baštini. Ona treba posvijestiti svoje korijene (*Obnovljeni život*, 58/3, 2003).
(*Europe* has to return again to a time of contemplation, or simply to its spiritual heritage. It has to be made consciousness of its roots.)
- (3) Problem različitosti jezika ostaje i dalje golema prepreka, odnosno teret koji znatno otežava, usporava i poskupljuje funkcioniranje *Europe* (*Novi list*, 24.04.2004).
(The problem of the different languages remains a huge obstacle, i.e. a burden which considerably hinders, retards and raises the cost of the functioning of *Europe*.)

In the first example, the term *Europe* is used in the meaning of a geographical defined space. This is hardly the case in (3), as geographical spaces, i.e. continents, do not function. In this example, the term evokes an organization, i.e. the word *Europe* means ‘European Union.’ The scope of the term in (2) is quite different in comparison to the other two – it includes EU-members as well as non-members. In this example, the term refers to the common European culture, whatever it might include, i.e. to Europe as a particular and defined cultural space. The first denotative level, the geographical level of the term *Europe*, is primary, with the others being derived from it. The second level is an institutional level – Europe as a group of countries which cooperate at the functional level – and the third is a “cultural” level (Europe as a number of countries which share similar civilization or religious values). The usage of the term *Europe* in its primary geographical meaning is actually rare in the media discourses of the last several years.

The idea that a country lies “in” or “out of” Europe signals in itself a particular usage of the term Europe. Of all the possible meanings behind this term - a geographical unit, a cultural concept, an economic and political community - in the analyzed discourses, *Europe* is mostly used as a synonym for EU. As such, this is a case of relevance-motivated metonymy. Examples of the use of the term *Europe* meaning ‘European history, tradition, culture’ can often be found as well.

In developing the metaphorical reasoning behind *Europe*, it is important that the primary meaning of the term is of a geographical space. Additionally, one should keep in mind that metaphorical spatial models are a primary model of metaphorical thinking in general. These two facts underlie the use of spatial models in metaphorical reasoning on the non-geographical and non-spatial aspects of Europe. The metaphors based on the spatial model seem to be a stable discourse feature and a general tool available to the different discourse participants. Several models appear frequently in the metaphorical representation of the European integration process, all having a spatial basis. The spatial interpretation of reality implies contrasted categories like *up-down*, *back-forward*, *container-open space*, *part-whole*. These are basic and embodied conceptual structures, i.e. image schemata which seem to be most dominant in the emergence of secondary models or sub-models with a spatial basis. For the conceptualization of Europe and European integration in the Croatian media, two secondary models based on a more general spatial model are very important: *path* and *architecture*. Both of them include a *personification* model as well. Regarding the sub-models, we should keep in mind that they blend and that a new model may emerge out of the blend. So, the metaphorical model of a *journey* emerges as a blend of the metaphorical models *path*, *personification* and *architecture*. The general image that includes these models consists of three relevant categories: a source, a goal and a path. All three have a certain structure that is elaborated to some extent, whereas the prominent and elaborated elements in the discourses on Europe are path and goal. The discourse-specific metaphors, which are created to conceive the idea of Europe, are secondary correlational metaphors (Grady 1999). They cover only limited aspects of complex pictures. The meaning of these metaphors is strengthened by elements of cultural and textual knowledge.

Journey and joining model

The group of path and movement metaphors can easily be identified as a major source domain for EU-political imagery in the Croatian media. Path and movement metaphors are shared in the discourses of many European countries – of those belonging to EU, of the countries with candidacy at given time, and of other European countries as well (cf. e.g. Zbierska-Sawala 2004 for Polish discourses, Zinken & Bolotova 2001 for German and Russian discourses). Path and movement imagery is closely related to the fundamental conceptual meta-

phor of TIME PASSING-AS-MOVEMENT IN SPACE, which pervades all areas of everyday discourse.²

In a very frequent, perhaps even inescapable metaphor, the process leading to the prospective integration of a country with the EU is conceptualized as a *journey*. Here, the most frequent mapping identifies a country as a *traveler* and the European Union as the *destination* or *goal*. There is also a *path* to be traveled. The EU may also be conceptualized not as a goal, but as an important landmark in a journey that leads to another, more abstract destination. The discourses concerning European integration processes, especially when they thematize new member states or future members, frequently evoke the metaphorical *joining* model. Two other metaphorical models are included within it: a personification model, which implies that a particular country is a human being; and a spatial model, according to which a country (located at a particular spatial or quasi-spatial position) has a goal (EU/Europe) in front of itself (or at a certain distance). A very similar model conceptualizes countries as sportsmen. In this sports setting, the movement can display characteristics of a particular sport or game, e.g. that of a race.

In the texts considered, the phrases such as (*hrvatski*) *put prema/u EU, put u Europu* '(Croatian) way towards Europe/EU' can be found very frequently. This model is frequently reflected in the headlines: *Pravosudni put u Europu* (*Vjesnik*, 12.04.2001), *Put u Europu nema alternative* (*Klik*, 08.05.2002). The basis of the expressions is a metaphorical logic of the common metaphor TIME IS SPACE, according to which a movement in time is understood as a movement in space, i.e. the temporal dimension of events is understood as a spatial movement (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 41-5; Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 137-49).

The journey model implicates three domains: source domain, path domain and goal domain. Not all three domains are elaborated to the same extent. The goal domain of the European integration process is presented through different metaphorical settings, i.e. *joining*-setting and *school*-setting, among others. In the most frequent *joining*-setting, the (potential) candidate countries are *persons* (*personification* model) who *move* towards the EU (metaphorical *space* model):

- (4) Pitanje istinskog *približavanja* i *ulaska* Hrvatske u EU riješiti [će se] samo po sebi jedino kao posljedica napora u vlastitoj kući (*Novi list*, 23.10.2002).

² For the basic conceptual status of the 'spatialization' metaphor cf. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 41-5); Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 137-49).

(The question of Croatia's real *approach* and *entry* into the EU will be solved only as a consequence of hard work in our own house.)

The goal of the movement is *entrance* into a bounded *space*—*Europe*. This includes the metaphorical model *architecture* as well.

The *joining*-setting is firmly established in all national European integration discourses. It has a well developed metaphorical structure. The model includes a clear metaphorical depiction of the EU (as a house), the candidate countries (as travelers, sportsmen) and especially the integration process (as spatial movement). The *school*-setting is less frequent and limited to specific situations. It is static in its nature containing two (personified) factors: an evaluator (EU) and an element being evaluated (potential candidate). The possible element – the learning process – is involved less frequently.

In the structure of the *joining* setting, three secondary correlational metaphors (Grady 1999) are included:

- the EU is a building
- the potential candidates are persons
- the European integration process is a movement of a person into a building

Those mappings have more general concepts as their basis:

- institutions are buildings
- action is movement
- inanimate is animate

According to Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), the first mapping is built on the basis of the primary correlational metaphors, CONTINUITY IS REMAINING UPRIGHT and FUNCTION IS RELATION. The latter is a basis correlational metaphor, according to which everything from the movement domain can be mapped onto an abstract action. The understanding of the action as a movement is conventionalized in the Croatian media texts. This enables discussion about the progress a country is making while moving. The scenario of joining the EU frequently appears in the headlines or at the beginning or end of an article, i.e. in those parts of the media texts especially relevant for coherent text reception.

The metaphorical model in which movement in time is conceptualized in terms of movement within space gives rise to the categories which define this space more clearly. Some characteristics of the path and movement are empha-

sized, while others are neglected. A movement within space, viewed as a journey, implies that one is at a certain starting point, facing a path of a certain length and features, which must be somehow overcome in order to reach the goal. Frequent linguistic expressions indicating the path/movement imagery found in the corpus include: *put* 'way', *hod* 'walk', *korak*, *iskorak* 'step', *kretanje* 'movement', *putnik* 'traveller', *približavanje* 'coming closer', *ulazak* 'entering', *raskrižje* 'crossroads', *prepreke* 'obstacles', *pristupati* 'join', *približiti se* 'come closer', *ući* 'enter', *odskočiti* 'jump, spring', *prestići* 'pass, overtake', *vesti* 'lead', *stepenica*, 'step'. The most typical and frequent expressions from the corpus containing these phrases are listed in Table 1.

<i>put</i> prema europskoj integraciji	prvi <i>korak</i> prema odškrinutim europskim vratima
hrvatski put prema EU	korak naprijed/unazad
Hrvatska na putu prema EU/europskim integracijama	činiti važne korake prema Uniji
Hrvatska na pravom putu	prvi korak za stupanje u EU
brzina puta	kandidacijski <i>iskorak</i> Europskoj uniji
prevaljen manji dio europskoga puta	<i>iskoračiti</i> iz Zapadnog Balkana
hrvatski put u EU ne ide preko Washingtona nego preko Beograda	<i>odskočiti</i> zapadnije
Hrvatska ozbiljan <i>putnik</i> namjernik za EU	Hrvatska je stigla na povijesno <i>raskrižje</i>
<i>kretanje</i> unutraške	<i>prepreke na putu</i> Zagreba u Bruxelles
hendikepirani <i>hod</i>	prebroditi prvu formalnu prepreku na putu u EU
hrvatski hod k Europi	prepreke našem približavanju EU
<i>pristupati</i> EU	haške prepreke na našem putu u EU
<i>ulazak</i> u EU	posljednja prepreka na europskom putu
brzi ulazak u EU	Velika Britanija i Nizozemska ... prepreke na putu Hrvatske u EU
<i>ući</i> u EU	<i>spoticanja</i> o demokraciju i vladavinu prava
Splićani koji <i>su uveli</i> Hrvatsku u EU	mnogi su nas <i>prestigli</i> na putu za Bruxelles
<i>približiti se</i> EU	<i>povratak</i> u Europu
približavanje europskim integracijama/EU	prva <i>stepenica</i> prema asocijacijama/ujedinjenoj Europi
približavanje Europi	

Table 1. PATH/MOVEMENT

Croatia's position and its chances of future integration with the EU have been in a state of flux over the last several years, as have the political circumstances

within Croatia and in Europe. In the different phases of the relations between Croatia and the EU, different aspects of the path and movement in the journey model have been highlighted. Many instances of the *journey* metaphor from this period highlighted the *path* (bridge, steps...) rather than the still-distant *goal*, because the discourses focused on the difficulties and obstacles encountered by Croatia. For example, in some media examples from 2002 that comment on the signing of Stabilization and Association Agreement, the *path towards the EU* is described as “long” and “difficult/not easy”. At the end of the path is the goal, a “new, integrated Europe”. The act of signing the Agreement is metaphorically represented as a step towards the goal:

- (5) Potpisivanje SSP-a je samo prvi korak na *dugom i teškom putu*. Uvjeren sam da ćemo uspješno doći *do kraja puta*, postajući dio nove integrirane Europe (*Vijesti HRT*, 08.02.2002).
(The signing of the SAA is only the first step on *a long and difficult path*. I am convinced that we will successfully reach *the end of that path*, becoming part of a new, integrated Europe.)
- (6) Potpisivanje Sporazuma dovelo nas je *korak bliže* ujedinjenoj Europi. *Na pravom smo*, mada ne uvijek i *lakom putu* (*Vijesti HRT*, 08.02.2002).
(The signing of the Agreement brought us *a step further* towards the EU. We are *on the right track*, though it might not always be easy.)

However, the path might not always be paved or even exist. Images from the same period depicted the path as being in the construction process, as in (7). The path may also take different forms, e.g. that of a bridge in (8):

- (7) Makedonija, a od ponedjeljka Hrvatska, vlasnici su Sporazuma o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju koji im *trasira put prema EU* (*Vjesnik*, 30.10.2001).
(Macedonia, and starting on Monday also Croatia, are owners of the Stabilization and Association Agreement, which *paves their way into the EU*.)
- (8) Talijanska manjina [je] *most priko kojega će i Hrvatska lakše gaziti u Europu* (*Slobodna Dalmacija*, 05.03.2001).
(The Italian minority is *a bridge, over which Croatia can step into Europe easier*.)

On an experiential basis, a difficult and exhaustive journey may translate into a journey uphill. Optionally, the steep path can be elaborated as stairs (cf. ... *ulazak u NATO samo stepenica na putu prema EU*, 'entering NATO is only a step on the way into the EU' *Obrana* 194). Within this journey scenario, the

risks involved in the process of integration become obstacles awaiting the traveler. This metaphor can be used to highlight the potential danger or unsolved problems in the country itself, but also the reluctance of the member countries to facilitate the transformation.

- (9) ... naša [bi] kandidatura bila iluzorna, kada ne bismo energično prišli rješavanju onih pitanja koja su ... *prepreke na našem putu* u ujedinjenu Europu (*Ured Predsjednika RH*, priopćenje 04.03.2003).
(Our candidacy would be an illusion if we would not energetically come to a decision on those questions which are *obstacles on our path* to the EU.)

Let us consider other structural components linked to metaphorical *journey* model, specifically those associated with the path. A country can reach a goal by going on foot, but a goal can also be reached by a means of transportation. The traveling of the path, seen as a journey, is in the EU-discourses of the Croatian media very often linked with a particular means of transportation: the train. The image of the country as a traveler waiting for a train or being on the train is often found in the headlines of the media texts (*Upitno naše ukrcavanje na europski vlak iz Bukurešta* 'Our *getting on the European train* from Bucharest questionable' (*Novi list*, 18.11.2003); *Hrvatska uskače u posljednji vlak za EU* 'Croatia jumps onto the last train to the EU' (*Vjesnik*, 17.04.2003)). The image in the headline creates an entire metaphorical scenario, which may then be referred to or elaborated in the article. However, it can be involved in the headline only as the most important element for the text reception. The most frequent *train*-expressions are listed in Table 2.

<i>ukrcati se na vlak</i> s Rumunjskom i Bugarskom	jedini način da se Hrvatska <i>prikopča na europski vlak</i>
Hrvatska ne može <i>uhvatiti vlak</i> za 2008. zbog manjkave suradnje s Haagom	europski vlak nismo na vrijeme uhvatili
Hrvatska je u poziciji <i>hvatati možda i posljednji europski vlak</i> zajedno s Bugarskom i Rumunjskom	Hrvatska je <i>u zadnjem vagonu europskog vlaka</i>
<i>kašnjenje na europski vlak</i>	mного prigoda za <i>integracijske vlakove</i> neće biti

Table 2. *Train* expressions

The train is often explicitly named *European train*, as in (10a) or *integration train* in (10b):

- (10a) Svakoga dana čujemo kako se “moramo žuriti da nas prime”, da ne bi slučajno “*europski vlak* krenuo bez nas” (*Dom i svijet*, 18.06.2001). (Every day we hear that “we need to hurry in order to be accepted,” so that the *European train* does not accidentally depart without us.)
- (b) O tome koliku će naša zemlja vjerodostojnost u provođenju preuzetih obveza pokazati, ovisit će hoće li u onom *integracijskom vlaku* krenuti prema “prvom razredu” (*Slobodna Dalmacija*, 30.10.2001). (Whether Croatia will head for the “first class” compartments on the *integration train* will depend on how much credibility our country will show in fulfilling the assumed obligations.)

If the text reflects on activities Croatia should not miss as a condition of the future integration, the fulfillment of those conditions is seen as “the last train heading for Europe” (potpisivanje sporazuma s Europskom unijom jest hrvatski *posljednji vlak* za Europu, 'the signing of this agreement with the European Union is Croatia's *last train* heading for Europe' (*Vjesnik* 27.10.2001).

The train construal is clearly meant to be persuasive, suggesting that using any vehicle is more efficient, faster and more comfortable than walking. However, this does not answer the question of why metaphors connected with the train - and not with some faster means of transportation - are used so frequently. It is not the characteristic of speed that is the decisive factor, since trains are not fast at all in the prototypical images connected with them on the South-Slavic territory. Indeed, it is exactly their slowness which coincides with the mental image of a long, difficult path with obstacles. Additionally, due to its structural features, the train metaphor offers a variety of potential elements and scenarios which can be highlighted in detail: to buy a ticket for a train (premijer Račan bi trebao pokazati jamstva da je kupio *EU-kartu za vlak* 'Prime Minister Račan would have to show evidence of having bought the *EU train ticket* (*Vjesnik*, 30.10.2001)), to wait for a train, to jump on a train, to stay or be forgotten at the train station while a train quickly goes on, etc. The internal structure of a train (a number of compartments, different classes of compartments, locomotive as an important part) offers further possibilities for depicting a journey – the ride in a certain compartment, the first- or second-class journey etc. (Ne želimo čekati *zadnji vagon u jurećem vlaku prema EU* 'We do not want to wait for *the last compartment of the train heading for the EU* (*Nacional*, 25.05.2000)).

Examples including similar journey images can be found in the texts from other South-Slavic countries as well. The traveling of the path is often depicted as a journey on foot, as in (11):

- (11) Srbija i Crna Gora *napravila* [je] prvi značajniji *korak ka evroatlanskim integracijama*...U vremenu dok se *polako, klecavo korača* ka demokratskom društvu (*Nin*, 10.4.2003).
(Serbia and Montenegro *made* the first important *step towards the euro-integrations*... in the time of a *slow, insecure walk* towards a democratic society.)

But if the path must be traveled by means of transportation, the ultimate metaphorical means in imagining processes of European integration on the whole South-Slavic territory seems to be a train, as in this example [from the Slovenian media: [države] ki bi se rade *priklopile na evropski vlak*, '[countries] which would like to *join the European train*' (*Mladina*, 12.11.2001). The next example is interesting, as it elaborates the whole metaphorical structure connected with the train metaphor (with a concentration on the railway station):

- (12) Državna zajednica Srbija i Crna Gora se *nalazi u velikoj čekaonici* u kojoj može da *ode do blagajne* i *kupi kartu u jednom pravcu* ka normalnim zemljama ili da *spavaju po klupama* dok ih *šef železničke stanice* ne izbaci napolje (*Nin*, 10.04.2003).
(The state union of Serbia and Montenegro is in a big waiting room, in which they can either go to the cashier and buy a one-way ticket to the normal countries or sleep on the benches until the chief of the station throws them out.)

There are two different images involved in the train metaphors in general: in the first image, a country/potential candidate is a traveler moving towards a goal (Europe/EU). In the second, the EU/Europe is conceptualized as a train in which every country, according to its role and position, can be seen as a traveler in a particular class or as the conductor of the train. In this image, illustrated in (13) and (14), countries are equated to the parts of the train composition:

- (13) Naravno, ulogu *mašinovodje* u *evropskom vozu* za sebe želi upravo Francuska (*Dani* 171, 08.09.2000).
(Of course, exactly France wants for itself the role of the *head conductor* on the European train.)
- (14) Danas se stereotip mijenja, pa se govori o Hrvatskoj kao *lokomotivi*, makar nitko ne objašnjava gdje su i kakvi su vagoni koje lokomotiva treba vući (*Vjesnik*, 26.11.2001).
(Today the stereotype changes, and one speaks of Croatia as of a steam engine, although nobody explains where the cars are that it should drag and what they look like.)

The Balkans in the *journey* model

Although the train metaphor is shared in European integration discourses (cf. Zbierska-Sawala 2004 for Polish), there is a unique characteristic in some of the Croatian and South-Slavic discourses employing a train metaphor; the geographical term *the Balkans* appears frequently in the same contexts.³ This term is quite frequent in the Croatian media when European integration and Croatia are discussed. One text from 2000 problematizes the linking of Croatia to its neighbors, i.e. to the regional approach in official European policy concerning Croatia's chances of joining the EU. Croatia is deemed to travel on the same train as the other Balkan countries, in a Balkan regional train considered an obstacle to Croatia's progress. The Balkan train's passengers include, in addition to Croatia, several other countries:

- (15) Bruxelleski [je] pristup upravo prikovao Hrvatsku za *regionalni balkanski vlak*, zajedno sa SRJ-om, BiH-om, Albanijom, Makedonijom (*Dom i svijet*, 3.4.2000).
(Brussels's approach actually connected Croatia to a *regional Balkan train*, together with FR Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Albania and Macedonia.)

Accordingly, Europe/the EU is the desired goal of the journey. The Balkans has often been used as an antipode to that goal. Not to take advantage of certain activities or to miss a chance means Croatia's return to the Balkans, or its remaining in the Balkans:

- (16a) [je li] Zagrebački summit... *zadnji vlak* za Europu ili povratak na Balkan? (*Obiteljski radio*, 20.11.2000)
(Is the Zagreb summit the *last train* to Europe or a return to the Balkans?)
- (b) *Propusti li Hrvatska taj vlak* na duži rok ostat će u slijepom crijevu Europe, *na Balkanu* (*Globus* 25.10.2002).
(*If Croatia misses this train*, in the long run it will stay in the appendix of Europe, *in the Balkans*.)

In (16b) the danger of returning to the Balkans is equated to the danger of missing the last train. *The Balkans* frequently occurs in contexts dealing with Croatia's metaphorical path into the EU, or as a detour or obstacle on that path (Pu-

³ For the role of the term the Balkans and its derivations in constructing both self-images and heteroimages in the south Slavic regions, cf. Šarić (2004).

tuje li Hrvatska u Europu s *balkanskim teretom* na leđima?, ‘Does Croatia travel to Europe with the Balkan burden on the shoulders?’ (*Vjesnik*, 26.11.2001)).

The Balkans is a frequent component of train metaphors in the media texts of other South-Slavic countries as well. In the following example from the Slovenian media, two possible goals of the metaphorical journey of the country are imagined: the Balkans and Europe (metonymically represented by Brussels:

- (17) Slovenska politika sicer glasno kriči o evropskih integracijah, žal pa *vlak drvi bolj v smeri Balkana kot pa Bruslja* (*Mladina*, 12.11.2001).
(Slovenian politics is commonly shouting loudly about European integrations, but the *train is heading more towards the Balkans than towards Brussels*.)

However, the connotation field of the metaphor may be quite different. The train metaphor in the headline of a Slovenian text (*Politični Balkan ekspres* ‘Political Balkan-express,’ *Republikanci*, 18.12.1997) does not serve to depict Slovenia’s integration chances or difficulties, but to take a critical perspective towards the political situation in Slovenia.

Architecture model and the conceptualization of the goal domain

In the metaphorical model of a journey, a country, seen as a person, reaches a goal, i.e. the entrance into a particular space. This space is frequently conceptualized as a building, as is evidenced by the references to the various components of a building that are found in the texts. In the corpus, the EU is presented as a building, and its respective countries as human beings in the building. European integration is thus described as the movement of human beings into the building.

Consistent with this, the linguistic representation of the term *Europe* includes the metaphorical setting *architecture* as the goal of a journey. It is a frequent and thus significant metaphorical model in the media discourses. This model may entail several metaphorical mappings belonging to the basic level of categorization. The most frequent basic metaphor in the corpus belonging to this model is the *Europe-as-a-house* metaphor. Significantly less frequent is the metaphor *Europe-as-a-building site*. These two basic metaphors reflect two different cognitive settings: in the *house*-setting Europe has the characteristics of an existing house; in the *building site*-setting, the building is characterized as an unfinished house-to-be. In both settings, there are several distinct factors involved: *structural elements* of the house/building site, *people* somehow connected with the

house/building site and *processes* related to the house/building site. On the basis of those factors, the basic metaphors EUROPE IS A HOUSE and EUROPE IS A BUILDING SITE are created in a text. Table 3 presents the most frequent expressions connected with these two basic metaphors.

HOUSE

suvremena *kuća* Europe
 [Unija] u vlastitoj demokratskoj kući
 EU .. kuća demokracije i mira
 [Europa] kao pravi *dom* Rumunjima i Bugarima
 otvaranje *vrata*
 zajednička europska vrata
 sva europska vrata odjednom za Hrvatsku otvorena
 širom otvoriti vrata EU
 zemlje *kucaju na vrata* EU
 Turska konstantno kuca na vrata
 višedesetljetno kucanje na vrata
 ozbiljno kucati na vrata
otvoriti vrata muslimanima
 EU spreman da Hrvatskoj širom otvori svoja vrata
 otvaranje vrata sljedećima
 Hrvatska na sjevernom *ulazu prvih vrata* Euroazije
odškrinuta europska vrata
 Blair [se] bacio u obranu *čekaonice*
 Chirac [je] na čekaonicu gledao svisoka
 poslati u višegodišnju čekaonicu
 višegodišnja čekaonica a la turca
predvorje EU-a
 Hrvatska u predvorju EU
 mi smo još uvijek u predvorju Europe
 Hrvatska na *pragu* EU

BUILDING SITE

gradi se nešto novo
graditi jedinstvo Europe
nastaje nova zgrada
izgradnja ujedinjene Europe
 katolici *sugraditelji* nove Europe
 [Europa] *izgrađena* na duhovnoj razini
 vjernici *graditelji gradili su* na kiši i vjetru
 veliko *gradilište* Europe
 Europa je golemo gradilište

Table 3. HOUSE and BUILDING SITE metaphors

In those Croatian media discourses that represent the goal domain (i.e. Europe/EU), *Europe-as-a-house* metaphors can be frequently found. The metaphor *Europe-as-a-building site*, according to which Europe is seen as a house under construction or a house-to-be, is not frequently found in the corpus. However, the texts that do make use of that metaphor, along with the building site itself (*gradilište*), highlight several additional factors connected with a building site: the people involved in the building process (*graditelji*) and the building process itself (*izgradnja, graditi, nastaje nova zgrada*):

- (18) Europa je danas veliko *gradilište* [...] *Gradi se nešto novo, nastaje nova zgrada.... Graditelji grade i u lošim uvjetima. Katolički vjernici graditelji u Mariazelli gradili su na kiši i vjetru (GK tjednik, 22(1562), 30.05.2004).*

(Europe today is a large *building site*. Something new *is being built, a new building is under construction*. The *builders* build under bad circumstances as well. Catholic builders in Mariazello *have been constructing* in the rain and wind.)

The context in which the metaphor is found suggests an active and positive role of potential EU members in creating a common institution.

Let us consider examples of the metaphor EUROPE IS A HOUSE. In the Croatian media texts, *kuća* 'house' is the most frequent term for the building in the *Europe* goal domain. The *house*-metaphor can be connected with different types of social reality. The type of house remains unspecified in many examples. Sometimes it gains the attribute *europska* 'European,' as in (19a) and (19b). However, as to the house type, this can hardly be considered specification:

- (19a) *Rascjep u europskoj kući. A Hrvatska na obilaznici preko Balkana (Hrvatsko slovo, 8.06.2001).*

(Division in the *European house*. And Croatia on a detour via the Balkans.)

- (b) *U europskoj kući nije lako napraviti reda, jer komisija nema političkog mandata (Vjesnik 29.10.1998).*

(In the *European house* it's not easy to establish order, because the commission does not have a political mandate.)

However, some examples suggest a family house, whereas the contexts which thematize *members* and *membership* (*članovi, članstvo*) suggest a club house. The most frequent expressions connected with the concepts of a *family* and *club house* are listed in the Table 4.

FAMILY HOUSE

ulazak u europsku *obitelj*
 (biti) sastavni dio velike (europske) obitelji
 postati dijelom velike europske obitelji
 cijela europska obitelj
 sakupljanje znanja o velikoj europskoj obitelji
 [obitelj] se proširila za deset novih članica
 uključenje Hrvatske u (razvijenu) europsku obitelj
 EU prima u svoje *okrilje*
 Europa će Hrvatsku *prihvatiti*
 topli *zagrljaj* EU
 primiti u svoj *zagrljaj*
 Europski *zagrljaj*
 Zagrebov europski *zagrljaj*
 kršćanske zemlje ušle u *zagrljaj* Europe
 EU... Koštunicu primio u *zagrljaj*
 Hrvatska nema izgleda da je Europa *prigrli*
 [Europa] *maćeha* svojim građanima
 punopravni član europskog *domaćinstva*
prosjak koji kuca na vrata
 stotinjak milijuna siromašne europske *braće*
 starija braća u čiju su kuću ušle

CLUB HOUSE

prijem u EU
 primanje u EU
čnanstvo u EU
 članice EU
klub država
 pretendirati na ulazak u prestižni klub
 Unija... zatvoreni, ekskluzivni klub
 ekskluzivni klub
 puki interesni klub (ili zajednica humanističkih vrijednosti)
visoko evropsko *društvo*
 ulazak u europsko društvo bez darova
ugovor o pristupanju novih *članova*
zahtjev/molba [Hrvatske] za *prijem* u EU
 kopenhaški kriteriji za *prijam*
odbijenica
ulaznica u Savez još nije riješena
 nekoliko *kandidata* čeka u redu za ratifikaciju ulaznice u NATO

Table 4. FAMILY HOUSE and CLUB HOUSE

Discourse elements that indicate the presence of *Europe-as-a-house* metaphor are elaborated to a different extent. Among the highlighted structural elements of the house, those most frequently found are *vrata* ‘doors’ and *čekaonica* ‘waiting room’. *Prag* ‘doorstep’, *predvorje* ‘entrance hall’ and *temelji* ‘foundation’ can be found as well. Other possible structural elements of the house (e.g. *krov*, *prozori*, *zidovi* ‘roof, windows, walls’), although possible, are not found in the corpus. The high frequency of the elements *vrata* ‘door’ and *čekaonica* ‘waiting room’ is related to the topic of a great number of texts – EU as a house and the entry of its possible future members through the door of that house, or EU expansion from Croatia’s perspective. The door and waiting room images are in

the majority of the texts related to the *joining*-setting, i.e. to the contexts which thematize joining the EU by the new (potential) members. They often appear in the same contexts, as shown in (20):

- (20) Ova nedefinirana skupina budućih kandidata tek će u skoroj budućnosti, kad se *vrata EU-a* otvore za prve nove članice iz sadašnje *čekaonice*, znati što je čeka. Zasad je to približavanje malim koracima (*Vijesti HRT*, 23.07.1999).

(This undefined group of future candidates will in the near future know what awaits when the *doors to the EU* will open for the first new members from the current *waiting room*. Until then it is a step-by-step approach.)

In many contexts it is difficult to draw conclusions about the exact kind of the metaphorically constructed European building. Some examples use a metaphorical model that interprets aspects of the European policy in conjunction with people visiting or inhabiting the European house. Consequently, in some examples the word *obitelj* 'family' occurs:

- (21) Tim je presedanom povjerenik zapravo naznačio budućnost ne samo Hrvatske nego i ostalih zemalja regije, odaslavši poruku: da je i zemljama europskog jugoistoka mjesto u europskoj ujedinjenoj *obitelji* (*Vjesnik*, 21 02. 2002).

(With this exception the representative really hinted at the future not only of Croatia but of the other countries of the region, sending a message: that the countries of the European Southeast also have a place in the European *family*.)

However, in the majority of contexts, the house does not seem to be a house inhabited by families or other people. The main reason for this impression is the frequent mentioning of one particular structural element of the house, the *waiting room* (*čekaonica*). The waiting room rather suggests the building of an institution, of an establishment, or, as Zinken & Bolotova (2001) put it in their analysis of German and Russian discourses, a club. This is confirmed also by the other elements present in the context, e.g. the frequent term “member” (*član*, *članica*) and its derivations (cf. example (20) and Table 3). In similar examples Europe is presented as a building with a waiting room. The potential members are dependent on the negotiations, in the waiting room or on the way there:

- (22) Hrvatska bliže “čekaonici”? Izvještaj je podigao moral u EU-“čekaonici” i dao joj realne nade (*Vjesnik* 15.11.2001).

(Croatia closer to the waiting room? The report lifted the morale in the *EU waiting room* and gave it real hopes.)

EU-čekaonica 'EU-waiting room' is often a part of headlines, e.g. *U EU-čekaonici entuzijazam s pričuvom*, 'Moderate enthusiasm in the EU waiting room' (*Vjesnik*, 19.03.2002).

The metaphorical models representing European integration in the media are shared across the South-Slavic territory, e.g. the *Europe-as-a-club/family house* metaphor from a Slovenian text:

- (23) Tiste, ki bodo izpolnile vse pogoje, bodo postale *članice elitnega evropskega kluba* (*Mladina* 2001, 145).
(Those who are going to fulfil all the conditions will become *members of the elite European club*.)

However, not all of the same elements of the house structure are prominent in the media discourses of the different countries. In the structure of *Europe-as-house* metaphors, some elements of the metaphorical house are more prominent than others, and this can vary in the discourses of the particular countries. In the analysis of Croatian texts, it has been proved that the elements *vrata* 'doors' and *čekaonica* 'waiting-room' are very frequent in the contexts thematizing the opening of the EU to the new member states. Along with *čekaonica*, *predvorje* 'entrance hall' (cf. Table 3) appear in some contexts as well. Both elements implicate an institutional building or a club house. In many Serbian discourses addressing EU-issues, *čekaonica* and *predvorje* are often thematized as well, but even more frequent is the term *predsoblje* 'anteroom, lobby', which does not appear in the Croatian corpus at all. It is often thematized already in the headline (*U predsoblju Evrope* 'In the European anteroom' (*Nin* 07.03.2002), *Predsoblje Evrope* 'European Anteroom' (*Nin*, 10.04.2003)). In the continuation of the text *Predsoblje Evrope*, a combination of the *journey*-metaphor and *Europe-as-house* metaphor can be seen - whereas the house is precisely defined as a flat:

- (24) Veliki integracionistički umovi opisuju SE kao *predvorje* Evropske unije, u kojem zemlje stižu elementarne uslove za kandidaturu u toj organizaciji. "Mi se nalazimo u *predsoblju*, skinuli smo kaput i izuli cipele, ali sada nam predstoji dugo čekanje da nas *domaćin* pozove u *stan*." [...] Savet Evrope jeste samo *predsoblje* ili, možda, *devojačka soba* Evropske unije (*Nin*, 10.04.2003).

(The great integrational minds describe the European Council as the *anteroom* of the EU, in which countries acquire elementary conditions for the candidacy in that organization. "We are in the *anteroom*, we took our

coat and shoes off, but now we face a long wait until the *landlord* calls us into the flat. The EC is only the *anteroom*, or maybe the *maid's room* of the EU.)

The text *Predsoblje Evrope* comments on the membership of Serbia and Montenegro in the European Council. It is a good example of how metaphors can be crucial means of text cohesion. The metaphorical devices—actualizations of the *journey-metaphor* and *Europe-is-a-house* metaphor—appear in the headline, in the first lines and in those paragraphs which bring new information and at the end of the text.

What further implications do the *club house* metaphors and *family house* metaphors have? *Club house* metaphors bring a metaphorical logic in the discourse that is absent when the *house* metaphors occur alone. The *club house* metaphors implicate the power relations between the club's rulers and its applicants for membership:

- there exist club rulers and strict rules for joining the club
- applicants have to submit an application and fulfill all required conditions; they cannot set any rules themselves
- the club rulers do not have to explain their decisions connected with the acceptance or rejection of an application

The metaphor of the *EU as a family house* has a very different range of connotations:

- there exists a family living in the house whose members belong together on the basis of their family relations
- there are some family members living outside the house
- a family has to accept/will accept its members who come back
- there are no conditions for the acceptance of new family members

These implications are not obligatory for the message receiver, but they are implicitly present and can give a particular direction to the discourse flow. However, if a particular metaphorical logic becomes conventionalized, it is a sign of its acceptance among the discourse participants, for whom it undoubtedly makes sense.

Metaphors on the text and discourse level are not merely functions of the metaphorical semantics of goal domains such as Europe, European integration processes, institutions, activities. In understanding the motivation for their use by the author and their effects on the addressees of particular texts, the socio-

cultural and pragmatic aspects of the metaphors should be considered as well. The conventional metaphorical joining-image in the representation of European integration entails a representation of the European Union as a *building*. The building in the Croatian media discourses is often called a *house*. The *Europe-as-a-house* metaphor is fairly conventional in Croatian discourses in representing the EU as an already existing structure, as well as in representing the EU expansion. *House* can imply different building types, such as a boarding house, a private house or a one-family house. The exact idea of the house type, however, is not mediated in the majority of the texts. Due to the pilot character of the corpus, only tendencies can be stated. Some texts mediate an idea of a family house, since either the word *dom* 'home' or some family members (*braća* 'brothers', cf. Table 4) are mentioned, or some other indicators of family relations/family closeness are present (i.e., *zagrljaj* 'embrace', cf. Table 4). The contexts indicating closeness in family relations are connected with the positive attitude towards the prospective joining of the EU by a candidate. However, conventional metaphors in contexts which thematize EU-expansion and the integration process itself most frequently characterize the EU as a club house.

Other metaphorical settings

The personification model appears both independently and as a part of the other models. As was already mentioned in the discussion of traveling and joining models, the personification model is a part of all main metaphorical settings involved in the discussions about Europe and EU-expansion. It is a part of the *journey* and *joining* setting, when the country is conceptualized as a traveler confronted with a path towards a goal domain and with the obstacles on that path. The goal domain of the journey - Europe/EU - is depicted through personification model as well. It is seen as a human being who acts in a certain way:

[Europa] *će se* htjeti *dodvoriti* 'Europe will want to ingratiate itself'
 Europa *slavi* 'Europe celebrates'
 EU *se* dosljedno *oglušivala* 'The EU consequently did not want to hear (it)'
 EU [nas] *poziva* 'The EU calls us'
 Unija *zaokupljena brigom* kako da „proguta“ deset novih članica 'The Union is worried how it should "swallow" ten new members'
 kuda Europa *ide* 'Where does Europe go'
duša Europe 'soul of Europe'

The next example illustrates a blend of the architecture and personification models. Europe is personified because it acts, i.e. it needs to leave the door

open. The Southeastern European countries are personified as well because of their “entering” into the EU:

- (25) Europa mora ostaviti *otvorena vrata* zemljama jugoistočne Europe, ma kako joj to bilo teško, a te zemlje moraju pokušati *proći kroz ta vrata*, ma kako im to bilo teško (*Vijesti HRT*, 23. 07.1999).
(Europe must *leave the door open* for the countries of Southeast Europe, even if that is difficult, and these countries must try to *go through this door*, even if that is difficult for them.)

In addition to the most frequent settings already mentioned, a few others can be identified as well (cf. Table 5). However, their metaphorical logic is not conventionalized to the same extent and cannot count on the activation of the knowledge shared by the majority of the discourse participants. Some of them concentrate on the goal domain, some on the path, and some on the source domain. Among them, the *sport*-setting is relatively frequent. It is a part of discourses concentrating on the path and the movement of the personified countries. The conventionalized path into Europe is seen as a race in (26):

- (26) Ne treba se zamarati tim kategorijama, nego trčati svoju *utrku* prema Europi i pritom dobro paziti da nam netko ne stavi ruksak s kamenjem na leđa! (*Vjesnik*, 26.11.2001).
(We should not bother with these categories but should keep running our *race* towards Europe, always paying attention that no one puts a rucksack filled with stones on our back.)

The goal domain of the European integration process is presented through various other settings as well, e.g. through the *school*-setting. This setting does not include spatial dimension, path and movement imagery. It concentrates on the goal domain alone. In this setting, potential candidate countries are *persons* (personification model) who – like students – try to learn from the teacher. The EU is a teacher and a school (metaphorical *school* model) for potential candidate countries:

- (27) Jedna od najboljih stvari koja nam se mogla dogoditi jest da nas EU, onog trenutka kada smo konačno odlučili postati dobri “učenici”, ipak “uzme pod svoje” (*Novi list*, 16.6.2004).
(One of the best things which could happen to us is that the EU, in the moment we finally decided to be good “*pupils*,” “takes us under its wing.”)

SPORT/ RACE/GAME SETTING

trebamo *trčati*
 paziti da se u *trci* ne spotičemo
startni drugorazredni *položaj* unutar EU-a
 Hrvatska se smatra nekom vrstom
predvodnika
 to *diskvalificira* u preostalim krugovima
europske utrke
 balkanska *regata*
 regata u kojoj su svi krenuli s iste pozicije
 u regati na cilj prvi stiže najbolji brod, u
konvoju s plovi brzinom najsporijeg plovila
 trenutno *vode* Makedonija i Hrvatska
 o vještini *skipera* ovisit će daljnja utrka
pravila igre EU
 poštivanje europskih pravila igre
 EU nema šansi postati *prvorazrednim*
svjetskim igračem

MARRIAGE SETTING

brak s Bruxellesom
 sklapanje zaruka
 Hrvatska u položaju tradicionalne *mladenke*
 ili *mladoženje*
 ozbiljno razmišljati o braku
 ući u brak s EU-om

MECHANISM SETTING

teret koji poskupljuje *funkcioniranje* Europe
 preduvjeti za funkcioniranje Unije

SCHOOL SETTING

odlučiti postati *dobri* “*učenici*”
 Hrvatska *polaže* svoj prvi pravi europski *ispit*
 novi težak ispit: zadovoljiti političke
 preduvjete za ulazak u EU
 [Balkan] bi bio spreman položiti *prijamni*
ispit za ulazak u Europu.
 polaganje prijemnih ispita
popravni ispit EU
 popravni ispit koji će [Hrvatsku] lansirati u
 ozbiljan dio integracijskog procesa
 hrvatski *odgovor* na europska *pitanja*
 traženi odgovori zaslužuju gotovo *peticu*
 dobiti koji *bod* na račun kritike sadržaja
 odgovora
 svladati domaću *zadaću* u što kraćem roku

HEALTH/DISEASE SETTING

Europa valjda jedva čeka da otvori *ambulantu*
 za *balkanske bolesnike*

PARADISE SETTING

Europa ... naš *pakao*
 dugi put do „*europskog raja*“
 Europa ... nebeska domovina/željena desti-
 nacija/čudesni eldorado/obećana biblijska
 zemlja u kojoj teku med i mlijeko
 mukotrpn put od *čistilišta* do *europskog raja*

Table 5. Other metaphorical settings

This setting appears in a few headlines found in the corpus (e.g., *Popravni ispit*, 'Makeup examination', *Novi list*, 23.10.2002). Of course, the joining/travel setting and school setting combine in the same context as well:

(28) [Ministar] spominje prave *prepreke* našem *približavanju* EU [...] U naredna dva tjedna presudni će *popravni ispit* polagati hrvatska vlada (*Novi list*, 23.10.2002).

([The minister] mentions the real obstacles to our approaching the EU...The Croatian government will take its decisive makeup examination during the next two weeks.)

The *joining* setting is realized as a *marriage* setting in several contexts (e.g., *Zaruke s EU* 'Betrothal with the EU,' *Novi list*, 16.06.2004.). This setting implies a close, partnership relation between the candidate countries and the EU. It evokes not only duties and responsibilities but an emotional level as well, thus carrying more concrete, either positive or negative connotations than the conventionalized joining-setting by itself. The other models found in the corpus concentrate either on the goal domain (e.g., mechanism setting, paradise setting) of Europe/the EU, or on the candidate countries and their relation to the goal domain (health/disease setting).

Concluding remarks

The analysis of the metaphorical models encountered in the Croatian media in the understanding and representation of the processes of European integration shows that the typical metaphorical models for representing European integration processes employ *path/movement* imagery. The typical image involved in the representation of the European integration processes is the image of a candidate country as a traveller heading for Europe. In this setting, path and movement models blend with the personification model. The characteristics of the elements included in the image - the representation of the traveller, path and goal domains - are elaborated to a different extent, depending on the concrete political situation that gives the general frame to the text. Periods of political difficulties give rise to the elaboration of the obstacles on the metaphorical *path towards Europe*. When choosing a particular metaphorical setting, it is also important which impact the author "intends" for his text, i.e., what attitude towards a particular topic the author intends to create.

Secondary correlational metaphors in the metaphorical settings of the discourses on *European issues* are based upon our shared metaphorical concepts. The consciousness of their existence suggests a consciousness of their potential

to influence, and even to manipulate. Thus, if it is a positive perspective on the European integration processes that should be created, the goal domain of the metaphorical journey will likely be represented as a family. This image concentrates on the position of an individual human being in the political process rather than on the position of a country as a supraindividual political or national category. As such, it is capable of evoking emotions by all text recipients, since all of them do have experience connected with the family environment. On the other hand, a sport setting in the metaphorical representation of Europe communicates with a narrower circle of readers. If a text pretends to give an objective political analysis based upon objective reasoning and calculations, the possibility of representing the goal domain as a clubhouse will increase.

The metaphorical models employed in the linguistic representation of European integration processes entail secondary correlational metaphors which are not an inherent part of our understanding of the world. A general question concerns the importance of these secondary metaphors in the representation of the political process and the repercussions for the representation and understanding of political events if they were to be omitted. However, they appear to be a very important element of text structure and cohesion, as they recall the primary metaphors that are a part of our understanding of the world.

This analysis was not intended to be exhaustive. Its aim was to sketch the presence of the main metaphorical models in the EU-discourses of the Croatian media and to provide the impetus for further questions and analyses, such as an examination of the connection between particular metaphorical models and the type of the media text, as well as the relationship of the political orientation of the text source in general and the images involved. One area of particular interest yet to be studied involves the differences and similarities in the discourses of the different countries,⁴ especially those between the “old,” “new” and “possible” EU-members.

⁴ It is well-known that metaphorical models are shared in the European media discourses. There are many intertextual metaphors, translated metaphors or metaphors directly stipulated by the foreign media discourses, such as *two-speed* Europe:

- (i) Stoga su Nijemci, zajedno s Francuzima, najavili mogućnost stvaranja dviju *Europa* s dvije različite brzine. (*Vjesnik*, 17.12. 2003)
(That is why the Germans, together with French, announced the possibility of creating of two Europes with two different speeds.)
- (ii) Prvim korakom prema novoj *Europi* različitih brzina može se smatrati Berlinska trilateralna (*Slobodna Dalmacija*, 25.09.2004).
(The Berlin trilateral can be considered the first step towards the new Europe of different speeds.)

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Based on this example of a cross-language metaphor, Musolff (2003) shows how metaphorical phrases 'shared' by different languages can become the object of international disagreements and disputes.

METAFORIČNI MODELI U EU-DISKURSIMA HRVATSKIH MEDIJA

U prilogu su na temelju manjega korpusa (većinom hrvatskih) medijskih tekstova dostupnih na internetu analizira konceptualizacija i lingvistički prikaz problema povezanih s Europskom unijom i njezinim proširenjem. U javnom diskursu kojem su tema različiti aspekti EU-problematike prisutno je više na metaforama temeljenih modela s različitim stupnjem proširenosti i razrađenosti. Najčešći modeli imaju prostornu podlogu. U korpusu dominiraju model putovanja i priključivanja i model arhitekture. Rjeđe su prisutni drugi scenariji, primjerice sporta, škole i braka.

Ključne riječi: medijski diskurs, konceptualizacija, Europska Unija, metaforični modeli