Knocking on EU's door: On the changing and conflicting metaphorical images of Croatia in selected EU press

Werkmann, Ana; Buljan, Gabrijela

FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET
SVEUČILIŠTE JOSIPA JURJA STROSSMAYERA U OSIJEKU

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Ana Werkmann
Gabrijela Buljan
Josip Juraj Strossmayer University
Osijek

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The goal of this paper is to analyze the metaphorical construal of Croatia's EU accession in the political discourse of selected EU press. We first analyze the metaphorical expressions collected between 2001 and 2012 in the EU Observer, providing a stage-wise analysis of the concepts characterizing different segments of Croatia's EU journey. Next, we explore potential differences in the metaphorical EU discourse of two *different* EU states: Austria (*Die Presse*) and UK (*The Guardian*), the two countries that felt differently about Croatia's EU-fitness, especially in 2005.

Key words: metaphor; political discourse; Croatia.

1. Introduction

Since Croatia applied for membership of the European Union in 2003, and especially after a resounding 'yes' from the Croatian majority in the EU entry referendum, the Croatian public and political discourse flared up with references to Croatia as a soon-to-be-*member of the EU club*.

These examples, while clearly metaphorical, are hardly spectacular to an average reader of the political press in this corner of the world. Moreover, it is becoming increasingly difficult to tease EU political discourse apart from such metaphorical turns of phrase. Many have become part of the conventional EU jargon

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and have lost some of their original lustre.[1] Luckily, there are creative elaborations of existing conceptual mappings, and the forging of new ones, which makes metaphor in discourse a fascinating thing to explore (see e.g. Musolff 2004; Semino 2008).

This paper is a descriptive account of the metaphorical framing of Croatia in EU political discourse. It is not the first paper of this kind. Šarić (2005) presented her study of the metaphorical models in EU discourse favored by the Croatian press. Our study, however, looks at Croatia through the eyes of selected EU media. In this way we expect to complement the earlier study and so contribute to a more complete picture of Croatia-related EU discourse. Our main goals are:

1. to explore Croatia's developing metaphorical image in EU political discourse (2001-2012) (Study 1),

2. to identify synchronic biases concerning Croatia in 2005, as revealed in the metaphorical discourse of the political press in two Member States (MSs): the United Kingdom (UK) and Austria (AU) (Study 2).[2]

These two studies are complementary, since they both contrast Croatia's metaphorical image, one in its diachronic development in a single corpus of EU discourse, and the other synchronically, in two co-temporaneous discourse corpora. This two-pronged approach will also draw attention to some of the methodological choices involved in studies of both types.

2. Theoretical background

In over thirty years of unflagging intellectual commitment to conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), discourse[3] has become recognized as one area where the study of metaphor can yield many theoretical and practical rewards. Metaphors pervade different discourses, but seem particularly well-suited to represent the complexities of contemporary politics (e.g. Chilton and Ilyin 1993; Musolff 2004; Semino 2008). Importantly, a discourse approach to metaphor has shifted focus to authentic language data and away from invented or rare examples. That has improved aspects of

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[1] Cf. Šarić's reference to "intertextual metaphors, translated metaphors or metaphors directly stipulated by the foreign media discourses" (2005: 168).

[2] The reasons for selecting these two MSs will be explained below (p. 346).

[3] We use the term 'discourse(s)' to refer to "ways of speaking or writing about particular topics … or in particular settings … usually from particular perspectives" …. As a non-count noun 'discourse' is used "to refer generally to naturally occurring language use" (Semino 2008: 29).

CMT (cf. Musolff's metaphorical scenarios 2004) and led to the reinterpretation of some of CMT's pet examples, such as ARGUMENT IS WAR (originally proposed by Lakoff and Johnson 1980, later modified by Semino 2005, 2008).

One advantage of the discourse approach is the recognition that even political cultures that are close enough to command a similar range of conceptual metaphors may build different, if not opposing, metaphorical discourses: "…even common conceptual source domains can be used for different argumentative and ideological purposes" (Musolff 2004: 5; cf. Lakoff's (1996) discussion of the NATION-AS-FAMILY metaphor in US politics).

This turn to natural discourse, where metaphorical expressions are more directly related to their sociopragmatic context, benefits our study immensely, since this gives us at least a little bit of a handle on the changing and possibly also contested political image(s) of Croatia on its way into the European Union. One caveat is in order here.

Our approach is inductive. However, we do not take our data as *evidence* of the conceptual systems underlying the political discourses studied, but as a source of *hypotheses* about them[4]. Also, any conclusions about the attitudes of discourse communities toward Croatia, as reflected in language, must be based on more than metaphor data. We proceed, therefore, in full awareness that metaphor tells only a part of the story and that a more complete picture would emerge from a full-scale (critical) discourse analysis of pertinent data.

3. Methodology

3.1. *On corpora*

For our two studies we compiled two corpora (cf. Tables 1 & 2). Corpus 1 includes data from *The EU Observer*, an independent Belgium-based newspaper published in English, which covers EU politics and aims to be "editorially independent, open-minded and [to give] balanced news about the European Union."[5] This was deemed a good source for our diachronic Study 1. Corpus 2 is restricted to data from the

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[4] Cf. Casasanto (2010: 143) who stresses that these hypotheses need to be tested experimentally; e.g. his experimental study of conceptual metaphors TIME IS SPACE, TIME IS SPEED and SIMILARITY IS PROXIMITY gave results which could not all be predicted on the basis of linguistic metaphors in English or other known languages.

[5] www.*euobserver.com.*

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politically turbulent 2005, from two national sources: Austrian *Die Presse*, and British *The Guardian*.[6]

The articles were first automatically selected using the search word *Croatia*. The corpus was then manually trimmed by selecting texts dealing with Croatia's EU integration. However, since Croatia is only a part of EU's enlargement concerns, we had to include texts dealing with Croatia as a part of (West) Balkans, or in the framework of EU overall enlargement policy.

3.2. *Identification and interpretation of metaphorical expressions*

We used neither a set of predetermined source domain expressions (cf. e.g. Koller 2004; Charteris-Black 2004; Musolff 2004; Cameron and Deignan 2003, etc.) nor target level expressions (cf. Stefanowitsch 2006) to identify metaphorical expressions in our database. We took a conservative approach, reading through all the automatically retrieved data, and then manually analyzed the texts.[7]

The data were classified into a two-tier conceptual taxonomy. First, we pulled together lexemes like *train/route/hurdle/speedy* into source domain categories such as VEHICLE/PATH/OBSTACLE/SPEED, respectively. This was not an easy task given that categories do not come ready-made or with clear boundaries (Rosch 1977, Lakoff 1987); e.g. many elements were found to cut across different conceptual categories, e.g. *Galopp* may be considered an element instantiating both SPEED and, roughly speaking, ANIMAL LOCOMOTION. In such cases we opted for the categories that seemed most salient in the context. This level exposed contrasts on two fronts: a) in the choices of source domain categories for framing particular topics, and b) in the assignment of source domain categories to different TD elements.

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[6] We aimed at quality newspapers with national circulation, rather than tabloids (to control for tabloids' tendency to create 'drama' for the sake of entertainment or shock, cf. Semino 2008: 213). The two newspapers were selected mainly on practical grounds since they afforded easy online access to the relevant back issues. In addition, an informal spot check of several issues promised a better coverage of the topic in these sources than in their potential alternatives. The latter was especially the case with *The Daily Telegraph* (UK), which was not only sparse in its references to Croatia, but was, arguably, ideologically driven away from EU- and/or UK-external topics. Its political conservatism and strong Euro-scepticism made it deeply concerned with EU-internal frictions (tensions between EU power-players), unlike the liberal left-wing daily *Guardian,* which proved more open to UK-external topics.

[7] This does not eliminate the possibility of human error, but the procedure is not limited to the preselected source or target domain expressions.

Next, we zoomed out to establish a more schematic level of cognitive taxonomy, what Musolff (2004) called SUPERDOMAINS (SDs). Our 15 superdomains (cf. Table 6) represent conceptual clusters of similar conceptual elements (e.g. LOVE-MARRIAGE-FAMILY-RELATIONSHIPS), rather than specific conceptual metaphors (e.g. COUNTRIES ARE A FAMILY; COUNTRIES ARE NEIGHBORS, etc.)[8]. This relatively coarse-grained level of conceptual organization allowed us to more easily detect major patterns in our data and to compare them between the two national samples (4.2.). Interesting contrastive detail was of course preserved at the more concrete level mentioned above.

Given the large number of texts and a very high word count, after the initial classification of all our data into broad target domains (TD), SD categories and conceptual elements, we focused on selected TDs and SDs to identify patterns/differences within/between the corpora.[9] For instance, in Study 2, after first identifying relevant TDs in the national samples and moving on to establish, as *tertium comparationis,* the TDs that are shared between the two national samples, contrasts were explored between the SDs structuring the shared TDs. Then, specific SDs were selected as *tertium comparationis* to analyze possible contrasts between their instantiating source domain categories. This means that of this vast discourse space, initially completely analyzed into TDs and SDs, only some categories were selected for a detailed analysis (particularly topical TDs and particularly salient SDs). This minimizes the relevance of quantitative data in revealing trends in the national samples. Still, based on our qualitative analysis, we can form ***hypotheses*** about such trends until more research gives ground for more solid quantitative conclusions.

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[8] Cf. Musolff (2004: 12) for more detail.

[9] Analysing every TD and SD category would be impossible given the space available, but it would not be interesting either, since not all TDs proved equally topical or versatile in metaphor choice (e.g. the Slovenia case, p. 343).

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4. Analysis

4.1. *Study 1:* **The EU Observer** *(2001-2012)*

The aim of Study 1 was to do a finer-grained analysis of our data to detect patterns in Croatia's changing image between 2001 and 2012.[10] A 12-year time span was considered long enough to include changing political and metaphorical landscapes.

Table 1. EU Observer: Corpus size.

	Sample	Number of texts	Word count	No of examples
1	EU Observer (01-12)	266	132 969	706

Being that the texts were matched by their general topic (Croatia's way to the EU) and the source (EU Observer), our first step was to link the identified metaphorical expressions/concepts to specific TDs. The list of these TDs, ordered by frequency, is given in Table 7 in the Appendix. The TDs deal with the relationship between Croatia and different MSs/candidate countries (Slovenia, Austria, Turkey, etc.), public opinion (in EU and Croatia) or topical events and their impact on Croatia's progress towards the EU. These categories are, of course, not discrete; e.g. the TDs concerning the Croatia/AU/UK relationships are defined in reference to the case against Croatian general Gotovina, then a high-profile war crimes suspect, and its impact on Croatia's EU standing. Such ambiguities were resolved by considering the contextual salience of particular aspects of the situation(s); e.g. **IP_Gotovina case**: focus is on the general impact of the Gotovina case on Croatia's standing;[11] **Croatia & EU_Austria**: focus is on Austria's efforts to minimise the importance of the case; **Croatia & EU_UK**, focus is on UK's initiative to postpone the launch of Croatia talks because of its presumed non-cooperation with the International War Crimes Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

Our analysis showed that different TDs prevail in different periods;[12] e.g. 2009 saw a surge of examples on the Slovenia-Croatia relations after their maritime border dispute reached a peak (Study 1: 36% of all metaphorical expressions; Study 2: 0%). Some TDs frequent in Study 2 are practically negligible here, e.g. Croatia and Austria relationship (Study 1: 0.4%; Study 2: 21.92% (*Presse*) and 22.86%

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[10] We start from 2001, when Croatia signed the Stabilisation and Association Agreement.

[11] The TD IP_Gotovina case will be briefly tackled in Study 2.

[12] For space limitations, we do not include these quantitative data.

(*Guardian*), Croatia and the UK (Study 1: 1.6%; Study 2: 2.25% (*Presse*)[13] and 17.86% (*Guardian*).

Below we present the metaphorical profile of several selected TDs. We skip the TD Croatia vs. Slovenia, despite its prevalence, since it is remarkably unspectacular in making almost exclusive reference to the (un)blocking of Croatia's talks (hence the overwhelming presence of the concept OBSTACLE in the SD WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED (46.09% of all metaphorical expressions in this TD).

4.1.1. *TD Croatia & Others_Turkey*

The relative standing of the two EU hopefuls, Croatia and Turkey, was a veritable hot potato in 2005. Austria was complaining about the double standards with which the EU judged the two countries and threatened to veto the launch of Turkey's negotiations unless Croatia was also given the go-ahead. UK, in turn, was fighting vigorously for the launch of negotiations with Turkey, while advocating its postponement for Croatia. However, references to the two countries in the EU Observer only concerned less controversial topics: comparisons of how far the two countries came in their EU-adjustment reforms. Of the 18 metaphorical references to Croatia and Turkey in the 12-year period, 14 were references to different conceptual elements of the SD WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED. Cf.

(1) *Both countries ... are expected **to be given the green light** in December ...* (2004)

(2) *Both Turkey and Croatia have opened and closed the first chapter of EU legislation as part of **their long journey** to join the bloc* (2006)

(3) *Croatia **leaves** Turkey **behind** in EU-talks;* (2006)

(4) *Turkey and Croatia's **path** to joining the EU **was split on** Wednesday ...* (2006)

(5) *Zagreb is **well ahead** of Turkey in the negotiations.* (2008)

(6) *Turkey **far behind*** (2008)

(7) *Ankara has been **lagging far behind Zagreb** in its EU progress ...* (2009)

(8) *Croatia **on track**, Turkey **stalling*** (2010)

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[13] See Tables 7 and 8 in the Appendix.

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(9) *Turkey and Croatia started the EU entry **marathon** on the same day, in October 2005, but progress has been much slower with the big south-eastern neighbour.* (2011)

As the examples show, the first joint mention of the two countries dates to 2004. They are portrayed as two candidate countries facing reforms before receiving a political nod from the EU. In 2006 the two countries split up and Croatia starts outpacing Turkey, although Turkish aspirations to join the EU predate Croatia's by no less than decades. In time, the distance grows ever larger (5-8). In 2011, one sees the end of the journey, for Croatia anyway, since the country is getting closer to its goal, leaving Turkey far behind. Interestingly, in 2011 (9) reference is made to the greater-than-usual length of the journey for both countries using the concept of a MARATHON (GAME-SPORTS SD), except that Croatia is much closer to the finishing line.

4.1.2. *TD Croatia & Others_Romania/Bulgaria*

Romania and Bulgaria completed their EU journey much earlier than Croatia, which is reflected in some of the metaphorical imagery. Before Romania and Bulgaria acceded into the EU in 2007, the relative position of the three countries was mainly construed as either a RACE or other aspects of the WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED SD (7 out of 9 examples) - with Croatia *trying to catch up* with Romania (2002), *already catching up* with Romania (2003), or all three waiting for/receiving *signals* to enter the next stage of the process (2006).

(10) *His comments (…) indicate that Croatia may be hoping **to catch up with** Bulgaria and Romania who are scheduled to join in 2007.* (2002)

(11) *He said Croatia **had already caught up with Romania and Bulgaria** - expected to join the EU in 2007.* (2003)

(12) *Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia **given the go ahead**.* (2004)

(13) *Meanwhile, Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia, are expected to get some **signals** about their pending membership of the bloc – with a political nod likely towards 2007 and 2009/10 respectively.* (2006)

However, after 2007, the imagery changes. Since Romania and Bulgaria were still riddled with problems when they joined the expansion-weary EU, it was interesting to observe how the EU used the two new MSs as a backdrop for justifying its harsher policy towards Croatia. The WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED SD still catered for this; e.g. it is said that Bulgaria's and Romania's post-accession problems *slowed*

down Croatia, or gave priority to substance and quality over *speed* of integration. Or consider its use by Romania, now an EU member, when it threatened to use its power of veto against Croatia to fight its own battles in the EU, viz. it threatened *to block* Croatia's entry in retaliation for Germany blocking Romania's Schengen entry, thereby *putting hurdles in Croatia's path.*

(14) *Bulgaria and Romania's continuing post-accession problems contributed to a notable cooling of pro-enlargement sentiment in the EU and has **slowed down** Croatia's integration.* (2010)

(15) *In the past, some EU diplomats were ready to accept a Romanian-and-Bulgarian-style mechanism for Croatia in the hope that it would **speed up** the negotiations, but the current view that substance and quality are more important than **speed** has prevailed.* (2010)

(16) *As the **marathon** accession talks with Croatia **draw closer to the finishing line**, the European Union has clearly stated that it will not install a safety net similar to that which accompanied the entry of Romania and Bulgaria.* (2010)

(17) *Bucharest reacted fiercely, slamming the "unfair" and "discriminatory" treatment, with the foreign minister even threatening to **put extra hurdles** into Croatia's EU bid.* (2011)

However, new SDs also arise; e.g. the colorful expressions in the SD PHYSICAL CONFLICT (18-20), where the EU worries that Croatia might replace Bulgaria as yet another *blow* to the belief that Europeanization can fix inherited problems. Or consider *Romania's sabre-rattling* - directly aimed at Croatia, but actually targeted at Germany *in retaliation* for their bilateral disputes, or Romanian foreign minister making his *Croatia attack*. Finally, there is the *lesson learned* (SCHOOL-DISCIPLINE SD) sentiment in the EU, allowing it to justify the hard line on Croatia. Effectively, EU wants the country to be *a good example* after *the less good examples* of Bulgaria and Romania (21-22).

(18) *Romania's **sabre-rattling** seems to be directed primarily at Germany – Croatia's main supporter in the EU - rather than the Balkan state itself.* (2011)

(19) *Romanian President Traian Basescu on Wednesday told his government he does not support any action to block Croatia's EU accession in **retaliation** for the delay of his country's Schengen entry, nor the non-ratification of a Lisbon Treaty protocol regarding 18 extra MEPs.*(2011)

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(20) *For his part, foreign minister Teodor Baconschi, who first **made the Croatia attack**, apologised in an interview with the NewsIn news agency.*

(21) *"That's the reason why we want Croatia to be **a good example** after the **less good examples** of Bulgaria and Romania," a senior EU official told this website.*(2010)

(22) *Faced with what it considers a "**lesson learned**" in admitting Bulgaria and Romania as full EU members before they had proven themselves able to fight corruption and organised crime at all levels, the EU expects Croatia to provide evidence of its suitability before accession talks are concluded.* (2010)

4.2. *Study 2: Metaphorical construal of Croatia in 2005*

Study 2 is a cross-linguistic analysis of the media discourse of two MSs (AU and UK) aimed at revealing metaphorical signs of divisions between them over Croatia.

We focused on 2005, a particularly sensitive year for Croatia; the expansion euphoria had by then subsided as it was obvious that EU's capacity had reached its limit after the Big Bang expansion by ten new states in 2004. The political discourse was also dominated by accusations of Croatia's non-cooperation with the ICTY. This was flagged as the biggest obstacle to the start of talks with Croatia and influenced UK and AU politics toward the country. It also brought new powerful players into the arena, i.e. the chief prosecutor of the UN Tribunal, Carla Del Ponte. On the other hand Austria, Croatia's biggest foreign investor, stubbornly stood its ground in advocating the timely launch of negotiations with Croatia. Some sources suggest that Austria struck a decisive political bargain that contributed to a dramatic change of heart in the otherwise relentless Del Ponte. Del Ponte's declaration, on 3 October 2005, that Croatia was fully co-operating with the ICTY (after a series of claims to the contrary), was speculated to result from Austrian threats to veto the launch of negotiations with Turkey.[14] For these reasons, we decided to analyze Austrian (*Die Presse*) and British press (*The Guardian)* to identify some of these political differences in their metaphorical construal of Croatia.

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[14] Political intricacies behind this are not out in the open and go beyond the scope of this paper. The tentative interpretations above derive from our newspaper sources.

Table 2: Study 2: Size of 2 national samples.[15]

	Sample	No. of texts	Word count	No of examples
1	Austria (Die Presse)	87	34 840	292
2	The UK (The Guardian)	29	24 629	140
	TOTAL	**116**	**59 469**	**432**

In Study 2 one descriptive issue is more palpable. Namely, many metaphors have become common stock metaphors in EU discourse and are readily available for framing mutually relevant topics. Corpus 1 was not immune to this, of course. But in a multi-national corpus this creates a sterile homogeneity of data where one might be intent on locating differences. The same or very similar metaphorical expressions are replicated across national discourses; in fact, many texts quote the same lines from the same politicians. Our data confirms this as there are many examples in the TD ***Integration process_general*** (*Press:* 10.27%; *Guardian:* 7.14%), on the technicalities of Croatia's integration: e.g. *Croatia opened another chapter and takes another step in the direction of Brussels.*

The narrower chronological focus of Study 2 required probing deeper into the subtleties of the events of 2005. The consequences were the mentioned change in the inventory and frequencies of TDs.[16] But also important is the need to divide some TDs into several distinct profiles. For instance, with the rising importance of the Gotovina case in 2005 (Study 1: 5.24% of examples; Study 2: *Presse* 24.66% and *Guardian* 30.71%), different aspects of this situation took on definite contours, e.g. the relative power distribution between del Ponte and the EU in the row over the start of negotiations with Croatia. Del Ponte's rise and demise is construed as her self-inflicted *disassembly* (*Demontage*);[17] she is portrayed as a puppet (lit. 'a ball') at the mercy of the powerful (*ein weiterer Spielball der Macht*). This situation also forces the EU on a *tightrope walk* (*Gratwanderung*); it has to avoid the impression that ICTY is in charge of EU politics but must not anger the UN. The Guardian adds to this, with palpable resignation: *when Brussels beckons*, intractable *barriers can shift*. Cf. Table 8 in the Appendix for the list of TDs in Study 2.

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[15] The two national sections of our 2005 corpus are not equal in size (Table 2), which precludes quantitative comparisons. However, the amount of media space devoted to Croatia is also informative, with the larger number of texts found in the Austrian source.

[16] Cf. Table 8 in the Appendix.

[17] To save space we shall integrate many of our metaphorical expressions into the running text; it should be borne in mind, however, that they are authentic examples carefully extracted from our database.

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Below we will try to locate the main differences in the metaphorical expressions from the two samples, focusing on the following TDs: ***IP_Gotovina case; Croatia & EU_UK; Croatia & EU_Austria***, and only on the most relevant SDs within these TDs.

4.2.1. *IP_Gotovina case*

In Corpus 1, this TD featured examples dealing with the topic in a general way. They mostly repeated obvious facts, i.e. Gotovina being a *hurdle* or *slowing* Croatia *down* on its *path* into the EU. The WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED SD catered for many such examples, with the elements of OBSTACLE (*hurdle, obstacle)*, TIMETABLE (*delays*), TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT (*no green light or go-ahead*), TRAIN JOURNEY (*derailment*) accounting for most cases. Other SDs are found in *(not fully) closed door*s[18] (BUILDING-CONSTRUCTION-CONTAINER-CLUB) or Del Ponte's *blows* (PHYSICAL CONFLICT) to Croatia's bid.

Table 3. Most common SDs in TD IP_Gotovina case.

TD: IP_GOTOVINA CASE	UK		AU	
WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED	15/43	34.88%	27/72	37.50%
PHYSICAL CONFLICT	12/43	27.91%	13/72	18.06%

Corpus 2 is similar in preferring the SDs WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED and PHYSICAL CONFLICT. As expected, the former SD features many examples which in one way or another portrait Gotovina as a hurdle on Croatia's EU path (e.g. 23 – 26). Both national samples also make references to the SD of PHYSICAL CONFLICT (e.g. 27 – 31). But some of the latter references are framed differently in the two samples and allow us to glean differences in attitude. The UK sample explicitly mentions the British government as supporting Del Ponte's accusations of Croatia for *shielding* Gotovina (27),[19] while the Austrian discourse is critical of the EU itself for relying

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[18] This expression arguably also exemplifies the SD WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED (closed doors imply a restriction to movement); however, we thought it would be unwise to overgeneralize this into an even broader SD that would combine all these concepts into a single SD. Both SDs, i.e. WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED and BUILDING-CONSTRUCTION-CONTAINER-CLUB occur independently of each other often enough (especially the former) to merit separate treatment. Therefore, when analysing examples such as *fully closed doors* etc. we gave preference to the domain that is lexically articulated and/or more salient, rather than the one that might be implied.

[19] Note, incidentally, the tone in examples (27) and (28): ***ugly** coalition, **murky** espionage, **vicious** media war* ...

on third party accusations (Del Ponte's) to make this legal matter a criterion for EU talks in the first place (without devising an *exit strategy* (31)):[20]

(23) *The fugitive who **stands in the way** of Croatia's EU entry.*

(24) *Croatia's bid to join the European Union **stumbled** today over the government's failure to arrest and extradite a Croatian general who is wanted by the UN war crimes tribunal.*

(25) *Einem Ja zu Verhandlungen **steht aber im Wege**, dass der vom UN-Tribunal gesuchte kroatische General Ante Gotovina noch immer nicht ausgeliefert worden ist.*
'Standing in the way of a 'yes' to EU negotiations is the fact that the Croatian General Ante Gotovina, wanted by the UN Tribunal, has not yet been delivered'

(26) *Mit Gotovinas Festnahme ist **die größte Hürde** für Kroatiens EU-Beitritt genommen.*
'Gotovina's capture lifted the biggest obstacle to Croatia's EU accession'

(27) *Ms Del Ponte (in an analysis shared by the British and other EU governments) says Gotovina is being **shielded** by an ugly coalition of organised crime rings, businessmen, senior military people, government officials and members of the security services, which may be more powerful than the prime minister, Ivo Sanader, and the pro-EU camp in the government.*

(28) *The story of the subsequent **battle** of wits between Croatia and Europe entails murky espionage activities, a vicious media war, misinformation, and chronic miscalculation.*

(29) *On a private **last-ditch mission** to London last week, the Croatian foreign minister, Kolinda Grabar-Kitarovic, handed over documents seeking to prove that Zagreb was doing its utmost to get Gotovina.*

(30) *Warum die EU jetzt einen **Warnschuss** an Beitrittskandidat Kroatien **abgab***

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[20] Critical references to EU's minor role in the matter compared to the outsider are only found in the Austrian section: cf. *Nicht das UN-Kriegsverbrechertribunal hat zu befinden, ob ein Land das Zeug hat, Mitglied im europäischen Klub zu werden, sondern die EU selbst*. ('It is not up to the ICTY to determine if a country is fit to be a member of the EU-Club, but up to the EU itself'). The Guardian has nothing remotely similar to this, other than shock expressed over Del Ponte's sudden *U-turn*, or her surprising *lifting of intractable barriers* when she declared that Croatia was fully co-operating with ICTY.

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'Why did the EU now fire a warning shot on candidate country Croatia'

(31) *Manche EU-Länder sind etwas zu unbedacht mit ihren Sanktionen. Sie gehen scharf gegen Länder vor, die scheinbar nicht ihren Wertmaßstäben entsprechen und stützen sich dabei auf Berichte Dritter. So ist es auch Kroatien ergangen, das als beitrittsunwürdig angeprangert wurde. Doch nicht etwa auf Grundlage eines Urteils von EU-Experten, die sich mit der Umsetzung des Rechtsstaats und der wirtschaftlichen Reformen beschäftigt hatten, sondern durch Einwände von außen … Von den EU-Regierungen war das nicht besonders gerecht und letztlich auch nicht besonders klug. Nicht gerecht, weil die Türkei kurz zuvor trotz Menschenrechtsverletzungen weit entgegenkommender behandelt wurde. Nicht klug, weil eine **Exit-Strategie** fehlte.*
'Some EU countries are too reckless with their sanctions. Relying on third-party reports, they strike against the countries which do not appear to fit their value system. This happened to Croatia too, which was denounced as unfit for accession. Not on the basis of a judgment by EU experts concerned with the rule of law and economic reform, but based on reproach from outside the EU…. It was not very just from those EU governments and ultimately not very smart either. Not just, because, not long before, Turkey had received a much kinder treatment despite its human rights violations. Not smart, because there was no exit strategy'

This attitudinal split is occasionally echoed in other SDs as well. The UK appears critical of Croatia for disobeying the rule of law/the EU (32 – 34); Austria, in turn, is critical of the EU itself for pushing this legal matter as a criterion for Croatia's EU talks; this, when it calls politics a form of *extortion*, or criticizes the EU for making Croatia *hostage* (35-36):

(32) *You can't **dine a la carte** on the rule of law* – MISCELLANEOUS

(33) *Croatia **miscalculated** badly* – BUSINESS-ECONOMY

(34) *Croatia thought they could **play out** against Brussels* - GAME-SPORTS

(35) *Politik ist **Erpressung**. Sie ist vielleicht sogar die ausgefeilteste Form von **Erpressung*** - LAW-CRIME
'Politics is extortion. Perhaps even the most polished kind of extortion'

(36) *Doch es fragt sich, ob die **Geiselhaft** eines ganzen Landes für die Annäherung an die EU nicht letztlich kontraproduktiv wirkt.* - LAW-CRIME
'But the question is, isn't it ultimately counterproductive to take a whole country hostage for the sake of its progress towards the EU?'

4.2.2. *Croatia & EU_UK*
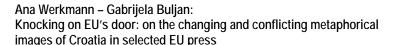
Table 4: Most common SDs in TD: Croatia & EU_UK.

TD: CROATIA & EU_UK	UK		AU	
WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED	10/25	40%	1/6	16.67%
PHYSICAL CONFLICT	7/25	28%	4/6	66.67%
BUILDING-CONSTRUCTION-CONTAINER-CLUB	1/25	4%	1/6	16.67%

Corpus 2 features a number of examples where the UK stands out as the leader of EU's hard line against Croatia.

(37) *The British **launched** a year-long operation to capture the elusive officer, General Ante Gotovina.* - WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED

(38) *The British government is **leading** the EU hard line and, if need be, will **block** any moves to open talks.* - WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED

(39) *UK driving hardline policy on war crimes suspect as concerns grow that both sides will be the **losers***. - PHYSICAL CONFLICT

(39) *The "No to Croatia" campaign in Brussels was **spearheaded** by British diplomats in the aftermath of the sabotage of Operation Cash.* - PHYSICAL CONFLICT

17.86% of examples in the UK sample present the UK standing tall against Croatia. Of these, many belong to the SD PHYSICAL CONFLICT, where the UK is *spearheading the "No to Croatia" campaign,* but is also being *sabotaged* by Croatian intelligence. Also prominent is the SD WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED with the British *blocking any moves* to open talks, a campaign which, in turn, is being *wrecked* by Croatians. The British are also welcoming the *delay* of talks as 'inevitable and right', *launching* operations to capture Gotovina, and claiming it would be wrong *to give the green light* to Croatia, without Gotovina *in the docks.* Britain also takes up the *lead role* in shaping EU policy on Croatia (ART-PERFORMANCE), practically a campaign to *keep Croatia out of the EU* (BUILDING-CONSTRUCTION-CONTAINER-CLUB), at least in the view of the Croatian tabloid *Nacional,* the country's main *advocate* (LAW-CRIME) of the 'British conspiracy' theory. While the British claim they cannot *turn a blind eye* to what is happening in Croatia and insist on breaking the Croat *delusion* (both LIFE-HEALTH-STRENGTH)[21] that war crimes cannot have been

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[21] Although the word *delusion* is not strictly limited to the contexts dealing with mental illnesses, we belive that the word's association with the domain of mental or neurological pathology is salient enough to justify the assignment of this example to the SD LIFE-HEALTH-STRENGTH.

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committed in a defensive war, Croatians are reported as seeing the British as *squeezing the last drop of blood from them* like the *Spanish Inquisition* (LAW-CRIME).[22]

A negligible six out of 292 examples (2.05%) tell a part of this story in the AU sample. The Austrian story is similar, not identical, since the UK is virtually never underscored as *leading* the anti-Croatia campaign. In fact, most references (4/6) are to the general *resistance* in ever more EU countries (40), *the front line* (41) *being formed* against Croatia, or those *on the other side* (42), where the UK only remains implicit, as one of the opponents. In other words, the UK is one of the growing number of countries that are *signalling* a 'No' to Croatia (43); or that are *closing themselves off* against the launch of talks (44).

(40) *In immer mehr EU-Ländern **formiert sich Widerstand**.*- PHYSICAL CONFLICT

(41) *Erweiterung: **Front gegen Kroatien formiert sich*** - PHYSICAL CONFLICT

(42) *Doch **auf der anderen Seite** gibt es in der EU eben Länder wie Großbritannien, die Niederlande oder Schweden.* - PHYSICAL CONFLICT

(43) *Immer mehr Länder **signalisieren** ein Nein zum Start von Beitrittsverhandlungen.* - WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED

(44) *Gegen den Start **sperren sich** vor allem Großbritannien, Dänemark, Schweden und die Niederlande.* - BUILDING-CONSTRUCTION-CONTAINER-CLUB

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[22] An anonymous reviewer suggested that this example would better fit the SD LIFE-HEALTH-STRENGTH. We agree that it could plausibly be regarded as an instance of a SD concerned with the concepts of LIFE and DEATH. However, considering the context, we believe our analysis to be justified. The context paints the British Government as a self-proclaimed authority which took it upon itself to decide the fate of Croatia; it uses harsh methods to wring Croatia's confession about knowing the whereabouts of the fugitive general. Given the perceived severity of its methods, the British Government is metaphorically construed as the Spanish Inquisition, an institution in the **judicial** system of the Roman Catholic Church notorious for its distribution of harsh penalties. In this scenario, the spilling of blood is nothing but a method of coercing Croatia's confession.
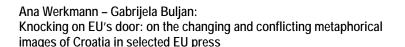
4.2.3. *Croatia & EU_ Austria*

This TD makes salient reference to Austria, the main protagonist on the opposite side of the Croatia-Turkey conflict. Table 5 shows that the UK and AU sample are not much different in their preference for specific SDs. The three most frequent SDs are the same. The WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED SD ranks highest, but the SD ECONOMY-BUSINESS outranks the usual runners-up: PHYSICAL CONFLICT and BUILD-ING-CONSTRUCTION-CONTAINER-CLUB. This can be considered a case of situational triggering (Semino 2008: 104ff), since Austrian promise to unblock Turkey in exchange for the same favour for Croatia cannot but be seen as a kind of trade. The following examples illustrate each of the dominant SDs in the two samples.

(45) *Austria moved when it became clear that Croatia would be **given the green light** for talks after the international war crimes tribunal ruled Zagreb was offering full cooperation.* - WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED

(46) *As one of the most fervent supporters of Croatia, Austria was privately trying to arrange a **deal** whereby it would say yes to Turkey if Zagreb was given a starting date for membership talks.*- ECONOMY-BUSINESS

(47) *Commentators said the country was holding up the agreement because it wanted a positive signal about the EU ambitions of its closest **ally**, Croatia.* - PHYSICAL CONFLICT

(48) *Österreich habe sich für den Beitritt Kroatiens sehr stark eingesetzt und werde **in diese Richtung weitergehen**.* - WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED
'Austria has campaigned vigorously for Croatia's accession and will continue in that direction'

(49) *Was hat Österreich in Luxemburg erreicht? Auch die Aufnahme von Beitrittsgesprächen mit Kroatien geht **auf die Haben-Liste** der Österreicher.* - ECONOMY-BUSINESS
'What did Austria achieve in Luxembourg? The opening of accession negotiations with Croatia ends up on the Austrian list of assets too'

(50) *Gemeinsam mit Ungarn, Slowenien und der Slowakei versucht Österreich nun den **Widerstand** einiger EU-Regierungen gegen einen Start von Beitrittsverhandlungen zu brechen.* - PHYSICAL CONFLICT
'With Hungary, Slovenia and Slovakia, Austria is trying to break the resistance of certain EU governments against the start of negotiation talks'

(51) *Obwohl dies offiziell nicht bestätigt wird, möchte die Regierung in Wien*

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*allerdings erreichen, dass Kroatien ebenfalls **die Tür zu Verhandlungen
geöffnet wird***. - BUILDING-CONSTRUCTION-CONTAINER-CLUB
'Although this has not been officially confirmed, what the government in
Vienna wants to achieve is that the door to negotiations also be opened to
Croatia'

(52) ***Hoch gepokert** und **gewonnen*** – GAME-SPORT
'High-stakes poker for high net gain'

Before commenting on differences ***within*** the shared SDs, let us briefly comment
on the remaining SDs.

The two samples differ in preference for specific SDs: GAME-SPORT ranks high
on the Austrian scale, but sits low in the UK sample. Here Austria is described as *a
daring gambler - poker player* (*Österreich pokert hoch; hoch gepockert und ge-
wonnen*), as blocking Turkey only to bring Croatia to the *start of the race track* (*um
Kroatien an den Start zu bringen*), as a participant in the *marathon* Luxembourg
meeting on 3 October, and as one *wrestling* with the other 25 MSs over the Turkey-
Croatia case (*Ringen*). Austria is also *kicking the ball* over to the Brits (*Österreich
spielt Briten Ball zu*); the British, in turn, only say, with resignation, that "It is dis-
graceful that other EU countries like Austria want to *let Zagreb off the hook*."
There are also some non-shared SDs, like the ART-PERFORMANCE SD, a pretty ro-
bust category in the Austrian sample with no counterparts in the UK section. The
Austrians, with occasional self-criticism, refer to the situation as politics and busi-
ness staging a joint *avantgarde performance* (*als Avantgarde auftreten*), a *theatre
play* (*Schauspiel*), to Austria's moves *behind the scenes* (*hinter den Kulissen*), and
more affirmatively, to Plassnik's (Austrian foreign minister) *grandest performance*
ever (Plassniks größter *Auftritt* bisher), *The Luxembourg thriller* (*Thriller von Lux-
embourg*), and to the *farce* (*Farse*) over Croatia, a country argued to be much read-
ier for the EU than Romania, Bulgaria or Turkey.

In the three shared SDs, there seem to be few, if any differences at first glance.
In the SD WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED both samples feature elements of OBSTACLE
(*blocking talks)*, TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT (*green light* for EU talks*, positive *signals)*,
MOVEMENT (*stalled* entry talks) etc. or references to a *deal, trade-off, Deal, price,
Preis* in the BUSINESS-ECONOMY SD, when portraying Austrian pro-Croatia/anti-
Turkey policy. Also, both samples use the SD PHYSICAL CONFLICT for this TD
(Britain is hoping Austria will *give ground* on Sunday night, Vienna worked out its
tactics …; *Front* gegen Kroatien *formiert sich*). Where then do we find differ-
ences?

Table 5. Most common SDs in TD: Croatia & EU_Austria.

TD: CROATIA & EU_AUSTRIA	UK		AU	
WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED	**14/32**	**43.75%**	**14/64**	**21.88%**
ECONOMY-BUSINESS	**6/32**	**18.75%**	**11/64**	**17.19%**
PHYSICAL CONFLICT	**5/32**	**15.63%**	**11/64**	**17.19%**
BUILDING-CONSTRUCTION-CONTAINER-CLUB	2/32	6.25%	3/64	4.69%
GAME-SPORT	1/32	3.13%	**10/64**	**15.63%**
ART-PERFORMANCE	-	-	**6/64**	**9.38%**

We have identified three sources of contrast. First, in the assignment of shared conceptual elements to different TD participants. E.g. OBSTACLE (WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED) is used in the UK sample only in reference to Austria, i.e. Austria *blocking* Turkey's talks. The only reference to OBSTACLE in the AU sample is in reference to EU's *blockage* of Croatia (a simple change of perspective - potentially meaningful in revealing underlying ideologies). Or in the SD BUSINESS-ECONOMY, where *trade-off, trade, deal* is used with different TD scenarios in mind. The UK sample refers to Austria's *deal* as a Turkey-for-Croatia *trade*, the Austrian press takes this business closer to home. Namely, its pro-Croatia 'business' is construed as one designed for Austria's own economic gain and Turkey is almost completely out of the picture. This is repeated in the SD PHYSICAL CONFLICT, where all the fighting for Croatia's cause is exposed for what it was, a defense of Austria's own economic interests (see below).

Second, in focusing on different source domain concepts in the same metaphorical scenarios. For instance, in the SD PHYSICAL CONFLICT the UK sample seems to spotlight any glimpses or hopes of Austria's failure (DEFEAT) in its pro-Croatia campaign; there is a report of a UK politician expressing 'delight that Austria has been *beaten into submission*'; or the UK hoping *Austria will give ground* on Sunday night. The Austrian press, in turn, takes us 'mid-battle', but also portrays Austria (and Croatia) as potential *victors*. Cf. Vienna trying to *break the resistance* (*Widerstand brechen*) of some EU countries to Croatia's talks, and *fighting for it on the first front line* (*an vorderster Front kämpfen*); the whole situation being a *war of nerves (Nervenkrieg); and its Turkey line being caught in cross-fire (Wien's Turkei-Linie im Kreuzfeuer)*.[23] This is not always without self-criticism, like above, e.g. when the conflict scenarios are painted as driven by economic motives; the economic gain makes Austria's *great victory in a defense battle against the Turks*

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[23] Recall UK's self-promotional discourse in TD Croatia & EU_UK in 4.2.2.

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(Der große Sieg in der Abwehrschlacht gegen die Türkei) or *its breaking spears on the European battleground* worth the trouble *(da lohnt es sich, auf europäischem Feld die eine oder andere Lanze zu brechen)*.

Finally, differences were found in the evaluative comments or expressive rhetoric in the extra-metaphorical context.[24] For instance, when Austrian insistence that talks should *go ahead* was declared by the UK commentator as wrong (57); when, in the UK sample, the otherwise shared DEAL/PRICE scenario is emphatically (cf. the exclamation mark) underscored in a rhetorical punch line in (58); or when the UK press infuses the *exchange* with connotations of almost illicit backdoor dealings (59). However, there are more colorful cases where UK commentators read religious motives into Austria's moves. Cf. (53), (54), (55) and (56) where the religious and history card is repeatedly played in voicing anti-Austrian sentiments:

(53) *Wolfgang Schüssel ... has signalled that he will only back the talks if there is a parallel launch of accession negotiations with neighbouring -* **and Catholic** *- Croatia.*

(54) *A green light for Croatia would raise the possibility of a symbolic start to EU membership talks for a* **Muslim and a Catholic country** *at virtually the same time.*

(55) *Turkey will today face a new setback to its EU ambition when Austria declares that it is wrong to open membership talks with Ankara while blocking Austria's near neighbour - and* **fellow Christian country** *- Croatia.*

(56) *That brought accusations of a* **trade-off** *with Austria - dropping its opposition to full membership for a large,* **poor and Muslim country** *in exchange for progress for a small, richer,* **fellow Catholic one that was once part of the Austro-Hungarian empire***.*

(57) *Austria, Hungary, Italy and Slovenia, Croatia's neighbours and* **fellow Catholics***, were* **wrong** *to want the talks to go ahead regardless of the Gotovina case.*

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[24] An anonymous reviewer remarked that examples (56), (58) and (59) are not extra-metaphorical since they all exemplify the BUSINESS-ECONOMY SD. We fully agree with this qualification, however, it should be borne in mind that our claim was not that these examples are not metaphorical; rather, we argued that evidence of differing national sentiments could be located outside the metaphorical expressions themselves. For instance, in the repeated (non-metaphorical) mention of Croatia's and Austria's strong historical and religious ties and references to Turkey as a *poor Muslim country*.
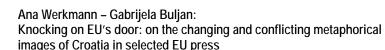
(58) *What was Austria's **price** for finally agreeing to the opening of negotiations with Turkey? A similar promise for Croatia!*

(59) *As one of the most fervent supporters of Croatia, Austria **was privately trying** to arrange a deal whereby it would say yes to Turkey if Zagreb was given a date for membership talks.*

In sum, while Austria may strike the reader as slightly self-critical over the Croatia 'business' in all three SDs, it is the British who appear more deeply critical when they spice up their stories with unprovoked references to Croatia-Austria alliances along religious and historical lines, ignoring all the while what seems to be more obvious, Austria's economic motives.

5. Conclusions

Our two studies aimed to identify trends in the metaphorical discourse about Croatia on its way into the EU. The first study was a single-source diachronic survey of Croatia's evolving metaphorical image over a 12-year period. The texts were initially matched by their shared general topic and shared source, and the contrasts were found, first, in the changing preferences for specific TDs. This reflects the fickle nature of politics, since topics (TDs) evolve, get dropped or added. We also observed changes in the metaphorical construal of some of the shared TDs, characterized by shifts in metaphor usage of two types: a) different periods called for different (better-suited) SDs, e.g. the shift to the SCHOOL-DISCIPLINE and PHYSICAL CONFLICT SDs in the **TD: Croatia & Others_Romania/Bulgaria**, after initially construing their relationship as a RACE, or at least as CO-MOVEMENT toward the same goal; b) when the SDs were constant in the construal of particular TDs, different source domain categories rose to prominence in different periods: e.g. Croatia and Turkey beginning their *journey* together, but Croatia eventually *outpacing* the much *slower* Turkey and being *closer to its goal*.

Our second study was an exploratory comparison of the metaphorical political discourse about Croatia in Austria and the UK, the two MSs with conflicting views on Croatia during the turbulent 2005. We found that the metaphorical discourse mirrors this divide to an extent and in different ways. Contrasts were observed at different levels, starting from a) the two samples preferring different TDs for framing the same situation (e.g. Austria more readily criticizing EU politics for caving in to ICTY (Croatia & EU_Austria; the UK leading undercover operations to capture Gotovina (Croatia & EU_UK); over b) cases where the same TDs were structured using the same SDs, but with different (configurations) of conceptual ele-

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ments; to c) situations where contrasts could only be detected outside the metaphorical expressions (53-59). Whether or not one wants to include the latter within the purview of metaphor in discourse scholarship will depend on one's taste and need for boundaries. But to neglect this in analyzing political discourse would mean failing to tell the whole story.

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Authors' addresses:

Ana Werkmann
University of Ottawa
Faculty of Arts, Department of Linguistics
Arts Hall, Room 415
70 Laurier Ave. East
K1N 6N5, Ottawa ON Canada
awerk023@uottawa.ca

Gabrijela Buljan
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Josip Juraj Strossmayer University

L. Jägera 9, Osijek
Croatia
gbuljan@ffos.hr

PRED VRATIMA EUROPE:
O PROMJENAMA I RAZLIKAMA U METAFORIČKOM POIMANJU HRVATSKE U ODABRANIM EUROPSKIM MEDIJIMA

Cilj je ovoga rada analizirati metaforičko poimanje Republike Hrvatske u političkom diskursu odabranih europskih medija tijekom različitih etapa njezina pristupanja Europskoj uniji. Najprije se analiziraju metaforički izrazi prikupljeni u listu *EU Observer* u razdoblju između 2001. i 2012., čime se popratio razvoj, odnosno promjene dijela metaforičkog profila Republike Hrvatske u različitim etapama integracijskog procesa. Potom su se nastojale utvrditi razlike u metaforičkom diskursu dviju zemalja članica Europske unije, Austrije (*Die Presse*) i Velike Britanije (*The Guardian*), koje su, posebice tijekom 2005., imale prilično različita stajališta o spremnosti Hrvatske za pristup Europskoj uniji.

Ključne riječi: metafora; politički diskurs; Hrvatska.

6. Appendix

Table 6. Frequency of superdomains/word count in 3 samples.

	SUPER DOMAIN	**EU Observer**		**UK sample**		**Austrian sample**	
		freq	WC	*freq*	WC	*freq*	WC
1	ART-PERFORMANCE	11	132969	2	24629	8	34840
2	BUILDING-CONSTRUCTION-CONTAINER-CLUB	68	132969	17	24629	22	34840
3	ECONOMY-BUSINESS	2	132969	9	24629	21	34840
4	GAME-SPORTS	19	132969	4	24629	21	34840
5	LAW-CRIME	8	132969	4	24629	7	34840
6	LIFE-HEALTH-STRENGTH	8	132969	4	24629	20	34840
7	LOVE-MARRIAGE-FAMILY-RELATIONSHIPS	31	132969	7	24629	10	34840
8	MISCELLANEOUS	19	132969	4	24629	15	34840
9	NATURE-WEATHER	20	132969	5	24629	4	34840
10	PHYSICAL CONFLICT	23	132969	25	24629	41	34840
11	SCHOOL-DISCIPLINE	17	132969	3	24629	5	34840
12	TECHNOLOGY	9	132969	1	24629	6	34840
13	WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED	471	132969	55	24629	108	34840
14	BALANCE-STABILITY	0	132969	0	24629	5	34840
15	GEOGRAPHY-GEOMETRY	0	132969	0	24629	0	34840

Table 7. Study 1 (EU Observer) – TDs**.**

	Target Domain	**No. of exx**	**%**	**No. of texts**
1	Croatia & EU_Slovenia	237	33.569%	86
2	IP_general	172	24.363%	113
3	EU Enlargement_policy and concerns	75	10.623%	53
4	Croatia & Others_Balkans	69	9.773%	49
5	IP_Gotovina case	37	5.240%	23
6	Croatian politics_general	23	3.258%	14
7	Croatia & Others_Romania etc.	20	2.833%	14
8	Croatian public opinion	20	2.833%	15
9	Croatia & Others_Turkey	18	2.550%	11
10	Croatia & EU_UK	11	1.558%	10
11	Croatia & EU_Italy	6	0.850%	4
12	Croatia compared to EU	4	0.567%	4
13	Croatia & EU_others	3	0.425%	3

14	Croatia in EU_challenges	3	0.425%	2
15	Croatia & EU_Austria	3	0.425%	3
16	EU's image	2	0.283%	1
17	EU public opinion	2	0.283%	2
18	EU politics_general	1	0.142%	1
	Total	**706**	**100%**	**NA**

Table 8: Study 2 (2005) – TDs.

	Target Domain	**AU**			**UK**		
		No. of exx	%	No. of texts	No. of exx	%	No. of texts
1	IP_Gotovina case	**72/292**	**24.658%**	35	**43/140**	**30.714%**	11
2	Croatia & EU_Austria	**64/292**	**21.918%**	25	**32/140**	**22.857%**	14
3	EU Enlargement_policy and concerns	**48/292**	**16.438%**	17	4/140	2.857%	3
4	IP_general	**30/292**	**10.274%**	17	10/140	7.143%	3
5	Croatia & Others_Turkey	19/292	6.507%	7	6/140	4.286%	3
6	Croatia & Others_Balkans	16/292	5.479%	11	7/140	5.000%	4
7	Austria & Balkans	12/292	4.110%	4	-	-	-
8	EU & Del Ponte_power issues	10/292	3.425%	4	5/140	3.571%	3
9	Croatia & EU_UK	6/292	2.055%	4	**25/140**	**17.857%**	10
10	Croatia & EU_others	6/292	2.055%	3	2/140	1.429%	2
11	Croatian public opinion	4/292	1.370%	4	-	-	-
12	Croatian politics_general	2/292	0.685%	2	-	-	-
13	Croatia & Others_Romania etc.	1/292	0.342%	1	-	-	-
14	Croatia in EU_challenges	1/292	0.342%	1	-	-	-
15	EU politics in general	1/292	0.342%	1	-	-	-
16	EU's image	-	-	-	5/140	3.571%	2
17	UK politics_general	-	-	-	1/140	0.714%	1
	Total	**292**	**100%**		**140**	**100%**	