



CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN THE DISCOURSE OF PAKSAS (2003–2004)

VILMA LINKEVIČIŪTĖ

Vilnius University
Kaunas Faculty of Humanities
l.vilma@mailcity.com

Keywords: *cognitive linguistics, political discourse, conflict communication, conceptual metaphors.*

In modern democratic societies, political life is embodied through the actions of political parties, their duly elected leaders, and various political ideologies. In this context, political discourse, which records a variety of opinions and, frequently, their conflict, becomes an inseparable element of political culture.

Conflict communication in political discourse may be perceived as the main research object of political linguistics, because the attack and winning of governmental positions occur in the context of the conflict of various political forces. That conflict is expressed through discourse.

The object of this research is the linguistic means of political conflict communication that are characteristic of the political discourse of Paksas (2003–2004).

The objective of this research was to describe linguistic metaphors and to reconstruct the conceptual metaphors which determine the origin of these linguistic metaphors in the discourse of Paksas (2003–2004).

The identification of the metaphorical expressions prevailing in political texts has become one of the main research trends in political discourse. The majority of metaphorical expressions form a particular system, which can be explained through their relations to conceptual metaphors – cognitive structures, existing in the subconscious, that determine the interpretation of the world and unfold through linguistic metaphors.

Chudinov (2001) points out that metaphorical models are very significant in political discourse analysis because they reflect national, social, and personal consciousness, as well as the evaluation and conceptualization of various fragments of reality with the help of scenarios, frames and slots.

The identification of conceptual metaphors is beneficial in political discourse analysis because conceptual metaphors are short formulas expressing the world-view of a political text subject in brief, or presenting the world-view model that he / she



wants to insert into the consciousness of the addressees. Different interpretations of the same event are determined by different conceptual metaphors which condition the whole world-view system (ideology) – the whole value system. Moreover, conceptual metaphors include personal experience and “define our linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour” (Lassan 1995, 45).

In political texts, metaphors are usually used deliberately, in order to achieve a particular rhetorical effect. Metaphors are used as a method of indirect communication which helps politicians to achieve their aims, i.e., to influence the subconscious structures of the addressee through the view created by the metaphor.

At the beginning of his Presidential career, Paksas employs peaceful conceptual metaphors related to buildings. The situation changes when the process of impeachment begins. As a result, metaphors of WAR and MESS appear in his conflict communication with the opponents.

At the beginning of Paksas’s presidential career, the opposition *I–THEY* was expressed in his speeches. In other words, this opposition was actualized through the metaphor *THE STATE IS A BUILDING*, which has the function of uniting the Lithuanian citizens. This opposition suggests that the inclusive *WE* (you and I) have to construct the state building together, despite our different attitudes. *THE STATE IS A BUILDING* conceptual metaphor is expressed in Paksas’s inaugural speech (2003) and complemented at the beginning of 2004:

(1) *Trylika Nepriklausomybės metų sukūrė tvirtus laisvės ir demokratijos pamatus* (2003).

(2) *Vasario 16-oji tautos sąmonėje yra ir išlikęs kaip valstybės kūrimo simbolis, todėl man itin džiugu Jus šiandien pasveikinti ir padėkoti, nes esate tie žmonės, kurie savo mintimis ir darbais svariausiai prisidedate prie to, kad vis aukščiau kiltų mūsų valstybės rūmai. Ant pastolių to didingo statinio, kurį vadiname valstybe, stovime visi – verslininkai ir poetai, policininkai ir žurnalistai, politikai ir aktoriai, buvę disidentai ir tremtiniai, mokslininkai ir ūkininkai, teisininkai ir dvasininkai, gyvenantys tėvų žemėje ir gyvenimo audrų svetur nublokšti tautiečiai. Valstybę kartu su mumis stato ir tie šviesūs žmonės, kurių, deja, jau nėra tarp mūsų* (2004).

The linguistic expressions of this conceptual metaphor may be investigated in the examples as an expression of the strength of the Republic of Lithuania and the unity of its citizens. This power is revealed with the help of such phrases as *sukūrė tvirtus laisvės ir demokratijos pamatus, vis aukščiau kiltų mūsų valstybės rūmai, valstybę kartu su mumis stato* (*designed strong foundations of freedom and democracy, that the palace of our state would tower higher, together with us the state is being built*). Later, in 2004, other consequences of *THE STATE IS A BUILDING* conceptual metaphor, those with negative connotations, are actualized; now, instead of the process of building the state, Paksas suggests the idea of *destruction*:

(3) *Ar politiniais sprendimais lemdami teisinius procesus, politiniams tikslams naudodami slaptašias tarnybas negriauname valstybės savo rankomis?* (2004)

The *destruction* expression is related to Paksas’s impeachment process and is applied to the opponents in his conflict communication. This statement indirectly im-

plies that the impeachment is harmful to the state and, therefore, that the President's opponents are negative and non-beneficial. This statement makes the target audience look at this particular situation from another angle and draw the intended conclusions: that Paksas is innocent, while all the opponents involved in this process are guilty. This idea is reinforced by the following statement, where the same metaphor may be observed:

(4) *Esu įsitikinęs: jeigu aš ir mano patarėjai nebūtume bandę griauti korumpuotos sistemos, nebūtų ir šio skandalo* (2004).

Moreover, the phrase *griauti korumpuotos sistemos* (to destroy the corrupt system) determines a metaphor of *construction* and *destruction* that encourages the depiction of abstract subjects as buildings, rather than the *building* metaphor itself.

Another conceptual metaphor, POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, enables Paksas to describe his own actions positively and the actions of his opponents negatively. The first to be presented and analysed are those linguistic metaphors with positive evaluative connotations that are related to the *I* nomination in the opposition *I–THEY*:

(5) *Suvokiu, kad esame tik demokratinio kelio pradžioje ir turime daug ir kantriai mokytis* (2004).

(6) [...] *laisvę atgavusi Lietuva eina pasirinktu Europos keliu* [...] (2004).

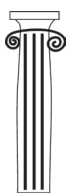
(7) [...] *i Europą turime ateiti ne tik su gerais ekonominiais rodikliais, bet ir kaip brandi teisinė valstybė*. (2004)

(8) *Tikiu, kad iš šios situacijos išeisime sustiprėję* (2004).

(9) *2004 metais mūsų europinė dienotvarkė įgaus kokybišką pokytį: nuo narystės siekimo pereisime prie efektyvaus ir kokybiško narystės užtikrinimo*. (2004)

(10) *Trylika metų einame pasirinktu Europos keliu* [...] (2004).

In examples (5) and (8), the verbs *suvokiu* and *tikiu* (*understand*, *believe*) enable the target audience to treat Paksas as a mental subject. In most cases, this politician uses verbs related to thinking, in order to present himself as an opinion subject. However, the President says nothing about his real actions. It is possible to observe that the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, which determines linguistic metaphors and carries positive connotations, is presupposed through positive changes in example (5). Here the President talks about the beginnings of democracy in Lithuania, presenting the scene via comparison with a traveller who is at the beginning of his way: *esame tik demokratinio kelio pradžioje* (*we are at the beginning of a democratic way*). The noun *pradžia* (beginning) and the Present Simple Tense *esame* (are) indicate that democracy in Lithuania began with the governing of Paksas. This complements his political image with positive features. Example (8) indicates the positive end of the way: *išeisime sustiprėję* (*we will leave this way being stronger*). This example represents the beneficial result which will be achieved when the current difficult situation is over. The greatest number of examples containing the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY refers to a journey in one direction only – the one which leads towards the European Union. In some cases Paksas even names that way *Europos kelias* (*the European way*), but in most cases he just indicates the direction.



The linguistic metaphors expressing the conceptual POLITICS IS A JOURNEY are aimed at Paksas's permanent opponents, bear negative evaluative connotations:

(11) *Šiandien Seimas ižengė į galutinę Prezidento apkaltos proceso stadiją* (2004).

In this statement taken from Paksas's public appeal to the citizens of the Republic of Lithuania (April 05, 2004), delivered just before his suspension, the negative consequences of the actions he describes are presented with the help of the analysed metaphor: *ižengė į galutinę proceso stadiją* (*entered into the final stage of the process*). The Parliament and its members are perceived and presented as Paksas's main opponent, responsible for the choice of an unfair, non-beneficial and even detrimental way:

(12) *Esu įsitikinęs, kad šiuo metu Lietuvoje sukelta politinė sumaištis neturi su-
lėtinti mūsų žingsnių, einant pasirinktu keliu* (2004).

(13) *Po keliolikos minučių Jūs balsuosite dėl apkaltos Respublikos Prezidentui. Tai – neturintis precedento įvykis Europos istorijoje, tampantis mūsų šalies savotiška vizitine kortele žengiant į senosios Europos namus* (2004).

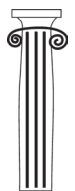
The examples presented above do not express any negative connotations of *way*, but they negatively characterize the situation. Those who act as obstacles along the way are reprehended with the help of this characteristic. On the other hand, the actualization of this metaphor in the speeches of Paksas helps to form a positive image of his politics and makes it possible for him to blame his opponents. Moreover, example (13) implies that one of Paksas's main opponents, the Parliament, is responsible for the formation of a negative image of the state, possibly leading to corresponding consequences or even obstacles in the President's preferred way: *žengiant į senosios Europos namus* (*entering the house of the old Europe*). This plays a crucial role in Paksas's conflict communication with his opponents, because the opposition is introduced as a power which may arrest the state's development and prevent its entrance to the promised bright future.

Another conceptual metaphor which can be reconstructed in Paksas's speeches is LITHUANIAN POLITICS IS A SICK PERSON. The accusation of the opponents is actualized through this metaphor:

(14) *Paminėjau tik keletą labai pavojingų teisinės ir politinės sistemos negalavimo simptomų, tačiau ir jų užtenka, kad įstengtume suvokti, kur slypi tikrosios grėsmės valstybei ir demokratijai* (2004).

(15) *Kad ir kokie skausmingi įvykiai klostytųsi Lietuvoje, mano nuomone, jie neturėtų pažeisti esminių demokratijos principų* (2004).

Clinical symptoms of the legal and political systems are used to present a negative evaluation of the opposition's performance with the help of such adjectives as *labai pavojingi* and *skausmingi* (*very dangerous, painful*), which emphasize the importance of this situation. The nouns *negalavimas* and *simptomai* (*indisposition, symptoms*) bear negative connotations themselves, and signal the negative side of the issue, which may be perceived as detriment and harm to the state being the oppo-



nents' responsibility. The indicated consequences of the *disease* are eventually introduced as a threat to democracy. Moreover, the President, with the help of the phrase *įstengtume suvokti* (*would be able to understand*), once again introduces himself as a mental subject, while the clinical symptoms are indicated as obstacles limiting the implementation of his intended actions.

The most widely developed conceptual metaphor in Paksas's conflict communication is POLITICS IS WAR. It is expressed through *fight/attack*, *defense* and *enemy* linguistic metaphors.

The *fight/attack* linguistic metaphor is the prevailing metaphor in Paksas's conflict communication with his opponents:

(16) *Aš matau aršų, ilgalaikį ir sunkiai suvokiamą pasipriešinimą* (2003).

(17) *Kad ir kasdien kartočiau, jog nesu saistomas jokių kitų įsipareigojimų, išskyrus Prezidento priesaiką Lietuvai ir jos žmonėms, vis tiek būčiau kaltinamas, nes kaltintojų tikslas – ne išsiaiškinti tiesą, bet palaužti mane morališkai ir sunaikinti politiškai* (2003).

(18) *Politinis nebrandumas ir egoizmas veda į tai, kad oponentas tampa ne pagarbos vertu idėjinio priešininku, o mirtinu priešu, nes gali atskleisti nešvarius paties kaltintojo darbus. Toks pavojus telkia visą kariauną, ir kova tampa žūtbutinė* (2004).

(19) *Suprantu, kad Prezidentas, net ir pikčiausiai pjudomas ir juodinamas, neturi teisės daryti klaidų* (2004).

(20) *Kad ir kaip pasibaigtų ši aštri politinė kova [...]* (2004).

(21) *Ar sugebėsime atskirti tikrą tiesą nuo tariamos, tikrus priešus nuo tų, kuriuos aštroje politinėje kovoje sukuria laki fantazija?* (2004).

(22) *Kartu kiekvieną sykį susitikimuose išgyvenu, kad nedaug įstengiu Jums padėti, nes sistema, prieš kurią, eidamas į valstybės vadovo postą, pasiryžau kovoti, yra daug galingesnė, negu Jūs galite įsivaizduoti* (2004).

(23) *Visada kovosiu prieš tikrąsias, o ne išgalvotas grėsmes valstybės nacionaliniam saugumui. Kovosiu prieš žmonių nuskurdinimą, korupciją, vis didėjantį turtinį atotrūkį, Europos Sąjungos lėšų grobstymą, narkomaniją ir narkomafiją, organizuotą nusikalstamumą, savanorišką dėl nepakeliamo vargo Lietuvos žmonių tremtį į sveitimus kraštus.* (2004).

Examples (16) and (18–21) represent the opponents' *fight* against Paksas which is emphasized by such epithets as *žūtbutinė*, *pikčiausiai*, *aštri*, *aršus* and *ilgalaikis* (*desperate*, *vicious*, *sharp*, *determined*, *long-term*), revealing negative connotations related to the opposition. The consequences of the latter conceptual metaphor, expressed with the help of these adjectives, are to disclose the negativity and exaggeration of the opponents' performance and the helplessness or even insecurity of the President. The remaining statements reveal that conceptual metaphors are able to have various entailments. In Paksas's speeches, the *war* domain is concretized: it is *war* against dangerous phenomena which are named by abstract nouns. When this politician speaks about his opponents, *THEY fight* against one particular person – Paksas



himself. Examples (17), (18–23) disclose interesting oppositions. The opposition *real enemies–false enemies* is evident in example (21) where it is implied that the enemies and dangers Paksas *fights* against are real, while his opponents *fight* against false enemies that only exist in their imagination. This idea is complemented by example (23). The opposition *I–SYSTEM* is revealed in example (22). The fact that this politician is ready to fight against the whole system, named by him as very powerful, transforms his victim image into an attacker image and presents Paksas as an active physical subject. However, this attacker image is not dominant. The role of a victim or a person under attack is dominant in Paksas's political discourse.

The *war* scenario covers two sides: one side attacks and the other defends itself. As discussed earlier, Paksas takes the role of the defendant:

(24) *Visada gyniau ir ginsiu Lietuvos valstybės ir jos žmonių interesus* (2003).

(25) *Tokia nuostata akivaizdžiai varžė mano teisę į gynybą, tačiau net ne tai yra svarbiausia* (2004).

(26) *Bet kokioje situacijoje žmogus turi siekti teisingumo, ginti savo teises, suteiktas Lietuvos Respublikos Konstitucijos* (2004).

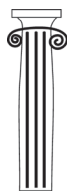
Example (25) represents, and (26) implies, a situation in which the President wanted to defend his actions although his right to do so was limited. Such expressions as *varžė mano teisę į gynybą, ginti savo teises* (*derogated from my right to defence, to defend one's rights*) suggest that he is being attacked and must defend himself. It is obvious that Paksas introduces himself as a victim. In this case the conceptual metaphor *POLITICS IS WAR* determines certain rhetorical peculiarities. As a result, example (25) further emphasizes the intended contrast by introducing the President as a positive person who represents the beneficial interests of the state in the processes of *fight* and *defence*.

Having carried out an analysis of the conceptual metaphor *POLITICS IS WAR*, it is possible to hypothesize that Paksas treats his opponents as enemies and indicates the metaphorical perception of *ideological enemy* (see example (26)) and a non-metaphorical perception of the *enemy* concept (see example (27)):

(26) *Politinis nebrandumas ir egoizmas veda į tai, kad oponentas tampa ne pagarbos vertu idėjiniu priešininku, o mirtinu priešu, nes gali atskleisti nešvarius paties kaltintojo darbus* (2004).

(27) *Ar sugėbėsime atskirti tikrą tiesą nuo tariamos, tikrus priešus nuo tų, kuriuos aštrioje politinėje kovoje sukuria laki fantazija?* (2004).

The speeches of Paksas have a deep level – the opposition *I–THEY* (the parliament/system). Furthermore, the conceptual metaphor *IN LITHUANIA POLITICS IS WAR* acts as a mediator between the opposition and the text. The consequences and nominations indicating that *I* am innocent, *I* am a victim while *THEY* are enemies and attackers all result from this metaphor. Example (26) is of special importance because it discloses the fact that, according to Paksas, the political conflict in Lithuania is interpersonal rather than ideological. In this context the metaphorical *fight* becomes a real *fight*.



The analysis of conceptual metaphors in Paksas's political discourse leads to the following conclusions:

1. The conceptual metaphors THE STATE IS A BUILDING, POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, LITHUANIAN POLITICS IS A SICK PERSON and POLITICS IS WAR prevail in Paksas's political discourse.

2. This politician's speeches realize conceptual metaphors that are generally typical of political discourse. It is possible to observe that conceptual metaphors have an evaluative potential: the evaluations expressed through linguistic metaphors and belonging to the same conceptual metaphor may differ and acquire both positive and negative connotations.

3. In Paksas's political discourse, the *I-THEY* opposition is actualized through metaphors. Through the metaphor POLITICS IS WAR Paksas presents himself as a victim; through the conceptual metaphor LITHUANIAN POLITICS IS A SICK PERSON, this politician indicates that the situation in the state needs "treatment." THE STATE IS A BUILDING metaphor conveys the idea that the state may be built as a result of group effort (joining forces) as well as destroyed. It is possible to conclude that the guilty side is the destroying side. The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY allows Paksas to use linguistic metaphors with both positive and negative evaluations.

4. The conceptual metaphors which provide a basis for text creation through linguistic metaphors allow the features of a victim to be attributed to Paksas. His opponents are granted the characteristics of attackers, people who are destroying the state, obstacles in the way of democracy who confuse ideological enemies with enemies of war.

References

- Chudinov – А. П. Чудинов. Россия в метафорическом зеркале: когнитивное исследование политической метафоры (1991-2000). Екатеринбург: Урал. гос. пед. ун-т, 2001.
Lakoff G., Johnson M. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
Lassan – Э. Лассан. *Дискурс власти и инакомыслия в СССР: когнитивно-риторический анализ*. Вильнюс: Изд-во Вильнюсского ун-та, 1995.

Sources

- <http://www.paksas.lt>
<http://paksas.president.lt>



Vilma Linkevičiūtė

KONCEPTUALIOSIOS METAFOROS ROLANDO PAKSO DISKURSE (2003–2004 m.)

Santrauka

Pagrindiniai žodžiai: *kognityvinė lingvistika, politinis diskursas, konfliktinė komunikacija, konceptualiosios metaforos.*

Šiuolaikinėse demokratinėse visuomenėse, kur politinis gyvenimas realizuojamas per atskirų politinių partijų, piliečių daugumos išrinktų lyderių veiksmus bei įvairias politines ideologijas, neatskiriama politinės kultūros elementu tampa politinis diskursas, fiksuojantis nuomonių įvairovę, o dažnai ir jų konfliktą.

Konfliktinę komunikaciją politiniame diskurse galima laikyti politinės lingvistikos tyrimo objektu, kadangi valdžios puolimas ir laimėjimas vyksta per įvairių politinių jėgų konfliktą, išreiškiamą per diskursą.

Prezidento R. Paksio politiniame diskurse dominuoja tokios konceptualiosios metaforos: VALSTYBĖ – PASTATAS, POLITIKA – KELIONĖ, LIETUVOS POLITIKA – SERGANČIŠKAS ASMUO IR POLITIKA – KARAS, apskritai būdingos politiniam diskursui.

Konceptualiosios metaforos, kurių pagrindu sukurtas tekstas, per kalbines metaforas leidžia R. Paksui priskirti aukos vaidmenį, o jo oponentams – puolėjų, žmonių, kurie griauja valstybę, trukdo keliauti demokratijos keliu ir yra sumaišę idėjinius priešus su karo priešais.

Vilma Linkevičiūtė

CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN THE DISCOURSE OF PAKSAS (2003–2004)

Summary

Keywords: *cognitive linguistics, political discourse, conflict communication, conceptual metaphors.*

In modern democratic societies, political life is embodied through the actions of political parties, their duly elected leaders, and various political ideologies. In this context, political discourse, which records a variety of opinions and, frequently, their conflict, becomes an inseparable element of political culture.

Conflict communication in political discourse may be perceived as the main research object of political linguistics, because the attack and winning of governmental positions occur in the context of the conflict of various political forces. That conflict is expressed through discourse.

The conceptual metaphors THE STATE IS A BUILDING, POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, LITHUANIAN POLITICS IS A SICK PERSON and POLITICS IS WAR prevail in Paksas's political discourse. These conceptual metaphors are generally typical of political discourse.

The conceptual metaphors which provide a basis for text creation through linguistic metaphors allow the features of a victim to be attributed to Paksas. His opponents are granted the characteristics of attackers, people who are destroying the state, obstacles in the way of democracy who confuse ideological enemies with enemies of war.

