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### DEFENCE OR ATTACK?

## THE METAPHOR OF WAR IN A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF GERMAN AND POLISH POLITICAL DISCOURSE

*Jarochna Dąbrowska-Burkhardt\**

*University of Zielona Góra, Zielona Góra, Poland*

*Anna Hanus*

*University of Rzeszów, Rzeszów, Poland*

*\*Corresponding author*

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**Abstract:** The aim of this article is to analyse the use of war metaphors in the discourse between the European Union and Poland on the rule of law in Poland. The study is based on the methodology of discursive linguistic comparison developed by the Düsseldorf School and Lakoff and Johnson's theory of conceptual metaphor. The analysis confirms two positions in the approach to the dispute over relations between Poland and the European Union.

**Key words:** discourse linguistics, politolinguistics, Polish and German print media, war metaphors in public discourse, functions of metaphors, argumentation patterns.

### 1. Introduction

War metaphors are omnipresent in daily political issues, linking our views to well-known experiences. In this way, they make it possible to present difficult questions without using sophisticated terminology and, at times, they virtually dominate discourses on particularly complex topics. As a result, each discourse is characterised not only by its specific terminology, but also by a discourse-specific metaphor (Panassenko et al. 2018; 2020). This paper examines the use of war metaphors in the context of the contentious and extensive discourse between the European Union and Poland on the issue of the rule of law in Poland.

The starting point for this study is the interview given by Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki to the British newspaper "Financial Times" on October 24, 2021. Morawiecki gave this statement after attending numerous meetings with the President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen and a two-day summit with other EU leaders in Brussels, which included a debate on the Polish rule of law issue. In this interview, the Polish Prime Minister announced that the Polish Supreme

Court's Disciplinary Chamber, which was declared illegal by the European Court of Justice, would be abolished by the end of the year. However, he warned that if the European Commission "starts the third world war" by withholding money promised to Poland, he would "defend our rights with any of the weapons which are at our disposal" (cf. Foy & Fleming 2021). Morawiecki used military rhetoric in the aforementioned interview and accused the EU of making demands on Poland with a "gun to our head", and more over called on Brussels to withdraw its threat of legal and financial sanctions if it wants to resolve the rule of law crisis in Poland (ibid.).

The military rhetoric used by Morawiecki clearly proved so noteworthy for the European speech communities that the aforementioned military metaphors were quoted in headlines in various languages. The Italian "La Stampa" titles its article:

It.: *"Polonia, il Premier: 'Se UE inizia guerra pronti a difenderci' Con tutte le armi disponibili"* [Eng.: "Poland, PM: 'If EU starts war we are ready to defend ourselves' with all available weapons"] (25.10.2021).

The British newspaper "The Telegraph" writes *"Poland's PM warns against starting 'World War Three' "* (25.10.2021).

The French "Le Figaro" headlines the article:

Fr. *"Le premier ministre polonais dénonce 'un pistolet braqué sur la tempe' de son pays par l'UE"* [Eng.: "Polish Prime Minister denounces 'a gun to the head' of his country by the EU"] (25.10.2021).

The Greek financial newspaper "Naftemporiki" headlines its article:

Gr. *"Πρωθυπουργός Πολωνίας: Η ΕΕ απαιτεί 'βάζοντάς μας το πιστόλι στον κρόταφο' "* [Eng.: "Prime Minister of Poland: EU requests 'put a gun to our head' "] (25.10.2021).

It is due to the specific character of a metaphor that, once used, it allows itself to be taken up again and to draw further metaphors after it. Metaphors are spun out and linked within a text and across texts within a discourse. This way, they are given a specific position and function thus helping shape the content and conception of the discourse.

The study of metaphor use in the context of discourse on the rule of law in Poland is based on the methodology of a discourse linguistic comparison developed by the Düsseldorf School (Böke 1996; Böke et al. 2000; Niehr 2004; Wengeler 2003) and their continuation (e.g., Dąbrowska-Burkhardt 2013; 2017; 2019a; 2019b; Hanus 2018). The discourse model of Busse and Teubert (1994) serves as the basis for comparative discourse linguistics, whereby discourse is understood as a network of statements that belong together in some way, i.e., thematically, semantically, temporally, communication domain-related, as well as type-specific, and can be accessed via text corpora. On the

other hand, the theory of conceptual (cognitive) metaphor developed mainly by Lakoff & Johnson (1980) and their colleagues (Kövecses 2010; 2015; 2017a; 2017b; 2017c; 2018; Lakoff 1987; 1993; Lakoff & Kövecses 1987; Lakoff & Turner 1989;) is used as the theoretical and methodological base for the following investigation (cf. Section 3).

The discourse becomes a meaningful object of investigation in view of its results, the plausibility of which is guaranteed by the corpus material presented. This involves the pointing out of relationships, groupings of statements, structures, linkages of statements, etc. (Busse & Teubert 1994: 16). A representative text corpus should ensure that neither essential discourse components are missing nor that a particular one is overemphasised. Representativeness is the properly weighted consideration of all argumentative positions taken in the discourse (Niehr 2002: 53). In the case of discourse analysis, a text corpus can only be representative in relation to the particular content aspect chosen for the study. In this paper, the topic concerns the issue of the rule of law in Poland, which is intensively discussed in Europe and causes bilateral tensions between the European Union and Poland. The question of the linguistic tangibility of discourse can be answered corpus-linguistically, following Jung and Wengeler (1999: 148). Although a discourse remains an abstract entity in its entirety as the sum of all statements on a particular topic, excerpts of it can be accessed in text corpora that are to be methodically compiled and systematically analysed. The analysis of texts that refer to each other quasi dialogically ex- or implicitly concerns thematically defined viewpoints, i.e., statements, arguments and topoi that crystallise in concrete texts. The text corpus represents per se a discourse part, which is determined by the research question of the investigator. The most important defining element of discourse is a topic or, in the case of discourse comparison, a common topic that is dealt with at the same time, if possible.

## **2. Criteria for the compilation of the corpus and research methods**

The compilation of the corpus results from the endeavour to analyse relevant evidence for the development of the German and Polish discourse fragments after an event that appears to be particularly significant, in this case Morawiecki's "Financial Times" interview.

The position of the interview with the Polish Prime Minister for the newspaper "Financial Times" can be described as *initial* in the studied discourse. It is a *primary text* to which several analyzed corpus texts refer. These *secondary texts* include news items, editorials and commentaries.

As a result of the specific combination of written and oral language in the press, which is particularly evident in the case of the text type "press interview" (Burger 2005: 146), it is possible to take the

original "spoken" language into account within the homogeneously compiled corpora. By doing this, one can take into account, among other things, the constellation of orality and writtenness when conceptually oral texts appear as medially written texts. In this context, Koch and Oesterreicher (1994: 587), following Lyons (1981: 11), mention the possibility of "medium-transferability", which makes the opposite combinations (medially graphic/conceptually oral; medially phonic/conceptually written) particularly exciting for cultural-historical, pragmatic and linguistic-historical turning points.

The corpus used for the analysis comprises articles from the print and online press, which appeared in the Polish and German media and either explicitly comment on the aforementioned interview or also implicitly refer to it. The research was based on 30 texts from the Polish press and 13 articles from the German press. The corpus consists of articles that are related to the interview mentioned, in this case texts that were published between October 25 and November 3, 2021. The focus is on qualitative evaluations, quantitative aspects remain subordinate. For the discourse-linguistic comparison, the questions of what is emphasized, tacitly asserted, insinuated, concealed or hidden by the metaphors are of importance. In the case of nationally heterogeneous text corpora, their compilation is particularly important because they should be constructed for their comparability and representativeness (Böke et al. 2000: 13).

Following Hermanns (1995: 88), who speaks of the so-called prototext of discourse, which raises a topic and sometimes even pre-determines the central ideas and key words of an establishing discourse, the cited interview of Morawiecki is identified as the prototext. In order to make the corpus usable, criteria are specified that narrow it down under four aspects: subject, time, text type, and linguistic level of analysis. The decisive factor in this analysis is not the origin of the discourse participant, but rather his statements. These were widely reported not only in one EU country, so that the assumption is obvious that we are dealing with topics that evoke transnational discourse.

Methodologically, the work proceeds on two levels: the lexical level of metaphors and the syntagmatic level of stereotypes and argumentation patterns. Both levels are closely linked. On the lexical level, it is not exclusively a matter of examining isolated individual terms and finding their designation in the text, but rather their contextual embedding in the respective individual text as well as their intertextual networking with other terms and neighbouring discourses (cf. Dąbrowska-Burkhardt 2013: 21).

The selected metaphors characterizing the style of transnationally conducted political discourse concerning the rule of law in Poland are linguistic units that cannot be exposed solely by methods of

semantic analysis of a lexical unit or distributional analysis in a sentence, nor by those of contextual analysis. The selection of these linguistic units is thus also justified by the salient fact that they represent an immanent part of a broader discourse and must be examined in this discourse. Thus, the methodology of discourse analyses is undoubtedly an unavoidable part of each comprehensive study of this kind. The implementation of discourse analyses enables the researcher to provide the required two-step investigation containing both cognitive metaphor theses and the methods of suprasegmental (macrolinguistic and supra-textual) discourse analyses (cf., among others, Ifversen 2003: 62-69). The sufficiency of this complex approach depends, however, on its practical implementation in the empiric parts of this paper, which is, for its part, a question of a technical rather than a methodological nature. The cognitive metaphore analyses can be carried out neither as a pre-phase of a discourse analyses, nor as its post-phase, but solely as one description and explanation unit. Moreover, the analysis is carried out against the historical-political background and taking into account the press specifics of both linguistic communities.

The paper makes practical use of the methods of political linguistics which emerged as a result of the pragmatic turn in linguistics, and in particular provides diverse methods of metaphor (cf. Böke 1996; Klein 2002; Liebert 2003; Liedtke 2002; Musolff 1996; 2005) and discourse analysis (cf. Böke 1996; (cf. Bilut-Homplewicz 2011; Czachur 2011; Dąbrowska-Burkhardt 2013; Hanus 2018; 2020; 2021; Jung 1996; Niehr 1996; Spitzmüller & Warnke 2011; Teubert 2002; Warnke & Spitzmüller 2008). Moreover, it must be emphasized that discourse-analytical study of metaphor also takes into account its illustration. Thus, the studied corpora are analysed under the aspect of text-illustration relation, i.e., multimodally. No extra-linguistic elements of a multimodal text are excluded from the analysis, so that not only single lexemes or texts, but also graphic elements of an entry referring to the analysed war metaphors are considered.

### **3. Political metaphor and its discourse-constituting function**

In the field of politics, metaphors play a very important role because political action is almost always 'imageless and colourless' (Münkler 1994: 126). For this reason, imagery from outside is needed to make the unimaginable imaginable and the ambiguous unambiguous (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2011).

In 1974 Eroms (1974: 7) already points out that political language is affirmative, concerned with the approval of the speaker, and thus makes use of evaluative expressions that appeal to feelings. In this context, metaphors play an essential role because they evoke familiarity through concrete

associations. Metaphors can help us think about a problem by simplifying the issue, highlighting some aspects and deemphasizing others (Flusberg et al. 2018).

Drommel and Wolff (1978: 79) stress that metaphors are both persuasive and manipulative; persuasive because their purpose is to persuade rather than convince and to appeal to the affective behavioural component of the listener; manipulative because they merely pretend to be rational arguments. Rigotti (1994: 25) points out that metaphors are often used unconsciously and habitually in the form of familiar templates and only rarely are created *ex novo* to demonstrate new models that seem more appropriate for interpreting political reality.

Following Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) concept of metaphor, this paper takes an investigative perspective beyond the word level by assigning the linguistically fixed metaphor lexemes to word-field-like metaphor types. This in turn allows us to show how the discourse under investigation is structured by metaphor use.

Both scholars are adherents of a cognitive metaphor theory in which they do not place the linguistic realisation of an individual metaphor, but the concept lying deeper than it, at the centre of scholarly interest, because "our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 3). An individual metaphor forms "merely one (of often many) manifestations of a deeper-lying concept" (Klein 2002: 221), which in this concrete study for the investigative caesura "crisis of the rule of law in Poland" is associated in the transnationally conducted discourse with certain metaphorical expressions, such as *World War Three, putting a gun to Poland's head, defend our rights with all the weapons at our disposal*, etc.

War metaphors are an example of a well-established field of metaphors in our language that plays an important role as a means of highlighting and legitimizing feelings on controversial and emotionally charged issues (Musolff 1991: 1). They are ubiquitous. We encounter them in private conversations as well as in public media discourses on social, economic and political issues (Flusberg et al. 2018; Lakoff 1992; Lakoff & Johnson 1980).

Language users have a well-defined schematic knowledge of what *war* means. This knowledge is based on the fact that one clearly distinguishes between the opposing parties by contrasting one's own, positively perceived group, with the foreign group of the enemy and thus negatively marked one.

#### 4. Patterns of argumentation

Argumentative patterns, as emphasised by many researchers (cf., e.g., Czachur 201; Dąbrowska-Burkhardt 2013; Felder 2006; Hanus 2017; 2018), are the resultant of semantic struggles, battles of specific approaches and viewpoints. Views, often contradictory, are negotiated and actualised in discourse, in a kind of dispute. What ultimately matters, however, is which viewpoints dominate the discourse and become valid.

Following Wengeler (1997: 129), "patterns of argumentation" are abstract, predominantly logically oriented argumentations that dominate in a certain period and recur in the study corpus. The analyses of discursive argumentations provide an insight into dominant ways of thinking at a certain time. In the following analysis, these are thought structures of the approach to a political question in the context of crisis of the rule of law in Poland.

#### 5. Contrastive analysis of the research material

The analysis focuses on significant central expressions of transnational discourse, which were selected according to the following criteria:

- they represent important expressions in the media discourse on the tensions between the EU and Poland, i.e., they are used thematically;
- their clear accumulation in the studied discourse is an additional indicator of their relevance;
- they are repeatedly paraphrased, i.e., there is extensive synonymy or competition of expressions;

Source analysis consists of two methodologically sound parts: external interpretation and internal interpretation of the texts under analysis. External interpretation focuses on identifying the relevant relationships between the general discursive areas, i.e., political, cultural, social, etc., the conceptual area and the linguistic coding area for each sample text passage. Internal interpretation works with the techniques of underlining (collocation partners) and **bolding** (key words and metaphors) and involves an intra-contextual analysis from which, even without external commentary, it becomes clear what relations exist between the base lexeme and its variants and collocation partners. Corpus-specific collocations are collocation partners, i.e., words and groups of words that regularly occur together in the analysed discourse and are linguistically realized together for semantic-pragmatic reasons (cf. Bußmann 2008: 345). For this reason, the references presented in this way should not be understood as mere "long quotations", but always as "internally conceived" analyses. They also allow the reader to gain a transparent idea of the – partly distant – means of anaphoric and cataphoric reference at the textual level.

5.1 *The metaphor (Pl. "Trzecia Wojna Światowa") – 'The Third World War' – and the documentation of its variants and collocation partners in Polish*

The focus of Polish reporting after the publication of Morawiecki's interview is clearly on the metaphor of (Pl. *Trzecia Wojna Światowa*) – 'The Third World War'. The realisation of military metaphor takes place not only linguistically but also graphically. The socio-political weekly "Polityka", which is secular and critical of the 2021 ruling party *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* – Law and Justice Party (PIS) – presents Morawiecki on its front page as a determined fighter with a machine gun, a Polish flag as a headband, a bare torso and a tattoo of the Polish eagle. This graphic bears the title:

Pl. *III wojna światowa i inne wojny PiS* – [Eng.: **World War Three** and other PIS wars] (3.11.2021).

The reader learns explicitly that World War Three, in the context of the Polish Prime Minister, a member of the Law and Justice party, does not come as a surprise, as this party also wages other conflicts. The war mentioned by Morawiecki is perceived and evaluated in an extremely differentiated manner by various groups in Poland, depending on what kind of political profile the respective medium represents and with which parties it sympathises. As a result of the discourse-analytical investigation, two dominant voices can be distinguished in the Polish study corpus, which can be described as pro and contra the war metaphors used by Morawiecki in the "Financial Times". Due to the limited pages of this article, only exemplary voices are presented below in their broad conceptual context, illustrating firstly a position in favour of, and secondly in disagreement with, the metaphor of war on the international stage.

A positive assessment of the interview, including the war metaphors used by Morawiecki, can be found in the daily newspaper "Nasz Dziennik", which is a national Catholic paper. The daily is created close to "Radio Maryja" and promotes Christian values, tradition and Polish culture. The following passage justifies the Polish Prime Minister's use of the war metaphor. The article shows that for the good of Poland in the current situation in dealing with Brussels, the metaphorical message is justified and appropriate:

Pl. *Premier [...] zarzucił Komisji Europejskiej, że stawia Polsce żądania, "przystawiając jej pistolet do głowy" [...] Unia Europejska zachowuje się coraz bardziej jak imperialna potęga, czego przykładem są jej spór z Polską i sposób, w jaki chce na niej wymusić podporządkowanie się – pisze [...] [e]kspert prawa z Uniwersytetu Swansea [...] "Główny problem dla UE polega na tym, że w dużej mierze, to co mówi Morawiecki jest słuszne [...] Bruksela chce, by jej ekspansywne i niepociągane do odpowiedzialności sądy miały carte blanche w określaniu, co leży w zakresie*



kompetencji UE. [...] "zastraszanie [...], w jakie zaangażowała się von der Leyen, nie jest dobre dla reputacji Brukseli zwłaszcza w Europie Wschodniej i Środkowej. Kraje te mają długą historię bycia pod okupacją niechcianych reżimów" [...] Morawiecki [...] zarzucił Komisji Europejskiej, że stawia Polsce żądania, "przystawiając jej pistolet do głowy". Wezwał Brukselę, by [...] wycofała groźby sankcji prawnych i finansowych. [...] jakkolwiek ruch w kierunku redukcji "funduszy spójności" spotka się z **mocnym odwetem**. "Co się stanie, jeśli Komisja Europejska rozpocznie **trzecią wojnę światową**? Jeśli do tego dojdzie, będziemy bronić naszych praw wszelką bronią, która jest w naszej dyspozycji" – odparł szef polskiego rządu (26.11.2021).

[Eng.: The Prime Minister [...] has accused the European Commission of making demands of Poland by "**putting a gun to its head**". [...] The European Union is behaving more and more like an imperial power, as exemplified by its dispute with Poland and the way it wants **to force Poland to subordinate**, writes [...] [e]xpert in law from Swansea University [...] "The main problem for the EU is that to a large extent, what Morawiecki says is right [...] Brussels wants its expansive and unaccountable courts to have carte blanche in determining what is within the EU's remit. [...] "The **intimidation** [...] that von der Leyen has engaged in is not good for Brussels' reputation especially in Eastern and Central Europe. These countries have a long history of **being occupied by unwanted regimes**" [...] Morawiecki [...] accused the European Commission of making demands on Poland by "**putting a gun to its head**". He called on Brussels to [...] withdraw threats of legal and financial sanctions. [...] any move to reduce "cohesion funds" will be met with **strong retaliation**. "What happens if the European Commission starts **a Third World War**? If that happens, we will **defend our rights with all the weapons at our disposal**" – countered the head of the Polish government.]

In the quoted excerpt, the use of the war metaphor by the Polish Prime Minister meets with understanding and even approval, as it is perceived as a defence of Poland against a loss of sovereignty. This view is dominated by unequivocally conservative press organs promoting Catholicism such as: "Do Rzeczy", and "Nasz Dziennik".

However, in the surveyed corpus there are also numerous voices critical of the Prime Minister in the context of his use of military metaphors in the interview for the "Financial Times". An example of such a negative perception of Morawiecki's war metaphors comes from the weekly newspaper "Polityka":

Pl. **Wojenną mowę** zaaplikowano [...] do "konfliktu" z Unią. [...] Morawiecki [...] rozważał, "co się stanie, jeśli Komisja Europejska rozpocznie **III wojnę światową z Polską**"? I odpowiadał: "**będziemy bronić naszych praw wszelką dostępną bronią**". Tymczasem "**brukselski okupant**" [...] nałożył na Polskę kary finansowe [...] za odmowę wykonywania wyroków unijnego Trybunału Sprawiedliwości.

*Ta, coraz bardziej kosztowna, bezsensowna wojna [...] skończy się zapewne wycofaniem PiS na z góry upatrzone pozycje, tak żeby tylko dostać unijne pieniądze. Ale retoryka militarna pozostanie: będzie trąbione o naszym zwycięstwie [...] Już padły zapowiedzi ewentualnych działań odwetowo-zaczeplnych wobec Komisji Europejskiej [...] Migalski przypomina, że narracja wojenna, wezwanie do obrony przed czyhającymi zewsząd zagrożeniami, jest stałą metodą polityczną PiS. W tym sensie rzeczywiście trwa wojna światowa – Polska PiS kontra reszta świata [...] Nie lekceważmy skuteczności tej na pozór paranoicznej taktyki. [...] Szukanie winnych, kreowanie wrogów, militaryzacja języka, atmosfera wiecznej wojny są od sześciu lat naszą polityczną codziennością (3.11.2021: 6).*

[Eng.: The **war speech** was applied [...] to the "conflict" with the EU. [...] Morawiecki [...] considered "what will happen if the European Commission starts a **Third World War** with Poland"? And he answered: "we will **defend** our rights with **all available weapons**". Meanwhile, the "**Brussels occupier**" [...] has imposed financial penalties on Poland [...] for refusing to comply with judgments of the EU Court of Justice. This increasingly costly and pointless **war** [...] will probably end with PiS withdrawing to preconceived positions in order to receive EU money. But the **military rhetoric** will remain: it will be **trumpeted about our victory** [...] There have already been announcements of possible retaliatory and offensive actions against the European Commission [...] Migalski says that the **war narration, the call to defend oneself** from threats lurking from everywhere, is a permanent political method of the Law and Justice party. In this sense, there is indeed **a world war going on – PiS Poland versus the rest of the world** [...] Let us not underestimate the effectiveness of this seemingly paranoid tactic. [...] The search for the guilty, the creation of enemies, the militarisation of language, the atmosphere of **perpetual war** have been our political everyday life for six years.]

## *5.2 The metaphor (Ger. "Dritter Weltkrieg") – 'The Third World War' – and the documentation of its variants and collocation partners in German*

In the German discourse, the readers of all print media examined are confronted exclusively with a negative evaluation of Morawiecki's interview. A typical example of this view is the text segment from the weekly magazine "Der Stern":

Ger. *Im Streit um die Rechtsstaatlichkeit hat [...] Morawiecki die EU davor gewarnt, versprochene Gelder für sein Land zurückzuhalten, und dabei von einem "**Dritten Weltkrieg**" gesprochen. "Wenn sie den **Dritten Weltkrieg** beginnen, werden wir unsere Rechte mit allen uns zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln verteidigen" [...] Er schloss nicht aus, dass Warschau wichtige EU-Vorhaben [...] blockieren könnte. [...] von der Leyen hat angekündigt, miliardenschwere EU-Corona-Hilfen für Polen solange zu blockieren, bis das Land bestimmte Justizreformen zurückgenommen hat. Die EU-Kommission verstoße gegen europäisches Recht, indem sie die Corona-Hilfen für sein Land weder genehmige*

*noch ablehne, sagte Morawiecki [...] "Je später wir es bekommen, desto größer ist der Beweis für diese diskriminierende Behandlung und die diktat-ähnliche Vorgehensweise der EU-Kommission" [...] Morawiecki warf der EU-Kommission [...] sie stelle "**mit einer Pistole an unserem Kopf**" Forderungen an sein Land. Damit spielte er darauf an, dass die Behörde finanzielle Sanktionen gegen Polen [...] beantragt hat, weil die Disziplinarkammer zur Bestrafung von Richtern trotz einer anderslautenden EuGH-Entscheidung weiter arbeitet. [...] Ein Sprecher der EU-Kommission, sagte [...] Für **Kriegsrhetorik** im Verhältnis zwischen den EU-Ländern oder zwischen Mitgliedstaaten und EU-Institutionen sei kein Platz (25.10.2021).*

[Eng.: In the quarrel over the rule of law, [...] Morawiecki warned the EU not to withhold promised funds for his country, talking of a "**Third World War**". "If they start **the Third World War**, we will **defend our rights with all means at our disposal**" [...] He did not rule out that Warsaw could block important EU projects [...]. [...] von der Leyen has announced that she will block EU Corona aid worth billions for Poland until the country has withdrawn certain judicial reforms. The EU Commission is violating European law by neither approving nor rejecting Corona aid for his country, Morawiecki said [...] "The later we get it, the greater the proof of this discriminatory treatment and dictate-like approach of the EU Commission" [...] Morawiecki accused the EU Commission [...] of making demands on his country "**with a gun to our head**". He was alluding to the fact that the authority has requested financial sanctions against Poland [...] because the disciplinary chamber for the punishment of judges continues to operate despite an ECJ ruling to the contrary. [...] A spokesperson for the EU Commission, said [...] There is no place for **war rhetoric** in relations between EU countries or between member states and EU institutions.]

The Polish Prime Minister's war metaphors in the German print media are each marked as a quotation and reproduced in the literal translation from English.

### *5.3 Tracing the analysed expressions back to two patterns of argumentation*

The analysis carried out, in which the respective national reports were examined with their division into the category of voices, makes it possible to identify general trends in the transnationally conducted discourse on the question of the rule of law in Poland. In both the German and Polish print media, war metaphors play a central role because they are discussed in an engaged manner in both countries following Morawiecki's interview. The division of voices examined in Sections 5.1 and 5.2 with the category of collocation partners expressing themselves pro and contra Morawiecki's war metaphoric underlies the two patterns of argumentation competing with each other in the study corpus regarding the issue of the rule of law in Poland.

In the analysed transnational discourse, two dominant argumentative patterns can be clearly distinguished:

(a) SINCE THE EUROPEAN UNION IS THREATENING POLAND AND ENDANGERING ITS SOVEREIGNTY, POLAND MUST DEFEND ITS RIGHTS WITH ALL WEAPONS AT ITS DISPOSAL.

vs.

(b) SINCE POLISH PRIME MINISTER THREATENS THE EUROPEAN UNION AND ITS VALUES, THE EUROPEAN UNION MUST DEFEND ITS RIGHTS WITH ALL THE MEANS AT ITS DISPOSAL.

The Polish right-wing and pro-government press is consistently positive about Morawiecki's war metaphor, i.e., in favour of the first argumentation pattern. The second argumentation pattern, on the other hand, is diagnosed in the Polish left-wing and centrr-left press as well as in the German-language press. The use of the respective argumentation pattern is thus not necessarily linked to the national perspective of a single language community, but to the respective political profile of the analysed press organ. Although all German press texts represent the second argumentation pattern, the Polish reporting presents a differentiated picture regarding Morawiecki's war metaphors, which includes both pro and contra statements regarding his metaphorical mode of expression.

## **6. Contrastive analysis results**

In summary, the war metaphors used by the Polish Prime Minister are very important for the examined discourse on the rule of law in Poland. The discourse-constituting function of war metaphor can be compared with the text-constituting and text-structuring function. War metaphors are varied, modified and further developed in the analysed transnationally discourse. The conducted analysis also revealed that the metaphors used point forward or backward and connect with other adjacent textual elements. The use of war metaphors could be detected in the headlines or in the lead of the press texts as well as throughout the article, often used as leitmotifs. The war metaphors determined the examined discourse excerpt and the metaphorically used lexemes could be reconstructed within the two examined national text corpora. In this sense, the war metaphors traverse, structure, and interpret the discourse across texts. The analysis of the corpus confirms two positions in the approach to the dispute over relations between Poland and the European Union. However, they are not delimited by the cultural boundaries of a given national community. On the one hand, we have to deal with the unambiguously offensive attitude of the right-wing Polish press, which denies the good intentions of the European Union and affirms the attitude of Morawiecki in his statement for the "Financial Times".

Symptomatic for the analysed discourse is the difference in the understanding of the notions of defence and attack. The Polish pro-government press emphasises that the EU is attacking Poland by threatening it with sanctions, which could be the trigger for another world war. In this context, Prime Minister Morawiecki is profiled as a hero, a patriot defending the sovereignty of his own country.

Other Polish newspapers, as well as German-language ones, emphasise the defence of universal values, the community values of the whole united Europe. In this context, the attitude of the Polish government is perceived as an attack on the order of the community. Symptomatic in this context is the stratification of attitudes in the Polish press. The attitude of fighting for national sovereignty is dominated by the attitude of defending and preserving community values, where national interests disappear from the field of vision and give way to superior community interests, which was confirmed by the analysis conducted with the help of selected tools used in the linguistic analysis of discourse.

## Notes

Translation of all the quotations from German and Polish are done by Jarochna Dąbrowska-Burkhardt.

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## Contact data

### Author #1

	<p><i>name:</i></p> <p><i>academic title / rank:</i></p> <p><i>department:</i></p> <p><i>institution:</i></p> <p><i>e-mail:</i></p> <p><i>fields of interest:</i></p>	<p><b>Jarochna Dąbrowska-Burkhardt</b> Associate Professor (dr hab., prof. UZ)</p> <p>Department of German Linguistics University of Zielona Góra 71a, al. Wojska Polskiego, Zielona Góra, 65-762, Poland <a href="mailto:j.dabrowska@ifg.uz.zgora.pl">j.dabrowska@ifg.uz.zgora.pl</a> (Socio)pragmatics, cultural linguistics, historical sociolinguistics, media linguistics, politolinguistics, text and discourse linguistic, contrastive linguistics.</p>
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### Author #2

	<p><i>name:</i></p> <p><i>academic title / rank:</i></p> <p><i>department:</i></p> <p><i>institution:</i></p> <p><i>e-mail:</i></p> <p><i>fields of interest:</i></p>	<p><b>Anna Hanus</b> Associate Professor (dr hab., prof. UR)</p> <p>Department of Applied Linguistics University of Rzeszów 2B, Al. mjr W. Kopisto, Rzeszów, 35-315, Poland <a href="mailto:anhanus@o2.pl">anhanus@o2.pl</a> Contrastive linguistics, text and discourse linguistics, linguistic discourse analysis, genre studies, media linguistics, multimodality in media texts, linguistic pragmatics, linguistic analysis of literary texts.</p>
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## Résumé

The article offers a contrastive analysis of the issue of the rule of law in Poland in the discourse

between the European Union and Poland, which has increasingly become the focus of mass media attention in recent years in various European countries. We perceive the interview given on 24 October 2021 by the Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki to the "Financial Times" as a discursive event that has become the basis of the following media discourse. The analysis aims to trace the Polish and German national discourse in order to identify the main trends in the development of the transnational discourse. Taking the metaphors of war used by Morawiecki in the above-mentioned interview as a reference point, we analyse the central metaphors and argumentative patterns. The conducted empirical contrastive research draws on the categories of discourse and political linguistics. Methodologically, the analysis proceeds on two closely connected levels: the lexical level, i.e., metaphors, and the syntagmatic level, i.e., patterns of argumentation. The analysis of the function of war metaphors used by the Polish Prime Minister and the argumentation schemes make it possible to identify general trends in the transnationally conducted discourse on the question of the rule of law in Poland. The results of the analysis confirm two positions in the approach to the dispute over relations between Poland and the European Union. Importantly, they are not delimited by the cultural boundaries of a given national community but seem to be divided into two factions: voices supporting the government's policy and those for whom universal values are more important than national politics.

**Key words:** discourse linguistics, politolinguistics, Polish and German print media, war metaphors in public discourse, functions of metaphors, argumentation patterns.

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