"Non una donna in politica, ma una donna politica": Women's political language in an Italian context.

Gill Philip
University of Bologna

1. Background

Politics in Italy is a complicated business. There is a bewildering number of parties representing every possible hue of the political spectrum. New parties spring up almost yearly -- some fielding only one candidate -- and coalitions are formed and dissolved with remarkable ease. Stemming from this situation is a widespread interest in the politicians themselves, and the ways in which they negotiate, pontificate (and manipulate) through language. No Italian political figure is better documented in this respect than the ex-premier, Silvio Berlusconi, who exploited his background in the mass media to the full. His adoption of football metaphors (Semino and Masci 1996) was one of a number of successful rhetorical strategies which, by appealing to the wider populace, won him the first of his two premierships. Similar strategies were adopted the second time, attracting a greater number of in-depth linguistic studies (see, for example, Amadori 2002; see also Bolasco et al. 2006 for a quantitative analysis).

While there can be no doubt that Berlusconi's persuasive language provides linguists with ample material, tracing the rhetoric of one politician alone overshadows the changes in politics and society which have taken place over the past decade and a half. Italy's importance as a global economic power is now well-established, and its politics are therefore of interest and relevance beyond its borders; and while many Italians hold to traditional roles and values, the once-clearly delineated gender roles of man as breadwinner and woman as home-maker are dissolving. Women are postponing childbearing, and birth rates have been at 'crescita zero' [zero growth] for over a generation. These demographic signs reflect the increase in career opportunities for women, and their ever-increasing prominence in the country's economy.

The rising prominence of women in the Italian workforce is also reflected in parliament. Numbers of female 'deputati' [members of parliament] grow with every election called, and more of them are acceding to positions of power. The current Prodi-led government sees women heading the Ministries of Health, and International Trade and Commerce -- often deemed to be male preserves -- as well as the more archetypally female spheres of Citizens' Rights and Equal Opportunities, Family Policy, and Young People. Does this increased presence of women in Ministerial positions impact in any way on the ways in which government policy is presented? Do women actors in politics reveal a softer face of politics? Is their femininity expressed through the language they use and the topics they discuss?

2. Hypothesis

Metaphor is ideally suited to the world of politics, both as a means of explaining concepts and, fundamentally, as an evaluative and persuasive device. Yet not all metaphors are the same, and it can be useful to distinguish between the different kinds of metaphor and their pragmatic effects. The most visible type of metaphor used by politicians is one which is novel, i.e. not conventionalised within the discourse or the language, whose metaphoricity is both explicit and deliberate, as illustrated in Example 1.

1

(1) Il mondo non è il posto dove rischiamo di **naufragare**, ma la nostra **ancora di salvezza** contro i **rischi di impaludamento** che corriamo se restiamo nei nostri piccoli mercati locali. (ComInt_pres/doc046[i])

[The world is not the place where we risk being **shipwrecked**, but our **safety anchor** against the **risks** we run of being **mired** in our small local markets.]

Isolated linguistic metaphors such as these contribute to political rhetoric at the textual level. They may occur in isolation or, as in Example 1, form 'clusters' (Cameron and Stelma 2004) with semantically-related expressions. However, being novel, the likelihood of their recurring several times over a series of related texts is rather low. This is in fact the only instance of a 'shipwreck' metaphor in the data analysed (see 4).

Less visible, but more pervasive, are conventionalised metaphorical expressions, especially those which can be grouped into metaphor themes[ii] (Black, 1993). While these expressions may cluster too, and in so doing draw attention to their metaphoricity (see Example 2), they are often used unconsciously, their figurative value hidden by their ubiquity within the language as a whole (Example 3).

(2) 'Le misure definitive' conclude il Ministro 'entreranno in vigore dal 7 ottobre e resteranno valide per due anni: il tempo giusto e necessario affinché le aziende italiane si **attrezzino** per **fare fronte** adeguatamente alla **sfida** di un mercato internazionale sempre più **agguerrito** sul piano della **concorrenza**, e sofisticato sul piano dei meccanismi produttivi.' (ComInt_com/doc030)

['The definitive measures,' concludes the Minister, 'will come into effect on October 7th and will remain in place for two years: the time necessary for Italian businesses to **prepare** to adequately **face the challenges** of an international market which is increasingly **aggressive** at the **competitive** level, and sophisticated in its productive mechanisms.']

(3) Non è certo un incentivo alla loro presenza nel nostro tessuto imprenditoriale quello di evocare presunte volontà speculative e **predatorie** degli imprenditori stranieri oppure quello di modificare le regole del gioco durante la partita. (PolEur_pres/doc011)

[Evoking presumed speculative and **predatory** intent or changing the rules of the game during the match is certainly not an incentive to their presence in our entrepreneurial fabric.]

While conventionalised metaphorical expressions occur within single texts, their importance derives from their recurrence over a discourse as a whole, where their presence can reveal attitudes that are not expressed explicitly in the information content of a speech or press release. Metaphor themes easily pass unobserved and can operate transversally over many texts. Their conventionality ensures that they do not attract undue notice, yet they still constitute linguistic choices, and are thus meaningful: it is here that the hopes and fears, strengths and weaknesses. Following from this, if women are believed to use more 'feminine' language than men, evidence of this might be found in their use of metaphors. For instance, the tired stereotype of the woman-as-negotiator might be borne out through the recurring metaphors used by women Ministers if they appear to avoid 'conflict talk' and war metaphors in their discourse, but favour reconciliatory metaphors and compromise. In concrete terms, while metaphors such as BUSINESS IS WAR and BUSINESS IS ROMANCE are expected to appear in the Minister for International Trade and Commerce's speeches, does the incidence of ostensibly 'feminine' themes such as BUSINESS IS ROMANCE take precedence over that of more 'masculine' ones, such as BUSINESS IS WAR given that the Minister is a woman? In other words, will a woman adhere to the stereotype woman-as-negotiator, or will she eschew the 'feminine'

stereotype, perhaps aligning her discourse to the 'masculine' ones that dominate the world of politics?[iii]

While metaphors of romance and war are known to occur in the sphere of trade and commerce, they are much less frequent than metaphors of growth (THE ECONOMY IS A PLANT) and orientation (PROFITS AND LOSSES ARE HIGHS AND LOWS and its numerous permutations, including PROFIT IS FLIGHT), which form part of its terminological repertoire, which we can call 'topic-specific metaphors'. This research is principally concerned with recurring metaphors which do not form part of the standard terminology. These need not be idiosyncratic, innovative or unusual in themselves, but simply less conventionalised within the discourse. Questions to be asked of these include: Are there any particular source or target domains which these metaphors centre around, and if there are, what does their presence suggest? Do they recur only within an individual politician's language, or do any run transversally through the discourse of several female ministers? Are they dependent or independent of the textual themes and ministerial roles represented?

3. Data and methods

3.1 Data selection and preparation

The hypothesis outlined above will be tested using a corpus of speeches, press interviews[iv], and press releases covering a 12-month period -- from the swearing-in of the Prodi government in June 2006, to May 2007. Using the full year's political activity allows for any seasonal factors to be ironed out, and helps to counteract the potential skewing of the data as a result of short-lived political or socio-political issues; limiting the data to a single year increases the homogeneity of the data set, and is essential in an Italian context where Governments rarely survive to see out their full term. All of the text data was downloaded from the relevant ministerial homepages, located via the Italian Government homepage (www.governo.it). Full details of the composition of the corpus and corpora are provided in Table 1.

The data includes the speeches, the press releases and interviews of Rosy Bindi, Minister for Family Policy and Giovanna Melandri, Minister for Young People and Sport; the press releases and speeches (no interviews available) of Emma Bonino in her dual role as Minister for International Trade and Commerce and Minister for European Policy, of Linda Lanzillotta, Minister for Regional Affairs and Autonomous Regions, and of Barbara Pollastrini, Minister for Citizens' Rights and Equal Opportunities. These women Ministers represent a cross-section of political departments of varying levels of prominence, meaning that the data covers a representative sample of current Government interests.

The texts are grouped by type (see Table 1), separating the press releases and communiqués, from speeches and presentations, and press interviews. Separating the data files in this way allows analyses to be conducted by text type as well as by Minister and/or Ministry. This is of particular importance for this study of metaphor, as the concise, information-rich the press releases contained far less evaluative and figurative language than did the persuasive speeches; and in interviews, the Ministers were often seen to be at the mercy of the interviewer's linguistic choices (see 4.1).

Table 1. Corpus size and composition

	Total*	Speeches	Press releases	Interviews
PolFam Ministero delle Politiche per la Famiglia	119,085	32,067	13,658	73,360
ComInt Ministero del Commercio Internazionale	110,058	78,926	31,132	--
PolEur Dipartimento delle Politiche Europee	43,704	29,584	14,120	--
PolReg Dipartimento per gli Affari Regionali e Autonomie Locali	14,273	5,172	9,101	--
PoGAS Ministero per le Politiche Giovanili e le Attività Sportive	98,328	4,664	30,543	63,121
ParOpp Dipartimento per i Diritti e le Pari Opportunità	45,264	3,107	42,157	--
	430,712	153,520	140,711	136,481

* Totals refer to tokens; the number types in the combined data set is 23,136

The raw text was minimally coded to facilitate retrieval with query software, but was not lemmatised or POS-tagged because tools for doing so are not publicly available for Italian. Each text was assigned a 'speaking header', consisting of an abbreviation of the Ministry name, the text type, and the document number, to allow details of the full text to be located if necessary[v].

3.2 Locating metaphors in corpora

While the study of substantial quantities of authentic data is central to a corpus linguistics approach, corpora are still overwhelmingly used for quantitative rather than qualitative analysis. Corpus interrogation software is designed for word-searches, not sense-searches, and this can impede the semi-automatic identification of metaphor and other semantically-determined linguistic phenomena. While progress is being made in this respect, especially for English (Rayson, 2005), existing methods rely on data being POS-tagged, lemmatised, and semantically tagged. Italian is a minority language which is under-resourced both in terms of corpora and mark-up tools, with the result that data mark-up is done in-house by research teams. How then can automatic or semi-automatic extraction of metaphors be done?

Most scholars have sought to overcome the problems of locating metaphors in corpus data by analysing a sample of the data then using the findings of this preliminary analysis as the basis of queries carried out on the entire corpus (see Partington 2003, Charteris-Black 2004, and Koller and Semino, this volume): this kind of approach combines traditional text and discourse-analytic techniques with corpus methodology. Although it provides a detailed picture of all metaphorical activity in the texts studied, there are some drawbacks to such a method. The first of these is the time that detailed analysis takes, especially if the object of study is not all metaphors but only metaphors relating to specified domains. Another is that, inevitably, metaphors not present in the analysed sample may remain invisible.

The present contribution has taken a different approach, investigating how concordancing tools can be used to identify metaphor patterns in data without necessarily having to search the texts manually. The data was analysed with the PC concordance package WordSmith Tools (Scott, 1998), which in addition to displaying KWIC (key-word in context)

4

concordances and calculating collocation frequencies, can be used to create word-lists from which statistically-relevant key-words can be identified. While the 'key words' in the KWIC concordance are simply the words of interest to the researcher, and which s/he has entered as search terms, the statistically-relevant key-words are calculated by comparing the frequencies of the words in one text, corpus or corpus with those in another, reference text or corpus. In this study, each corpus was compared to the full data set, meaning that the key words identified are key relative to other political language uttered in the same time-frame by members of the same political coalition. Needless to say, different key words would emerge by comparison to a general reference corpus[vi].

Key words and other high-frequency lexis sum up the 'aboutness' of the data, i.e. the topics dealt with and the language usually employed in doing so. As the function of metaphor is to use lexis from a distinctly separate source domain to elucidate aspects of the target, it is expected that metaphorical sources will not feature vocabulary that is core to the corpus[vii], As a result, the focus of inquiry lies with the low-frequency content words (LFCWs), after lemmatising has removed those which are co-inflected forms of key-words. In particular, those LFCWs which can be grouped together into semantically-related areas are of particular interest, as they suggest the presence of metaphorical source domains and, potentially, recurring metaphor themes. These metaphorical words are then concordanced, to ascertain their metaphoricity and, once established, to identify patterns of metaphor use.

The method used in this study, the result of which are presented in the following sections, is not intended to substitute those adopted in discourse analysis, but to provide an alternative to it which is more appropriate for the study of metaphor in a (specialised) corpus than with the local effect of metaphors in text, such as re-activation of dead metaphor, clustering or bursts (cf. Cameron and Stelma 2004), rhetoric and argumentation. Recurrent metaphors in a discourse (specialised corpus) operate at a different level of abstraction. Their identification using this methodology makes it possible to treat them as any other lexical phenomenon as far as corpus analysis is concerned – which is the approach taken in this contribution – but the findings gleaned in this way can also inform discourse analysis at the textual level.

The sections 4 and 5 discuss the metaphors identified using this methodology in the corpora described in 3.1.

4. Metaphors in the Ministries

4.1 Family

In Italy, the family is very much a political unit as well as a private one. Amongst the keywords found in the PolFam corpus are 'chiesa' [church] and 'laicità' [secularity], as well as 'cattolici' [Catholics] and 'cattolica' [Catholic, feminine inflection], indicting the influence of Church on family policy, especially the legislation on civil partnerships – the so-called 'DICO's – which also feature on the keyword list. The dominance of the Church is evident in the data, and there are biblical citations scattered throughout the corpus. Other key words are more obviously related to the family – couples, marriage, birth rates, adoption, children, childcare, and old people. The texts in this corpus are about people and society. What metaphors are present, then, in particular when the Church expects its views to be reflected in legislation?

PolFam is the largest of the corpora, so the number of source domains identified is quite large and varied. The most prevalent are the 'masculine' areas of war and violence, which can be subdivided into more detailed categories: imprisonment & hostage-taking (caged,

Table 2: concordances for 'alimentare' [feed, fuel] in PolFam

```
        sociale e di sviluppo, senza alimentare il conflitto tra le generazioni.
      premier e il mondo cattolico, alimentare conflitti, separare Prodi e la
            più grande: aver governato alimentando la logica delle corte
        , corre un rischio grave. Di alimentare la reazione laicista che mira a
              la logica della paura che alimenta il fanatismo e costruire percorsi
      per trasformare la realtà e, alimentati dai valori in cui si crede, si
                e ha contemporaneamente alimentato paure e diffidenze nella
              stabilità, socialità che alimentano e rigenerano il legame sociale e
```

trapped, blackmail), obstacles and defeat (impediment, obstacle, defeat), danger (threat, attacker, dangers), fighting(win, conquest, clash), guerrilla warfare and terrorism (guerrilla, lynching, terrorist attack), and crime (delinquency, criminal, misdemeanour). These will be investigated in 5. Other recurrent source domains relate to the sea (anchoring, sinking, shores), natural disasters (tidal waves, avalanches, earthquakes), cooking and eating (to cook, to peel, to mince; feed into, fast, taste), tools (instruments, linchpin, scissors), vision and eyesight (short-sightedness, glance, frame), health and body parts (amputate, wounded, incurable; foot, fist, ear), and domesticity (carpet, dust, armchair).

Of the 'feminine' source domains identified, eating, in particular the lemma 'alimentare' ('to feed', 'to fuel') refers to conflict (see concordances in Table 2), but the other terms grouped into this potential source domain are not used metaphorically. This also occurs in the source domains of cooking: on close inspection, it can be seen that interviewers often inquire into the Minister's home-making skills, with the result that many items of lexis which are not central to Bindi's remit crop up in the corpus data. Other words form part of idiomatic phrases, such as 'cucirsi la bocca' [to zip/button (lit: sew) one's lips] and 'mettere la polvere sotto i tappeti' [brush sth under the carpet]. Those which remain, however, do reveal metaphorical consistency: RUNNING THE ECONOMY IS COOKING, as investments are 'frozen' in preference to allowing them to 'ferment', and profits are 'minced' (turned out); THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY IS A FABRIC, 'tessuto', which can be torn and darned (see Example 4); and (OPEN) DOORS AND WINDOWS ARE OPPORTUNITIES (Example 5).

(4) Con creatività e generosità ha colmato i vuoti **e ricucito le smagliature** che via via si sono aperti nel nostro sistema di welfare. (PolFam_pres/doc57)

[it (the family) has creatively and generously filled the gaps and **darned the runs** that have begun to appear in our welfare system].

(5) Non **rientra dalla finestra** dell'Europa quello che è **uscito dalla porta** dell'Italia. (PolFam_int/doc35)

[Whatever has **gone out of Italy's door** cannot come back in through **Europe's window**]

The metaphors relating to the sea are primarily used with reference to differences of opinion, especially between Church and state over the DICO legislation, as are those relating to natural disasters. DIFFERING OPINIONS ARE DIFFERENT SHORES ('sponde'), and different opinions cause rifts – partings of the waves ('spartiacque'). Firmly-held views, which in other contexts might be defined as 'rooted' ('radicati') are 'anchored' ('ancorati'); discussions on the matter cause political 'storms'.

The metaphors related to eyesight are generally used with reference to family policy (not the DICOs, but to matters of safeguarding the family unit). PLANNING IS EYESIGHT, as when legislation is ill-advised, it is 'miope' [short-sighted], when well-planned, 'lungimirante' [far-reaching, far-sighted]; the laws themselves, 'quadro di diritti' [set of rights] 'quadro normative' [legislation] are conventionally 'framed' - both contained and set out - hence 'quadro' [picture, painting].

Body parts are used literally or with conventional connotative and metaphorical value (HEART IS EMOTION, ARM IS STRENGTH), as are those of health and illness: again the high proportion of interview data relative to speeches has skewed the topical content in this corpus, with the result that fewer of the potential source domains identified are in fact used metaphorically.

4.2 Trade

For the purposes of this study, the ComInt and PolEur corpora have been analysed together as they represent the language of the same Minister, Emma Bonino. Bonino is a seasoned politician with experience at national and European levels. Unlike Rosy Bindi and Giovanna Melandri, who also hold high-ranking Ministerial positions, she appears not to give magazine and newspaper interviews, or, when given, these texts are not posted on her Ministerial home pages. She is not one who allows others to put words into her mouth.

In place of interview texts which, as is noted in 4.1, can skew the data, the ComInt and PolEur corpora contain a substantial proportion of speeches given to industry leaders and politicians in Italy and all over the globe. There is considerable metaphorical content in these speeches, featuring a variety of source domains. The most notable of these is, once again, that of war and violence, which is discussed in 5. Other source domains include hunting (prey, hunt), submission and suffering (submit, servitude, sacrifice), risk (risk, challenge, safeguard), health (healthy, injured, convalescent), birth (gestation, birth), death (suffocation, strangulation), and emotion (emotive, feelings, sensitise).

Metaphors of life and death, as well as those of health, feed into THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM, which is a conventional metaphor theme in economics and business discourse. This metaphor complements the field's metaphorically-motivated terminology related to growth ('crescita'), but does so in a less formulaic, more actively figurative way.

Health metaphors are gradable, and Bonino uses this fact to rhetorical advantage: while Bindi expressed differences in opinion as different shores (and hence, as irreconcilable), Bonino describes the failure to reach an agreement on Doha as a 'ferita profonda' [deep wound], with the implication that healing is possible, but, but scars will be left. Similar exploitation of the cline of health and sickness is expressed in Example 6: the economy which, slowly improving after a downturn, is said to be 'convalescente' [convalescent], and when doing acceptably well is 'sano' [healthy]. By extension, the factors which limit economic well-being are the causes of illness (Example 7). Resolution of such problems, can be expressed as 'risanamento' [lit: bringing back to a healthy state]: however, in this data, only finances and funding are spoken of in such terms.

(6) … hanno fotografato l'Italia economica come un **paziente convalescente** ma **robusto**, con una grande **voglia di vivere**, che è pronta ad adattarsi ad un mondo che cambia rapidamente. (ComInt_com/doc035)

[… have pictured economic Italy as a **convalescent patient**, though **strong**, with a **great will to live**, and which is ready to adapt to a rapidly-changing world.]

(7). Piccola dimensione, scarsa capacità di innovazione, bassa produttività, ridotta capacità di esportazione. Queste le **malattie** di cui soffre il **paziente italiano**. (ComInt_com/doc017)

[small-scale, limited innovative capabilities, low productivity, reduced export capabilities. These are the **illnesses** which the **Italian patient** is suffering from.]

If health refers to the state of the economy, birth and death refer to its beginnings and endings. In Italian, BIRTH IS BEGINNING has a wider range of reference than in English (Philip 2006), so the presence of 'nascita' [birth] is unsurprising. In this data, politics and political entities (geopolitics, the EU) are 'born', as are trade agreements, which are again of a political nature. Only once are concrete entities such as businesses said to be 'born', but, in keeping with the norms of usage, they do so only in a hypothetical, politicised context: 'Per l'Italia, favorire la nascita di nuove imprese ed il loro sviluppo rappresenta una priorità' (ComInt_pres/doc023) [for Italy, promoting the opening of new businesses and their development is a priority]. As far as DEATH IS THE END is concerned, it is interesting to note that death is never peaceful or natural in this data: the world of trace and commerce seems to be a violent place, where strangulation and suffocation are rife. These terms are used from the point of view of the 'victim': our (already weak) economy risks suffocation due to high energy costs; foreign competition is suffocating the nation's productivity; internationalisation is removing the risks of strangulation and opening up opportunities.

Of the other source domains identified, those of submission and emotion are the ones which potentially reveal the Minister's 'feminine' side (hunting and risk are unlikely to do so). However, emotion proved not to be used metaphorically, but hypothetically, to express how people should feel about an issue rather than explaining the issue in terms of emotion. The lemmas associated with the source domain of submission and suffering were identified as 'sacrificare' [to sacrifice], 'servitù' [servitude], 'sfruttare' [to exploit, take advantage of], 'soffrire' [to suffer], 'subire' [to suffer, endure], and 'sopruso' [abuse], though, as was true of the PolFam data, not all instances are in fact metaphorical. 'Sacrifice' refers in all instances to two women who gave up their freedom to help others, in reference to a matter which was also widely reported in the national press at the time. For this reason, it is difficult to evaluate whether the language is Bonino's or whether it originates elsewhere. 'Servitù' is the only lemma to be enclosed in scare quotes, in recognition of its metaphoricity (Example 8), and refers to the energy crisis which brought Italy to its knees in the summer of 2006.

(8) Dipendere da una unica fonte e da un unico Paese crea una condizione di "**servitù**" molto rischiosa per l'economia di quel Paese.

[Depending on a single source and on just one Country creates a state of "**servitude**" which is very risky for the economy of that Country.]

None of the other lemmas in the source domain of submission and suffering were used in a gendered way, and in fact Bonino's metaphorical language in general is highly formulaic in terms of collocational patternings (see especially discussion in 5): Italy as a nation 'suffers' as a result of inefficiency, red tape and lack of infrastructure; it does not suffer (endure) maltreatment. 'Sfruttare' is used, perhaps surprisingly, with a positive semantic prosody (Louw, 1993), when Bonino is urging her listeners to 'make the most of' (not: 'allow themselves to be exploited by') the opportunities which are opening up as a result of internationalisation. Finally, 'sopruso' is abuse of power, not physical abuse. So, it would seem that this politician's choice of metaphor does not favour 'feminine' topics, but exploits conventional economic metaphors as part and parcel of the terminology of the field's discourse.

4.3 Regional Affairs

The Department for Regional Affairs and Self-governing Regions is one of the smaller Ministries, as the PolReg corpus shows: Linda Lanzillotta's written output over the year is nearly ten times less than that of Rosy Bindi and Emma Bonino. With only a couple of speeches and a score of press releases, fewer potential source domains have been identified than in the larger data sets. Metaphors of vision appear to be amongst the most frequent (vision, squint, aim), with mechanical (impulse, manoeuvre, inertia) and architectural metaphors (pillar, cornice, building) also in evidence. War, weather, health, and feeding also make minimal appearances, though the figures are too low (4-5 occurrences in total) for these to be analysed in any detail.

Metaphors of vision, and the related metaphor of painting/pictures are common to PolFam, but used differently: while Bindi uses the eyesight metaphor in legislative planning, and the painting/picture metaphor with the drawing up of legislation, Lanzillotta uses both to refer to the definition of identity and the political future of the regions. The picture metaphor is used for legislation (Example 9), but more often to 'paint a picture' of the regional situation, while vision is concerned with maintaining the distinctive characteristics of the regions[viii]: REGIONAL IDENTITY IS A DETAILED DRAWING which is best expressed visually, not emotively.

> (9) la definizione di linee guida che [...] costituiscano per l'intero sistema **la cornice**, **il quadro** di riferimento entro cui l'autonomia di ciascun livello istituzionale possa svilupparsi pienamente,… (PolReg_pres/doc001)
>
> [the definition of guidelines which ... constitute the **outline** (lit: frame) of the entire system, the **reference point** (lit: painting, chart) within which the autonomy of each institutional level may develop fully.]

As far as the mechanical metaphors are concerned, those related to balance and equilibrium are used when the redress of financial inequality is the topic of the discourse: EQUALITY IS BALANCE. PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOVEMENT is found to be the metaphor underlying the mechanical moves ('manovre'[manoeuvres], 'motore' [motor]), while 'inerzia' is the opposite: all are used of legislation, in particular its progress and implementation (or otherwise). The architecture source domain turns out not to be used metaphorically in the PolReg data.

4.4 Equal Opportunities

The ParOpp corpus is not only small, but also mainly composed of press releases, which average 275 words in length. The focus on information rather than rhetorical force means that metaphors are less likely to be used deliberately, but will occur in conventionalised and formulaic phraseology. Five source domains were identified in this corpus using the LFCW-based methodology: health, family, war and violence, and feeding. On closer inspection, health, family and violence were all used literally, leaving only metaphors of war and feeding.

Barbara Pollastrini's use of the feeding metaphor mirrors that of Bindi's eating metaphor (see Table 2): dissent and conflict of opinion are fed/fuelled. However, in ParOpp, this combines with metaphors of violence or war, which reinforces the underlying notion that equal opportunities and rights must be fought for' (Example 10).

> (10) Ferigo ha ragione nel sostenere che l'omofobia è un fenomeno ben presente nelle nostre città, ma questo **clima si nutre** della **campagna ossessiva** di delegittimazione dei diritti del popolo g/l/b/t (gay/lesbiche/bisessuali/trans) che si sta portando avanti da più parti e, più complessivamente, dell'**attacco** alla laicità delle nostre istituzioni. (ParOpp_com/doc152)

> [Ferigo is right to maintain that homophobia is all too present in our cities, but this **climate is fuelled by** the **obsessive campaign** to delegitimise the rights of the gay/lesbian/bisexual/transsexual population which is being advanced on several fronts and, more generally, the **attack** on the secular nature of our institutions.]

Pollastrini and Bindi worked closely together on the DICO legislation, so the fact that they share metaphors is doubly justified. In the first place, they are both women working in Ministries which place women's interests at heart. These interests have been expressed in the language for many years, with the result that, just as in economics, the discourse has established formulae and conventions which are difficult to abandon. Additionally, having worked closely together, Pollastrini and Bindi may well have influenced each others' linguistic preferences, at least insofar as topics relating to citizens' rights are concerned. Similarities and differences in their use of war metaphors are dealt with in 5.

4.5 Youth and Sport

The PoGAS data amounts to nearly 100,000 tokens(see Table 1), of which most metaphors are to be found in the interviews (cf. PolFam data, 4.1). Given that Giovanna Melandri's Ministerial remit covers two distinct areas - young people (in an Italian context, the under-30s) and sport - a wider range of potential source domains has been identified in this data than in the other corpora. These include war, hunting, and imprisonment, but to a far lesser degree than PolFam or the economics data (see 5); the most frequently-used source domains are: religion and the supernatural (demonise, rebaptise, temple; ghost, nightmare, mystery), shipping and water (anchor, navigate, sink; ford, flood, well); and tools (hook, lynchpin, nail). Less frequent but still of note are the source domains of food, eating and meals; domesticity (sweep, rubbish, dust); gardening (cultivate, garden); health and illness (comatose, paralysis, wound); body parts and breathing (breath, blow, asphyxiate); fire (spark, to light, to put out); and the weather (cloud, rain, thunder).

The shipping metaphor echoes Bindi's DIFFERING OPINIONS ARE DIFFERENT SHORES (4.1). In PoGAS it is allegiances and beliefs which are 'anchored' ('ancorati') rather than 'rooted' ('radicati'), with the 'approdo' [berth] of each camp being fixed in a different geographical location, the implication being that 'clear blue water' separates

them, preventing them from reaching compromises. Navigation is only used of the Internet, and so does not feed into this metaphor. Of the other water-related lexis, a group forms around 'affondere'[sink] and 'sommergere'[submerge], referring to the removal of unpopular or unwanted policies and opinions. 'Sepoltura' [burying], which could also be used with the same pragmatic value, does not appear in the data, nor do other metaphors of death. Other 'water' lexis occurs too infrequently to classify with any certainty, and no evidence of coherent metaphorical patterning is present.

Of the 'feminine' semantic groups identified, there seems to be considerable activity centred around cooking and eating. On closer examination, however, the source domain of eating and feeding is used literally: policy related to young people involves tackling anorexia, and so in this corpus, 'alimentare' refers to eating habits, not to opinions. Cooking, however appears to be used consistently with finances and financial policy, although here the number of instances is too small to make anything but very general statements, as is also the case with those words grouped under the 'domesticity' source domain (furniture and chores).

Gardening metaphors focus on cultivation and putting down roots. POLICIES ARE PLANTS, or, more specifically, CONTROVERSIAL POLICIES – such as the civil partnership legislation – ARE SMALL, DELICATE PLANTS (Example 11), while 'radici' [roots] are historical foundations connected to society and its values, rather than party politics and policies (cf. 'ancorato').

> (11) E' una **pianticella** preziosa che va **coltivata** e non **calpestata**. (PoGAS_int/doc066)
>
> [It (the mediation reached by the Government on civil partnerships) is a precious little **plant** which needs to be **cultivated**, on **stamped** on.]

The presence of religious and supernatural lexis, used metaphorically, marks this corpus out from the others. Bindi's language in PolFam was characterised by religious references but these were not metaphorical, unlike Melandri's. That said, the move from linguistic metaphor to metaphor theme is not clear, with only two areas displaying and observable consistency, and these only with very few examples. Negative influences and policies are 'diabolical' (Example 12); and this extreme evaluation is paralleled by the only instances of 'orrendo' [horrendous] and 'mostruoso' [monstrous], as well as 'incubo' [nightmare] and 'disquieting' [inquietante].

> (12) Zapatero non è **Belzebù**, è il capo di un grande paese democratico; comunque, il governo italiano è espressione di culture diverse. L'impegno delle donne che ne fanno parte è estendere i diritti e le libertà, senza imporre comportamenti, ideologie o un'etica a nessuno. (PoGAS_int/doc003)
>
> [Zapatero is not **Beelzebub**, he is the leader of a large democratic country; however, the Italian Government represents different cultures. The pledge of the women within it is to extend rights and freedom, without imposing particular behaviour, ideologies or ethics on anyone.]

5. Women and war metaphors

The war metaphor is common to the language of all Ministers, most notably Bonino, whose use of war-related lexis is also the most formulaic (Philip, in press/2008). In this section we will look at the different uses of the three most frequent war metaphors used in the corpora as a whole: battles, invasion and defence. As might be expected, the use of

these metaphors is related to the interests of the Ministries, and there is a clear distinction between the overriding metaphor BUSINESS IS WAR and the more narrowly defined OBTAINING RIGHTS IS BATTLE.

Fights, battles and skirmishes in PolEur and ComInt are liked to trade rather than business as such, with Italy's position in world markets being a 'battaglia' [battle], while eliminating or removing counterfeit goods, a threat to the luxury 'Made in Italy' brands, is a 'lotta' [fight] (the terms are not transferable). In all other ministries, fighting is a moral nature, sometimes **for** desirable states (the right to work and for equal rights) but usually **against** the undesirable (crime, inequality, and discrimination).

Invasion again fits these two general metaphor themes, though neither PolReg nor ParOpp contain lexis relevant to this semantic area. The moral stance (in PolFam and PoGAS) is universally linked to invasion of privacy (the right to privacy is being violated), while the Economics sector remains firmly in the business camp:, 'invaso' [invaded] is used of China and India, which are invading Italy (the victim), yet if Italy is expanding into new markets (China and India, amongst others), the term used is 'penetrare' [penetrate].

Defensive lexis is not present in PolReg , but appears in all corpora except Bonino's, again under the umbrella OBTAINING RIGHTS IS BATTLE. In ParOpp, PolFam and PoGAS, just as the undesirable is fought against, desirable rights and laws are defended. These include women's equal treatment at work and in the law, the secularity of the State, the family unit, and the right to a living wage. In business, the high quality and reputation of 'Made in Italy' products are to be defended, in the national interest. In economics, success and survival is the greatest concern.

6. Discussion

The metaphor themes discussed in this chapter have been identified through a methodology which has not previously been applied in metaphor studies. It makes no claims of exhaustiveness; metaphorical uses of words are defined phraseologically, so is it inevitable that not all metaphors in the corpora have been located, but this is true also of the other corpus-based approaches discussed in 3.1. However, the advantage of this methodology is that it allows for the identification of metaphor themes which are almost invisible at a textual level, and can only emerge by concordancing substantial quantities of data, and therefore makes a useful contribution to the semi-automatic identification of metaphor in corpora.

By focusing on key words and ignoring their textual function in the early stages of analysis, hypothetical source domain groupings can be identified, and their metaphoricity is then confirmed or refuted by concordancing. The initial hypothesis that, with the exception of metaphorically-motivated terminology, metaphors appear neither with high-frequency nor statistical prominence, was confirmed, thus validating the trawl through LFCWs. What still has to be determined is a cut-off point above which vocabulary is confirmed as no longer being of low frequency. This matter requires further investigation, and will almost certainly depend more on mean text length and homogeneity of topics and lexis than on crude measures of corpus size (Philip in prep/2008).

The identification of metaphor themes requires recurrent lexis, whether that consist of a handful of lemmas used several times, or a wider range of hapax legomena which can be grouped semantically. In this study, only recurrent metaphors have been considered, irrespective of their status in the language as a whole, as the use of a metaphor theme once or twice in a year's worth of data cannot be considered as a 'preference'. All of the women Ministers make use of some 'feminine' vocabulary, but none can be said to use it

frequently or consistently in comparison with gender-neutral or 'masculine' themes, as is clear from the discussion in 5. 'Feminine' themes do recur, but seem to be closely linked to the Ministerial remit, and it is in PolFam that these are most evident. At the same time, it has been noted that the metaphorical content of interview data is partly determined by journalists, whose interests may include portraying women Ministers as one of us', whether that group be other women or, especially in Bindi's case, other Catholics. On the whole, women politicians do not draw undue attention to their gender through the metaphor themes they use, whether consciously or otherwise.

Why then does the belief hold that women speak differently from men? Perhaps the answer is hidden by the data, rather than revealed by it. In order to hold a senior post, a female politician – like her male counterparts – must have the necessary political gravitas, and this can partly be judged by how successfully she has adapted her language to the norms dictated by the political genre. Put simply, in order to get ahead in the political arena, women and men are expected to speak the same language - politics, and, as Emma Bonino's quote in the title to this contribution suggests, to show themselves to be 'not women in politics, but woman politicians'.

References

A. Amadori (2002) *Mi consenta. Metafore, messaggi e simboli. Come Silvio Berlusconi ha conquistato il consenso degli italiani* (Bologna: Scheiwiller).

M. Black (1993) 'More about Metaphor' in A. Ortony (ed.) *Metaphor and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 19-41.

S. Bolasco, L. Giuliano, and N. Galli de' Paratesi (2006) *Parole in libertà: Un'analisi statistica e linguistica* (Rome: ManifestoLibri).

L. Cameron and J. Stelma (2004) 'Metaphor clusters in discourse.' *Journal of Applied Linguistics* 1 (2), 107-136.

J. Charteris-Black (2004) *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan).

W.E. Louw (1993) 'Irony in the Text or Insincerity in the Writer?: The Diagnostic Potential of Semantic Prosodies' in M. Baker, G. Francis and E. Tognini-Bonelli (eds.) *Text and Technology: In Honour of John Sinclair* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins), pp. 157-176.

A. Partington (2003) *The Linguistics of Political Argument: The spin-doctor and the wolf-pack at the White House* (London and New York: Routledge).

G. Philip (in prep/2008) 'Trade is war: the interaction of key words and key metaphors in a specialised corpus'.

G. Philip (2007) 'Identifying Metaphorical Keyness in Specialised Corpora'. Paper read at *Keyness in Text*, Certosa di Pontignano, Sienna, Italy. June 2007. http://amsacta.cib.unibo.it

G. Philip (2006) ' "Drugs, traffic, and many other dirty interests": metaphor and the language learner.' 6th Researching and Applying Metaphor conference. Leeds, UK. April 2006. http://amsacta.cib.unibo.it

P. Rayson (2005) *Wmatrix: a web-based corpus processing environment*. Computing Department, Lancaster University. http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/ucrel/wmatrix

M. Scott (1998) *WordSmith Tools* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

E. Semino and M. Masci (1996) 'Politics is Football: Metaphor in the Discourse of Silvio Berlusconi in Italy.' *Discourse and Society*, 7 (2), 243-269.

Appendix: Content-word keywords in the six corpora*

PolFam	PolEur	ComInt	PolReg	ParOpp	PoGAS
adozioni	ambiente	aziende	amministrativi	antiviolenza	affitto
anziani	attività	bilancia	autonomie	civiltà	anoressia
bambini	autorità	Cina	competenza	comunità	atleti
chiesa	capacità	commerciali	comuni	contro	attività
conciliazione	commissione	competitività	enti	diritti	calcio
coppie	competitività	crescita	direttive	discriminazione	candidatura
democratico	comunitario	economia	energia	donne	club
dico	direttiva	esportazioni	Europa	doveri	credito
famiglia	economico	estero	funzioni	femminile	giovani
orientamento	emergenti	flussi	innovazione	genere	idee
infanzia	europeo	globalizzazione	istituzionale	istituzioni	impianti
laicità	infrazioni	India	livelli	migranti	lega
maternità	Italia	industria	locale	ministra	ministro
matrimonio	membri	internazionale	ministro	ore	moda
minori	mercato	investimenti	montagna	partita	federalismo
natalità	nazionali	Italia	normativi	ragazzi	fiscale
omosessuali	procedura	mercato	poteri	responsabilità	Friuli
politica	produttività	mondiale	processo	sessuale	riforma
povertà	settore	prodotti	regioni	solidarietà	società
responsabilità	stati	qualità	semplificazione	uguaglianza	sport
società	strategia	settore	statuto	umani	stadi
solidarietà	trattato	sviluppo	territorio	uomini	tifosi
vita	unione	tradizionali	unificata	violenza	tv

* The list has been edited to exclude variant lemma forms and the duplication of semantically-related words. Its inclusion here is intended to provide an overview of the 'aboutness' of each corpus, against which metaphorical activity can be compared.

Notes

[i] Details of the corpora used and the codes accompanying examples is given in section 3.

[ii] The theory-neutral term 'metaphor theme' is used throughout in preference to 'conceptual metaphor'.

[iii] A detailed examination of the International Trade and Commerce Minister's metaphors is given in 4.2

[iv] It should be noted that speeches take the form of extended notes or scripted talks, not transcripts, and interviews are the published (edited) forms: unedited transcripts and audio files are not generally accessible.

[v] Text types are '**com**unicato stampa'[press release or communiqué], '**pres**entazione' [speech or presentation], and '**int**ervista' [interview]. Thus ComInt_com/doc030 is the thirtieth press release from the Ministry for International Trade and Commerce corpus.

[vi] No word-frequency list is available for CoRIS (Corpus di Italian Scritto [corpus of written Italian], the general reference corpus of Italian held at the University of Bologna (http://corpora.dslo.unibo.it), making it impossible to create key-word lists and, hence, establish key words relative to the language as a whole. However, useful indices of keyness are obtained by comparing like with like, or, as the program's help file suggests, 'compare apples with pears, or, better still, Coxes with Granny Smiths... and avoid comparing apples with phone boxes!'. Comparison with the general language would flag up words which are key to political language in general, or which are key to the period in which the data was collected, obscuring those which are relevant to the specific corpora being examined.

[vii] Metaphorically-motivated terminology is, of course, an exception to this general rule. It can be seen in the Appendix that these too can feature in the keyword list: 'crescita' [growth] and 'flusso' [flow], both examples of common (dead) metaphors in Economics discourse, appear in the ComInt keyword list.

[viii] The self-governing (autonomous) regions are the islands (Sicily and Sardinia), and the regions in the north which border with France, Switzerland, Austria and Slovenia. All are considered culturally distinct, both from one another and from the rest of Italy; the border regions are officially bilingual.