



***How Heavy do I Journey on the Way:
Framing the Issue of the EU Visa
Liberalisation Process in Contemporary
Serbia***

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On 30th November 2009, after almost 20 years, citizens of Serbia were finally granted visa-free EU access. Within the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Semino 2008) and Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004), in this paper we focus on the conceptualisation of the visa liberalisation process in Serbian, i.e. Serbia's reaching the Schengen White List. The corpus of examples was excerpted from Serbian dailies and political weeklies in the period 2006-2009, as well as from readers' comments on the news published on these papers' web sites. The data show that the visa liberalisation process is conceptualised in Serbian by means of the MOVEMENT and JOURNEY metaphors. In the paper we classify metaphorical expressions which serve to linguistically realise the metaphor SERBIA'S REACHING THE SCHENGEN WHITE LIST IS A JOURNEY, in line with their role and rhetorical impact in Serbian political and, more generally, public discourse, in an attempt to reveal those aspects of political and social reality the JOURNEY metaphor hides or highlights.

Key words: conceptual metaphor, political discourse, JOURNEY metaphor, visa liberalisation, Serbian.

1. Introduction

On 19th December 2009, citizens of Serbia were finally granted visa-free EU access, and for the first time in nearly two decades, millions of Serbs were finally entitled to leave their country and go almost anywhere in Europe without a visa. Prior to this decision, made by the European Commission, Serbs had been forced to go through a costly, time-consuming and cumbersome visa application procedure if they wished to visit European countries. Visas were introduced in November 1991, after Slobodan Milošević, former Yugoslav President who died in 2006 in his cell while being tried for war crimes at the ICTY in The Hague, refused to accept a European plan for peace in Yugoslavia. Prior to that, red Yugoslavian passports were changing hands on the black market for up to \$20,000.ⁱⁱ The introduction of visas in 1991 was a prelude to the economic and political isolation of Serbia brought about by Milošević's Balkans

war policy that only ended with his downfall in 2000. In the past, hundreds of thousands of Serbs spent their summers travelling freely around the continent – but their children grew up knowing none of this, and many fell for Milošević's propaganda in the nineties which claimed that the imposition of visas was part of an international conspiracy against their freedom-loving nation. Nevertheless, the day of the Schengen visa liberalisation was celebrated by Serbian citizens in the form of open-air parties, fireworks and concerts, when a particular feeling prevailed – that of finally winning a passport to freedom of travel.

Within the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Semino 2008), in this paper we focus on the conceptualisation of the visa liberalisation process in Serbian, i.e. Serbia's reaching the Schengen White List. We particularly focus on the MOVEMENT and JOURNEY metaphors,ⁱⁱⁱ conventional in political discourse of many countries, not only of the EU members but also of those which are still in the EU accession process. In the paper we classify metaphorical expressions used to linguistically realise the metaphor SERBIA'S REACHING THE SCHENGEN WHITE LIST IS A JOURNEY, in line with the rhetorical impact it has in political, or more widely defined, public discourse of contemporary Serbia, in an attempt to focus on those aspects of social reality the JOURNEY metaphor hides or highlights. As metaphors are seldom neutral and void of any evaluative component, we apply another theoretical framework, that of Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004) in an attempt to demonstrate how the combination of these two theories may provide a synergetic effect, enabling the researcher to establish whether metaphors carry any ideological meaning in real discourse dealing with one of the main contemporary issues relevant not only to ordinary Serbian citizens, but also to political echelons in power.

2. Theoretical Framework and Data Collection

Our analysis of the conceptualisation of the EU visa liberalisation process in Serbia is set in a theoretical framework which takes into account the claims of both Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Critical Metaphor Analysis. According to the main tenets of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), metaphor is not a property of individual linguistic expressions and their meanings, but of whole conceptual domains. Thus, at the heart of Lakoff and Johnson's theory (1980) lies the *conceptual metaphor*, defined as an essential conceptual tool which consists of the *source* and *target* domains. Lakoff and Johnson use the TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN formula to describe the metaphorical connection between the two domains. More precisely, the conceptual metaphor consists of a structural mapping between the source conceptual domain in terms of which the target conceptual domain is understood metaphorically, and the target conceptual domain, which is to be understood metaphorically (Turner 1990). It is of crucial importance to draw a distinction between *metaphor* and *linguistic metaphor*. While *metaphor* is now used as the equivalent to *conceptual metaphor*, *linguistic metaphor* (more commonly known as a *metaphorical expression*) is the linguistic realisation of a particular conceptual metaphor. As Lakoff (1993: 209) emphasises, “[...] contemporary metaphor theorists commonly use the term *metaphor* to refer to the conceptual mapping, and the term *metaphorical expression* to refer to an individual linguistic expression [...] which is sanctioned by a mapping.” The corollary is that it is our

conceptual system that is metaphorical in nature, not the language itself. Language thus becomes one of the ways of expressing our conceptual system and is assigned a subsidiary role.

Metaphor has a highly persuasive function, since metaphors may impart value judgements. Of central significance here is Lakoff and Johnson's *metaphorical systematicity*, i.e. the understanding of one aspect of a concept in terms of another, which necessarily leads to downplaying or hiding other aspects of the concept (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 10-14). By choosing via metaphors what aspects of a concept they will emphasise, text producers more or less consciously reveal their value judgements, which in turn may expose their ideological stance. The ideological and rhetorical role of metaphor has found its fuller interpretation in a discourse model called Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), proposed by Charteris-Black (2004), in which he integrates the analysis of metaphor in authentic data with CMT and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is "primarily interested in and motivated by pressing social issues which it hopes to better understand through discourse analysis" (van Dijk 1993: 280). According to Charteris-Black, an important aspect of analysing metaphors in the CDA framework is "drawing attention to which aspects of the source domain are *not* transferred to the metaphorical target" (2004: 42), which leads to developing critical attitude to the use of language via the underlying concepts which find their expression in language. Therefore, the emphasis should be placed on the "interconnecting aspects of metaphor" (Charteris-Black 2004: 24) and any definition of metaphor should incorporate its semantic, cognitive and pragmatic dimensions. A semantic role of a metaphor refers to creating new meanings for words, "since the meanings of words change over time" (Charteris-Black 2004: 20) and it is difficult to determine what counts as a metaphor. Consequently, definitions of metaphor also need to address a cognitive role of metaphor in developing our understanding on the basis of analogy, and a pragmatic one arising from "the underlying purpose of [a metaphor] influencing opinions and judgements by persuasion" (Charteris-Black 2004: 21). In this regard, "Critical Metaphor Analysis is a way of revealing underlying ideologies, attitudes and beliefs – and therefore constitutes a vital means of understanding more about the complex relationships between language, thought and social context" (Charteris-Black 2004: 42), thus shaping new ways of communicating. In addition, Lakoff and Johnson's claim that metaphor's "central role [is] in the construction of social and political reality" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 159) can be related to CDA's as well as CMA's primary concern with social problems and the way language reflects "the power to control discourse" (Koller 2003: 57). Thus, metaphors in this paper are regarded as a discursive means which aids in understanding certain social processes, more specifically the aspect of Serbia's reaching the Schengen White List in the process of visa liberalisation and its underlying notions.

The data collection for the analysis which follows was compiled from several electronic and print news media, various daily and weekly newspapers published in Serbian in the period 2006-2009, as well as from readers' comments on the news published on these papers' web sites.^{iv} Our goal is *not* to offer a corpus-based analysis of the JOURNEY metaphor nor is it to establish absolute or relative frequencies of metaphorical expressions or metaphor density in the data collection. Our main focus is on the qualitative analysis of the examples of the JOURNEY metaphor in question within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and

Critical Metaphor Analysis and its use in one of the most important periods in recent Serbian history. In order to verify the validity of our intuitive judgement as regards the metaphoricality of the expressions linguistically realising the SERBIA'S REACHING THE SCHENGEN WHITE LIST IS A JOURNEY metaphor (since "intuitions are not necessarily explicit and systematic" [Semino 2008: 14]), we applied the method for metaphor identification proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) which we used to check the metaphoricality of the lexical units relating to the JOURNEY domain as well as to establish their basic and contextual meaning. MIP is claimed to be a reliable method as it eliminates any subjective criteria for metaphor identification. Only those expressions which both of us deemed to be metaphorical will be used to illustrate our points in the text which follows.

3. JOURNEY Metaphor in Serbian Public Discourse

The JOURNEY metaphor in our data collection reflects all the complexity of the process which includes the arrival of Serbia on the Schengen White List, one of the preconditions for the EU accession. At a higher level of conceptualisation, denoted by the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphorical scenario, there are various mappings (Lakoff 1993): STATES ARE LOCATIONS – Serbia is a bounded region taking up space; CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS (into or out of bounded regions) – Serbia is a traveller who begins its movement; CAUSES ARE FORCES – Serbia's arrival on the Schengen White List causes movement; ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS – the decision of Serbia to arrive on the Schengen White List initiates movement; PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS – the arrival on the Schengen White List is the destination; MEANS ARE PATHS (TO DESTINATIONS) – issuing new biometric passports, stricter border control, etc. are paths to the destination; DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION – the prerequisites Serbia needs to fulfil are impediments on the road; EXPECTED PROGRESS IS A TRAVEL SCHEDULE – (more or less) progress that Serbia makes on the path to the Schengen White List is a travel schedule; and LONG TERM, PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS – the arrival of Serbia on the Schengen White List is a journey, implying the final destination – the EU accession.

The MOVEMENT metaphor, as the basis for the JOURNEY metaphor, therefore, describes the motion between two regions. Conceptualised as a TRAVELLER, Serbia sets on a journey, leaves one bounded region, and is on the way to another bounded region – the European Union. The JOURNEY metaphor highlights the unidirectionality of the journey – the implied direction is Serbia → EU, and not the EU → Serbia, since the latter is not part of the constructed political and social reality, thus being out of the possible course of action. The EU is the centre towards which the motion is directed, and Serbia is a periphery attempting to approach the centre.

The basis for the SERBIA'S ARRIVAL ON THE SCHENGEN WHITE LIST IS A JOURNEY metaphor is the STATE IS A PERSON metaphor. In this metaphor Serbia is personified and conceptualised as a traveller, being at a certain point on a path or the road "of certain length and characteristics, which it needs to pass by to somehow reach the destination" (Šarić 2005: 151).

Let us illustrate the SERBIA'S ARRIVAL ON THE SCHENGEN WHITE LIST IS A JOURNEY metaphor with several examples from our data collection:

- (1) Međutim, *put*^v do belog šengena je dugačak i putne isprave su samo jedan segment tog obimnog posla. (*Internet novine serbske*, 28 Jun 2008)
(However, the *road* to the Schengen White List is long and travel documents are only one segment of this huge task.)
- (2) Trnovit *put* do viza za EU i SAD. (RTV, 7 Mar 2008)
(The thorny *path* to visas for the EU and the US.)
- (3) “Napredak Srbije biće praćen tokom dijaloga o viznim olakšicama. *Brzina kretanja* u smeru ukidanja viza zavisiće od napretka u ispunjavanju uslova”, naveo je Baro. (*Blic*, 7 May 2008)
 (“Serbia’s progress will be followed during the dialogue about visa relaxation. The *speed of movement* towards the revoking of visas will depend on the progress made in fulfilling obligations”, stated Baro.)
- (4) *Brzina kretanja na putu* ka Evropskoj uniji najviše zavisi od brzine i samog intenziteta reformi koje se sprovode. Što se Srbija bude ubedljivije borila protiv korupcije i organizovanog kriminala, imaće veće šanse da napravi ozbiljan *napredak na putu* ka EU, smatra Oli Ren. (*Blic*, 28 Nov 2008)
(The *speed of movement on the path* to the European Union mainly depends on the speed and intensity of the reforms which are being implemented. The more convincingly Serbia fights corruption and organised crime, the greater the chances she will have of making serious *progress on the path* to the EU, thinks Olli Rehn.)
- (5) Ukazujući da je Srbija *još daleko od* bele šengenske liste, ona je za današnje “Večernje novosti” rekla da će parafiranjem Sporazuma o viznim olakšicama širokom krugu građana Srbije biti omogućeno brže dobijanje viza za zemlje EU. (*Press*, 11 Apr 2007)
(Pointing out that Serbia is still *a long way from* the Schengen White List, she told today’s issue of *Večernje Novosti*, that the initialling of the Agreement on Visa Relaxation and Readmission will enable a wider circle of Serbian citizens to obtain visas for EU countries more rapidly.)
- (6) Srbija je, u odnosu na Makedoniju, u znatnom *zaostatku* u pogledu deklarativnih uslova koje EU propisuje za viznu liberalizaciju, ali izgleda da *ćemo* do “belog šengena” i Makedonci i mi *stići* manje-više u isto vreme. (*B92*, 6 Jan 2009)
(Compared to Macedonia Serbia is significantly *lagging behind* regarding the declarative conditions which the EU prescribes for visa liberalisation, but it seems that both we and the Macedonians *will reach* the ‘White Schengen’ more or less at the same time.)
- (7) Podvojenost društva između reforme i restauracije ekstremno je izražena u Srbiji. Srbija kao da se koleba da li *da krene i ako krene kuda da krene*. (...) Oba *puta* postala su vidljivija, oba opredeljenja imaju predvidljive posledice... Treći smatraju da je taj *put* trnovit, da zahteva žrtve i nepopularne mere, da ne treba žuriti, jer je odlaganje bezbolnije. (*Blic*, 2 Jun 2008)
(The division within society between reform and restoration is highly expressed in Serbia. It is as though Serbia were hesitating between whether *to set off at all and if it were to set off, as to which path it should take*. (...) Both *paths* have become

more discernible and both determinations have predictable consequences... Others believe this *path* to be a thorny one, demanding sacrifice and unpopular measures, one that should not be rushed into, because its postponement is less painful.)

The journey is perceived as a mission which an authoritative body ordered a person (i.e. Serbia) to fulfil, and sent her to a journey. The destination to be reached is positively evaluated, therefore the JOURNEY metaphor contributes to a positive evaluation of the measures politicians take in order to reach the pre-arranged destination. This metaphor, therefore, has a strong rhetorical function as regards the justifiability of its use and the impact it has on the general public (i.e. the electorate). Any effort on the part of the government, directed towards taking the country into the visa liberalisation regime, is evaluated as positive, purposeful and unconditionally justified. Furthermore, according to Charteris-Black, the used metaphorical expressions “also highlight the need for patience since it will take time and effort to reach a destination.” (2004: 93). Therefore, the road to the Schengen White List is “long”, “thorny”, “it requires sacrifice and unpopular measures”, “it’s a path not to be rushed into”, as illustrated by examples (1), (2), and (7). These metaphorical expressions also imply that Serbian electorate “should not expect instant results from government policies and that, at times, society will need to suffer in order to achieve” (Charteris-Black 2004: 93) the desired goal, as well as that hardship and slowness are to be tolerated because the goal is socially valued and worthwhile.

3.1 Serbia at a Crossroads

Hardships on the road to achieving a worthwhile social aim are emphasised not only by example (7), which expresses Serbia’s hesitation as to what direction it should take, but also the metaphorical expression *crossroads* illustrated by the following examples:

- (8) *Srbija na raskrsnici* (*Večernje novosti*, 12 Jan 2008)
(Serbia at a crossroads)
- (9) *Srbija je ponovo na raskrsnici. Srbija je uvek na raskrsnici, nikako da krene* (*B92*, 9 Feb 2008)
(Serbia is again at a crossroads. Serbia is always at a crossroads, she never manages to set off.)
- (10) *Zeleni semafor na evropskom putu – Žuto svetlo, odnosno privremeno čekanje do zelenog, za Srbiju je šansa da se otkloni poslednja prepreka za potpisivanje SAA.*^{vi} (...) *Žuto svetlo na semaforu za Beograd zato će, sasvim izvesno, trajati prilično kratko pre nego što se upali zeleno.* (*Blic*, 28 May 2008)
(The green light on the European road – the amber light, i.e. the temporary wait for it to change to green, is the chance for Serbia to eliminate the last obstacle to signing the SAA. (...) The amber light for Belgrade will therefore certainly change to green in a rather short time.)

Crossroads is a powerful rhetorical device which seems to offer two lines of reasoning: on the one hand, it points out that Serbia has travelled a part of the path,

which implies taking active stance towards attaining a set goal; on the other hand, though, reaching a crossroads suggests that a decision should be made as to which direction to take – forward or backward, left or right. Example (10) indicates that forward movement is not the traveller’s (i.e. the country’s) voluntary activity, but an extremely controlled plan, conceptualised by means of the TRAFFIC LIGHT metaphor, with the green light conventionally signifying “permission to move forward”, and the amber light referring to the period between “prohibition to go” (the red light) and “permission to go” (the green light). A highly controlled motion in case of Serbia is defined by the “road map” which is expected to prevent the country from taking a detour, wrong turns or getting “lost” on its route to a final destination.

3.2 The Road Map to Schengen

The Road Map is a document which precisely defines steps to be made by Serbia in order to fulfil the conditions of visa liberalisation. If Serbia’s reaching the Schengen White List is conceptualised as a JOURNEY, it is logical to call the document which clearly prescribes such journey a *road map*, issued by the authoritative institution (the European Commission) to help the traveller take the right path lest she, unnecessarily, willingly, through ignorance or inexperience, slows down her journey. Let us illustrate this sub-metaphor with several examples from our data collection:

- (11) U dijalogu ćemo dobiti jasnu *mapu puta* kako *da dođemo* do bele šengen liste (*Danas*, 19 Jan 2008)
(Through dialogue we will gain a clear *road map of the route* to the Schengen White List.)
- (12) *Korak dalje na Mapi puta* (RTV “S”, 6 Feb 2009)
(A *step forward* on the *Road Map*.)
- (13) Ta vaša mapa puta je izgleda *mapa kružnog puta* sa pokvarenim *Crvenim svetlom*. Prestanite da lažete narod. Ako vas već plaćamo za posao koji ne umete da završite, zašto nas više ne ostavite na miru, uzmete tu svoju ‘*Mapu puta*’ i lepo odete da se objasnite sa ‘*Saobraćajnom Policijom*’ u Brisel?! (*Politika*, 8 Dec 2008)
(That map of yours seems to be a *map of a ring road* with a broken *red light*. Stop lying to the nation. If we are paying you for a job you don’t know how to finish, why don’t you leave us in peace, take your ‘*road map*’ and go and talk things over with the ‘*Traffic Police*’ in Brussels?!)
- (14) *Put* je, istini za volju, zaista određen. (...) Samo treba *pratiti putokaze* i nikako *ne ostati na pola puta*. (*Međunarodni Radio Srbija*, 16 Apr 2009)
(The *road* is, to tell the truth, already determined. (...) All we need to do is *follow the road signs* and not *get stuck half way* there.)

The European Union (i.e. the European Commission) is the sole owner of the *Road Map* and the only guide who knows the road to a final destination. This is clearly suggested by example (13), in which the wrong decisions or insufficient commitment of the Government on its route to a visa-free regime and Serbia’s integration with the EU, as well as a potential futility of the whole process, are conceptualised as “a ring road with a broken red light” and the only organisation qualified for showing Serbia the right path is “the traffic police in Brussels”. This is an example of a creative,

ironic extension of the JOURNEY metaphor in order to “question the validity of the plan itself” (Semino 2008: 112) while at the same time “ridiculing the popularity of the metaphor and exposing its weaknesses.” (Semino 2008: 116).

Therefore, we agree with Charteris-Black (Charteris-Black 2004: 95) who claims that, since we know the journey will be to those places we have never visited before, the metaphorical expression *the road map* serves the rhetorical aim of both alerting the public in Serbia to take part in social changes and convincing them that they have made the right decision. Still, this linguistic choice rules out any other solution, everything is predetermined and Serbia only needs to “follow the road signs and not get stuck half way”, as suggested by example (14).

3.3 Step by Step

The metaphorical expression *step* is also one of the conventional expressions of the JOURNEY metaphorical scenario, based on the ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS metaphor. The kinds of steps which should be taken to reach a destination correspond to the mapping MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION. Hence “great strides”, “a big step”, as well as their positive evaluations, such as a “decisive step”, “an important step”, etc. The analysis of our data points out two ways of understanding this metaphorical expression. In the first case, *step* indicates the usual, conventional and neutrally evaluated expression of the JOURNEY metaphor expressing the change of location in a physical sense, motion and progress on the road, as illustrated with the following examples:

(15) Mislim da mi *krupnim koracima idemo* ka EU, ali kriza u EU može da utiče na naš možda kasniji ulazak. (*B92*, 4 Dec 2009)

(I think that we are *making great strides* towards the EU, but the crisis within the EU may influence our possible late accession.)

(16) Plasnik: *Veliki korak* Srbije u pravcu EU. (*Mondo*, 13 Jun 2007)

(Plasnik: Serbia's *big step* towards the EU.)

More importantly, however, *step* is perceived in our data collection as a part of the mapping of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor – MANNER OF ACTION OR ITS MEANS IS A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION. Thus every positively evaluated Government's activity, e.g. signing the Stabilisation and Association Agreement, the Temporary Agreement, etc. is a means of Serbia's reaching the final goal, entering the EU, in both real and abstract sense.

(17) “Danas” je od MUP-a krajem januara tražio da mu dostavi Akcioni plan Vlade u kojem se navode *koraci* koje Srbija treba da preduzme kako bi dospela na belu šengensku listu (*Danas*, 17 Mar 2009)

(At the end of January daily *Danas* requested that the Interior Ministry submit the Government's Action Plan outlining the *steps* Serbia should take in order to get on the Schengen White List.)

(18) To je prvi *korak na putu* bezviznog režima koji će biti uspostavljen do kraja godine. Potpisujući Sporazum o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju 29. aprila 2008, Srbija je

načinila jedan od najvažnijih *koraka na putu* ka članstvu u Evropskoj uniji. Još mnogo *koraka* predstoji. (*Politika*, 3 May 2008)

(That is the *first step on the path* to a visa free regime which will be established by the end of the year. By signing the Stabilisation and Association Agreement on 29th April 2008, Serbia made one of the most important *steps* toward European Union membership. There are many more *steps* to come.)

- (19) S druge strane, potpredsednik Vlade Srbije Božidar Đelić ocenio je da razloga za dalje odlaganje štampanja pasoša nema i podsetio na zakon kojim je predviđena zamena svih pasoša do kraja ove godine, kako bi Srbija bila *korak bliže* statusu „belog Šengena”. (*Vesti*, 26 Jun 2008)

(On the other side, the Serbian vice Prime Minister, Božidar Đelić, stated that there is no reason for the further postponement of printing passports, reminding us of the law which foresees the replacement of all passports by the end of this year in order for Serbia to get *one step closer* to the ‘White Schengen’ status.)

- (20) Direktorka vladine Kancelarije za evropske integracije Milica Delević kaže da će Srbija biti *na korak od* bele šengenske liste ukoliko u finišu ispuni sve neophodne uslove. (*Mondo*, 31 Mar 2009)

(The European Integration Office director, Milica Delević said that Serbia will be *one step away from* the Schengen White List if, in the last lap, all necessary conditions are fulfilled.)

The examples from our data collection (17-20) clearly show that the metaphorical expression *step* is a powerful rhetorical device for initiating an action. Any condition that Serbia needs to fulfil on its route to the Schengen White List is “one step closer” to this objective. What this metaphorical expression hides is *how many* steps Serbia has to take and *how long* a road it needs to travel, as the part “there are many more steps to come” of example (18) indicates. In other words, the steps that Serbia needs to take in order to reach the Schengen White List are, *inter alia*, issuing new biometric passports, stricter control on the borders, etc. However, it seems that the number of steps (i.e. the conditions Serbia needs to fulfil) is not limited. “Serbia will be one step away from the Schengen White List if, in the last lap, all necessary conditions are fulfilled”, as illustrated by example (20). This still does not mean to be *on* the Schengen White List. Positive evaluation of Serbia’s progress to reaching the Schengen White List by means of the metaphorical expression “one step away” masks other aspects of the JOURNEY concept such as the number, length and speed of steps, i.e. how many conditions still need to be met.

3.4 Progress and Obstacles on the Path

The number of conditions met or *steps* taken define country’s *progress* towards reaching a final destination, which at an abstract level corresponds to a travel schedule – the speed of a traveller (Serbia) to a pre-arranged destination at pre-arranged time. Hence the *steps* made connote continuous and successful progress towards achieving a purposeful social activity – visa liberalisation, as suggested by the following examples from our data:

- (21) On je u intervju za “Blic” pozdravio napredak u dosadašnjim razgovorima o viznoj liberalizaciji i poručio da se “nada da će Srbija i EU da naprave zajednički brz

napredak po tom pitanju, ali da taj *napredak* pre svega zavisi od brzine reformi u Srbiji". (B92, 12 Oct 2008).

(In an interview for daily *Blic*, he welcomed the progress in previous talks about visa liberalisation saying that he "hopes that Serbia and the EU will jointly *make* rapid *progress* regarding that issue, but that such *progress* depends, above all, on the speed of reforms in Serbia.")

- (22) Uvek postoje usponi i padovi sa Srbijom. U nekim momentima, Srbija veoma brzo *napreduje*, a ponekad veoma sporo. (B92, 3 Feb 2009)
(There are always ups and downs with Serbia. At some moments, Serbia *progresses* very quickly, and sometimes very slowly.)
- (23) Đelić je rekao da je tehnički deo posla oko vizne liberalizacije završen i da su stručnjaci ukazali da je Srbija u svim dimenzijama *napravila napredak* u poslednjih godinu dana. (Međunarodni Radio Srbija, 20 Mar 2009)
(Đelić said that the technical part of the task regarding visa liberalisation had reached completion, and that experts have pointed out that Serbia *made progress* in all dimensions last year.)

Serbia's speed of progress towards reaching the Schengen White List depends on how successfully it overcomes the obstacles that block its path to arriving at a destination, and these obstacles need to be removed. The mapping DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION, although highlighting the negative aspects of the JOURNEY metaphor, seems to have the opposite effect at a pragmatic level. Namely, the JOURNEY metaphor implies the need for patience, persistence, and protection against hasty solutions and short-term success, "because there are burdens and other forms of suffering to bear." (Charteris-Black 2004: 76). The following examples show what represents *burden* and *obstacles* in case of Serbia.

- (24) Ministarka pravde naglašava i da će predstavnicima EU predstaviti novi paket pravosudnih zakona (...) koji su do donošenja predstavljali značajnu *prepreku našem putu* ka beloj šengenskoj listi. (Danas, 30 Mar 2009)
(The Minister of Justice emphasised that she will present EU representatives with a new package of judicial laws (...) which, until their adoption, had presented a significant *obstacle on our path* to the Schengen White List.)
- (25) Dve su *prepreke* između Srbije i EU. Jedna je dovršenje saradnje s Tribunalom hapšenjem i izručenjem dvojice optuženih. Druga je sporazum EU i Srbije o evropskoj ulozi na Kosovu. Ako bismo do kraja ove godine ili do polovine sledeće godine uklonili obe *prepreke*, Srbija bi po prvi put od 2000. do danas došla u situaciju da ima *čist i otvoren put* u Evropu. (Blic, 17 Aug 2008)
(There are two *obstacles* between Serbia and the EU. One is completing the cooperation with the Tribunal with the arrest and extradition of two indictees. The second is the agreement between the EU and Serbia about the European role in Kosovo. If, by the end of this year or the middle of next, we have eliminated both *obstacles*, Serbia will, for the first time since 2000, be in a situation to have a *clear and open path* to Europe.)

- (26) Čitava konstrukcija Unije satkana je od bezbroj dugih i strpljivih pregovora, malih pomaka, ogromne upornosti i vere da se uprkos svim razlikama može živeti zajedno. Na tom zavojitom *putu* nalaze se bezbrojne *prepreke*, pogrešna *skretanja* i naizgled nesavladivi *usponi*. (*Danas*, 27 Mar 2009)
(The entire construction of the Union is woven from a multitude of long and patient negotiations, small progress, great determination and the belief that, in spite of all differences, it is possible to live together. On that winding *road* there are innumerable *obstacles*, wrong *turns* and seemingly insurmountable *ascents*.)
- (27) Hoće li biti *rampe na putu* ka EU? (*B92*, 17 Dec 2007)
(Will there be a *ramp on the road* to the EU?)

Obstacles, *ramps*, *wrong turns*, *insurmountable ascents* are various metaphorical expressions which depict difficulties in the course of coming on the Schengen White List, i.e. reaching the final destination, entering the EU. They refer to a lack of certain laws (example 24), or completion of the cooperation with the Hague Tribunal and the issue of Kosovo (example 25). Therefore, obstacles in Serbian political discourse convey negative evaluation and are used “to describe those features of policy that were deemed largely unpopular” (Charteris-Black 2004: 206). Although negatively evaluated, obstacles are used to prompt activities aimed at their removal. If the goal is justifiable and worthwhile, then the removal of all barriers standing in the way to reaching this goal is equally justifiable.

3.5 Are there any Shortcuts on Route to the EU?

The road may be made shorter by *shortcuts* which can help overcome or avoid difficulties on the road thus enabling the traveller to reach the final destination faster and easier. It seems that only Brussels and the assessment of the EU officials of how fast the traveller Serbia progresses on the road determine whether there are shortcuts to Schengen for Serbia and of what sort. That is why the following examples reveal a certain contradiction in the statements and decisions of the EU officials, activating the second scenario which is often used to conceptualise the European Union – that of squabbling FAMILY (see Đurović 2009). We have selected the following examples from our data collection:

- (28) “Morate biti svesni da je put ka Evropi mukotrpan i zahteva odlučnost, političku volju i snagu da biste uspeli”, rekao je Ren. Naglasio je da za *približavanje* Uniji “ne postoje lake *prečice*”, kojima bi se taj dugi proces skratio i olakšao. (*Danas*, 29 Apr 2008)
 (“You must be aware that the path towards Europe is painstaking and demands determination, political will and strength in order to succeed”, said Rehn. He emphasised that there are “no easy *shortcuts*” in the *approach* to the Union, none which would shorten or ease this long process.)
- (29) Jednostrana primena SSP – Renova *prečica* u EU (*Građanski list*, 26 Sep 2008)
(The unilateral implementation of the SAA – Rehn’s *shortcut* to the EU.)
- (30) Proevropska vlada – *prečica* za EU (*B92*, 16 Jan 2007)
(A pro-European Government – the *shortcut* to the EU)

- (31) Premijer Donald Tusk je, umirujući poljsku javnost, tada najavio da će Poljska učiniti sve da pokaže Srbima da u Poljskoj imaju prijatelje i da će u Briselu insistirati da se Srbiji otvori *prečica* za EU. (*Biznis novine*, 27 Mar 2008)
(The Prime Minister, Donald Tusk, calming the public in Poland, announced that Poland would do anything to show Serbs they have friends in Poland and that he will insist on Brussels opening a *shortcut* to the EU for Serbia.)

Different shortcuts are offered, such as the unilateral implementation of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement, the formation of a pro-European government in Belgrade, etc. The presence or absence of shortcuts and faster or shorter journey to reach the final destination are mainly contingent on the

given political situation, i.e. the moves that Brussels (and Belgrade, too) considers good or bad.

3.6 The Destination of a Journey

Eventually, the metaphorical expressions that make the JOURNEY scenario complete, such as *arrival*, *goal*, *attainable*, *final destination*, in examples (32), (33) and (34), are part of the final mapping of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor – LONG-TERM, PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS.

- (32) Ministar spoljnih poslova Vuk Jeremić ocenio je da je *dolazak* Srbije na belu šengensku listu najdostizniji *cilj* u ovoj godini jer je to pitanje najmanje opterećeno politikom u procesu proširenja Evropske unije. (*Studio B*, 12 Mar 2009)
(The Foreign Minister, Vuk Jeremić, estimated that Serbia's *arrival* on the Schengen White List is the most attainable *goal* this year because it is the issue least burdened by politics in the process of European Union enlargement.)
- (33) Ona je rekla da bi taj izveštaj predstavljao osnovu da komisija uputi Savetu ministara predlog da se Srbija nađe na "beloj" šengen listi i dodala da se evropski zvaničnici slažu da je *dostizno* da se Srbija do kraja ove godine nađe na toj listi. (*RTV*, 30 Mar 2009)
(She said that this report would represent the basis for the commission to submit the proposal for Serbia's placement on the Schengen White List to the Ministers Council, adding that European officials agree that it is *attainable* for Serbia to access to that list by the end of this year.)
- (34) Svi, i u Srbiji i u Crnoj Gori, treba da imaju na umu da je naša *krajnja destinacija* ista – članstvo u EU. (*Blic*, 23 Mar 2007)
(Everybody in Serbia and Montenegro should bear in mind that our *final destination* is the same – EU membership.)
- (35) Naravno, ne postoji lak način da se ispune Kopenhaški kriterijumi. Nema prečica. Međutim, za one koji istraju, nagrada koja ih čeka *na kraju puta* su jake demokratske i sudske institucije, kao i konkurentnija ekonomija i pristup jednom većem tržištu robe. (*Blic*, 21 Feb 2007)
(There is certainly no easy way to fulfil the Copenhagen criteria. There are no shortcuts. However, for those who persevere, the award which waits *at the end of*

the road is a strong democratic and judicial institution as well as a competitive economy and access to a large goods market.)

Serbia's reaching the Schengen White List is an integral part of the final goal – that of reaching the full EU membership. Heavy and long journey will eventually pay off, as suggested by example (35), since there is an award waiting for us at the end of this journey. The journey is, therefore, set off due to socially worthwhile reasons, which attributes to a wide usage of the JOURNEY metaphorical scenario for the conceptualisation of this political process, since the political decisions, policies and concessions are rationalised more easily if backed up by a powerful cognitive device – metaphorical JOURNEY to reach a positively evaluated goal.

4. Conclusion

In this paper an attempt has been made to describe, within two theoretical models, the conceptualisation of the visa liberalisation process in Serbian, i.e. Serbia's reaching the Schengen White List, via the JOURNEY metaphor. According to Musolff (2003), “[w]e conceive of and understand complex political problems [...] in terms of specific metaphors which pervade the discourse of both the politicians and the media”. The process of Serbia's arrival on the Schengen White List and its integration into the EU is almost impossible to cognitively express without employing the journey, path, movement, obstacles and destination metaphor themes. The metaphorical scenario of JOURNEY, therefore, has led in Serbian to “a particular kind of transient discourse systematicity, which is linked to a particular political initiative or event” (Semino 2008: 117). Once that initiative or event “are no longer topical, the metaphorical systematicity also weakens” (Semino 2008: 117). Future political and social activities in Serbia as well as the research of discourses which reflect them, will show whether the notion of the EU accession in Serbian public discourse will be conceptualised via the metaphors of *steps*, *obstacles*, *insurmountable ascents* and *ring roads*, or if the social reality will offer more positive cognitive solutions which will appear *after* or *if* Serbia eventually enters the EU. For the time being, however, the JOURNEY metaphor, despite the revoking of visas, is still framing the discourse of the EU accession in Serbia.

Notes

- i The paper is the result of research conducted within project no. 178002 *Languages and cultures across space and time* funded by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia.
- ii “At last, Serbs win passport to freedom” by Vesna Perić Zimonjić, *The Independent*, 19 Dec 2009.
- iii For a detailed account of metaphors used in political discourse of contemporary Serbia see Silaški et al. (2009) and Đurović and Silaški (2010).
- iv The sources of the examples (the name of the media and the date of publication) will be indicated in each individual example.

- v Henceforth, metaphorical expressions in the examples will be *italicised*.
- vi SSP stands for Sporazum o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju 'Stabilisation and Association Agreement'.

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