

**SWEETHEART DEALS, WILDCAT STRIKES AND OTHER
DANGEROUS THINGS* – METAPHORICAL
REPRESENTATIONS OF ALITALIA'S BAILOUT AND
PRIVATIZATION IN THE BRITISH, US AMERICAN AND
ITALIAN PRESS**

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Sabrina Fusari

Department of Literature, Linguistics and Philology, University of Trento
via Santa Croce 65, 38122 Trento, Italy
E-mail: sabrina.fusari@unitn.it

Abstract. *The article describes a corpus study of the metaphors used in the representation of the bankruptcy and privatization of the Italian airline Alitalia in a number of Italian, British and US American newspapers between August 2008 and January 2009. Firstly, we provide some background to the bailout and privatization of Alitalia and the way it was represented in the media; secondly, we expound our methodology for locating metaphors in corpora; finally, we illustrate some metaphorical expressions and collocations that may reveal hidden ideologies. The results show that the nature and frequency of metaphors is similar across the corpora, but there is significant difference in the range of lexical items that instantiate them.*

Key words: *metaphors, corpora, newspaper discourse, Alitalia, Italian, English*

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the metaphors used in the media representation of the financial crisis, bankruptcy, bailout and privatization of the Italian airline Alitalia between August 2008 and January 2009, the period of time which coincided with Alitalia's process of bankruptcy and acquisition by CAI, a private consortium of Italian investors. The study relies on three specialized newspaper corpora assembled from a number of Italian (*Re-*

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pubblica, Corriere della Sera), British (*Guardian, Times, Financial Times*) and US American (*New York Times, Washington Post*) newspapers. The corpora contain all the articles published in the on-line versions of the selected newspapers about Alitalia's crisis, bankruptcy, bailout and privatization in the identified period.

Before providing some background information on Alitalia, and going on to illustrate our analysis of the corpora, some brief comments should be made about the central role of metaphors in shaping not only our thoughts and ideologies, but also events and material processes. As cognitive metaphor theory has shown since the groundbreaking work of Lakoff & Johnson (1980), metaphors do not just "embellish" language, nor are they simply alternative ways to express concepts that might as well have been encoded literally: in fact, as several studies have shown, "metaphors are used quite unconsciously much of the time, but nevertheless structure the way we think and act" (Goatly 2007: 35). Metaphors thus represent an extremely interesting testing ground for exploring the relationship between language, reality, and thought, both within the same language, and across different languages (Steen 2009: 8-10); one very promising possibility to perform this kind of analysis consists in looking at the ways in which the same conceptual metaphors¹ are used and instantiated in quite different lexical expressions in two or more languages.

Metaphor's key role in shaping not only the way we speak and write, but also the way we think, should immediately clarify its crucial role in shaping ideologies. While it is debatable whether communication in general, and newspaper discourse in particular, can ever be free of ideology, as Fairclough (1995: 12) states, "the ideological work of media language includes particular ways of representing the world ..., particular constructions of social identities ..., and particular constructions of social relations". More precisely, Fairclough (and, with him, some of the main exponents of Critical Discourse Analysis, or CDA) believes that "ideology should not be seen as a constant, predictable presence in all media discourse by definition" (1995: 47), although it may be argued that all media texts (and indeed, *all* texts) are in some way ideological, insofar as they are a product of the contextual configuration in which they are written and published, including the set of ideas and beliefs that the authors adhere to, consciously or, in many cases, *unconsciously*. In fact,

"neutrality", "balance" and "reliability", as so conceived, in no way eliminate the ultimately subjective and ideologically determined basis of ... news items. Ideological position and rhetorical purpose will determine which sources are deemed reliable and hence quoted, which opinions and versions of events are selected for inclusion, which claims are emphasised and given textual prominence, and so on (White 2000: 382).

Therefore, in the study of newspaper language, a more challenging question to ask than "is/are this/ these text/s ideological?" is "which are the linguistic features that contribute to shaping ideology in this text, and why?". The question is daunting, and

¹ Although not all metaphors are universal across different languages, and most research in this field has actually concentrated on English, comparative studies have shown that crosslinguistic studies can yield useful results in order to understand how metaphorical thought works, see e.g. Knowles & Moon 2006: 79-89; Goatly 2007: 215-279.

probably impossible for the linguist to answer fully; however, identifying and studying metaphors that can be found consistently across a wide range of newspaper texts, and discovering how these same metaphors are encoded in different lexical items may be a step in the right direction.

2. BACKGROUND

The time frame selected for this analysis (August 2008-January 2009) coincides with Alitalia's bankruptcy, government bailout and acquisition by CAI (Compagnia Aerea Italiana/ Italian Airline), a consortium of Italian investors coming from different fields of the Italian business and finance community. However, Alitalia's financial crisis dates back to much earlier than 2008². CAI itself was incorporated in 2004, although it updated its corporate charter and began negotiations to buy Alitalia only in 2008, after Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi had called on Italian investors to give their contribution to keeping Alitalia Italian, thus preventing acquisition by foreign carriers (most notably Air France/ KLM). For this reason, CAI is generally considered, not only by the man in the street, but also by the mass media, to be a "new" business consortium created in 2008³. In fact Alitalia, which was 49.9% state-owned, had been under severe financial strains since the mid-1990s, mainly due to the entrance of low-cost airlines into the air traffic market, as well as political interference and shortcomings in its industrial plan. However, it was only in 2008 that the Italian government, faced with the flag carrier's imminent bankruptcy, which became official in August 2008, discarded Air France/ KLM's offer to buy and reorganize Alitalia, and decided to sell its "good assets" (defined with the false Anglicism "good company" in the Italian news) to an Italian company. This company also acquired the second main Italian air carrier, the struggling private airline Air One, whereas the liabilities ("bad company" in the Italian press) were left under the administration of a government-appointed special commissioner, being effectively assumed by the government (and, as a consequence, by taxpayers).

One major point of controversy in the run-up to Alitalia's bankruptcy was connected with a 300-million euro state "bridge loan" ("prestito ponte") which the government extended to the airline in May 2008 to keep it operational. The expression used by the Prime Minister to solicit the Italian business community's contribution ("mettere una fiche per mantenere la compagnia di bandiera italiana", literally translatable as "to put in a chip to maintain the Italian flag carrier") is also worthy of attention, due to the clear presence of a casino metaphor. The name of the rescue plan devised for Alitalia by advisor bank Intesa-Sanpaolo, "Piano Fenice" ("Phoenix plan"), also contains a metaphor, in this case referring to the mythological bird that burns itself and rises again from its own ashes⁴: we shall return to this point in the following pages. For the time being, just a quick look at the expressions we have seen so far should immediately clarify that metaphors play a crucial role in the framing of the Alitalia crisis, and are thus worth investigating in depth.

² For an overview of the history of Alitalia and its decline, see Cuccuini 2007; De Blasi & Gnesutta 2009; Gazzoli & Staccioli 2009; Giuricin 2009.

³ To the best of our knowledge, the only large-audience news programme that has given prominence to CAI's story prior to the acquisition of Alitalia is the current affairs programme *Report*, directed by journalist Milena Gabanelli and broadcast on the national public network RAI on October 12, 2008.

⁴ The same metaphor was used in 2001 to refer to the merger between Swissair and Crossair (Gazzoli 2010).

3. METHODOLOGY

This study represents the second step in a multi-year project (Fusari 2010 and forthcoming) on the use of Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies, or CADS (as defined by Partington 2003; 2006; 2008; Partington et al. 2004) to investigate media discourse. The bailout and privatization of Alitalia was chosen as a case study to test the potential of corpora for a comparative analysis of the media representation of the same news story in the Italian, British, and US American press. In fact, Alitalia's crisis has been so long and widely covered, at least in Italy, that it represents a typical case of a news story which would be almost impossible to study by performing a manual close reading of all the articles that were published on this subject by the national and international press. Using a corpus makes it possible to analyze a much larger amount of data, while at the same time reducing the role of the researchers' discretionality in selecting the language aspects that are most worthy of analysis. The features that the project has analyzed so far (frequent content words and metaphors in all three corpora; Anglicisms in the Italian corpus) have actually been selected on the basis of wordlists and keyword lists extracted automatically with concordancing software⁵. The fundamental reason for not committing to any hypothesis *a priori* is that although "in most cases you find (or do not find) only those features that you look for" (Garzone & Santulli 2004: 366) in corpora, it is of paramount importance to let the texts speak, especially when analyzing controversial news events, whose comprehension is "dependent on the emotional distance on the part of the listener" (Wodak 1996: 112). A bottom-up approach, starting from the data, seems to be the most promising to produce reliable results, in line with previous research of the same nature.

The corpora used for this study were compiled by downloading and storing all the articles published in the on-line versions of the selected newspapers about the Alitalia crisis, bailout and privatization in the identified period: the articles were found and retrieved by typing the word "Alitalia" in the digital archive section of each of the newspapers. The Italian corpus includes 569 news items, or 322,275 word tokens; the English one contains 149 articles (80 in the American section and 69 in the British section), or 66,880 word tokens (30,663 in the American section and 36,217 in the British one). As the figures illustrate, although there are more articles about the Alitalia crisis in the US American newspapers, the British articles are longer. Therefore, both varieties of English seem to be quite well represented in the corpora, although a direct comparison with the Italian corpus is not possible due to the significant difference in dimensions, which obviously reflects the much greater relevance of Alitalia's crisis and privatization in Italy as opposed to Britain and the United States⁶. For control purposes, especially in view of the extraction of keywords (Fusari, forthcoming), two reference corpora (one in English and one in Italian) were built by collecting articles from the same newspapers, published during the same time span under analysis, excluding news items that contained the word "Alitalia". The reference corpora are of the same size (in terms of word tokens taken from each of the analyzed newspaper) of the Alitalia corpora.

⁵ Antconc 3.2.1, developed by Laurence Anthony at Waseda University, Tokyo (<http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html>), is a freeware concordance program for Windows, Macintosh, and Linux, which can perform the most widely used functions offered by commercial concordancers (Concord, Wordlist, Keyword). Antconc is presented as "ideal for individuals, schools or colleges with a limited budget" (Anthony 2004: 7), despite its limitations in the processing of large scale corpora and in the handling of HTML/XML tags (ibidem: 11-12), and absence of statistical analysis tools, a drawback shared by other non-commercial concordancers (Diniz 2005: 26).

⁶ On the influence of news values for newsworthiness and selection, see Bell 1991; Fowler 1991; Bednarek 2006: 16-18.

4. DATA AND DISCUSSION

Locating metaphors in corpora is known to be a complex issue for which several different methodologies, ranging from manual to automatic, have been developed (e.g. Cameron & Low 1999; Charteris-Black 2004; Pragglejaz Group 2007; Rayson 2008); scholars have also suggested a variety of ways in which these methodologies can be used or adapted to the characteristics of the corpora in use and the aims of particular research projects (e.g. Koller 2002; Skorczynska & Deignan 2006; Philip 2008; 2009; Taylor 2008; Bowker 2009; Skorczynska 2010). However, as Deignan & Potter (2004: 1234) note, the advantage offered by corpora to enable researchers to analyze very large amount of data is not completely outweighed by the disadvantage of having to make a "decision about which lexemes to focus on has to be made", insofar as

there is a risk that patterns of potential interest may be missed, a risk which is difficult to avoid completely, because without a vast team of researchers and unlimited time, it is not possible to examine every linguistic realisation of a whole semantic field.

Bearing this caveat in mind, a series of metaphor source domains was identified in the corpora based on their frequent and consistent association with keywords and key word clusters previously extracted through a comparison with reference corpora made with concordancing software, as shown in Table 1 and 2 below⁷. The lexical items that represent the targets of these metaphors may vary, but they all refer to different aspects of Alitalia, its bankruptcy, bailout and privatization.

Table 1 Source domains of metaphor in the Italian corpus (10 most frequent)

Most frequent source domains of metaphor in Alitalia corpus	Associated lexical items ⁸
WAR	1,167
SPORTS & GAMES	949
HUMAN BODY	701
ROMANCE	350
ROAD	284
FLIGHT	203
THEATRE	158
FORCE OF NATURE	98
TANGLE	80
ANIMAL	52

⁷ Henceforth, data from the British and American corpus are grouped together; metaphors and metaphor domains are indicated in capitals, whereas lexical expressions instantiating metaphors are in lowercase letters. Manual identification of metaphor domains was possible thanks to the relatively small dimensions of the corpora.

⁸ For the purposes of this study, by "lexical items" is meant individual word tokens or repeated multiword expressions.

Table 2 Source domains of metaphor in the British/American corpus (10 most frequent)

Most frequent source domains of metaphor in Alitalia corpus	Associated lexical items
WAR	382
HUMAN BODY	187
FLIGHT	102
ROMANCE	92
ROAD	83
SPORTS & GAMES	43
THEATRE	31
ANIMAL	26
RELIGION	17
FORCE OF NATURE	15

Although most high-frequency source domain metaphor themes are common across the corpora (WAR, SPORTS & GAMES, HUMAN BODY, ROMANCE, ROAD, FLIGHT, THEATRE, ANIMAL, FORCE OF NATURE), there is significant difference in their distribution and in the range of lexical items that instantiate them. For example, the well known metaphor themes of MERGERS AS MARRIAGE and MERGERS AS BATTLES FOR TERRITORY (Koller 2002) are slightly more frequent in the English corpus⁹, but the Italian one displays a much wider array of lexical expressions associated with them.

ROMANCE (Table 3 and 4) is typically portrayed as occurring between the "new" Alitalia and its international partner (ironically, Air France/ KLM, the same airline whose offer the government had originally turned down):

Table 3 ROMANCE source domain in the Italian corpus

Lexical items associated with the ROMANCE source	#
partnership	306
nozze	10
dote	9
matrimonio	7
amore	6
sposare	4
corteggiamento	3
luna di miele	3
abbraccio	2
Total	350

⁹ The ROMANCE source domain occurs 1.1 times per thousand words in the Italian corpus and 1.4 times per thousand in the English one; the WAR source domain appears 3.6 times per thousand words in the Italian corpus and 5.7 times per thousand in the English one.

Table 4 ROMANCE source domain in the British/ American corpus

Lexical items associated with the ROMANCE source	#
partner	88
sweetheart	2
courtship	1
suitor	1
Total	92

One use of the ROMANCE source domain, although its target is not the MERGER with an international airline, but the government's deal with CAI, is the expression "sweetheart deal", used twice by the *Financial Times* in bitter criticism (though indirectly attributed to "critics" of the government bailout plan) of Mr Berlusconi's treatment of Alitalia's sale:

Critics accusing the government of a sweetheart deal point out that several members of the CAI consortium also sit on the board of Banca Leonardo (Dinmore 2008c).

Opposition politicians accuse Silvio Berlusconi, the prime minister, of setting up a sweetheart deal for the Italian consortium, which is in advanced negotiations to sell a 20 per cent stake to Air France-KLM immediately and a controlling stake in the longer term (Dinmore 2008d).

Concerning the source domain of WAR, once again there is much more variety in the lexical items used in the Italian corpus (60 different metaphorical expressions, for a total of 1,167 word tokens in this domain) than in the British/ American one (36 different metaphorical expressions, for a total of 382 tokens in this domain).

One particularly revealing word in the WAR domain in the corpora is "hostile"/ "hostility" ("ostile"/ "ostilità" in Italian): whereas in the English corpus, it is only "takeovers" and "bids" that are represented as "hostile", in the Italian corpus these collocations never occur, and it is the trade unions, the pilots, and the Prime Minister that are represented as being "ostili" towards each other.

This seems to reflect a different idea of the kind of WAR that is being waged according to the Italian and British/ American press: the former sees it quite literally as a "battaglia sindacale [trade union battle]/ ideologica [ideological]/ politica [political]" (most notably in defence of the role of Malpensa airport in Milan), whereas the latter sees it as a battle "for a stake in the Italian airline Alitalia", in what is a much more economic representation of this conflict. References to politics and the trade unions as parties involved in this WAR are not entirely missing in the British/ American corpus as well, as the context of use of the items "stronghold" and "rank and file" clearly reveals:

Lufthansa could be more attractive for the government because of its plans to develop Malpensa airport in Milan, a stronghold of the Northern League, which is a key member of the country's coalition government (Dinmore 2008a).

To crack the last socialist stronghold would definitely allow Italy to join other western economies, commented Fernando Napolitano, managing director at consultancy Booz & Co Italy (Dinmore 2008b).

The leadership of the four unions still has to win over the rank and file, and bring on board the crucial pilot and cabin crew unions (Brothers 2008).

CGIL leader Guglielmo Epifani urged the pilots and flight attendant unions, who were meeting with their rank-and-file at Rome's Leonardo da Vinci airport, to sign off on the plan (Barry & D'Emilio 2008).

A striking difference in both frequency and variety of metaphorical expressions can be detected as far as the SPORTS & GAMES source domain is concerned. In the Italian corpus, there are 22 different metaphorical expressions, for a total of 949 word tokens in this domain (2.9 per thousand words), as against 9 different metaphorical expressions, for a total of 43 tokens in this domain 0.6 per thousand words) in the British/ American corpus (see Table 5 and 6):

Table 5 SPORTS & GAMES source domain in the Italian corpus

Lexical items associated with the SPORTS & GAMES source	#
cordata	250
rilancio	153
gioco	143
partita	103
campo (di gioco)	61
sfida	52
gioco di carte	30
pressing	29
corsa	26
tifo	22
pista	16
braccio di ferro	15
dare il via	14
pole position	11
caccia	6
scacchi	4
gol	3
rimpallo	3
colpo basso	2
altalena	2
roulette russa	2
rebus	2
Total	949

Table 6 SPORTS & GAMES source domain in the British/ American corpus

Lexical items associated with the SPORTS & GAMES source	#
moves (as in chess or draught games)	17
race	5
front runner	4
riding (as in horse riding)	4
hunt	4
balk	3
hurdle	2
contest	2
gamble	2
Total	43

These findings are in line with Semino & Masci's (1996) argument that sports metaphors (especially football ones), together with war and religion metaphors, play a key role in the communication strategies used by Mr Berlusconi's government to gain and maintain consensus. In fact, religious metaphors are more frequent in the British and American corpora (0.25 per thousand words as against 0.15 in Italian), but once again, the lexical variety is much higher in the Italian corpus (Table 7 and 8):

Table 7 RELIGION source domain in the Italian corpus

Lexical items associated with the RELIGION source	#
miracolo	21
risurrezione	4
santo	4
battesimo	3
fedè	3
sacro	3
limbo	3
ascensione	2
benedizione	2
profezia	2
missione	2
Total	49

Table 8 RELIGION source domain in the British/ American corpus

Lexical items associated with the RELIGION source	#
doom	7
vow	7
miracle	3
Total	17

Regardless of any considerations about frequency, which would probably not hold much water with such small numbers, it is immediately evident that the use of heavily

connotated lexical items like "miracle", "resurrection", "faith", "holy", and "blessing" have a very strong impact on the Italian readership. In addition, the "miracle" being discussed (Alitalia's bailout plan) is openly ridiculed in the English corpus, whereas it typically occurs in quotations from governmental sources ("Faremo un miracolo"/ "we will make a miracle") in the Italian one, as shown in the following example:

Wanted (make that needed): a billionaire sugar daddy (make that daddies), a compliant European Commission, a new bankruptcy law, a foreign partner, lower oil prices, and all of it right now. In short, a miracle. Madonna! Although Silvio Berlusconi has promised exactly that, at the 59th minute of the 11th hour, the fate of Alitalia hangs on a thread (Anonymous, *Financial Times Lex Column* 2008a).

The Italian corpus does not contain any sarcastic comments comparable with this (apart from an article in *Corriere della Sera* reporting on the *Financial Times'* article quoted above, Anonymous 2008b), but it is not entirely free of ironical uses of religious metaphors, as in one reference to "Sant'Intesa" ("Saint Intesa", referring to Banca Intesa-Sanpaolo, the government bank advisor that had devised Alitalia's rescue plan, and subsequently became one of its shareholders). Criticism towards "i grandi annunci su miracoli e sulle soluzioni miracolistiche fatti dal governo" (the government's big announcements of miracles and miracle-making solutions) can also be detected in other concordances.

Further references to the metaphysical dimension can be found in the source domain of MYTHOLOGY, which is almost absent from the British/ American corpus (the only reference being to the myth of the Phoenix, overtly quoting Intesa-Sanpaolo's "Piano Fenice"), but exactly as frequent as the RELIGION domain in the Italian corpus (see Table 9):

Table 9 MYTHOLOGY source domain in the Italian corpus

Lexical items associated with the RELIGION source	#
Fenice	10
(in lotta contro un) colosso	19
Odissea	9
Arianna (filo di)	4
mito	3
Pandora (Vaso di)	2
titano	2
Total	49

These, together with literary representations that occur in the corpus ("capitani coraggiosi", referring to Rudyard Kipling's *Captains Courageous*, and "pasticciaccio brutto", referring to Carlo Emilio Gadda's novel *Quer pasticciaccio brutto de via Merulana*), contribute to creating an impression of Alitalia's bailout as a saga in which much is at stake as concerns Italian national pride. This is further confirmed by the undoubted importance of the representation of Alitalia as a symbol of the "homeland" (De Cillia et al. 1999) in the Italian corpus, as shown in Table 10:

Table 10 References to the concept of "homeland" in the Italian corpus

<i>ALITALIA AS...</i>	#
italianità	62
tricolore	27
patria	22
nazione	9
bandiera (excluding fixed expressions related to "compagnia di bandiera")	19
frontiera	4
Piave ¹⁰	3
Total	146

This heavily nationalistic language occurs in the English corpus as well, but much less frequently, and in consistent reference to the journalists' sources (especially politicians); only rarely is it used outside of a quotation or in absence of *verba dicendi* referred to the sources themselves, as shown in the following examples:

Berlusconi made defence of the Italianità (Italianness) of the economy a centrepiece of his successful campaign to be re-elected this year (Hooper 2008).

The end of the talks spells doom for a carrier that has been a proud national symbol of Italy for more than six decades, flying the Italian tricolour, but which has suffered from chronic labour disputes and mismanagement, aggravated more recently by crippling fuel costs (Owen 2008).

The commissioner, Augusto Fantozzi, met Pope Benedict at Rome airport as the pontiff was on his way to visit the Lourdes shrine in France, and asked him to pray for the airline which for many Italians is seen as a symbol of the nation (Reuters 2008, reported in *The Guardian*)

5. CONCLUSION

For obvious reasons of space, this article has concentrated just on a selection of the metaphor themes that appear in the corpora. However, a complete analysis of all the metaphors that have been identified as being the most frequently used to portray the crisis, bankruptcy, bailout and privatization of Alitalia (see Table 1 and 2) proves that the patterns highlighted in the discussion above are actually generalizable to the corpora: in fact, there is a widespread tendency for the frequency of metaphor themes to be quite similar throughout

¹⁰ The Piave river, located in the Veneto region of North-Eastern Italy, is a typical patriotic symbol because it coincided with the Italian front line during the First World War, and it was the scene of the decisive victory of the Italian army against the Austrian-Hungarian Empire in 1918.

the corpora, and for the variety of metaphorical expressions to be greater in the Italian corpus. The only noteworthy exception is the domain of FLIGHT, which displays almost the same number of different metaphorical expressions in both corpora (14 in Italian and 16 in English), and more than twice as many tokens per thousand words in English as in the Italian corpus (1.5 per thousand in English as against 0.6 in Italian). The lexical items used in this domain in the English corpus seem to reflect the English and American newspapers' view of Alitalia as a company that is artificially "kept afloat" and "salvaged from a wreck" that would not have been avoidable without considerable state aid.

The ANIMAL source domain is also worth quoting in conclusion, as it represents a particularly clear example of the greater variety of lexical expressions that are used in the Italian corpus to instantiate the same metaphor domain: the British/ American corpus only has "wildcat" (20 occurrences, all obviously referred to strikes), "hived off", "white elephant" and "watchdog", whereas the Italian corpus refers to a surprisingly vast array of animal metaphors, all chosen for the stereotypical characteristics they are associated with in the Italian language and culture, "aquila"/ eagle; "colomba"/ dove; "falco"/ hawk; "farfalla"/ butterfly; "gallina (dalle uova d'oro)"/ (golden eggs) hen; "gatto"/ "gattino"/ cat/ kitten; "lupo"/ wolf; "mosca"/ fly; "pesci/ pesciolini"/ fish/ goldfish; "porco"/ hog; "tigre"/ tiger; "vacca"/ cow; "topo"/ mouse¹¹.

The greater lexical variety in the expression of metaphor themes in the Italian corpus may be explained on two levels: firstly, as a direct consequence of the greater involvement of Italian journalists in this news story, which was seen by many as an issue of national pride; secondly, the wide variety of metaphorical expressions is probably a reflection of the discourse produced by Italian politicians between 2008 and 2009 about Alitalia, on which the journalists were reporting. A question that would be fascinating – and, at the same time, disturbing – to answer in view of further research is why many Italians, journalists included, actually saw the acquisition of Italy's flag airline by another carrier (an event that is far from rare in the domain of civil aviation) as a true matter of national pride.

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¹¹ Concerning an animal metaphor (MAN IS WOLF), with its associated commonplaces, Ricoeur ([1975] 2003: 104) concludes that "this evocation of a system of associations seems truly to constitute a creative activity". In other words, resorting to living metaphors that are still very much perceived by the public as such contributes to conveying a new image of the target, effectively working as a "'poem in miniature' which has the power to transfigure reality" (Jervolino 2007: 46).

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POSLOVI ZAKLJUČENI TOKOM ZALJUBLJENOSTI, DIVLJI ŠTRAJKOVI I OSTALE STRAŠNE STVARI - METAFORIČNO PREDSTAVLJANJE SPASAVANJA ALITALIJE I NJENA PRIVATIZACIJA U AMERIČKOJ I ITALIJANSKOJ ŠTAMPI

Sabrina Fusari

Poslovi zaključeni tokom zaljubljenosti, divlji štrajkovi i ostale strašne stvari - metaforično predstavljanje spasavanja Alitalije i njena privatizacija u američkoj i italijanskoj štampi. Ovaj rad opisuje korpus metafora koje su korišćene prilikom bankrotiranja i privatizacije italijanske državne kompanije Alitalia i izvesnom broju italijanskih, britanskih i američkih novinskih izvora u periodu između avgusta 2008. i januara 2009. Prvo se objašnjava kontekst otkupa Alitalije i njena privatizacija, kao i način na koji je taj proces opisivao u medijima. Potom se objašnjava metodologija traženja metafora u korpusima i materijalima, i konačno se ilustruju metaforičke kolokacije i izrazi koji mogu ukazivati na skrivene ideologije. Dobijeni rezultati pokazuju da su priroda i učestanost metafora koji su slični u ovim korpusima, i pokazuju se značajne razlike u leksici kojom se procesi objašnjavaju.

Ključne reči: *metafore, korpusi, novinski diskurs, Alitalija, italijanski jezik, engleski jezik*