Word Field Analysis
Using the Example of
Russian and German
Sports Metaphors in
Political Language

is thinking about

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In this contribution, it is argued that the politicians use sport terms to force various ideas and concepts on other people. The article aims to analyze sports metaphors in the Russian and German political language. The sports metaphors are classified into three types based on their meanings, subjected to components analysis and finally characterized according to their functions.

#### 1. Introduction

he vocabulary from the field of play and sport is common in everyday political life in general as well as in the description and explanation of political events and developments in particular (Schieder 2016: 390).

The tertium comparationis between the semantically very close fields of politics and sports is the encounter of competitive and antagonistic individuals or groups with purposeful action. Burkhardt sees a reason for the suitability of sports metaphors in the political language, especially in analogies (Burkhardt 2012: 159).

With the structural element of 'competition', an immediate physical experience is added to the concept of politics, in particular of victory and loss. Küster (2009: 78) goes on to argue that "the use of sports metaphors describes complex political constellations as apparently simply structured, that action strategies can also be established without the author doing so on the actual, political level."

If you fill existing words with your own content, chances are high that your ideas and concepts will be anchored in public consciousness. In Political Linguistics this strategy is referred to as "occupation of concepts" (cf. Klein 2016). The intention of the politicians, however, is, on closer inspection, to enforce not only individual key words, but entire word fields. These are certain conceptual networks with which the political-social world is interpreted, evaluated, and programmatically interwoven (ibid: 607). The purpose of this analysis is, inter alia, to answer the question of what ideas Russian and German politicians aim at evoking in the readers of the political interviews by using sports metaphors. The description of the word fields in both languages also offers the possibility to present the characteristic word field structures of Russian and German sports metaphors.

# 2. Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

The term "word field" was introduced by Jost Trier in 1931. He thus designated a group of meaning-related words of a language whose meanings are mutually limiting and which are intended to completely cover a certain conceptual area. A word field is

understood as a semantically structured word system, which is held together by the feature (noem) common to all lexemes. The members of a word field are distinguished by distinctive semes to the outside – in comparison with other word fields – and within a word system (cf. Henne 1972).

The noem presupposes a common context, i.e. congruence in several content-specific aspects. Therefore, typical actors and elements are common to all lexemes of the word field *Sports*: competitors, criteria such as time, score, points, etc., ranks (the first place, the second one, etc.), victory and prizes/awards, the leader and the winner, etc. (Lavric & Weidacher 2017: 151). Such content-specific aspects are not only standard in sports discourse but also in other domains, such as political texts.

The following categories of sports metaphors are taken into account in word field analysis:

1. **General sports metaphors** are components of the general sports language. They are not perceived as metaphors and easily understood. Thus, such words as *laufen*, *starten*, *schnell*, *Tempo* (to run, to start, fast, speed) represent the metaphorical concept of "politics is

- movement" and are used to talk about political events and not about physical activity.
- 2. Terms with general meaning, which are understood in the political language in the sporting sense, and also appear in the sports language. Similar to general sports metaphors, they update the metaphorical patterns that are accepted at some point in time by the respective community and are sometimes used unconsciously. Lakoff and Johnson refer to such "speech formulas", or "fixedform expressions", or "phrasal lexical items" as "using the normal everyday language appropriate to the situation" (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 51). This group includes words like Ergebnis, gewinnen, verlieren, Leader, Konkurrenz (result, to win, to lose, leader, competition) etc.
- 3. **Sport-specific metaphors** represent bonds from the vocabulary of one or the other kind of sports, but can also be integrated into the standard language as (1) and (2). Thus, the word *Doppelspitze*, which in the football language means "attack point from two forward strikers" (Burkhardt 2006: 78), enters the lan-

guage of politics as the metaphorical designnation of two candidates for election campaigns of a party or coalition and evokes the concept "election campaign is (soccer) game".

The three groups of metaphors will serve as a heuristic device in the following and do not claim to be complete.

As an example of a German-Russian word field analysis, the word field 'result' is suitable, which is based on a variety of dimensions in both the language of politics and sports and which can have different forms and criteria.

The noem of the word field expresses the result of political activity and its characterization by quantitative and / or qualitative parameters.

The component analysis tables below represent two-dimensional matrices. Semes refer to prototypical features that are typical of sporting events as a whole.

## **Description of Semes**

- Under Seme 1, quantitative characteristics fall which you can measure or count.
- Seme 2 implies persons or institutions who act as decision-makers of a result.
- Seme 3 takes deliberately contested competitions for the best performance.
- Seme 4 presupposes something on which (political) action is deliberately directed, and what can be achieved as the desired result.
- **Seme 5** is concerned with efforts to achieve the goal.
- Seme 6 presupposes political cooperation and common goals.
- "+" and "-" indicate whether the respective seme is present or not.

The lexemes of the word field 'result' in German and Russian are analyzed using the presented tools. The meaning of each lexeme is related to context and dictionary information.

# Table 1a Word Field 'Result' / Verbs

Presentation of the semantic features of verbal, adjective and substantive lexemes in the German texts.

### 3. Word Field Analysis in German

While analyzing the German metaphors in the word field 'result', it turned out that word families could also be counted among the members of the field, i.e., words which have a common origin and are grouped around the same noun stem. Although word family and word field are fundamentally differentiated in linguistics, the lexemes of a word family to be analyzed generally also represent meaning-related words since they are connected by at least one common feature.

It is occasionally required (e.g., Löbner 2003: 131) that lexemes belong to a word field of the same word type, but this analysis deviates from this condition in view of the present examples. Methodically, however, the requirement is meaningful because the necessary seme-analysis can only be carried out with words which have approximately the same distribution. In addition, the word

types must be marked to indicate that certain words are comparable in semantic, but not in syntactic terms.

From these considerations and for the sake of clarity, the following outline of the word field in verbs and nouns (plus adjectives) emerged, as shown in Tables 1a and 1b below.

The word field of 'result' consists of the verbs (to) win, (to) score, (to) lose, the nouns success, result, achievement, defeat, point, victory, triumph, value and an adjective successful. All lemmemes share the seme 'goal'. The following political objectives can be read from the texts:

- 1. election victory;
- 2. compulsion of competition;
- recognition in politics, political success (presented as an abstract maxim);
- 4. economic growth in Germany and Europe.

Seme	Seme 1	Seme <sub>2</sub>	Seme <sub>3</sub>	Seme <sub>4</sub>	Seme <sub>5</sub>	Seme <sub>6</sub>
			in the	with		as a
Lexeme	countable	via jurying	competition	target	with effort	team
gewinnen (to win)	+	+	+	+	+	+
punkten (to score)	±	+	+	+	+	+

Seme	Seme <sub>1</sub>	Seme <sub>2</sub>	Seme <sub>3</sub> in the	Seme <sub>4</sub> with	Seme₅	Seme <sub>6</sub> as a
Lexeme	countable	via jurying	competition	target	with effort	team
Erfolg (success)	±	+	+	+	+	+
erfolgreich (successful)	±	-	±	+	+	+
Ergebnis (result)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Leistung (achievement)	-	±	±	+	+	+
Niederlage (defeat)	+	+	+	-	+	±
Punkt (point)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sieg (victory)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Triumph (triumph)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Wert (value)	+	+	+	+	+	+

## Table 1b Word Field 'Result' / Nouns

Presentation of the semantic features of verbal, adjective and substantive lexemes in the German texts.

Special emphasis is placed on the maximum performance in the election campaign; this goal is underpinned by neighboring general sports metaphors and concepts of general importance: Team (team), Teamgeist (team spirit), erringen (to gain), Spitzen(mann), -kandidat (top-man, -kandidat), kämpfen (to fight), an vorderster Stelle (in the lead),

Vorsprung (lead), Kehrtwende (about-turn), die Nummer eins (number one), nach vorne spielen (to play forward), gute Miene zum bösen Spiel machen (to grin and bear it).

Accordingly, e.g. the top candidates and the parties involved in electoral success have special "sporting" qualities:

 Spitzenkandidat ist immer die Nummer eins. Er gibt im Wahlkampf die Richtung vor.
 [Top candidate is always number one. He gives the direction in the election campaign.]  (2) Klare Haltung und nicht Umfallen – mit diesem Stil gewinnt die FDP Wahlen.
 [Clear attitude and not toppling – with this style wins the FDP elections.]

In order to achieve the objective, necessary efforts are to be made, e.g.:

Wir wollen 2013 kein Turnier gewinnen. Politik ist kein Fußballspiel. Wir wollen etwas verändern, und wenn wir das nicht schaffen, braucht es uns nicht. [We do not want to win a tournament in 2013. Politics is not a football game. We want to change something, and if we can not do it, we do not need it.]

Even a defeat at the political level can, according to the opinion of the interviewees, be led by certain political acts:

Frankreich hingegen wollte mit wenigen Ausnahmen mit Low-Cost-Produkten punkten und hat deshalb verloren. [France, on the other hand, wanted to score low-cost products with few exceptions and has therefore lost.]

Similar to sports, working in a team is a fixed factor in politics. This confirms the illustra-

tive width of the seme 'team' within the word field. Political goals and successes can often be achieved only together with others, be they co-workers or opponents:

- (1) Es gibt Sehnsucht nach Teamgeist und Erfolg. An beidem arbeiten wir. [There is a longing for team spirit and success. We work on both.]
- (2) Für die FDP ist es gut, wenn alle nach vorne spielen. Gerade jetzt in schwierigen Zeiten. [It is good for the FDP to play all the way forward. Especially now in difficult times.]
- (3) Es gibt keine Eintracht, sondern den ernsten Willen beider Seiten, aus dem komplizierten Wahlergebnis eine stabile Regierung zu bilden. [There is no harmony, but the serious will of both sides to form a stable government from the complicated election result.]
- (4) Es gibt genügend Themen, wo die Koalitionspartner an einem Strang ziehen und alle davon profitieren können. [There are enough topics that allow the coalition partners to pull on one string for the mutual benefit.]

Necessary efforts to implement the overall objectives are expressed with the help of "we-deictics", whereby the personal involve-

ment of a speaker as a supporter of the state government is implied:

An der roten Linie hat sich nichts geändert: Wir wollen keine Vergemeinschaftung der Schulden, Geld gibt es nur gegen strenge Reformen, und die Leistungsfähigkeit Deutsch-lands darf nicht überfordert werden.

[Nothing has changed in the red line: we do not want a communitarization of debts, there is money only against strict reforms, and the efficiency of Germany must not be overburdened.]

The competitive situations mentioned in the speeches imply, firstly, the fight for the votes of the voters and, secondly, the economic competition. The following sports metaphors occur in this context: verlieren, konkurrenzfähig, Fairness auf beiden Seiten, die rote Linie, aufs Spiel setzen, auf dem Spiel stehen (to lose, competitive, fairness on both sides, the red line, to put at stake, to be at stake).

As explicit or implicit assessors, party members, voting, rating agencies, researches and interviewees themselves appear. This refers to:

(A) evaluation of the politicians:

Dirk Niebel ist durch enorme Leistungen in der Entwicklungspolitik weit über die Parteigrenzen hinaus anerkannt.
[Dirk Niebel is recognized by his achievements in development policy far beyond the limits of the party.]

(B) assessment of party-politics activity:

Und zweitens steht ein Ergebnis der Bundestagswahl schon jetzt fest: Diese Regierung wird nicht wiedergewählt, das sagen alle Umfragen. [And secondly, one result of the Bundestag election is already certain: this government is not re-elected, according to all polls.]

(C) reference to other EU countries:

Wir haben eine grundsätzliche Sympathie für die Linie des britischen Premiers David Cameron: Fairness auf beiden Seiten, Neuverhandlungen und anschließend eine Volksabstimmung über das Ergebnis. [We fundamentally agree with the line of British Prime Minister David Cameron: fairness on both sides, renegotiations and then referendum on the outcome.]

It is also necessary to ensure that politicians spontaneously slip into various roles in their judging passages, e.g.

1. an arbitrator based on measurable performance assessments:

Wenn wir schon über "Punkte" reden, dann schauen wir uns doch mal die Prozentpunkte an: 35 Prozent für die CDU/CSU und drei oder vier Prozent für die FDP sind bei einer Wahl zu wenig "Punkte", um zu regieren.
[If we are already talking about "points", let's look at the percentage points: 35 percent for the CDU / CSU and three or four percent for the FDP are too few "points" in a poll to form a government.]

2. that of an official who, on the basis of his observation, makes a judgment:

Damals hat Philipp Rösler ein überragendes Ergebnis erhalten, das war außergewöhnlich. Diesmal wird er ein gutes Ergebnis bekommen.
[At that time Philipp Rösler received an outstanding result, which was extraordinary. This time he will get a good result.]

3. the trainer:

Er wollte an seinen Ergebnissen gemessen werden und das tue ich. Und die sind nun mal äußerst mager.
[He wanted to be measured by his results and I do. And they are now extremely lean.]

4. a team player:

Deshalb müssen wir die letzten Tage nutzen, um den knappen Vorsprung auszubauen. Ich bin nach vielen Veranstaltungen und Begegnungen in den letzten Wochen in Niedersachsen ganz zuversichtlich, dass wir gewinnen und Stephan Weil Ministerpräsident wird. [That is why we have to take advantage of the last few days to expand the narrow lead. After many events and meetings in the last few weeks, I am very confident that we are going to win and Stephan Weil is going to be Prime Minister.]

The quantifiability of the word field members is expressed in percentage parameters:

Sieben Prozent in der Wählergunst sind für uns ein grandioser Wert.

[Seven percent of the votes are a great value for us.]

Non-measurable indicators, e.g. 'Success' expresses qualitative assessments that can be subject to a subjective assessment:

Ich habe als Gesundheitsminister gegen den Landärztemangel, für Demenzkranke und mit dem Wegfall der Praxisgebühr Erfolge erzielt. Erfolge, mit denen wir vor Ort punkten.

[As a health minister, I have succeeded in combating the drought, the dementia and the abolition of the practice fee. Successes with which we score on site.]

The lexeme 'successful' is most often used in the context of the verb *to reign* and represents as well as 'success' non-countable values:

(1) Wir haben 20 Monate lang mit den Grünen erfolgreich regiert, das wollen wir fortsetzen [...].

[We have successfully reigned with the Greens for 20 months, which we want to continue [...].]

(2) Wir waren zu erfolgreich, sind in zu kurzer Zeit zu schnell gewachsen.

{We were too successful, have grown too fast in too short a time.]

The relationship between the lexemes 'result', 'point', 'triumph', 'success' and 'victory' is the relationship of partial synonymy, namely free variation, that is, interchangeability in given contexts, with no significant difference in meaning.

Lexemes which form antonymic pairs also enter into the word field: to win - to lose, victory / triumph - defeat.

## 4. Word Field Analysis in Russian

The word field in the result form the nouns (see Tables 2a and 2b) point, achievement, evaluation, points, win, winner, index, defeat, result, record, records-man, score, success, champion, an adjective record and verbs to win and to lose.

From the text corpus, the following goals can be pointed out, to which the concrete political action (namely political efforts) should be directed:

# Table 2a Word Field 'Result' / Verbs

Representation of the semantic features of verbal, adjective and noun lexemes in the Russian texts.

- 1. election victory;
- top ranking in a rating of colleges and universities, schools, federation bodies, politicians and states;
- effective implementation of state programs and initiatives (for example, development of the real estate market, promotion of science, etc.);
- 4. school performance (e.g., good school leaving certificate).

The sports character of the goals to be achieved and the efforts made for them are "flanked" by general sports metaphors, terms with general meaning and sport-specific metaphors: быстрый / прорывный / слабый результат (fast / penetrating / weak result), пятерка лидеров (first five), занять первое место (to take first place), высокое место в таблице (high place in the table), рекордный показатель (record parameters),

победа (victory), снизить планку (to lower the bar), соперник (fighter), аутсайдер (outsider).

Specifically, this is about the election victory. To have good chances in an election campaign, the candidates must be "good players" ("хорошие игроки") who have "great weight" ("большой вес").

The political success requires sustained efforts for the interviewed persons, e.g.:

Мы готовимся к новой ситуации, мы ее изучаем, понимая, что нельзя только выигрывать. Так не бывает в политике. А когда проигрываешь, надо извлекать из этого уроки, исправлять ошибки и выигрывать.

[We are preparing for the new situation; we are studying it, knowing that you can not only win. There is no such thing in politics. And if you lose, you have to draw conclusions, correct mistakes and win.]

Seme	Seme <sub>1</sub>	Seme <sub>2</sub>	Seme <sub>3</sub> in the	Seme <sub>4</sub> with	Seme <sub>5</sub>	Seme <sub>6</sub> as a
Lexeme	countable	via jurying	competition	target	with effort	team
выиграть (to win)	±	+	±	+	+	±
побеждать / победить (to win)	±	+	±	+	+	+
проиграть / продуть (to lose)	±	+	±	-	±	±

Seme	Seme <sub>1</sub>	Seme <sub>2</sub>	Seme <sub>3</sub> in the	Seme₄ with	Seme₅	Seme <sub>6</sub>
Lexeme	countable	via jurying	competition	target	with effort	team
балл (point, mark)	+	+	±	+	+	-
достижение (achievement)	+	+	-	+	+	-
оценка (evaluation)	±	+	+	+	+	-
очко (point)	±	+	+	+	+	±
победа (win, victory) победитель	±	+	±	+	+	+
(winner)	-	±	+	+	+	±
показатель (index, parameter)	+	+	-	+	+	-
поражение (defeat)	±	±	±	-	±	+
пункт (point)	-	-	-	+	+	-
результат (result)	±	±	±	+	+	±
рекорд (record)	+	+	-	+	+	+
рекордсмен	-	+	-	±	-	-
(recordsman)						
рекордный (record)	+	+	-	+	+	±
счет (score)	+	+	±	+	+	+
успех (success)	±	+	±	+	+	±
чемпион (champion)	-	+	-	+	+	±

# Table 2b Word Field 'Result' / Nouns

Representation of the semantic features of verbal, adjective and noun lexemes in the Russian texts.

Required activities are expected either by the state and / or government institutions or concrete people (e.g., teachers). Often, however, the impersonal predicative "надо" (one must) is used:

Надо идти к избирателю, убеждать его и получать поддержку. [You have to go to the voters, convince them and get their support.]

The politicians are also expressing the reasons or "efforts" that can lead to a political defeat. Often, the sporty character is conveyed in the statements thanks to the neighboring sports concepts, e.g.:

Если суетиться и пытаться добиться быстрого псевдоуспеха, это может оказаться большим поражением для страны.

[If you run through and try to achieve a quick pseudo-success, it can be a big defeat for the country.]

The sports sense of the seme 'effort' is not infrequently highlighted in the interplay of the seme 'team':

И грех российским ученым, российским производственникам, российской экономике и науке не воспользоваться этим ресурсом, чтобы на почве взаимовыгодного сотрудничества

вместе не достичь прорывных результатов.

[And that would be a sin for Russian scientists, Russian workers, the Russian economy and science, not to use this resource to achieve breakthrough results as a result of mutually beneficial cooperation.]

All countable lexemes except "пункт" and "счет" imply ratings that can be expressed in rubles, percentages, notes, and other indexes, e.g.:

В прошлом году по всей стране введено около 83 млн кв. м. жилья, это рекордный показатель с советских времен.

[Last year 83 million square meters of living space were imported nationwide, which is the record number since Soviet times.]

"Пункт" and "счет" refer to qualitative and abstract values, which unfortunately can not always be clearly deciphered from the context:

(1) По всей России объявили: "Самые амбициозные и самые способные начальники управлений университетов, проректоры, приходите, обучайтесь и сможете получить новый пункт для своего личностного развития".

[All over the nation, it was announced: "The most ambitious and learned university leaders and prorectors come and train you, and you can get a new point for your self development".]

(2) Счет потихонечку растет в нашу пользу.

The jury is chaired by "independent experts", ministries or heads of regional party departments. Thus, the Ministry of Education and Science calls for and promotes the competition among universities, taking the role of an arbitrator by defining criteria of evaluation:

[The result is slowly falling in our favor.]

"Они получат свои дополнительные критерии оценки, разработанные при участии профильных министерств,— заявил "Ъ" господин Климов.— Так, Министерство культуры уже предложило два таких показателя. Вопервых, оценивать, как абитуриенты

сдали творческие экзамены. Вовторых, смотреть, насколько хорошо вузы участвуют в творческих мероприятиях, концертах и спектаклях".

["They [the specialized educational institutions – E.P.] get their own additional criteria of evaluation, which were worked out under the assistance of the ministries of the ministry, – said Mr Klimov. In the first place, one assesses how the students took the artistic examinations. Secondly, one sees how the universities participate in art events, concerts and performances ".]

The lexemes оценка (evaluation) and показатель (parameters) are used as meaning-related words to emphasize the sporting character of education policy.

In the interviews, the following are meant as competitive situations: the election campaign, the competition of the best educational institutions and authorities as well as their leaders:

Ведомства должны конкурировать между собой не за расходы, за долю бюджетного пирога, как это сейчас происходит, а за качественное наполнение программ, их

результативность при более эффективном использовании бюджетных ресурсов.

[The offices do not have to compete with one another to spend a portion of the budget cake, but the quality of the programs, their effectiveness in the more efficient use of budget resources.]

For other lexemes it is about an individual fight for the best performance. In most cases, school performance is discussed in this context:

Если бы планку не снизили, то из-за низких баллов по русскому языку аттестат бы не получили 4% школьников.

[If the bar were not lowered, 4% of the students would not get the school leaving certificate because of low grades in the Russian language.]

All members of the field are in semantic opposition to each other since they have at least one different seme. The members of the word-field which express a valuation (балл, пункт, очко, достижение, оценка, показатель, результат), can be used in

everyday speech in a meaningful way. The word field includes such antonyms as победа – поражение (victory – defeat), победить – проиграть (to win – to lose). The semes are not discrete within the field, but are congruent with other fields (e.g., delineation of the word field "evaluation" versus "motion").

### 5. Summary

At the heart of the analysis was the word field 'result' in its German and Russian appearances. Furthermore, similarities and differences in the use of German and Russian sports metaphors were considered in detail and their functions briefly described.

If the German and Russian feature matrices are compared, it first becomes clear that the field neighbors in both languages do not belong to one type of words, as a traditionally understood model of the word field requires, but the word field structure in German and in Russian comprises three types of words (verbs, nouns and adjectives) and incorporates word families.

The word field 'result' consists of 12 characteristic lexemes in German, 19 in Russian. Despite the lesser lexeme repre-

sentation, the German word field has a denser semi structure that illustrates the sporting sense of the lexeme.

Since the lexical analysis of the word fields is based on the basic categories of structural semantics *designation* and *meaning*, only those lexemes were selected for the analysis in which both categories are related to sports. As mentioned at the outset, the term of the respective word field member comes from lexica of the general language and the sport, and the meaning is based on the context of a word.

At this point the important role of the context as an analysis instrument and the occasional contextual interpretational difficulties arising from it are to be mentioned. Thus, the analysis was made difficult by the fact that not always a clear meaning (or meanings) of the corresponding terms and / or the whole text passages can be deduced from the context.

This applies, inter alia, for the Russian texts. E.g. the phrase "Православие – религия лузеров" ("Orthodox religion is the religion of the losers") is so far limited by subsequent statements by the orator that it was unfortunately not possible to take into account the obvious sports metaphor in the analysis

because it did not contain necessary semes. Other examples are the lexemes πημκπ (point) and ρεκορδαμεμ (recordsman), which, according to the seme-analysis, have a negligible connection with sport, although the two terms are derived from sports. The word μεμπυσμ (champion) comes from the sports language and has a sports sense due to the seme-analysis, so it was included in the analysis. The German analog would be der Meister (der Champion gave no hits), but also as in the a.m. case with "loser" the lexeme has no contextual connections with sports in spite of the sporty name and was therefore not entered into the seme-matrix.

In German as well as in Russian, the word fields include synonyms and antonymic pairs. The word to win is used in the Russian language in 2 synonymous variants (выиграть and победить); however, the morph игр in выиграть emphasizes the sporty-playful meaning of the lexeme (игра = the game). In both German and Russian, the frequency of the negatively-connotated results is 10%, and the lexemes overlap in both languages (verlieren und Niederlage vs. проиграть / продуть and поражение).

The semes 3, 4, 5 and 6 in the German version represent archisemes. In the Russian

variant, archisemes can only be seen in the word field of the verbs, namely the semes 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6. The absence of archisemes among the Russian substantives testifies to the fact that in Russian, in contrast to the German language, many nouns are vague according to their structure.

The low frequency of Russian colloquialisms (namely, only one example in 88 Russian texts) indicates that the interviewed politician deliberately used the lexeme *npodymb*, that is, this decision is not to be interpreted as a sign of its lack of language competence. It can be assumed that he would like to emphasize the difference between the former stiff style of the communist dignitaries. On the other hand, by choosing a sports metaphor, he wanted to linguistically reduce the distance between the people and the power and thus promote the connection between society and politics.

There are no examples in the German texts which show that the vernacular lexicon transcends to the public official level of the language. The political interview as a public space with regard to language usage thus does not become a private space where everything is permitted.

From the word field analysis, two functions of the sports metaphors can be deduced:

- 1. The sports metaphors are used as a means of self-defense, so that the politicians can assert themselves as judges, experts, supporters of the people or managers of the election campaign.
- 2. In the motivating function of the metaphor, politics reveals itself as a performance-oriented competition with the precisely defined goals and the desired activities.

The metaphor analysis has clearly shown that the sports metaphors of the word field "result" in the language usage of the German politicians mostly refer to the subject area "election campaign". In the Russian texts the corresponding topic ranks lowest.

It should also be noted that the results concerning the relationship between metaphor and action are ambivalent. It does not follow from the investigation that the use of sports metaphors is followed by concrete actions by Russian or German politicians: "The analysis of metaphors cannot explain or predict interests, preferences, or

negotiating positions, for there is no causal, but a constitutive connection between metaphors and actions." (Schieder 2016:5)

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