

Figurative language of segregation: the phenomenon of “two schools under one roof”

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Abstract

Post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina remains a society in which ethno-nationalist rhetoric and war memories permeate public discourse. This paper investigates the use of metaphors in media texts written in English and the Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian language on the topic of ‘two schools under one roof’. Writing about this peculiar construct within the country’s educational system tackles socio-political factors and their effects on the provision of primary and secondary education. We describe how metaphors as cognitive devices are used to portray educational developments in this post-conflict country and the effects of their use on recipients. The paper points out cases of deliberate metaphor use, which influences recipients’ perspectives on the topic at hand.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor; deliberate metaphor; segregation; MIPVU.

1. Introduction

Almost thirty years after the signing of The Dayton Peace Agreement (1995), the American-brokered deal which was never meant to be a long-term settlement but simply a cease-fire agreement, Bosnia and Herzegovina (henceforth, BiH) is still a country with an extremely complex system. The country with a tripartite presidency is divided into two Entities (The Federation of BiH and The Republic of Srpska) and one district (Brčko District). In the Federation of BiH (henceforth, the Federation), authority was further subdivided, largely along ethnic lines, with the establishment of 10 local units of government called cantons, each with its own prime minister and set of ministers who duplicate many of the functions of the weak national government. There are five cantons with a Bosniak majority, three with a Croatian majority, and two cantons without an ethnic majority – with a Serbian presence in

all cantons¹. BiH turns out to be a country with a complex administrative apparatus, entwined with ethnic and political divisions, and authorities shifting responsibility to each other – which resulted in the country’s everlasting status quo. The mutual distrust of the country’s three main ethnic communities is reflected in the education system inasmuch as it segregates children into groups according to their ethnicity.

The Ministry of Civil Affairs covers education issues for the state of BiH as a whole, and is only responsible for coordinating and consolidating entity policies and, where relevant, linking them to international strategies or activities (ECRI Report, 2024: 8). The Ministry of Education of the Federation of BiH holds a coordinating role over education policies in the Federation.² In addition, the 10 cantons of the Federation also have autonomy in the field of education policies (OSCE pamphlet, 2024). Although the Constitution of the Federation of BiH states that cantons are solely responsible for developing and implementing educational policies, the responsibilities are shifted between these levels of authority. Such an approach has led to institutional segregation on so many grounds, one of those being segregation in the educational context – the phenomenon known as ‘*dviije škole pod jednim krovom*/two schools under one roof.’ This practice is implemented in three cantons in the Federation: Central Bosnia Canton, Herzegovina-Neretva Canton, and Zenica-Doboj Canton. According to the OSCE Report (2018: 10), there are 56 schools in 28 locations, including central and branch schools, impacted by the phenomenon of ‘two schools under one roof’ (46 primary schools and 10 secondary schools). All existing cases of the practice ‘two schools under one roof’ and their characteristics (the manner of physical separation, curricular and extracurricular organization, administrative issues such as names, symbols and manifestations, teacher selection based on ethnicity, discrimination when building new facilities, etc.) are described in detail in the OSCE (2018) and ECRI (2024) reports. In segregated schools, Croat and Bosniak children do not attend classes together; even though the two institutions share the same building, they are either physically separated by fences or attend school at different hours. Croat and Bosniak children do not have common activities and cannot socialize. Therefore, children who attend classes from elementary school according to the principle of ‘two schools under one roof’ have never shared a desk with students of another ethnicity. Arguments for sustaining such a system are mainly related to the preservation of cultural and linguistic identity. Some justify the existence of these schools as a way of reflecting their national identities, convinced that if

¹ <http://www.statistika.ba/?lang=en#link11>; Popis stanovništva u BiH, Census 2013; last accessed on September 22, 2024

² Even if, in some cases, it is not recognized by the Croat Cantons (the OSCE Report, 2018: 104).

they go together and study in one of the languages of any other ethnic group, they will lose the unique characteristics of their identity. The problem is much deeper than that, as “[B]eside the linguistic aspect, the three groups have a different view on history – in this field also, the efforts to promote a different interpretation of history to be transferred to pupils through textbooks are abounding. Finally, the main marker distinguishing the three groups is religion” (OSCE Report, 2018: 98).

The general belief is that, in a complex environment such as BiH, the issue of ‘two schools under one roof’ is politicized – and that in this way, by segregation in the education system from an early age, politicians inclined to nationalism are preparing their electorates in a way that benefits them. The authorities, even though it is within their jurisdiction, refuse to unite the schools. Today, these schools operate as separate legal entities, while in a smaller number of cases there has been an administrative unification, but still with different curricula³. In addition, Tolomelli (2015: 89-90) believes that, apart from modern states seeing mass education as a “power device”, authorities of religion also “hold many interests in controlling the education sector.”

Sometimes the issue of ‘two schools under one roof’ is presented as merely an administrative issue, and not the issue of separating children on the basis of ethnicity in the educational process. Few ‘two schools under one roof’ have been administratively united.⁴ One example is supposed to be Grammar school in Mostar, but it is basically two schools (because lessons follow two separate curricula – in the Bosnian and the Croatian language) with a common legal and administrative system since 2004. Furthermore, the administrative unification of ‘two schools under one roof’ in the Zenica-Doboj Canton, which supposedly solved the practice of discrimination and segregation in education based on ethnicity, has not been sufficiently researched and documented to say that the problem has been solved.

There are contradictory rulings of different Bosnian-Herzegovinian courts that recognize⁵ or fail to recognize⁶ the educational segregation and

³ Education in BiH is not controlled at a national level, and three separate curricula, are used in different parts of the country depending on the ethnic make-up of an area – Bosniak, Serb, or Croat. The language of instruction, and how subjects such as history, geography, and religion are taught differs under each system.

⁴ The administrative and legal unification of ‘two schools under one roof’ means that “previously segregated schools become one legal entity, with one name, one budget, one school board, one director and one deputy (of a different ethnicity), one teacher council, one parent council and one student council, and joint administrative and support personnel.” (OSCE pamphlet, 2024).

⁵ A ruling issued on April 27, 2012 by the Municipal Court of Mostar (Case no. 58 0 Ps 085653 11 Ps) ordered to the Ministry of Education to “establish single, integrated, multi-cultural [schools] by September 1, 2012 with a unified curriculum fully observing the children’s right to education

discrimination of children based on ethnic background. Yet, none of the verdicts have been implemented. There is, according to OSCE (2018: 20), a lack of political will and respect for the rule of law to resolve this issue. Although the OSCE Report (2018) warns that the system of ‘two schools under one roof’ represents a violation of international conventions and points out the consequences of further ethnic divisions in schools, the situation in BiH is not improving. There are still attempts to establish new schools of this type, contrary to the wishes of the students.⁷

The aim of this paper, however, is to investigate the phenomenon of ‘two schools under one roof’ from a purely linguistic aspect, offering the cognitive-linguistic analysis of media texts about this particular topic as well as the implications of figurative language use in the socio-cultural context such as BiH. This study relies on objective methodology to identify the segments of metaphorical language use, discuss the deliberateness of such use in the texts on educational segregation, as well as its impact on recipients. The topic at hand is studied through the lens of a relatively newly devised theory (the Deliberate Metaphor Theory) and refined, objective methodological framework (the three-dimensional model of metaphor analysis), to which we turn in sections that follow.

2. Theoretical foundation: the Deliberate Metaphor Theory (DMT)

A conceptual metaphor is defined as a cognitive device where the more concrete, or physical, domain (the source domain) is used to comprehend the more abstract one (the target domain). Target domains, which are “abstract, diffuse, and lack clear delineation” and “‘cry out’ for metaphorical conceptualization” (Kövecses, 2010: 23), call for metaphorical understanding in terms that they are comprehended using more familiar and simpler concepts

in the mother tongue”. The ruling regarding segregated schools in Herzegovina-Neretva Canton was confirmed by the Supreme Court of Federation of BiH in 2014. Furthermore, a ruling issued on July 15, 2021 by the Constitutional Court of BiH confirms the discrimination of children in all schools organized as ‘two schools under one roof’ (Case no. 51 0 P 054522 21 Rev 2; cf. Official Gazette of Bosnia and Herzegovina no. 50/21). For more on all these rulings cf. OSCE Report (2018: 19).

⁶ E.g. A ruling of the Supreme Court of the Federation of BiH (Case no. 51 0 P 054522 16 Rev) from October 3, 2017. Also, on July 18, 2017, the Constitutional Court of BiH rejected the appeals against the decision of the Federal Supreme Court that had been submitted by the two primary schools (Case Nos. AP-4814/14 and AP-4984/14). On June 15, 2017 and on March 9, 2022, the BiH Constitutional Court also rejected the appeals that had been submitted by the cantonal authorities of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton (Case Nos. AP 4348/14 and AP-3362/21).

⁷ One example is the school in Jajce, where the students protested to prevent the establishment of another divided school. Cf. OSCE pamphlet (2024).

(source domains). The relationship between a target domain (A) and a source domain (B) presented in CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B form makes up a conceptual metaphor. In their landmark study, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) emphasize that metaphors are not to be perceived as merely ornamental rhetorical devices. Rather, these instances of figurative language use mirror the way we think and perceive the world around us. In that matter, it can be said that instances of metaphorical language manifest the existence of conceptual domains in our thought. Convinced that “metaphors in language, thought and communication are related to each other in specific situations of use” (Steen, 2010a: 95), Gerard Steen developed the Deliberate Metaphor Theory (henceforth, the DMT) stemming from the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) and Glucksberg’s (2008) study on categorization.⁸ The backbone of the DMT is the model of a three-level analysis of metaphor, which is centered on the criteria of indirectness (the linguistic level of analysis), conventionality (the conceptual level), and deliberateness (the communicative level). This implies that metaphor is “not only seen as a matter of conceptual structures (metaphor in thought) expressed in linguistic forms (metaphor in language), but also as a matter of communication between language users (metaphor in communication)” (Reijnierse et al., 2018: 132).

At the linguistic level, the DMT investigates linguistic metaphors: metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified and further classified into indirect, direct, and implicit metaphors. Indirect metaphors imply the indirect use of language when we speak about one concept in terms of another, i.e. when we try to conceptualize one phenomenon in terms of another. Indirect metaphors are established by comparing and contrasting the basic and contextual meanings of potentially metaphorical linguistic expressions whereby analysts rely on dictionaries for the sake of objectivity and reliability. The potentially metaphorical linguistic expression is looked up in dictionaries, and its contextual and basic meanings are considered for sufficient similarity and/or distinctness (Steen et al., 2010: 37). For instance, in the phrase ‘the roots of education’, the expression *roots* is looked up in a dictionary. The basic meaning of *root* is “the organ of a higher plant that anchors the rest of the plant in the ground, absorbs water and mineral salts from the soil, and does not bear leaves or buds” (*Collins*), while its contextual meaning is “the essential, fundamental, or primary part or nature of something” (*Collins*). Upon establishing that it is indeed metaphorical in the given context, analysts proceed with determining what type of metaphor it is at the linguistic

⁸ This study on categorization is important for Steen’s claims about direct metaphor. Namely, Steen (2007) distinguishes between indirect and direct metaphors at the linguistic level of metaphor analysis, which actually implies two different types of metaphorical processing: categorization and comparison.

level. Given that the metaphorical linguistic expression *roots* is a form of referential incongruity, i.e. an alien conceptual domain in a dominant conceptual domain of a discourse (or a discourse segment) expressed in an indirect language, *roots* is labelled as an indirect metaphor. On the other hand, direct metaphors imply the use of overt language, which nevertheless activate cross-domain mapping. In the DMT, direct metaphors are identified as “local referent and topic shift” or “the incongruous expressions integrated within the overall referential and/or topical framework through comparison” (Steen et al., 2010: 38). In Nelson Mandela’s saying “Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world.” (Collins), there is a comparison between A (education) and B (weapon) that triggers a mapping between the two contrastive domains. In such cases, A can hardly literally ‘be’ B – it is only ‘likened’ to B in some way. Steen (2007: 10–11) argues that the direct use of language is also considered metaphorical because it involves subsequent conceptual analysis to determine the meaning in the background of cross-domain mapping. According to Steen (2009a: 182), direct metaphor can be structured as A IS B metaphor, A IS LIKE B metaphor, and extended metaphor.⁹ These can be more or less creatively elaborated for achieving certain rhetorical goals (humorous effects, persuasion, etc.). For instance, in G. K. Chesterton’s saying “Education is simply the soul of a society as it passes from one generation to another” (Collins), it is quite clearly specified what the author had in mind when he compared education to a soul. There are also cases of so-called direct metaphorical negotiation, when one wants to point out that A IS NOT BE, BUT C as in the sentence “And what if *corona* is not the enemy from some medieval battle but an old man from a whole different dimension showing us all the things that are wrong in society?” (cf. Bogetić, 2022: 8). Another type of direct metaphor is an allusion to metaphor, where “attention to metaphor may be primed by previous awareness of metaphor” (cf. Steen, 2010b: 47, 61).

Implicit metaphors are marked as metaphorical because of the semantic connection with linguistic expressions that were previously identified as instances of metaphorical language. In other words, when a particular functional word (e.g. the pronoun *it*) is used as a cohesive device in a text, semantically referring to a full lexical word which is metaphorical in that segment of discourse, it is labelled as an implicit metaphor – as in the case of *it* in “Naturally, to embark on such a *step* is not necessarily to succeed immediately in realising *it*” (Steen et al., 2010: 15).

At the conceptual level, the criterion of conventionality is applied to both conceptual metaphors and their corresponding linguistic metaphors. Thus, the distinction is made between conventional and novel conceptual meta-

⁹ For extended metaphors cf. Steen (2008, 2009a).

phors, as well as conventional and novel linguistic metaphors. Conventional metaphors are “deeply entrenched ways of thinking about or understanding an abstract domain, while conventional metaphorical linguistic expressions are well worn, clichéd ways of talking about abstract domains” (Kövecses, 2010: 34). Novel metaphorical linguistic expressions are those that are not evidently clichéd through frequent use and whose contextual meanings are not listed in dictionaries. It is worth pointing out, however, that conceptual metaphors may be conventional or novel, regardless of whether linguistic expressions themselves are labelled as conventional or novel. Consider the expression *social worker* in the sentence “With its usual grandiosity, the EU has also encouraged the theory that we are the world’s *social worker*, bearing responsibility for the planet’s suffering masses.”¹⁰ The basic meaning of *social worker* is “someone who is trained to give help and advice to people who have severe social problems” (*Macmillan*), while its contextual meaning is not listed in dictionaries. It is, thus, an example of a novel linguistic metaphor. However, the conceptual metaphor NATION AS A PERSON is conventional (cf. Mujagić, 2023).

The two aforementioned levels serve as a basis for the communicative level of metaphor analysis, which distinguishes between deliberate and nondeliberate metaphors. Unlike nondeliberate metaphors, which “stay ‘on topic’” and “the recipient does not have to attend to the source domain of the metaphorical utterance”, deliberate metaphor “introduces a new perspective on the target domain” and “provides an alien perspective on the topic of utterance” (Reijnierse et al., 2018: 133–134). With deliberate metaphors, “the addressee has to move away their attention momentarily from the target domain of the utterance or even phrase to the source domain that is evoked by the metaphor-related expression” (Steen, 2015: 68). Within the DMT, direct and novel metaphors are automatically labelled as deliberate at the communicative level of analysis. Moreover, instances of metaphorical language marked with textual features such as quotation marks or italics are also labelled as deliberate metaphors.¹¹ Given that deliberate use of metaphor involves the change of “addressee’s perspective on the referent or topic that is the target of the metaphor, by making the addressee look at it from a different conceptual domain or space” (Steen, 2008: 222), this study aims to describe deliberate metaphors in media texts written in English and Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian about ‘two schools under one roof’ and the rhetorical effects of their use on recipients. To our knowledge, the social construct of

¹⁰ The example retrieved from the article “Opening national borders has been an abject failure” published in *The Daily Express* on September 3, 2015. In the author’s opinion, the UK is perceived by the EU as a social worker of Europe amidst the Migrant Crisis.

¹¹ For metaphor signaling cf. Steen (2006, 2009b), Krennmayr (2011), Musolff (2011), Herrmann (2013), Darian (2000).

‘two schools under one roof’ has not been investigated in previous linguistic studies, let alone conceptual metaphor studies employing this particular theoretical and methodological framework.

In the section that follows, an overview of applied methodology is given. Subsequently, examples extracted from media sources are grouped according to the source domains they belong to and discussed in regard to the three-level metaphor analysis model. This is followed by discussion and concluding remarks.

3. The data and methods

Steen’s (2010a, 2010b, 2015) refined, reliable and objective methodological framework is used to analyze metaphors in media texts written in English and Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian on the topic of ‘two schools under one roof’. This methodology has already been successfully applied in other corpus-based, contrastive studies of these languages (cf. Bogetić, 2022; Mujagić 2022a, 2022b). Steen’s three-dimensional model of metaphor analysis distinguishes three dimensions of metaphor: the linguistic dimension of (in)directness, the conceptual parameter of conventionality, and the communicative dimension of (non)deliberateness. Each of these dimensions serves as the basis for the analysis of metaphor at the subsequent level. Potentially metaphorical expressions are identified by applying the MIPVU procedure, the six-step protocol for identifying linguistic metaphors explained in detail in Steen et al. (2010, 25-26). The MIPVU instructs an analyst to determine the basic and contextual meanings of an expression by consulting dictionaries, upon which the meanings are compared and contrasted in order to determine the level of similarity and distinctness between the two. Therefore, the MIPVU procedure is a reliable tool to establish whether the expression is indeed metaphorical, so that analysts proceed with determining whether the identified metaphor is indirect, direct, or implicit. The guidelines for determining the type of metaphor at the linguistic level are given in Steen et al. (2010: 33; 38-40) and Krennmayr (2011, 51-52; 58-60). They also provide an explanation on lexical signals of cross-domain mappings, i.e. the signals that draw the addressee’s attention to the mappings between domains, such as *like*, *as*, and *as if* (Steen et al., 2010: 41). At the conventional level of analysis, analysts rely on dictionaries for the identification of conventional and novel meanings, which results in objectivity in decision-making, as well as the possibility of repetition and reproduction of the results. The instances of deliberate metaphor use in the corpus are identified using the IDeM protocol (Krennmayr, 2011: 154-155). In this way, it is established “whether the metaphorical expression that has been identified by

MIP/MIPVU is meant to change the recipient’s perspective on the topic of the text” (Krennmayr, 2011, 154).

The corpus in this paper is analyzed in accordance with the model elaborated above. It contains 25020 words from media texts¹² on the topic of ‘dvije škole pod istim krovom’/‘two schools under one roof.’ The corpus in English contains 6343 words, while the corpus in Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian contains 18677 words. For the purpose of this analysis, the time of writing was disregarded as this is one of the ongoing topics in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian educational setting. In order to determine basic and contextual meanings, dictionaries of English¹³ and Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian¹⁴ were used. After the MIPVU protocol is applied, an outline of the identified linguistic metaphors and the corresponding conceptual domains in both English and Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian corpora are provided (Appendix, Tables 1 and 2). The statistical overview of metaphors classified according to the three-dimensional model is offered in the Appendix (Tables 3 and 4).

4. The corpus analysis

At the linguistic level, examples of indirect, direct and implicit metaphors are described. The corpus contains 125 linguistic metaphors: 43 linguistic metaphors identified in English, and 82 linguistic metaphors identified in Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian corpus. There are 38 indirect and 5 direct metaphors in the analyzed English texts. The texts written in Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian do not contain direct metaphors, but 81 indirect metaphors and 1 implicit metaphor. These findings are in line with other research (Steen, 2009a: 185; Mujagić, 2022a, 2022b) stating that cross-domain mappings are most frequently expressed via indirect language use.

Examples (1) and (2) contain the expressions *fight* and its Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian equivalent *borba*, which are recognized as potentially metaphorical. The basic meaning of *fight* is “a physical struggle; battle; combat” (Collins), while its contextual meaning is “any struggle, contest, or quarrel” (Collins). The basic meaning of *borba* is “vojn. sudar većih razmjera između

¹² The corpus sources are as follows: *The Guardian*, *New York Times*, *BBC*, *Reuters* (7 articles in English); *slobodnaevropa.org*, *klix.ba*, *balkans.aljazeera.net*, *avaz.ba*, *depo.ba*, *balkandiskurs.com*, *osce.org*, *mreza-mira.ba*, *balcanicaucaso.org*, *bljesak.info*, *zastone.ba*, *zurnal.info*, *radiosarajevo.ba*, *N1info.ba* (24 articles in Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian).

¹³ Macmillan Dictionary, Collins Cobuild Online, Merriam-Webster, and Cambridge Dictionary Online.

¹⁴ Rječnik bosanskog jezika (Jahić, 2010/2012), Rječnik bosanskog jezika (Halilović et al., 2010; Čedić et al., 2007), and the online database www.hjp.znanje.hr.

vojnih jedinica ili vojski, osnovni oblik ratnog djelovanja” (HJP¹⁵) ‘milit. a large-scale collision between military units or armies, basic form of warfare’, while its contextual meaning is “nastojanje, zalaganje” (HJP) ‘effort, endeavor’. These two are examples of indirect metaphors.

- (1) *The Bosniak and Croat students succeeded in their year-long **fight against** the regional government, forcing it to reverse its decision to divide them into two separate, ethnically based schools in the town of Jajce.* (Reuters, *Bosnian students keep up their protest against segregated schools*, June 20, 2017)
- (2) *Iz Vijeća učenika Srednje strukovne škole Jajce saopćeno je da su s velikom radošću i ushićenjem primili vijest o ukidanju inicijative za osnivanjem Mješovite srednje škole u Jajcu koja bi njihove vršnjakinje i vršnjake podijelila po nacionalnoj osnovi, ali da oni ne odustaju od svoje **borbe**.* (klix.ba, *Borba protiv sistema "dvoje škole pod jednim krovom": Učenici iz Jajca krenuli prema Travniku*, June 20, 2017)
‘The Student Council of the Jajce Vocational High School announced that they received the news with great joy and excitement about the cancellation of the initiative to establish a Mixed High School in Jajce, which would divide their peers on a national basis, but that they are not giving up their *fight*.’

The corpus contains 5 direct metaphors identified in the texts in English. Four of these (examples 3–5) are in A IS B form. These structures lack lexical markers (e.g. *like, as, as if*) that would function as signals of deliberate metaphor use. Still, direct metaphors with A IS B structure (like any other type of direct metaphor) are automatically deliberate because they draw the recipient’s attention to the mappings between domains by making the recipient look at one domain from a different conceptual domain or space. In addition, all that is made manifest through overt use of language.

- (3) *“**The system as we have it now is a cancer**, if you ask me,” says Berta Kucera’s director, Fikret Cancar.* (BBC.com, *Bosnian children fight back against segregation in schools*, July 3, 2019)
- (4) ***Segregation in schools is a hangover from the nationalist politics** which sparked the conflict of the 1990s and continues to blight the lives of Bosnia’s people.* (BBC.com, *Victorious Bosnia students ‘will continue segregation struggle’*, June 21, 2017)
- (5) ***The schools are “prisons and factories of hatred,”** Mr Rimac said.* (BBC.com, *Victorious Bosnia students ‘will continue segregation struggle’*, June 21, 2017)

However, example (6) contains a direct metaphor of a different type, “*Death to Politics, Freedom to Education*”, which is an allusion to metaphor.

¹⁵ Hrvatski jezični portal, Croatian Online Portal, hjp.znanje.hr, accessed on September 23, 2024

This example is explained more closely in the ‘Discussion’ section, when the instances of deliberate metaphor use (especially from the WAR domain) are put in focus.

- (6) *They held placards reading “Friendship under Embargo” and “Death to Politics, Freedom to Education”.* (Reuters, *Bosnian students keep up their protest against segregated schools*, June 20, 2017)

Example (7) contains the expression *oni* (Engl. ‘they’) used as implicit metaphor, referring back to the metaphorical ‘walls’ in people’s heads:

- (7) *Nisu zidovi u školama najveća prepreka, već oni u glavama, a oni jačaju svakom godinom u kojoj imamo ‘dviije škole pod jednim krovom’ kao dominantnu normu”, ističe Beharić.* (slobodnaevropa.org, *Na odmorima zajedno, na časovima razdvojeni: Segregacija u školama u BiH*, September 9, 2022)

‘It’s not the walls in schools that are the biggest obstacle, but the *ones in the heads*, and *they* get stronger every year in which we have ‘two schools under one roof’ as the dominant norm, Beharić points out.’

The dominant use of indirect metaphors reveals that our perception of the issue of ‘two schools under one roof’ is shaped in a covert manner. Direct metaphors, which are overt and more striking, are exploited only by authors writing in English. As suggested by other studies (Mujagić, 2022b) as well, implicit metaphors, which result from textual cohesion, are quite rare.

Regarding the conceptual level of analysis, all identified conceptual metaphors in the corpus are conventional cross-domain mappings made manifest through the use of conventional linguistic metaphors. For instance, countries (example 8) and institutions (example 9) are conceptualized as persons:¹⁶

- (8) *U Ustavu piše da je ovo država koju čine Srbi, Hrvati, Bošnjaci i ostali. Ne vidimo kako će ona da preživi, a kamoli da napreduje i uđe u Evropsku uniju ako njeni učenici ne uče ništa o drugim konstitutivnim narodima u ovoj državi, a još manje o zajedničkoj historiji, identitetu i naslijeđu koje svi oni dijele, da ne prolaze sve to zajedno u jednoj učionici.* (klix.ba, “*Dviije škole pod istim krovom*” sramota za BiH, September 10, 2007)

‘The Constitution says that this is a country made up of Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks and others. We do not see how it will *survive*, let alone *progress* and *enter* the European Union, if its students do not learn anything about the other constituent peoples of this country, and even less about the common history, identity and heritage that they all share, so that they do not go through all that together in one classroom.’

¹⁶ For figurative conceptualizations of nations, countries, and institutions in media discourse of migration cf. Mujagić (2023).

- (9) *Today, Mostar’s elite high school sits on the former front line. Students from both sides of the town attend classes on the first two floors, sharing some classrooms and the chemistry and biology labs – although they never attend classes with members of the other ethnic group. (The New York Times, In a Divided Bosnia, Segregated Schools Persist, December 1, 2018)*

COUNTRY/NATION is personified in order for us to “make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms – terms that we can understand on the basis of our own motivations, goals, actions, and characteristics” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 34). Body parts, one of the most common source domains (Kövecses, 2010) are also used to conceptualize countries:

- (10) *Mislim da neće biti tako kada bude postojalo političke volje da se konačno krene u obračun sa ovim srednjovekovnim aparthejdskim fenomenom u 21. stoljeću u tzv. srcu Evrope. (depo.ba, Pomiješat ću kruške i jabuke, May 11, 2011)*

‘I don’t think it will be like that when there is political will to finally start dealing with this medieval apartheid phenomenon in the 21st century in the so-called *heart* of Europe.’

The conceptual level analysis reveals that the identified set of metaphors is clichéd and based on familiar concepts – which makes it memorable and recognizable to recipients, who then do not have much difficulty processing it. Yet, this set of deeply entrenched and naturalized metaphors may leave a significant impact on recipients, especially through repetition and reiteration.

At the communicative level, deliberate and nondeliberate metaphors are distinguished. There are 119 nondeliberate metaphors in the corpus (95.9 %). Five instances of deliberate metaphor use are found in the texts written in English – four in the A IS B form, and one allusion to metaphor. In other words, direct metaphors (examples 3–6) are automatically recognized as instances of deliberate metaphor use. There are no instances of creatively elaborated metaphors, original mappings between domains (novel metaphors), or metaphors signaled with textual markers that would be labelled as deliberate during the annotation process. We now turn to the detailed explanation of the rhetorical implications of the identified metaphors.

5. Discussion

The analysis reveals that COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS (such as countries, the International Community, school system, and politics) are presented using several different source domains (PERSON, DISEASE, BUILDING, WARZONE, and TOOL). Apart from being conceptualized as a person (examples 8 and 11) and a body part of ‘an organism’ (example 10), Bosnia and Herzegovina is also

conceptualized as a fragile building (example 11). In such a state, the role of the International Community is seen as either not knowing what one is doing (example 12) or exerting too much pressure (example 13). This is conducted through nondeliberate metaphor use (indirect, conventional linguistic metaphors belonging to the conventional conceptual domains):

- (11) *For more than two decades of **staggering** from crisis to crisis, Bosnia's fragile system has defied predictions of imminent **collapse**.* (New York Times, *In Bosnia, Entrenched Ethnic Divisions Are a Warning to the World*, November 19, 2018)
- (12) *"Does this lead to conflict? Probably no. But the international community is **sleepwalking** into an international disaster of major proportions," Mr. Ashdown said.* (New York Times, *In Bosnia, Entrenched Ethnic Divisions Are a Warning to the World*, November 19, 2018)
- (13) *"Stranka demokratske akcije je **pod snažnim pritiskom** međunarodne zajednice, poput OSCE-a i Veleposlanstva SAD-a, odustala od nove škole, tako da će se djeca upisati u postojeće. Naravno, vršen je **snažan pritisak** međunarodne zajednice na cjelokupnu vlast SBŽ-a, prije svega na premijera, jer su svakodnevno propitivali da se na dnevnom redu sjednice Vlade ne bi slučajno našla neka točka dnevnog reda u vezi sa formiranjem nove škole", naglasila je Čerkez.* (slobodnaevropa.org, *Srednjoškolci u Jajcu ostaju zajedno: Vlasti odustale od nove škole*, June 17, 2017)
"The Party of Democratic Action, under strong pressure from the international community, such as the OSCE and the US Embassy, gave up on the new school, so the children will enroll in the existing ones. Of course, strong pressure was exerted by the international community on the entire authority of the SBŽ, first of all on the Prime Minister, because they asked every day that some item related to the establishment of a new school would not accidentally be found on the agenda of the Government session," Čerkez emphasized.'

In such conditions, SOCIAL CONSTRAINTS (such as policies and mind-sets/attitudes) are presented figuratively as PHYSICAL CONSTRAINTS (zidovi u glavama in 7, break down barriers in 38). Politics, conceptualized as a person (examples 14 and 15) and trade (example 16), has a significant impact on human relationships, which are conceptualized as building and construction (example 7), as well as trade (example 6). All of these examples are instances of indirect, conventional, nondeliberate metaphors.

- (14) *Da je politika **umiješala svoje prste** u obrazovni sistem već odavno, svjedoči književnica Nura Bazdulj Hubijar koja živi u kantonu u kojoj su 'dviije škole pod jednim krovom' svakodnevica.* (slobodnaevropa.org, *Tri škole pod jednim krovom*, November 8, 2018).

'The writer Nura Bazdulj Hubijar, who lives in a canton where 'two schools under one roof' is an everyday occurrence, testifies that politics *has had a hand* in the education system for a long time.'

- (15) *U konkretnom slučaju ne radi se o volji građana, niti roditelja, a najmanje djece nad kojima se ta i takva politika godinama brutalno izživljava.* (depo.ba, *Pomiješat ću kruške i jabuke*, May 11, 2011)

'In this particular case, it is not about the will of the citizens, nor the parents, and least of all the children, on whom that and such politics has been *brutally lashing out* for years.'

- (16) *Mislim da je ovo pitanje političkog obilježavanja prostora. Nemoguće je, ako imate u jednom razredu recimo 30 učenika, od toga je 20 bošnjačke, pet hrvatske pet srpske nacionalnosti, meni je ovo užasno i govoriti, da se angažuju posebni nastavnici za posebne jezike. Mislim da je to glupo. To je projekat koji se zaokružuje. To je kraj jednog procesa u kojem se zaokružuju nacionalni prostori. Ovo je preko leđa učenika lomljenje političkih računa", zaključuje Duraković.* (slobodnaevropa.org, *Tri škole pod jednim krovom*, November 8, 2018).

'I think this is a question of political marking of space. It is impossible, if you have, say, 30 students in one class, of which 20 are Bosniaks, five Croats and five Serbs, I find this horrible even to say, that special teachers for special languages are hired. I think that's stupid. It is a project that is coming full circle. It is the end of a process in which national spaces are rounded off. This is *settling political accounts* over the students' backs," concludes Duraković.'

- (17) *We saw that we could live together, we brought people together to become friends, to build bridges. We realised that this is the better way – the only way.* (The Guardian, *Meeting people beats prejudice': lessons from a frozen conflict*, December 24, 2018)

For instance, the metaphorical expression *embargo* in (6) is an example of indirect metaphor: its basic meaning is "a legal prohibition on commerce" (*Merriam-Webster*), while its contextual meaning is "an order to temporarily stop something" (*Cambridge*). Today, the word is obviously applied more broadly to refer to various prohibitions. At the conceptual level of analysis, it is an example of a conventional linguistic metaphor given that its basic and contextual meanings entered dictionaries. Furthermore, the quotation marks are not used as signals of deliberate metaphor use, which means that *embargo* is an example of nondeliberate metaphor at the communicative level of analysis.

In the aforementioned political setting, social-impact efforts (protesting, petitioning, etc.) are conceptualized using linguistic metaphors from the domains of WAR (examples 1, 2), WATER (*a drop in the ocean* in 18), SPORT (*scoring an unprecedented victory against* in 19), MOVEMENT (*slijepu ulicu* in 21),

and VIOLENT ACT (*udarati* in 22). For instance, in example (21), synonymous metaphorical expressions *slijepa ulica* /‘a dead-end street’ and *ćorsokak* /‘im-passe’ are used. These are indirect metaphors at the linguistic level, conventional at the conceptual level, and nondeliberate metaphors at the communicative level of analysis.

- (18) “I truly believe that the protests were very much influenced by Nansen’s work,” says Mirjana Jelica, a teacher. “This may be **a drop in the ocean**, but if they help just 1% of the population become better people, they have achieved something.” (The Guardian, Meeting people beats prejudice’: lessons from a frozen conflict, December 24, 2018)
- (19) High school students and activists pressed their protest against ethnic segregation at schools in central Bosnia on Tuesday, after **scoring an unprecedented victory against** a government decision to further divide them along ethnic lines. (Reuters, Bosnian students keep up their protest against segregated schools, June 20, 2017)
- (20) As students returned to school on Monday, the Buka news portal, called them ‘young **heroes**’ for their months-long ‘**rebellion**’, but noted that the politicians’ plans may simply be on hold as they’re in the midst of an election campaign. (BBC.com, Bosnian school pupils reject ethnic divisions, September 7, 2016)
- (21) U OSCE-u objašnjavaju ovo kao **slijepu ulicu** nastalu političkim sistemom koji nije otvoren za zahtjeve ovih mladih ljudi. (...) S njima se slaže i Mujkanović koja navodi dva faktora koji pridonose inertnosti obrazovnog sistema: “Jedan je samo opći **ćorsokak**, s trenutnom situacijom ljudi su jednostavno iscrpljeni, umorni, ni ono što misle i žele ne osjećaju da je drugima bitno”. (balkandiskurs.org, Dvoje škole pod jednim krovom: Suživot postao paralela postojanju, June 25, 2023)
“The OSCE explains this as a *dead-end street* created by a political system that is not open to the demands of these young people. (...) Mujkanović also agrees with them, citing two factors that contribute to the inertness of the education system: “There is only one general *im-passe*, with the current situation, people are simply exhausted, tired, and they don’t feel that what they think and want is important to others.”
- (22) “Sada trebamo **udarati** u srž! Jedini način da se to ne ponavlja jeste da se komplet obrazovni sistem promjeni, da se komplet ukine ‘dvoje škole pod jednim krovom’, znači segregacija i podjela.” (slobodnaevropa.org, Vjetar u leđa za srednjoškolce iz Jajca: Tražimo promjenu za sve škole u BiH, June 19, 2017).
““Now we need to *hit* the core! The only way to prevent this from happening again is to change the entire educational system, to com-

pletely abolish ‘two schools under one roof’, which means segregation and division.”

Schools in general are either personified (*sits* in example 9) or conceptualized as a warzone (*battlefield* in 23), but state-run schools are also perceived as obstacles to achieving certain political goals (example 24).

(23) “*Since the end of the war, the hard-line nationalists – fighting for a Croat ethnic identity and its own mini state in Bosnia – have turned the school into a **battlefield**,*” said Adisa Busuladzic, a political analyst and a writer in Mostar. (The New York Times, *In a Divided Bosnia, Segregated Schools Persist*, December 1, 2018)

(24) Croat nationalists are especially resistant to changing this divided system, largely because establishing multiethnic, state-run schools would be an **obstacle to carving out** a Croat-only autonomous region in Bosnia, akin to what the Serbs have achieved in the war through brutal campaigns of expulsions and mass killings of non-Serb population. (The New York Times, *In a Divided Bosnia, Segregated Schools Persist*, December 1, 2018)

Opening of segregated schools is likened to a game (*igri* in 26), more precisely game of chess in English texts (*gambit* in 25), and the entire educational system as a theatre (*na sceni* in 27 and *teatralan* in 28):

(25) *When the plan was unveiled to go a step further and actually create a separate Bosniak school, many felt that it was a **political gambit** to win nationalist votes – and create jobs for party loyalists. Students from the school started a series of protests, including **marches** with the flags of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia, and a demonstration outside the regional ministry of education.* (The Guardian, *Meeting people beats prejudice’: lessons from a frozen conflict*, December 24 2018)

(26) *Beharić vjeruje da je riječ o političkoj **igri** pred lokalne izbore zakazane za oktobar ove godine.* (slobodnaevropa.org, *Srednjoškolci Jajca: Prestanite nas dijeliti, nacionalizam ne želimo*, July 20, 2016)

‘Beharić believes that it is a *political game* before the local elections scheduled for October this year.’

(27) “*Cilj nam je bio da na bazi činjeničnog i pravnog stanja dokažemo da je **na sceni** najteži oblik diskriminacije, odnosno segregacija djece na etničkoj osnovi u školama u SBK*”, naveo je za RSE izvršni direktor Udruženja ‘Vaša prava BiH’ Emir Prcanović, ne krijući zadovoljstvo zbog presude Ustavnog suda BiH. (slobodnaevropa.org, *Tri škole pod jednim krovom*, November 8, 2018)

“‘Our goal was to prove, on the basis of the factual and legal situation, that the most severe form of discrimination, that is, the segregation of children on ethnic grounds in schools in SBK, is on the sce-

ne," said Emir Prcanović, executive director of the Association 'Vaša prava BiH', for RSE, without hiding satisfaction with the verdict of the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina.'

- (28) *Odmah da budemo načisto: Jedinstvena škola ne podrazumijeva nikakvo uklanjanje nacionalnih barijera niti je **teatralan** multinacionalni ulazak u učionice, kako se to uz podgrijavanje priče o segregaciji i diskriminaciji javnosti predočava.* (balkans.aljazeera.net, Mostar i dvije škole pod dva krova, August 6, 2012)

'Let's be clear right now: A unified school does not imply any removal of national barriers, nor is it a *theatrical* multinational entry into classrooms, as it is presented to the public while fueling the story of segregation and discrimination.'

Segregated schools, i.e. 'two schools under one roof' are conceptualized as WAR (*poligon* in 29), BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION (*betonira* in 30), PRISON (example 5), and FACTORY (example 5).

- (29) *On ocjenjuje da su "dvije škole pod jednim krovom" vladajućim elitama najuspješniji **poligon** za odgoj budućih glasača, zbog čega i insistiraju na tom konceptu.* (slobodnaevropa.org, Na odmorima zajedno, na časovima razdvojeni: Segregacija u školama u BiH, September 9, 2022)

'He assesses that "two schools under one roof" are the most successful *training ground* for the ruling elites for the education of future voters, which is why they insist on this concept.'

- (30) *"Mi smo posjetili takvu školu u Vitezu i veoma smo zabrinuti, jer je to bila urgentna mjera koja je uvedena prije 15 godina koja je tada bilo pragmatična, ali 15 godina kasnije održavati takav koncept u praksi, **betonira** segregaciju i predstavlja rizik za nastavak segregacije.", poručio je Greminger.* (slobodnaevropa.org, OSCE: 'Dvije škole pod jednim krovom' betoniraju segregaciju, February 21, 2018)

"We visited such a school in Vitez and we are very worried, because it was an urgent measure that was introduced 15 years ago, which was pragmatic at the time, but 15 years later to maintain such a concept in practice, *cements* segregation and poses a risk for the continuation of segregation." Greminger said.'

Students of segregated schools are likened to hostages (*taoci* in 35) and soldiers (*vojska mladih ratnika* in 36). But what is most conspicuous is that children or students in an educational system like this are dehumanized in a variety of ways. They are conceptualized as WATER (*stream* in 31), MACHINES AND TOOLS (*glasачka mašinerija* in 36), ANIMALS (*torovi* in 34), and PLANTS (*jabuke i kruške* in 33, *apples and pears* in 32). The main issue in such a concep-

tual framework is placing human beings on a lower scale regarding the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING.¹⁷

- (31) *Each day, children **stream** into the same school building, only to study separately, using separate textbooks, while learning in different languages.* (New York Times, *In a Divided Bosnia, Segregated Schools Persist*, December 1, 2018)
- (32) *Western diplomats put pressure on the Federation to merge schools but authorities refused. “You can’t mix **apples and pears**,” offered one senior education official in justification.* (BBC.com, *Bosnian children fight back against segregation in schools*, July 3, 2019)
- (33) *Tarik se sjeća kada je jedan političar iz reda Hrvata iz kantonalne vlade posjetio njegov grad i komentarisao tamošnju situaciju između Hrvata i Bošnjaka: “Došao je ovdje i rekao da se **jabuke i kruške** ne miješaju”.* (balkandiskurs.com, *Dvije škole pod jednim krovom: Suživot postao paralela postojanju*, June 25, 2023)
‘Tarik remembers when a Croat politician from the cantonal government visited his town and commented on the situation there between Croats and Bosniaks: “He came here and said that *apples and pears* don’t mix.’
- (34) *Problem je što mi njih kroz obrazovni sistem ovakav kakav jeste totalno imobilizujemo. Ne naučimo ih da se bore za ono što žele. Natjeramo ih već kroz obrazovanje u **torove** i nekako opredjelimo da tamo moraju da pripadaju.* (slobodnaevropa.org, *Vjetar u leđa za srednjoškolce iz Jajca: Tražimo promjenu za sve škole u BiH*, June 19, 2017)
‘The problem is that we are totally immobilizing them through the education system as it is. We don’t teach them to fight for what they want. We force them already through education into *pens* and somehow decide that they have to belong there.’
- (35) *“Mislim da su ovdje djeca, prije svega, i njihovi roditelji, **taoci** beskrupuloznih političkih **igara**, čije bismo posljedice mogli da osjećamo 15 godina”, ocjenjuje Samir Beharić.* (slobodnaevropa.org, *Srednjoškolci Jajca: Prestanite nas dijeliti, nacionalizam ne želimo*, July 20, 2016)
‘“I think that here the children, above all, and their parents, are *hostages* of unscrupulous political *games*, the consequences of which we could feel for 15 years”, assesses Samir Beharić.’

¹⁷ THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING is a metaphorical system that explains how things in the world are conceptualized metaphorically, as well as their hierarchical relationship. HUMAN BEINGS, characterized by superior attributes and behaviors, are at the highest level and are followed by ANIMALS, PLANTS, COMPLEX OBJECTS, and NATURAL PHYSICAL THINGS (cf. Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Kövecses, 2010: 154).

- (36) "Ja sam davno rekla da se na ovaj način proizvodi vojska mladih ratnika, koji još nisu uzeli oružje, ali su strašna glasačka mašinerija." (slobodnaevropa.org, Ustavna diskriminacija u 'dvoje škole pod jednim krovom', August 4, 2021)

"I said a long time ago that in this way an army of young warriors is being produced, who have not yet taken up arms, but are a formidable voting machine."

A vast majority of linguistic metaphors in the corpus are neither novel nor signaled either by a simile or any other signaling device. Yet, there are other features that make the recipient aware of the intended metaphorical usage of an expression: some expressions appear close together in the individual articles and elicit the rhetorical effect of persuasion in media discourse.

- (37) Nakon odluke da se odustaje od osnivanja nove škole oglasila se i Asocijacija srednjoškolaca u BiH koja je saopćila da su srednjoškolci uspjeli u svojoj **borbi protiv** podjela „koje su im po ko zna koji put trebale biti nametnute od strane političke scene, koja poslije rata pokušava napraviti uslove za suživot tako što stvara fenomene 'dvoje škole pod jednim krovom'“. „Ipak ovo nije kraj priče, u utorak se vidimo ispred zgrade Vlade SBK u Travniku, gdje ćemo, nadamo se, po prvi put imati priliku sastati se sa ministricom Katicom Čerkez. Ovi **borci** i **heroji** našeg društva su zaslužili priliku da imaju otvoreni sastanak sa Ministarstvom obrazovanja, da pokažu zašto su se oni zalagali. Ovo nije bila samo **borba** za srednje škole u Jajcu, već **borba** protiv segregacije u obrazovanju i mi se nadamo da ćemo u njoj istrajati do kraja“, poručeno je iz Asocijacije srednjoškolaca. (slobodnaevropa.org, Srednjoškolci u Jajcu ostaju zajedno: Vlasti odustale od nove škole, June 17, 2017)¹⁸

'After the decision to abandon the establishment of a new school, the Association of High School Students in Bosnia and Herzegovina announced that the high school students succeeded in their *fight against* the divisions "that they know should have been imposed by the political scene, which after the war is trying to create conditions for coexistence by creating the phenomenon of 'two schools under one roof'". "However, this is not the end of the story, on Tuesday we will see you in front of the SBK Government building in Travnik, where, we hope, we will have the opportunity to meet with Minister Katica Čerkez for the first time. These *fighters* and *heroes* of our society deserved the opportunity to have an open meeting with the Ministry of Education, to say what they stood for. This was not only a *fight* for secondary schools in Jajce, but a *fight against* segregation in

¹⁸ This particular article alone contains 8 instances of metaphorical use of *borba* ('fight'), and 5 more metaphorical linguistic expressions from the domain of WAR.

education, and we hope that we will persevere in it until the end”, said the Association of High School Students.’

Apart from linguistic metaphors, media texts about ‘two schools under one roof’ abound with lexemes from the same semantic field. In other words, they can contain linguistic metaphors from one domain as well as non-metaphorical expressions from the same semantic field. For instance, in example (9), ‘front line’ is used non-figuratively to describe an actual line of fire during 1992-1995 war. In fact, the same article contains 3 instances of non-metaphorical use of ‘front line’, belonging to the semantic field of war. But it also contains a metaphorically used expression *struggling* from the conceptual domain of WAR:

- (38) *While friction between communities is rare in daily life, Amna Popovac, an activist in Mostar for Nasa Stranka, a multiethnic party **struggling to break down barriers**, said nationalist political leaders, all of them men, constantly stoke fear of conflict to rally support and avoid tackling real problems. (The New York Times, In a Divided Bosnia, Segregated Schools Persist, December 1, 2018)*

This stimulating context (the abundance of metaphorical expressions from the WAR domain and non-metaphorical expressions from the semantic field of war) often triggers the creation of more active use of influential metaphors which often lie dormant only to be exploited when contextual factors prompt them to and used to elicit rhetorical effects (notably persuasion). One such case is an allusion to metaphor, which is identified on protesters’ placards reading “Death to Politics, Freedom to Education” (example 6). The basic meaning of *death* is “the permanent end of the life of a person or animal” (*Collins*), while its contextual meaning is “The death of something is the permanent end of it”, i.e. “termination or destruction, e.g. the death of colonialism” (*Collins*). The basic meaning of *freedom* is “personal liberty, as from slavery, bondage, serfdom, etc.” (*Collins*), and its contextual meaning refers to “autonomy, self-government, or independence” (*Collins*). The creation of this slogan, however, was inspired by the slogan “Death to fascism, freedom to the people!”. This was a motto of the Yugoslav Partisans, first introduced by the Communists and afterward accepted as the official slogan of the entire resistance movement during the Second World War. This shows that war terminology prevailing in Bosnian-Herzegovinian public discourse inspires the reiteration of slogans with implicit associations to war. Given that allusion to metaphor is a specific type of direct metaphor (Steen, 2010b: 47), it is automatically labelled as deliberate at the communicative level of analysis. Due to its perspective-changing function in discourse, deliberate metaphor is a suitable cognitive device for the ideological manipulation of recipients (in this particular case that some metaphorical war is still at play).

6. Conclusion

Applying Steen et al.'s (2010) three-dimensional model of metaphor analysis, this paper has analyzed figurative language about ‘two schools under one roof’ used in media texts in English and Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian. This research has presented a diverse set of conceptual metaphors helping us to filter correspondences between different entities in order to better understand the social construct known as ‘two schools under one roof’. It has been established that metaphors have been used sparsely as perspective-changing devices, i.e. deliberate metaphors and their potentials have been underused. In order to persuade and shape the discussion, journalists turned to non-deliberate metaphor use rather than overt use of metaphor as a perspective-changing device. The dominance of the WAR metaphors supports, if not instigates, verbal conflicts and creates the feeling that segregation is ‘necessary’, in the sense that one ‘needs’ to distance oneself from a hostile ‘Other’. Through repetition and reiteration of linguistic metaphors from WAR domain, recipients are being persuaded that some form of metaphorical war is still at play. Directing the public towards a certain viewpoint influences the recipients’ perception and encourages them to draw on the same ideologies in making sense of the topic at hand.

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Appendix

Table 1: Conceptual domains and the corresponding linguistic metaphors in English texts

Target domain	Source domain	Linguistic metaphors	Total
SOCIAL-IMPACT EFFORTS	WAR	<i>fighting (3), struggling (1), struggle (1), battle (1), march (1), fight (3), fought (2), against (2), heroes (2), a hero's welcome (1)</i>	17
	WATER	<i>a drop in the ocean (1)</i>	1
	SPORT	<i>scoring (1), victory (1), against (1)</i>	3
	VIOLENT ACT	<i>rebellion (1)</i>	1
SOCIAL CONSTRAINTS	PHYSICAL CONSTRAINTS	<i>break down (1), barriers (1)</i>	2
OPENING OF SEGREGATED SCHOOLS	GAME (OF CHESS)	<i>gambit (1)</i>	1
SEGREGATED SCHOOLS	PRISON	<i>prisons (2)</i>	2
	FACTORY	<i>factories of hatred (2)</i>	2
STATE-RUN SCHOOL	OBSTACLE	<i>obstacle (1)</i>	1
COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS	PERSON	<i>death to politics (1), freedom to education (1), staggering COUNTRY (1), sleepwalking (1), sit (1)</i>	5
	DISEASE	<i>cancer (1)</i>	1
	BUILDING	<i>collapse (1)</i>	1
	WARZONE	<i>battlefield (1)</i>	1
	TOOL	<i>tool (1)</i>	1
HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS	BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION	<i>build (1), bridges (1)</i>	2
	TRADE	<i>embargo (1)</i>	1
CHILDREN/STUDENTS	WATER	<i>stream (1)</i>	1
	FRUIT	<i>apples (1), pears (1)</i>	2
SCHOOL SEGREGATION	HEALTH CONDITION	<i>hangover (1)</i>	1
			46

Table 2: Conceptual domains in the corresponding linguistic metaphors in Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian texts

Target domain	Source domain	Linguistic metaphors	Total
SOCIAL-IMPACT EFFORTS	WAR	<i>borba</i> (18), <i>protiv</i> (11), <i>borili</i> (2), <i>borimo</i> (1), <i>borci</i> (1), <i>heroji</i> (1), <i>bitku</i> (1), <i>borio</i> (1), <i>bore</i> (2)	38
	MOVEMENT	<i>preduzeti korake</i> (2), <i>korak naprijed</i> (1), <i>pozicionih koraka</i> (1), <i>slijepu ulicu</i> (1), <i>ćorsokak</i> (1)	6
	VIOLENT ACT	<i>pobunili</i> (2), <i>pobune</i> (1), <i>pobuna</i> (1), <i>pobunio</i> (1), <i>udarati</i> (1), <i>ustanak</i> (1), <i>obračun</i> (2)	9
OPENING OF SEGREGATED SCHOOLS	GAME	<i>igri</i> (1)	1
SEGREGATED SCHOOLS	WARZONE	<i>poligon</i> (1)	1
	BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION	<i>betonira</i> (1), <i>cementirao</i> (1)	2
EDUCATIONAL SETTING	THEATRE	<i>na sceni</i> (2), <i>teatralan</i> (1)	3
CHILDREN / STUDENTS	ANIMALS	<i>torove</i> (1)	1
	HOSTAGES	<i>taoci političkih igara</i> (1)	1
	MILITARY	<i>vojska</i> (1), <i>ratnika</i> (1)	2
	TOOLS	<i>glasačka mašinerija</i> (1)	1
	FRUIT	<i>jabuke</i> (2), <i>kruške</i> (2)	4
SOCIAL CONSTRAINTS	PHYSICAL CONSTRAINTS	(<i>zidovi</i>) <i>u glavama</i> (1)	1
COMPLEX	PERSON	<i>umiješala svoje prste</i> (1), <i>brutalno izivljava</i> (1)	2
ABSTRACT SYSTEMS	TRADE	<i>lomljenje političkih računa</i> (1)	1
	FORCE	<i>pritisak</i> (3)	3
	PERSON	<i>preživi</i> (1), <i>napreduje</i> (2), <i>uđe</i> (1)	4
	BODY PART	<i>srce</i> Evrope (1)	1
			81

Table 3: Overview of metaphors in English according to the three-dimensional model

Linguistic level – linguistic metaphor	Examples from English subcorpus	Total
Indirect metaphor	<i>fighting</i> (3), <i>struggling</i> (1), <i>struggle</i> (1), <i>battle</i> (1), <i>march</i> (1), <i>fight</i> (3), <i>fought</i> (2), <i>against</i> (3), <i>heroes</i> (2), <i>a hero's welcome</i> (1), <i>a drop in the ocean</i> (1), <i>scoring</i> (1), <i>victory</i> (1), <i>rebellion</i> (1), <i>break down</i> (1), <i>barriers</i> (1), <i>gambit</i> (1), <i>sit</i> (1), <i>battlefield</i> (1), <i>obstacle</i> (1), <i>collapse</i> (1), <i>sleepwalking</i> (1), <i>build</i> (1), <i>bridges</i> (1), <i>embargo</i> (1), <i>stream</i> (1), <i>apples</i> (1), <i>pears</i> (1), <i>tool</i> (1), <i>staggering</i> (1)	38
Direct metaphor	The system as we have it now is a cancer. (1); Segregation in schools is a hangover from the nationalist politics (1); The schools are “prisons and factories of hatred” (2); “ <i>Death to Politics, Freedom to Education</i> ” (allusion to metaphor) (1)	5
Implicit metaphor	--	0
Conceptual level – conceptual metaphor		
Conventional metaphor	<i>fighting</i> (3), <i>struggling</i> (1), <i>struggle</i> (1), <i>battle</i> (1), <i>march</i> (1), <i>fight</i> (3), <i>fought</i> (2), <i>against</i> (3), <i>heroes</i> (2), <i>a hero's welcome</i> (1), <i>a drop in the ocean</i> (1), <i>scoring</i> (1), <i>victory</i> (1), <i>rebellion</i> (1), <i>break down</i> (1), <i>barriers</i> (1), <i>gambit</i> (1), <i>sit</i> (1), <i>battlefield</i> (1), <i>obstacle</i> (1), <i>collapse</i> (1), <i>sleepwalking</i> (1), <i>build</i> (1), <i>bridges</i> (1), <i>embargo</i> (1), <i>stream</i> (1), <i>apples</i> (1), <i>pears</i> (1), <i>tool</i> (1), <i>cancer</i> (1), <i>hangover</i> (1), <i>prisons</i> (1), <i>factories</i> (1), <i>death</i> (1), <i>freedom</i> (1), <i>staggering</i> (1)	44
Novel metaphor	---	0
Communicative level – deliberate metaphor		
Deliberate metaphor	a) direct metaphors (4 AIS B form; 1 allusion to metaphor) The system as we have it now is a cancer. (1); Segregation in schools is a hangover from the nationalist politics (1); The schools are "prisons and factories of hatred (2); “ <i>Death to Politics, Freedom to Education</i> ” (allusion to metaphor) (1) b) textual markers (0) c) creative instances (0)	5
Nondeliberate metaphor	<i>fighting</i> (3), <i>struggling</i> (1), <i>struggle</i> (1), <i>battle</i> (1), <i>march</i> (1), <i>fight</i> (3), <i>fought</i> (2), <i>against</i> (3), <i>heroes</i> (2), <i>a hero's welcome</i> (1), <i>a drop in the ocean</i> (1), <i>scoring</i> (1), <i>victory</i>	38

	(1), <i>rebellion</i> (1), <i>break down</i> (1), <i>barriers</i> (1), <i>gambit</i> (1), <i>sit</i> (1), <i>battlefield</i> (1), <i>obstacle</i> (1), <i>collapse</i> (1), <i>sleepwalking</i> (1), <i>build</i> (1), <i>bridges</i> (1), <i>embargo</i> (1), <i>stream</i> (1), <i>apples</i> (1), <i>pears</i> (1), <i>tool</i> (1), <i>staggering</i> (1)	
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Table 4: Overview of metaphors in Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian according to the three-dimensional model

Linguistic level - linguistic metaphor	Examples from Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian sub-corpus	Total
Indirect metaphor	<i>borba</i> (18), <i>protiv</i> (11), <i>borili</i> (2), <i>borimo</i> (1), <i>borci</i> (1), <i>heroji</i> (1), <i>bitku</i> (1), <i>borio</i> (1), <i>bore</i> (2), <i>preduzeti korake</i> (2), <i>korak naprijed</i> (1), <i>pozitivnih koraka</i> (1), <i>slijepu ulicu</i> (1), <i>čorsokak</i> (1), <i>pobunili</i> (2), <i>pobune</i> (1), <i>pobuna</i> (1), <i>pobunio</i> (1), <i>udarati</i> (1), <i>ustanak</i> (1), <i>obračun</i> (2), <i>igri</i> (1), <i>poligon</i> (1), <i>betonira</i> (1), <i>cementirao</i> (1), <i>na sceni</i> (2), <i>teatralan</i> (1), <i>torove</i> (1), <i>taoci političkih igara</i> (1), <i>vojska</i> (1), <i>ratnika</i> (1), <i>glasačka mašinerija</i> (1), <i>jabuke</i> (2), <i>kruške</i> (2), (zidovi) <i>u glavama</i> (1), <i>umiješala svoje prste</i> (1), <i>brutalno izživljava</i> (1), <i>lomljenje političkih računa</i> (1), <i>pritisak</i> (3), <i>preživi</i> (1), <i>napreduje</i> (2), <i>uđe</i> (1), <i>srce</i> (1)	81
Direct metaphor	---	0
Implicit metaphor	<i>oni</i> (= zidovi u glavama);	1
Conceptual level - conceptual metaphor		
Conventional metaphor	<i>borba</i> (18), <i>protiv</i> (11), <i>borili</i> (2), <i>borimo</i> (1), <i>borci</i> (1), <i>heroji</i> (1), <i>bitku</i> (1), <i>borio</i> (1), <i>bore</i> (2), <i>preduzeti korake</i> (2), <i>korak naprijed</i> (1), <i>pozitivnih koraka</i> (1), <i>slijepu ulicu</i> (1), <i>čorsokak</i> (1), <i>pobunili</i> (2), <i>pobune</i> (1), <i>pobuna</i> (1), <i>pobunio</i> (1), <i>udarati</i> (1), <i>ustanak</i> (1), <i>obračun</i> (2), <i>igri</i> (1), <i>poligon</i> (1), <i>betonira</i> (1), <i>cementirao</i> (1), <i>na sceni</i> (2), <i>teatralan</i> (1), <i>torove</i> (1), <i>taoci političkih igara</i> (1), <i>vojska</i> (1), <i>ratnika</i> (1), <i>glasačka mašinerija</i> (1), <i>jabuke</i> (2), <i>kruške</i> (2), (zidovi) <i>u glavama</i> (1), <i>umiješala svoje prste</i> (1), <i>brutalno izživljava</i> (1), <i>lomljenje političkih računa</i> (1), <i>pritisak</i> (3), <i>preživi</i> (1), <i>napreduje</i> (2), <i>uđe</i> (1), <i>srce</i> (1)	81
Novel metaphor	---	
Communicative level - deliberate metaphor		
Deliberate metaphor	---	0
Nondeliberate metaphor	<i>borba</i> (18), <i>protiv</i> (11), <i>borili</i> (2), <i>borimo</i> (1), <i>borci</i> (1), <i>heroji</i> (1), <i>bitku</i> (1), <i>borio</i> (1), <i>bore</i> (2), <i>preduzeti korake</i> (2), <i>korak naprijed</i> (1), <i>pozitivnih koraka</i> (1), <i>slijepu ulicu</i> (1), <i>čorsokak</i>	81

	(1), <i>pobunili</i> (2), <i>pobune</i> (1), <i>pobuna</i> (1), <i>pobunio</i> (1), <i>udara- ti</i> (1), <i>ustanak</i> (1), <i>obračun</i> (2), <i>igri</i> (1), <i>poligon</i> (1), <i>betonira</i> (1), <i>cementirao</i> (1), <i>na sceni</i> (2), <i>teatralan</i> (1), <i>torove</i> (1), <i>taoci političkih igara</i> (1), <i>vojska</i> (1), <i>ratnika</i> (1), <i>glasačka</i> <i>mašinerija</i> (1), <i>jabuke</i> (2), <i>kruške</i> (2), <i>(zidovi) u glavama</i> (1), <i>umiješala svoje prste</i> (1), <i>brutalno izživljava</i> (1), <i>lomljen- je političkih računa</i> (1), <i>pritisak</i> (3), <i>preživi</i> (1), <i>napreduje</i> (2), <i>uđe</i> (1), <i>srce</i> (1)	
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