Variation in Political Metaphor

EDITED BY

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Variation in Political Metaphor

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Studying variation in political metaphor

From discourse analysis to experiment

Min Reuchamps, Paul H. Thibodeau and Julien Perrez

The introduction offers an overview of the literature on political metaphors, with Critical Discourse Analysis and Conceptual Metaphor Theory as starting points. It then presents the main objective of the book, viz. to study the variation in political metaphor, based on the analyses of actual data, from diverse corpora, political actors and countries. On this basis, the threefold approach to variation in political metaphor is presented: diachronic, functional and methodological variations.

Metaphor research is thriving, especially in the domain of political discourse. Recent decades have witnessed a flourishing of work that is seeking to identify and analyze the use of metaphors in politics. Much of this work has taken an ideological perspective – "the politicization of metaphor research" (Twardzisz 2013: 50). Given this surge of publications on political metaphors, it might seem unnecessary to propose another book on this topic.

However, recent developments in the analysis of political metaphors have demonstrated that one of the most distinctive features of metaphors in political discourse is their variation. That is, the same metaphor can convey different meanings and therefore can be used for very different purposes. Musolff, in *Political Metaphor Analysis: Discourse and Scenarios* (2016), shows that metaphors are characterized by their variability. To study this variability, he proposes the notion of a 'metaphor scenario', which is a "discourse-based, culturally and historically mediated version of a source domain" (Musolff 2016: 30). The notion of a 'metaphor scenario' is closely related to the theory of frames (Fillmore 1975; Taylor 1995: 87 – 90) defined as "'schematic' conceptual ensembles that include a selection of domain elements and an action 'script', which help the receiver to integrate new linguistic or other semiotic input into a context that makes it meaningful" (Musolff 2016: 30). He explains that "scenarios in themselves are not metaphor-specific or grounded in a particular source domain but should rather be seen as conceptual patterns that emerge in discourse and are made narratively and argumentatively coherent by

specific metaphors, which in turn makes them prime candidates for 'self-fulfilling prophecies' (Musolff 2016: 87).

Building on the existence of a few basic metaphors (such as POLITICS IS WAR or THE NATION IS A PERSON, and more generally the use of the source domains of WAR, FAMILY, BODY and PERSON for politics and political entities) that are used in different metaphor scenarios, the central question addressed in this book is how variations in political metaphors can be observed and explained. This issue raises several sub-questions. Why does the same politician use different metaphors to serve different functions? How do metaphors evolve through time? What is the influence of the discourse genre and/or the medium on the use of political metaphors? And above all, how can we apprehend and analyze political metaphors? Scholars from several disciplines seek to identify and analyze political metaphors but also to assess their impact and above all how they are used, by whom and why. The aim of this book is to bring together these scholars and to foster an interdisciplinary dialogue about metaphors in political discourse. This means bringing together scholars that do not necessarily speak to one another very often.

1.   Critical discourse analysis and conceptual metaphor theory as starting points

The idea of the book is to offer a collection of papers that take Critical Discourse Analysis and Conceptual Metaphor Theory as starting points, given their respective important contribution to the analysis of metaphors in the past few decades. Both approaches have been instrumental in drawing attention to political metaphor. At their core, both emphasize that a "political metaphor thus serves primarily as a means to change meanings, and hence, to change social and political attitudes" (Musolff 2016: 136).

On the one hand, as advocated by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), discourse can be regarded as a "form of social practice" (Fairclough & Wodak 1997). Discourses can contribute to the construction of social and political reality. Specifically, "through discourses, social actors constitute objects of knowledge, situations and social roles as well as identities and interpersonal relations between different social groups and those who interact with them" (Wodak et al., 2009: 8). In political science, it is also increasingly acknowledged that 'discourses' are not mere words and ideas assembled in oral or text material. Discourses matter in politics. This is the motto of the new "discursive institutionalism" (Campbell & Pedersen 2001: 9–14). Discourse contributes to explaining political phenomena as "they exert a causal influence in political reality and, thereby, engender institutional change (or continuity)" (Schmidt 2008: 306).

"Taking discourse seriously" as advocated by Panizza and Miorelli (2013) does not entail that actors' discourses constitute a panacea for explaining all institutional changes. Instead, the substantive argument behind discursive institutionalism is that the scientific knowledge accumulated by historic institutionalism and rational institutionalism are as extensive as their analytical frameworks restrict them. In other words, institutional evolution cannot be exclusively understood by the mere interrelationships of power and interests among strategic actors. Institutional changes *also* require the analysis of politics as the result of "discursive interactions of sentient actor [s]" (Schmidt 2009: 529). In this respect, discourse constitutes a key resource for actors in their effort to (de) legitimate the institutions they develop.

In this attention to discourse, it should be noted that a discourse "encompasses not only the substantive content of ideas but also the interactive processes by which ideas are conveyed" (Schmidt 2008: 305). This is precisely why the researchers interested in political discourse should study figurative language, and especially metaphor: because they often refer to these abstract political ideas. In this light, Fairclough explains that metaphors matter for CDA because "different metaphors have different ideological attachments" (Fairclough 2001: 119). Studying metaphors provides access to what is hidden by the discourse and by the metaphor in particular. Similarly, Charteris-Black offers a 'Critical Metaphor Analysis' (Charteris-Black 2004) that aims to uncover how metaphors bring about ideological bias and manipulative effect.

The interest in the study of metaphors also comes with the idea that "We live by metaphors", which was pushed forward after the seminal work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) they developed is based on the idea that metaphors are conceptual in nature, allowing us to perceive, understand and structure our environment. Central to this process is the mapping between a target domain, which is typically an abstract entity or process, and a source domain, which is based on the sensorimotor perception of our environment. Consider for instance the conceptual metaphor TIME IS SPACE. According to CMT, we understand the abstract domain of time in terms of our physical experience of space (see for instance Casasanto & Boroditsky 2008; Kövecses 2010; Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Such conceptual metaphors are realized in various communication modes, including language, pictures and co-verbal gestures (see for instance Forceville & Urios-Aparisi 2009 on the multimodal character of conceptual metaphors). This is why studying how metaphors are realized in language can help us understand how we make sense of our political environment. Metaphor is a central component of human cognition; it is "a central cognitive process for abstract conceptualization and reasoning" (Johnson 2010: 412).

Conceptual metaphors can be defined as "understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain" (Kövecses 2010). They are of

particular importance in politics as has been highlighted by many scholars (see among others Carver & Pikalo 2008; Charteris-Black 2011, 2013; Lakoff 1996; Musolff 2004). This can be explained by two main factors. On the one hand, most of our political concepts are metaphorical in nature (Lakoff 1996, 2004). This means that our understanding of complex and abstract political concepts and processes is based on conceptual metaphors. This has been confirmed by numerous studies showing the importance of metaphors in various kinds of political discourse, including elite discourse (see for instance Charteris-Black 2011, 2013; Debras & L'Hôte 2015; L'Hôte 2012), media discourse (Musolff 2004) and citizen discourse (Perrez & Reuchamps 2014, 2015b).

On the other hand, metaphors are central to the domain of politics because they have the potential to frame the debate (Lakoff 2004) and indirectly convey hidden ideologies (Goatly 2007). Framing can be defined as "[…] select [ing] some aspects of a perceived reality and mak [ing] it more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the described item" (Entman 1993: 52). Using a particular metaphor to depict a given reality will activate a particular frame and highlight some aspects of this reality, while hiding others. Through framing, "metaphor helps construct particular aspects of reality and reproduce (or subvert) dominant schemas" (Koller 2009: 121).

This framing function of metaphors suggests that they influence or even determine the representations of a given reality in the receiver's mind. However, in the literature, this political impact of metaphors is often taken for granted, as if the production of a particular metaphor automatically triggers different representations of a given entity (Perrez & Reuchamps 2015a). But as it has been suggested by Krennmayr and colleagues (2014: 67): "if metaphorical language can potentially influence people's views on topics, and consequently their actions, it is important to know under which conditions people are most likely to build representations of a text they read on a metaphorical schema". In fact, understanding a political metaphor can vary greatly across people, culture and time (Musolff 2016).

2.   Variation in political metaphors

The objective of this book is to go beyond the mere identification and analysis of conceptual metaphors in political discourse. It starts from the finding that recurring conceptual domains are used to characterize politics, political entities and political issues. Yet, while the same domains are often discussed, the specific metaphors used to describe them often change. Therefore, the ambition of the book is to study the variations in political metaphors and to understand which metaphors are used in

a particular political situation. This is a distinctive feature of political metaphors: they are not only metaphors in political discourse, but more than that, they are used with a political goal, that is creating political expectations and/or realizing political objectives and actions. In this context, this book focuses on variables which might influence metaphor use and cause its variation, such as gender, evolution through time, the particular political context or political function. This perspective will enable us to better understand their role in political discourse.

The objective of studying variation in metaphors is not new. Kövecses has explored intercultural and cross-cultural variation concerning the position, shape and ingredients of the heart as a container of emotions (1986, 1990, 1995, 2000). For political metaphors, Musolff (2016) has shown their variability and how this variability was used in a political purpose. On this basis, this book seeks to understand why metaphors are used in a given context. Or as Musolff puts it "Any study of metaphor that is committed to, or at least interested in, a critical investigation of how metaphors can serve to convey ideologies and negotiate power relationships, therefore, needs to focus on their multifunctionality in situations of actual use" (2016: 4).

To do so, one needs to dig into actual data, possibly a massive load of authentic data. This book relies on papers that analyze actual data, including political discourse in a variety of formats: speeches, interviews, media accounts, but also TV broadcasts or commercial ads. In order to understand variation in political metaphors, we also need to investigate different corpora and genres. These are the distinctive features of this book. Indeed, the study of metaphors is today one of the most dynamic areas of study in the field of linguistics, discourse studies, communication broadly. Therefore, the study of metaphors generally has been a crowded field of research, especially in the wake of numerous CDA- and CMT-inspired works. While this book builds on this twofold background, it aims at going beyond these approaches with a focus on the variations of political metaphors, an issue that only started to be explored recently. In this regard, this book seeks to pursue the way opened by Musolff's *Political Metaphor Analysis: Discourse and Scenarios* (2016).

This book, however, differs from the existing research projects in trying to dig further into political metaphors, analyzing empirically-rich real-world data, in a wide variety of political contexts, discourse genres and political actors. To this end, we build on the insights provided by CDA, CMT and, at the crossroad of both, Musolff (2016)'s work. In sum, this book has three major assets in light of the current state of the field. First, it seeks to understand the variation in political metaphors (and thus going beyond their mere identification and their relationship with general conceptual frames). Second, it does so in digging into large sets of real-world data from many different locations (to name but a few: Australia, Belgium, Croatia, Greece, USA), different media (speeches, interviews, political

party manifestos), across time and actors with different functions. Third, this book brings together scholars from several disciplines, including linguistics, political science and communication studies; the collection, therefore, offers an interdisciplinary overview in studying variations in political metaphors.

Because of this comprehensive scope, this book shall attract a diverse readership. We expect that the book should find readers among the entire metaphors community and also among those interested in discourse studies, communication and political science in general. Because it is grounded in empirical analysis on real-world data, readers interested in some specific chapters will also have an interest in the book. This book is also likely to be used in classrooms worldwide as a textbook for – advanced – undergraduate and graduate students, especially those in political science, communication, linguistics and discourse studies. Last but not least, this book should have an appeal to people working in discourse practice. In the last years, a wide range of political actors, NGOs and governmental agencies are attempting to reflect upon their discourse practice. This need is particularly acute among political actors where metaphors are often used but not always in a "controlled" manner. For all these practitioners, it is good to know something about political metaphors that they are tempted to use so often. Therefore, it is essential that research can show ways to understand political metaphors and the variation in their use.

3.   Structure of the book

The book studies political metaphors from three main perspectives, namely a diachronic perspective (Does metaphor use evolve through time and political context?), a functional perspective (Does metaphor use vary according to the political function a politician is fulfilling?) and a methodological perspective (Which method is used to analyze the role of metaphors in political discourse?). The different chapters in this book focus on one or more of these three dimensions.

In Chapter 1, Kathleen Ahrens proposes a comparative study of the role-dependent use of metaphor in politics, used by Hillary Clinton in her personal speeches in the roles of a U.S. Presidential Spouse, a U.S. Senator, and as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President. To date there have been no studies that look at a single politician in different roles. The chapter focuses on WAR metaphors used by Hillary Clinton in her personal speeches in these three different roles. In order to examine her metaphor usage, three corpora are created: The First Lady Corpus, which contains 253 speeches and approximately 888,000 words, the Senator Corpus, which contains 131 speeches and approximately 360,000 words and the 2008 Presidential Candidate Corpus, which contains 106 speeches and

approximately 357,000 words. Kathleen Ahrens finds that Clinton's choice of metaphors has varied with her roles. She uses the PROTECTION IS A BATTLE frame 38% of the time and does so more frequently as Senator than Candidate and more frequently as Candidate than as First Lady. Furthermore, her use of individual conceptual metaphors has also varied with respect to her role. As First Lady, she was primarily concerned with protecting citizens and stopping disease, while as Senator and Candidate she used metaphorical language to denounce terrorism and protect privacy and to ensure economic development. In short, her metaphor's use shows a politician who chooses her battles carefully and according to the political function she is fulfilling.

Chapter 2 by Pauline Heyvaert follows on the study of metaphor variation with different politicians in the same discursive context. Namely, the Prime Minister's yearly inaugural speeches and responses in Belgium over a period of ten years. This accounts for a corpus of over one million words, including the speeches of five different Belgian Prime ministers. The results suggest that one important variable explaining the variation of political metaphors is the political situation in which a country finds itself at a given time: the more hectic the political landscape, the more metaphor variation occurs. Relying on the MIPVU method, some of the most striking potentially deliberate metaphors are discussed, with the aim of explaining why these metaphorical mappings occur in a particular political context.

In Chapter 3, Nikolina Borčić and Ivona Čulo look at the political metaphors produced by former Croatian president, Ivo Josipović before, during and after his presidency. Conceptual metaphors are believed to be strong linguistic strategies for achieving the informative-persuasive language function. This chapter approaches the subject of political argumentation based on conceptual metaphor through the prism of synergies of the political topic, discourse strategies and the use of conceptual metaphor. The research was conducted on a sample of four political interviews with former Croatian President Ivo Josipović in a weekly talk show *Nedjeljom u dva* (*Sundays at Two*) aired on the public television channel, Croatian Television Channel 1 (HTV 1) in 2009, 2012, 2015 and 2016, which took place before, during and after his term. This contribution illustrates how political metaphor use can vary according to the role a politician is fulfilling.

Chapter 4 by Ben Fenton-Smith is concerned with the rhetorical, conceptual and pragmatic functions of metaphors in the discursive management of party leadership takeovers by political actors (i.e. their first public address in the role of party leader) in Australia. The data for this chapter comprises a corpus of speeches given in the aftermath of political deposals in Australian federal politics in the past quarter century. A distinction is proposed between 'internally oriented' metaphors, which reference the leadership takeover process itself, and 'externally oriented' metaphors, which direct the focus of the speech away from the takeover. These

orientations have varying consequences, both rhetorically and politically, as exemplified by the chapter. The data are also analyzed in terms of recurrent semantic domains expressed through metaphors, namely:

1. 'Forks in the Road': journeys, paths, directions, movement back-and-forth
2. 'Tough Fights': politics as war, sport and games
3. 'Solid Foundations': building up, climbing up, cutting down, eroding
4. 'Sleeves Rolled Up': leaders as laborers.

The analysis suggests that novel metaphors are more significant than recurring ones, because (a) they are less prone to the inattention that befalls conventionalized metaphors, and (b) the mediated nature of political discourse ensures that most people only receive selected sound bites of political speeches. The extent to which certain metaphorical constructions tend to align with progressive or conservative leaders is also considered.

Anastasios Vogiatzis, in Chapter 5, examines the use of figurative language in five speeches delivered by the Greek Prime Minister (PM) George A. Papandreou during the Greek financial crisis (2010–2011). These speeches were short proclamations broadcast live on Greek television. The aim of these speeches was to officially introduce to the public the collapse of the Greek economy, and most importantly, the change in the financial policies of the government which would be, or were, characterised by harsh economic measures such as job cuts, reduction of wages and pensions, as well as cuts on social spending to name just a few. The metaphors used in the speeches examined here build either positive or negative frames which appear in clusters within the speeches, especially in what concerns their positive or negative value. What makes these metaphors far more interesting is that they are placed, metaphorically, in a straightjacket, i.e. the *fiscal straightjacket.*

In Chapter 6, Liane Ströbel analyzes the use of sensorimotor-based concepts during and after presidential campaigns: Emmanuel Macron and Donald Trump. Sensorimotor-based concepts (SBCs), a variation of political metaphors, are frequently used in political discourse. The particular challenge with this kind of metaphor is that for a long time they kept 'under the radar'. SBCs are basic level concepts and can be used frequently and iteratively to convey a subliminal story line. The chapter seeks to call attention to SBCs and to the extent to which this subgroup of metaphors orchestrates a wide pragmatic range of precise, persuasive functions, by discussing differences in their usage during the French and U.S. presidential campaigns. In particular, in the speeches of Emmanuel Macron and Donald Trump before and after their respective election.

Jan Kovář, in Chapter 7, offers a political, rather than a linguistic, analysis of the variation of metaphors produced by political parties. Indeed, political parties

play an important role in offering the voters different choices on the European Union (EU) and European integration. From a methodological point of view, the literature on party positions on European integration and closely related literature on Euroscepticism largely relies on coding of election manifestos and expert surveys/judgments. This paper opts for a different approach based on the analysis of metaphors used by political parties in the discourse about the future form of European integration. Although the analysis of metaphors has become a popular tool for examining international politics, the application to studies of European integration and the EU has been scarce. On the basis of key conceptual metaphors used in discourses on the future of the EU that are identified from relevant literature as well as the corpus itself, Jan Kovář analyses Czech political parties' election manifestos issued for the 2004, 2009 and 2014 European Parliament elections. The analysis is, subsequently, connected to party positions on European integration and Euroscepticism.

For the last empirical contribution of the book, Chapter 8 by Paul Thibodeau, James Fleming and Maya Lannen explore methodological variation in the study of political metaphor, focusing on a comparison of two approaches: the Critical Discourse Approach (CDA) and experiments (a Response Elicitation Approach; REA). What kinds of political metaphors have been investigated on the two approaches and what insights have these studies revealed? What are the strengths and limitations of each approach? As cognitive psychologists, Paul Thibodeau, James Fleming and Maya Lannen have more experience with experiments, and their discussion is grounded in an exposition of the logic and mechanics of experimental design. But they advocate for methodological pluralism because understanding political metaphor is a multifaceted, interdisciplinary endeavor. Some research questions are better addressed through discourse analysis; others are better addressed with experiments; scholars should use the method that is best suited to addressing their research question.

The concluding chapter by Paul Thibodeau, Julien Perrez and Min Reuchamps synthesizes the contributions of each individual study into a cohesive whole. One goal is to provide a summary of the findings and implications of the studies at the intersection of the different disciplines interested in political metaphors: linguistics, discourse studies, communication and political science, to name but a few. Are there consistent themes and implications of the studies, for example? What do these findings mean for researchers, developing theories of political behavior? And what are the real-world implications of the studies? A second goal is to identify opportunities for future work. What else can we learn about the role of metaphor in politics using the methods described in the book? This is a long journey that is proposed to the readers in search of the variations of political metaphors.

The original character of this book lies in its intention to go beyond the observation that metaphors are a key characteristic of political discourse and to identify patterns of how external factors that are bound to the broader political context (such as the political role, the institutional context of the country, the gender of the politician, the policy field) might influence the choice of a particular conceptual metaphor or its linguistic realizations. This constitutes a first step towards a more comparative approach to political metaphor studies, aiming at understanding which types of metaphorical mappings are produced by which political actors in which political context, and with which political goals.

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CHAPTER 1

First Lady, Secretary of State and Presidential Candidate

A comparative study of the role-dependent use of metaphor in politics

Kathleen Ahrens

While many studies have examined to what extent politicians invoked a particular source domain to advance their ideology, no study to date has focused on the metaphor use of an individual politician across different political roles. This paper fills this gap by analyzing the WAR metaphors used by Hillary Clinton in her personal speeches in the roles of U.S. First Lady, a U.S. Senator, and as a candidate for the 2008 Democratic nomination for U.S. President and demonstrates that Clinton's metaphor use reflects a politician who chooses her battles carefully and invokes figurative language to gain support for the causes that are important to her.

Keywords: Conceptual Metaphor Theory, WAR metaphors, Hillary Clinton, Corpus Linguistics, Critical Metaphor Analysis

1.   Introduction

Linguistic analysis may be used to provide insight as to how a political leader views the economic, social and political issues facing his or her country. In particular, the relationship between text structure and issues of power and ideology in the society that produces those texts is a fundamental area of inquiry in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (i.e. Fairclough 2001; Van Dijk 1993, among others). Within CDA, the notion of identity, of either an individual or a group, is argued to be a social representation of politicians, and is reflected by their language use (i.e. Le 2002; Chilton 2004, among others). The contribution of this research is to extend the work of the CDA through the analysis of a single source domain of a particular conceptual metaphor. The general outlines of this approach will be familiar to those working in Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), which is a dual-domain approach within Cognitive Linguistics that seeks to model how a metaphor maps from a conceptual source domain to a conceptual target domain (i.e. Gibbs 1994;

Lakoff 1993; Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999; Kövecses 2002, 2005). These mappings give rise to the conceptual metaphors in the form of 'X is Y', in which the target X is more abstract than the source Y. As abstract as X is, it can be understood in terms of source Y by drawing on one's experience (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2002) or by accessing (in real time) the underlying conceptual mapping principles (Ahrens et al. 2007; Ahrens 2010).

Conceptual Metaphor Theory provides one major theoretical framework for metaphor studies. However, researchers have noted that this theory could benefit from the constraints provided by empirical evidence, such as the data that result from an experimentally based or corpus-based analysis. To fill this gap, Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) uses a keyword approach; namely by identifying a list of keywords (based on either the source or target domain) corresponding to a given conceptual metaphor, it is possible to analyze how conceptual metaphors are used to frame arguments and persuade hearers to follow a certain course of action (Charteris-Black 2004, 2005, 2006). CMA has been extensively applied in the analyses of texts and/or speeches of different political leaders around the world.[1] The novelty of the approach being taken here is that this study proposes that by systematically examining the target domains associated with a single source domain of a conventionalized conceptual metaphor, it can be demonstrated that patterns of language change as a function of the role of a given politician.[2] Another contribution is that while many male politicians (and a few female politicians including Margaret Thatcher, Angela Merkel, and Benazir Bhutto) have served as elected officials and political leaders of their respective countries, only one female politician, Hillary Clinton, has served her country in a ceremonial role as well as in elected capacity. It is her speeches during her time as First Lady, Senator, and as a candidate for the 2008 Democratic nomination for U.S. president that will serve as a corpus for metaphorical analysis. Using her speeches as the corpus for this study thus allows for the examination of the relationship between language and role identity to

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1. These studies include the investigation of Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom including Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair (Charteris-Black 2005), Presidents of the United States such as Ronald Reagan, George W. Bush, Bill Clinton, Martin Luther King (Ahrens 2006, 2011; Charteris-Black 2005; Lakoff 2002; Lim 2004), Senators of the United States (Ahrens & Lee 2009), Chancellors of Germany (Koller & Semino 2009), Italian Prime Ministers (Philip 2009; Semino & Koller 2009), and the President of Russia (Koteyko & Ryazanova-Clarke 2009). Contrastive cross-linguistic work on political metaphors has also been done, including Musolff (2004, 2006a, b, 2016; Musolff & Zinken 2009), and Chilton and Lylin (1993) who examine Russian, German and French data.

2. Borčić and Čulo in this volume explore the general topics (political, economic, social, private) used by a Croatian politician at different points in his political career but does not systematically examine the target domains used by a particular source domain as proposed herein.

determine if conceptual metaphor usage shifts as an individual's political role shifts, as well as allows for further exploration on the issue of gender norms in politics with respect to metaphor usage.

2.   Politics, gender and metaphor

Over the past several decades, the number of women serving in high-level political positions has increased throughout the world. The contrastive examination of the metaphorical language used by men and women in politics has been looked at in Ahrens (2009) with respect to political leaders in Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States.[3] Findings were mixed, with female political leaders in the United Kingdom, Germany and Italy differing from their male counterparts, while this difference was not seen in male and female politicians in the United States Senate (Ahrens & Lee 2009).

However, the reasons for the differences in male and female leaders in Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom are complex and have to do with not only gender but also history, personal experience, and personal expression. For example, Koller and Semino's (2009) comparison of the metaphors used by two Chancellors of Germany found that Gerhard Schröder used WAR metaphors more often than Angela Merkel, especially prior to a general election. However, Koller and Semino also pointed out that the use of WAR metaphors occurs much less frequently overall in Germany (and SPORTS metaphors not at all), which they attribute to the fact that 'rhetorical restraint' is preferred 'given the cataclysmic consequences of Germany's war-mongering regimes in the first half of the twentieth century…' (Koller and Semino 2009, p. 28). In addition, Charteris-Black (2009) looked at the metaphors used in British parliamentary debates and found that male members of parliament (MPs) used conventional metaphors having to do with health/illness and light/dark more often than female MPs, but he also noted that that tendency dropped over time, which he attributed to female MPs becoming more used to parliamentary norms, although he also pointed out that Harriet Harman was a notable exception as she used metaphors infrequently and yet won a deputy leader election.

Semino and Koller (2009) furthermore found that two prominent Italian politicians, one male and one female, both used metaphors associated with masculinity (i.e., both used WAR and SPORTS metaphors). However, they found that the politicians used them in different ways. The male politician, Berlusconi, used metaphors

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3.   Metaphors used about women political leaders are a separate line of inquiry (Anderson and Sheeler 2005). Lim (2009) also looks at the metaphors used to define Hillary Clinton at different points in her career.

in familiar, conventional ways while the female politician, Bonini, used them in less familiar ways "in order to … challenge dominant views … [and] as a concession to dominant, male-centered political discourse (Semino and Koller 2009, p. 56)". From the above discussion, it can be seen that cross-gender studies on metaphor usage have not found clear-cut differences between male and female politicians' conventional metaphor usages. Given that it is difficult to control for possible confounding factors (including years of experience, political roles served, political or party ideology, etc.) outside of experimental settings, it would be advantageous to look at the metaphors used by one individual who has moved between different and sometimes competing political roles within the same political party. Thus, this study proposes to examine variation in language use as a function of political role by identifying the conceptual metaphors for a particular source domain in the speeches of Hillary Clinton as First Lady, U.S. Senator, and presidential candidate. It will be shown that the target domains of the selected source domain vary according to political position, demonstrating a shift in Clinton's political identity as she takes on different political roles.[4]

In the discussion so far, the issue of which source domain to examine has been left deliberately vague. We have seen that previous work has looked at the use of WAR metaphors in comparative cross-gender studies (Koller & Semino 2009; Semino & Koller 2009) and it is this source domain that will be examined in the chapter, so as to provide a contrast with previous work as well as to compare the current analysis of Clinton's use with Charteris-Black's (2005) analysis of WAR metaphors in Margaret Thatcher's speeches. Thatcher was elected as the leader of the Conservative Party in Great Britain in 1975 and served as Prime Minister from 1979 to 1990. Charteris-Black demonstrates that her use of metaphors is strikingly different from that of the other male political leaders discussed: first, she uses metaphors less frequently, second, she draws much more heavily on WAR metaphors in comparison to men. In addition, he argues that she uses these metaphors not only to 'defend' values that she considers under 'attack' but also to lead attacks as a modern-day Boudicca against Great Britain's and her own political enemies.

However, not all research on the effects of gender in politics has been as clear-cut. One study found that female candidates benefited from exploiting feminine stereotypes (Herrnson, Lay & Stokes 2003), while Bystrom et al. (2004) found that female candidates often portray more masculine traits than their male counterparts and Banwart & McKinney (2005) found that those who do so are more likely to win. Nevertheless, once women have won the election and join an official elected body, such as the U.S. Congress or the British Parliament, studies have been

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4. Borčić & Čulo in this volume also examines how the use of personification changes during the course of a political career by examining televised interviews of Ivo Josipović, focusing on his interviews as a candidate, as Croatian president, and then as a former president.

consistent in finding that women adopt a masculine style of interaction and communication (Cameron 2005; Charteris-Black 2009; Gertzog 1995; Dodson 2006; Karpowitz & Mendel berg 2014; Eckert 2000; You 2014). Given that these institutions are male-dominated, it is not surprising that women, as the minority, try to adapt linguistically in order to project the masculine traits of strength, fortitude, and authority, even at the expense of being negatively labeled for failing to follow feminine norms, such as agreeableness.

Jones (2016) specifically exploited these markers of masculine and feminine style to examine Clinton's linguistic preferences as First Lady, Senator and Democratic nominee candidate for the presidency.[5] She finds that Clinton's feminine markers (first person singular pronouns, certain verbs and auxiliary verbs, social references, emotion words, tentative words and cognitive mechanisms) increased in 1992 and 1996 when she was campaigning for her spouse to become president, but that there was a drop in the use of feminine markers when she was working on health care legislation (as First Lady).[6] She also found an overall decline in the use of feminine markers between 1992 and 2012, with the exception of 1996 as just mentioned, and 2008, which Jones traces to the ultimately failed strategy to make Hillary Clinton more likable during her unsuccessful campaign for the 2008 Democratic Nomination for President.

While Jones (2016) has not postulated metaphor use as a possible marker, WAR metaphors have the potential to be associated with either male or female markers of language use, especially when the distinction between 'attack' metaphors and 'defense' metaphors are made, as Charteris-Black (2005) notes in his discussion of Thatcher's WAR metaphor usages. He argues that women are traditionally considered socially primed (and socially allowed) to defend those under their care, while men are socially primed (and socially allowed) to attack and kill, especially when serving in the military, which even to this day is primarily made up of men in all countries in the world. Thus, in order to draw a comparison with Thatcher's preference to use the conflict frame to attack perceived enemies, this paper will examine data related to Clinton's use of WAR metaphors to see if she varies in her preference for defense or attack metaphors within her different roles as First Lady, Senator, and Presidential Candidate. In addition, this paper will also examine if Clinton's use of WAR metaphors mirrored Jones's (2016) findings, with WAR metaphors increasing over time as Clinton moved from the traditionally feminine role of First Lady to the more traditionally masculine role of Senator and later, presidential candidate. Lastly, this paper will assess if there are dips in the number of WAR metaphors used

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5.   Jones (2016) uses the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) program to (Pennebaker, Booth, & Francis 2007) to analyse feminine and masculine linguistic markers.

6.   Words longer than six letters, first person plural pronouns, certain article and prepositions, anger words and swear words were considered as markers of masculine style (Jones 2016).

in the years 1996 and 2008 (as she worked to soften her image for her husband's presidential campaign and later soften her image for her own campaign for the Democratic nomination for President when she began to fall behind her main competitor, Barack Obama, in the delegate count).

3. Historical background on Clinton's political roles

The 2008 U.S. presidential contest was historic for having a viable female candidate in the election. For the very first time in U.S. history, a female candidate, Hillary Rodham Clinton (Clinton), could plausibly claim 'frontrunner' status in the race for the Democratic nomination for President.[7] She told the nation that she was the only candidate who would be 'Ready on Day One', implying that her experience in Washington as First Lady and Senator translated into preparedness for the presidency (Lawrence & Rose 2010). Her considerable name recognition to reach that point was built on her long resume of experience in the political context. Starting with her role as First Lady of President William J. Clinton from 1993 to 2001, she played an active role in raising public concerns on issues relating to the health and welfare of children (Clinton 2003). After her husband completed his second four-year term as U.S. President, she maintained a high level of popularity and won the election for a seat in the U.S. Senate as one of two representatives for the state of New York from 2001 to 2009. In her role as Senator she contested the Democratic nomination for the U.S. presidency during 2007–2008. From First Lady to U.S. Senator to a U.S. presidential candidate, Clinton was a powerful political figure for over twenty years starting from the early 1990s.[8]

4. Political corpora

Recent political texts can be readily found on-line and provide raw data as a starting point for corpus creation. In terms of speeches made by Hillary Clinton as First Lady of the United States (1993–2000), a list of individual speeches can be found in the archive of First Lady's official website.[9] The Senator Corpus was created from

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7. Over the past approximately 150 years, the United States has had two main political parties: Democrats and Republicans. Every four years each party holds a nomination process to decide who to put forward to compete against the other party's candidate for the position of President of the United States.

8. She also served as Secretary of State under President Obama from 2009 to 2013 and successfully contested the Democratic nomination for President in 2016 before losing the Electoral College (and thus, the Presidency) to Republican nominee Donald Trump.

9. The website is: http://clinton3.nara.gov/WH/EOP/First_Lady/html/HILLARY_Home.html.

the U.S. Senate floor speeches in html text on the official government website (clinton.senate.gov) when Clinton was still Senator in 2008.[10] For speeches delivered by Hillary Clinton as the nominee of the Democratic Party for 2008 United States presidential election, a list of her remarks can be downloaded from the archive of The American Presidency Project.[11] Table 1 provides information by year about the positions Hillary Clinton served, the number of speeches in each corpus for a particular year, and the number of words for each year.

Table 1. Hillary Clinton corpus 1993–2008

Corpus	Year	No. of speeches	Word count
The First Lady Corpus (F)	1993	10	56,715
	1994	22	64,009
	1995	21	41,424
	1996	7	104,187
	1997	29	84,341
	1998	71	169,349
	1999	86	327,508
	2000	7	40,076
Sub-total	1993–2000	253	887,609
The Senator Corpus (S)	2001	24	42,185
	2002	17	28,176
	2003	13	34,332
	2004	7	29,243
	2005	30	91,731
	2006	33	113,805
	2007S	7	19,695
Sub-total	2001–2007S	131	359,167
The Presidential Candidate Corpus (P)	2007P	47	188,915
	2008	59	167,790
Sub-total	2007P-2008	106	356,705
Total	1993–2008	490	1,603,481

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10. These speeches can now be found on www.congress.gov and using the correct search filters to find instances where Clinton spoke in the Senate (as was not just being referred to).

11. The website is available at: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/2008_election_speeches.php?-candidate=70. For the raw data mentioned on the websites above, the entire text is returned for a given lexeme, which is not conducive to further linguistic analysis. A corpus needs to be built so that a key-word-in-context (KWIC) search can be run and the keyword can be returned in the center of the screen, and further permutations can be then run (such as aligning to the left or right of the keyword) in order to establish collocational patterns.

5.   Methods

Metaphor identification and analysis can be a controversial and contentious theoretical issue, and there are various approaches to this question (i.e. Steen 1999a, 1999b, 2002, 2008; Steen et al. 2010; Pragglejazz Group 2007; Goatly 2007, among many others). Since the goal of this study is to identify metaphors that use the source domain of WAR and to identify whether each word in a text is a metaphorical usage or not, the following approach is taken: First, based on previous research with the American Presidential Corpus and Charteris-Black's work (2004, 2005), possible keywords for WAR were identified: *protect*, *defend*, *attack*, *combat*, *struggle*, *battle, fight, war, threat, destroy and defeat*. These keywords were then searched for in SUMO[12] and ascertained to be related to the source domain of WAR as either a hyponym of the category ViolentContest and/or related to MilitaryProcesses or Bombing or Killing. If none of these conditions were met (which was the case for 'protect'), the lexeme was then searched for in WordNet[13] to ascertain if it was a direct hypernym of a lexeme that was in ViolentContest in SUMO. As 'protect' has the direct hypernyms 'on the defensive' and 'act against an attack', it was also included as one of the keywords examined herein.[14]

The keywords were searched for in the Clinton's First Lady Corpus, the Senator Corpus and Presidential Candidate Corpus. Singular and plural forms of nouns and all variations of tenses for verb uses were searched for (see Appendix 1). Next, two researchers read through the examples with these keywords highlighted. At this first stage, the target domain was not yet identified – the task for both readers was to independently identify which keywords are being used in a literal sense and which are being used in a metaphorical sense, based on Pragglejazz Group's (2007) guidelines for determining conceptual metaphor use. These guidelines have been independently developed and used previously in the literature (i.e. Barnden 2010; Cienki 2008; Herrera Soler 2008; Kimmel 2010). After metaphorical usages were identified, then the two researchers determined the target domain based on the context.

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12. Available at: http://www.adampease.org/OP/.

13. Available at: http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn.

14. The point of using SUMO and WordNet was to find independent corroboration for identifying these keywords as part of the domain of WAR. Further discussion can be found in Chung, Ahrens, Huang 2003; Chung, Huang, Ahrens 2004;, Huang, Chung, Ahrens 2007; Ahrens, Chung, Huang 2003).

6. Results

After running the keyword search, 2531 instances were identified in the corpus. Of these, 969 were identified as metaphorical.

6.1 Time

Figure 1 shows the distribution of WAR metaphors over time. We find a clear increase in Clinton's use of WAR metaphors when she served as Senator (2001–2007S) and Presidential Candidate (2007P-2008) as compared with her time as First Lady (1993–2000).[15]
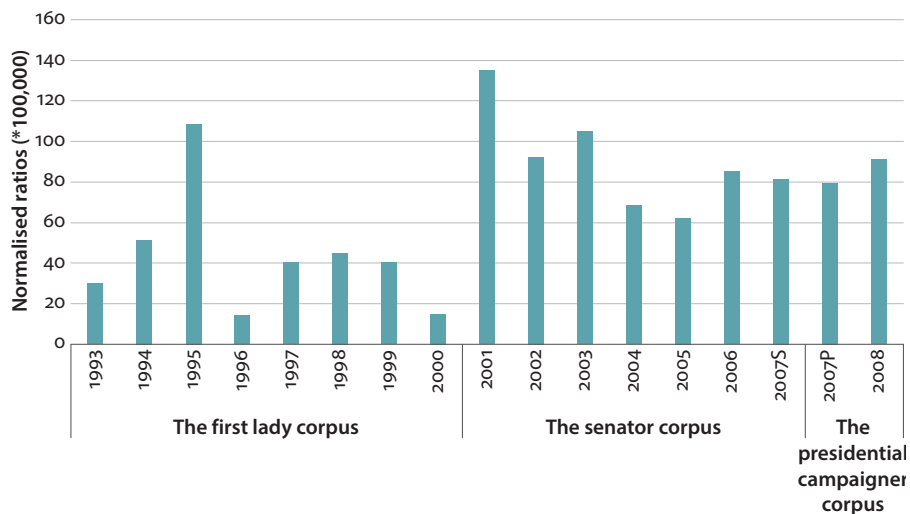
Figure 1. WAR metaphors from 1993–2008

In line with Jones's (2016) findings that Clinton increased her usage of feminine markers in 1996 when her husband was running again for President, we find a sharp decrease in her use of WAR metaphors then. However, Jones also found a decrease in the use of feminine markers in 1993 and 1994 when Clinton was pushing her health care proposals, and we do not find a concomitant increase in WAR metaphors during that period. In addition, Figure 1 also shows a sharp increase in WAR metaphors in 2001. However, a month-by-month analysis in Figure 2 shows that this increase was not driven by her responses to the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. She did

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15. Normalized ratios (in this case, number of usages / word count of that corpora *100,000) allow us to compare the metaphor usage over different corpora with different sizes.

use WAR metaphors in response to those attacks, but at a much lower rate than in the preceding months. During those spring and summer months of 2001 her use of WAR metaphors were focused primarily on environmental and health-related issues.
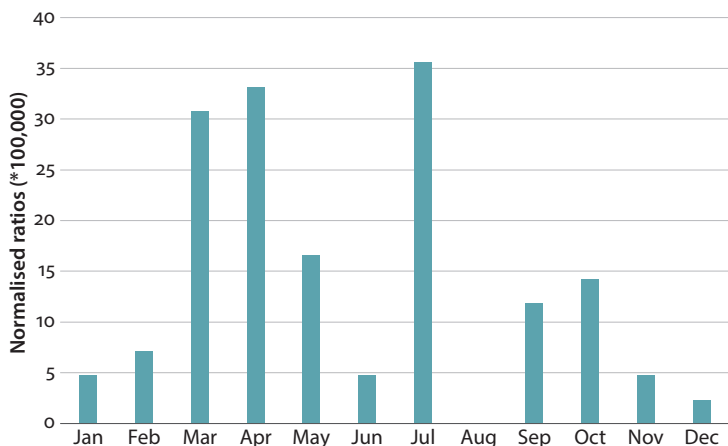
Figure 2. WAR metaphors in 2001

In addition, Jones (2016) noted that there was a sharp increase in feminine markers in December 2007 to June 2008 when Clinton was trying to soften her image while running for the Democratic Nominee for President. However, we do not see a concomitant decrease in the use of WAR metaphors during this period (Figure 3).
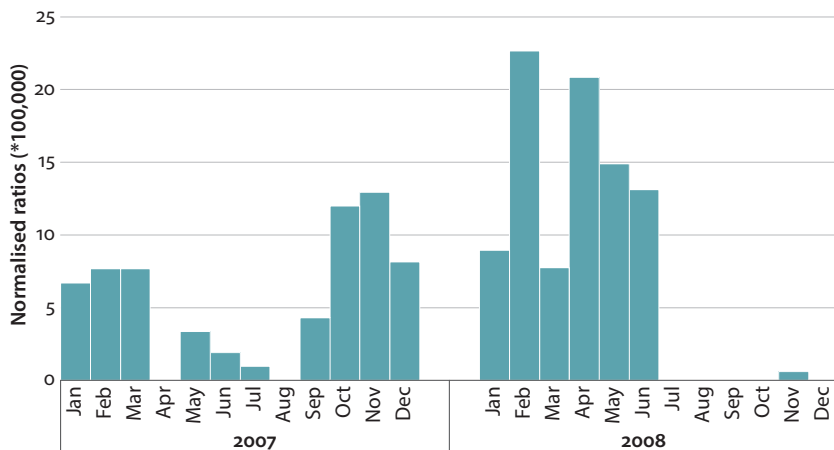
Figure 3. WAR metaphors in 2007 and 2008

To summarize, the expected difference was found in Clinton's use of WAR metaphors between her role as First Lady and her roles as Senator and Presidential Candidate with an increase in WAR metaphors when in the two leadership roles that have been dominated by men over the course of American history. However, we do not find a consistent decrease in WAR metaphors during the periods of time when feminine markers increased, or a consistent increase in the frequency of WAR metaphors used when the frequency of feminine markers decreased (cf. Jones 2016). This issue will be explored further below as we turn to examining the types of metaphors used in the three corpora.

6.2   Conceptual metaphor type

Metaphors that were identified were then further categorized as belonging to various target domains, as shown in Figure 4 below.[16] Three conceptual metaphors occurred frequently: PROTECTING X IS A BATTLE (372 instances, 38%), STOPPING X IS A BATTLE (168 instances, 17%), and ENSURING X IS A BATTLE (151 instances, 16%), where X can stand for any one of a number of issues: health care, the environment, social security, American's defense, etc.
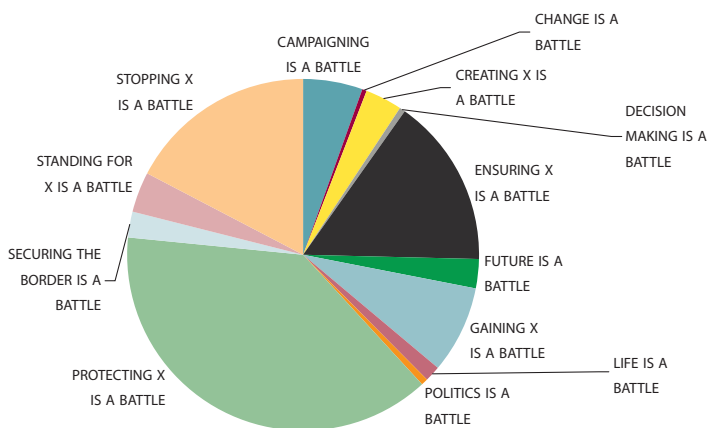
Figure 4. Conceptual Metaphors Types

PROTECTING X IS A BATTLE is the most common among the 13 target domains. In this metaphor, the 'x' is something good that is being protected; it is so good (and important) that it is worth fighting for. For example, 'this [legislation] penalizes

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16. Note that "BATTLE" is used to refer to the source domain in the conceptual metaphors on the following charts as BATTLE is a smaller scale (and more human scale) version of WAR.

those businesses that are serious about *protecting* <u>privacy</u>' (The Senator Corpus, June 16, 2006). In this instance, privacy is considered a positive goal that needs protection. Another example is, 'On Long Island, Karen Joy Miller and so many brave survivors are fighting back. She formed the Huntington Breast Cancer Action Coalition, which, among other many good works, has helped to complete a map that compares the incidence of cancer and toxic waste sites in her community. But I don't think we can leave this to local people *fighting* <u>on their own</u>' (The Senator Corpus, July 19, 2001). In this latter instance, Clinton implies she wants to assist people in their fight to protect themselves from living near toxic waste sites and subsequently becoming ill with cancer.

STOPPING X IS A BATTLE is the second most common target domain identified. In this metaphorical frame, x often refers to negative concepts, such as crime, disease, and terrorism. For example, 'I want to lead a great effort to *fight* <u>discrimination</u> in the workplace' (The Presidential Candidate Corpus, September 15, 2007); 'many of you have been on the forefront in this *fight against* <u>human trafficking</u>' (The Senator Corpus, March 06, 2005); 'to develop a strategy to *combat* <u>this horrible epidemic</u> that has caused so much death' (The Senator Corpus, September 29, 2006). In this metaphor, something negative is being dealt with; it is so bad that a metaphorical battle must be waged against it.

ENSURING X IS A BATTLE is the third most popular WAR metaphor. Economic development and health care were often referred as 'x' by Clinton in her speeches using this metaphor. For example, 'in fact, we can *protect* <u>our economic interests</u> while promoting trade' (The Senator Corpus, February 28, 2007). In this example, the status quo is important and needs to be fought to be maintained. Another example is 'I promise that I will be there with you as we *fight for* <u>health care</u> for all Americans.' (The Senator Corpus, January 28, 2001). In this latter example, Clinton wants to ensure that Americans will have adequate health care.

In terms of whether Clinton used these metaphors to greater or lesser degrees in her three roles, Figure 5 shows that Clinton used the PROTECTING X IS A BATTLE metaphor more often as a senator, slightly less often as a candidate and much less often as First Lady. In addition, she uses PROTECTING X IS A BATTLE most often in all three corpora compared with STOPPING X IS A BATTLE and ENSURING X IS A BATTLE. Clinton, thus, uses metaphors that identity her as a protector of the American people in all her roles.

When we examine what she is protecting, we find that PROTECTING CITIZENS IS A BATTLE is the most frequently used conceptual metaphor in this frame over all three corpora (Figure 6). This indicates that Clinton uses the WAR metaphor primarily in the role of a protector, which, while being within the source domain of WAR, falls within the tradition of women protecting those in need of their help,
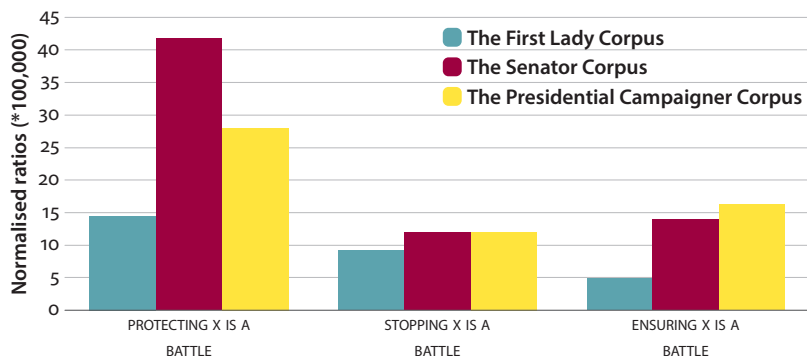
Figure 5. Most popular target domains of WAR metaphors
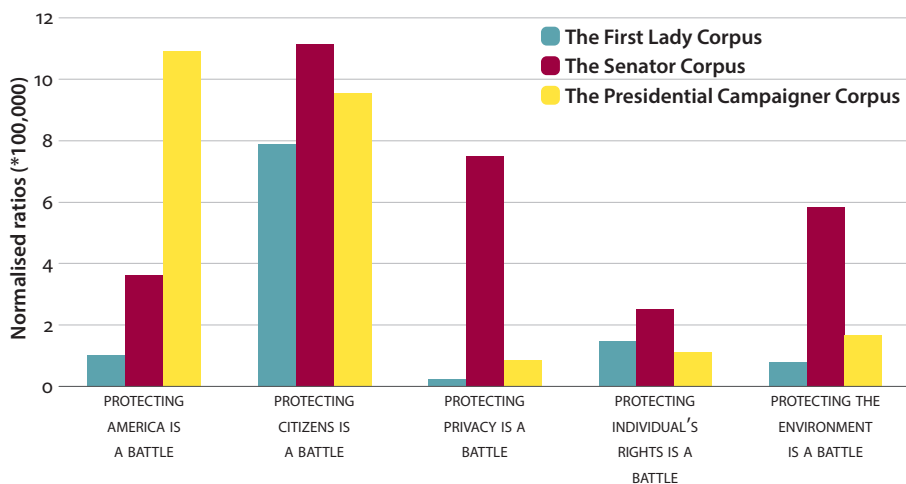
Figure 6. Sub-frames of PROTECTING IS A BATTLE

rather than seeking battles to fight injustice (or other traditionally masculine roles in the WAR conceptual frame).

In addition, as a candidate she uses the metaphor PROTECTING AMERICA IS A BATTLE much more frequently than in her other roles, indicating a shift in concern due to her role as a Candidate for the Democratic nomination for president. This makes sense as protecting America is not a responsibility of a First Lady, but is, to a greater extent, the responsibility of a U.S. Senator, and of course, it is one of the primary responsibilities of the President. Furthermore, as a senator, she also focused on protecting the privacy rights of citizens and protecting the environment,

but these concerns were not conceptualized with WAR metaphors when she was First Lady or as a candidate.[17] This does not mean she did not use other metaphors to discuss these issues, simply that she did not discuss them using the same WAR metaphors that she did when serving in the Senate.

In the STOPPING X IS A BATTLE frame, as First Lady Clinton is primarily concerned with the issue of stopping disease and violence, while as a senator she is primarily concerned with stopping terrorism both worldwide and in America (Figure 7).[18] As a Presidential Candidate, she uses this metaphor to rail against terrorism both within the U.S. and worldwide, but her focus as a Candidate is more centered on the issue of terrorism in America. This is in contrast to the conceptualization of 'stopping disease as a battle' in that it appeared equally frequently when talking about stopping disease in America as well as worldwide in the Campaigner corpus.
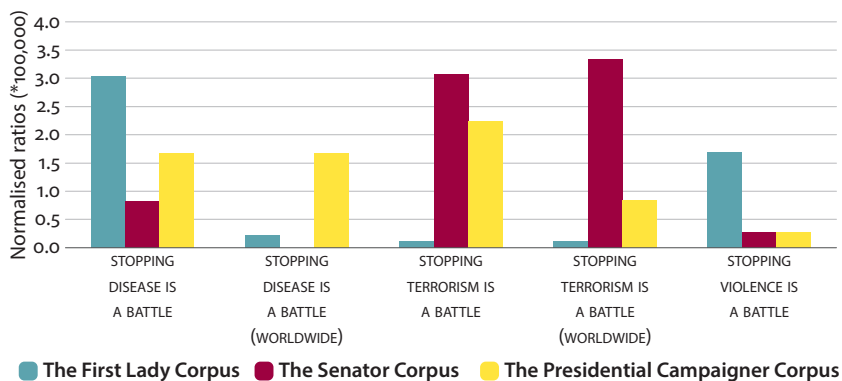
Figure 7. Sub-frames of STOPPING X IS A BATTLE

Clinton employs the ENSURING X IS A BATTLE frame less often while serving as a First Lady than she does as Senator or Candidate. This may be because preserving policies or the status quo is not in the purview of her position as First Lady (Figure 8). However, she does focus on protecting economic development in her

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17. 'Protecting individual rights' refers to rights that are enshrined in the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights. 'Privacy' is not explicitly discussed in these documents, although later amendments and legal rulings do provide some relevant protection. However, issues related to privacy, especially related to on-line protection of personal, health, financial information is still a separate, salient topic in U.S. politics.

18. Unless otherwise noted in parentheses, the metaphors used in Figures 6, 7 and 8 are discussing issues that Americans face.

roles as Senator and Candidate, as well as the social benefits of health care.[19] In addition, there is new focus on ENSURING TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT IS A BATTLE during her campaign period, as seen when she says, 'We need to end this Administration's <u>war</u> on science and restore America to its rightful place' (The Presidential Candidate Corpus, January 24, 2008).
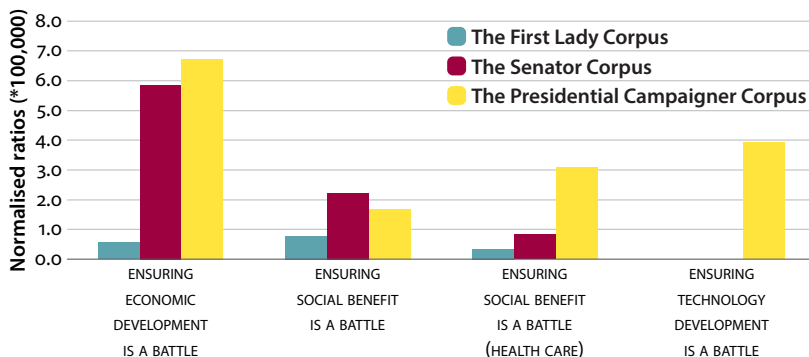
Figure 8. Sub-frames of ENSURING X IS A BATTLE

In all, Clinton's metaphor use shows a politician who is constituted as a protector for the less fortunate and for the country in general. This may explain why we did not see a consistent moderation or expansion on WAR metaphors to mirror the findings of Jones's (2016) findings on masculine and feminine markers – since Clinton often speaks as someone who is in the protector role (as opposed to an aggressor role), she (or her advisors) did not feel it necessary to modify this particular aspect of her language use. Figure 9 demonstrates her preference for using metaphors that involve protecting/defending others from harm versus attacking/fighting against evil (however that is construed), and it also demonstrates her preference to 'fight for' something (which may be construed as a positive action) as opposed to 'fighting against' something (which may be construed negatively).[20]

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19. Because the issue of health care is such a thorny issue in American politics, and one that Clinton spent time trying to address as a First Lady, this narrow source-target domain mapping is examined separately from ENSURING SOCIAL BENEFIT IS A BATTLE.

20. Of the keywords examined herein, "fight against" and "attack" are considered to be in the domain of 'attack' in SUMO, and "defend" and "protect" are considered to be in the domain of "Defence".
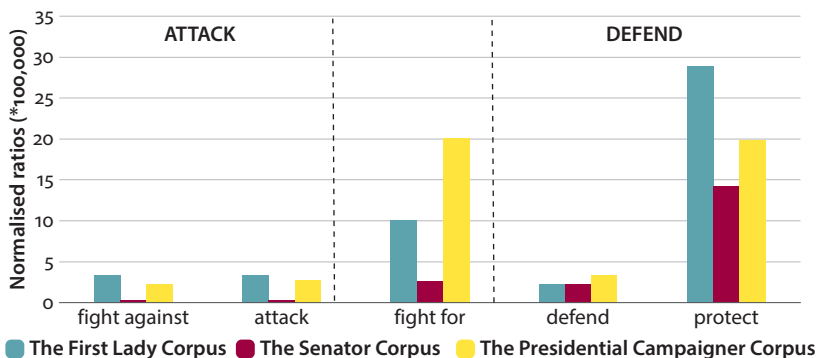
Figure 9. ATTACK and DEFEND in WAR metaphors

Lastly, the metaphors found in the three corpora demonstrate that Clinton's use of WAR metaphors differs from Thatcher's, as Thatcher used WAR metaphors primarily to verbally attack her nation's and her own opponents (Charteris-Black 2005). In contrast, even though Clinton is often invoking the WAR source domain through her metaphors, she is doing so primarily in the role of a defender or protector, which is part of a prototypical maternal role in most modern societies. Thus, she is not invoking the battlefield as Thatcher does when she says, 'I have reminded you where the great political adventure began and where it has led. But is this where we pitch our tents? Is this where we dig in?' (9 October 1987, as cited in Charteris-Black 2005, page 174). In this example, Thatcher is the figurative military leader for her country, taking on this traditionally male role.

7.   Conclusion

In order to examine the metaphor usage utilizing the WAR source domain, three corpora were created: The First Lady Corpus, which contains 253 speeches and approximately 888,000 words, the Senator Corpus, which contains 131 speeches and approximately 360,000 words and the 2008 Presidential Candidate Corpus, which contains 106 speeches and approximately 357,000 words. Eleven keywords and their variations (*protect, defend, attack, combat, struggle, battle, fight, war, threat, destroy* and *defeat*) were analyzed, with 969 metaphors found out of 2531 instances.

With respect to the issue of whether or not Clinton's use of WAR metaphors could be linked to an increase or decrease in feminine markers, the results were mixed. Overall, Clinton uses more WAR metaphors as Senator and Presidential Candidate than as First Lady, and this increase corresponds with a concurrent general decrease in feminine markers over the same period (Jones 2016). However, Jones (2016) also argued that there were also specific periods when Clinton's feminine markers

decreased (when she was campaigning for her husband, Bill Clinton, in 1996 and in 2007–2008 when she was campaigning for herself) or increased (when she was pushing for health care legislation as First Lady in 1993). While Clinton did decrease her use of WAR metaphors during the period of her husband's campaign, she did not do so during her own campaign, nor did she increase their use when she was serving as a leader in putting together health care legislation. Thus, no straightforward parallels can be drawn between the use of feminine markers and WAR metaphors from this study.

In addition to the above findings, it has also been shown that the target domains of WAR used by Clinton varied, demonstrating a clear shift in Clinton's political identity as she took on different political roles. She uses the PROTECTION IS A BATTLE frame 38% of the time and does so more frequently in her senator role than in the candidate role and more frequently in the candidate role than in her role as First Lady. Furthermore, her use of individual conceptual metaphors has also varied with respect to her role. As First Lady, she was primarily concerned with protecting citizens and stopping disease, while as Senator and Candidate she used metaphorical language to denounce terrorism and protect privacy and to ensure economic development. These results indicate that the roles that she took on influenced her metaphor usage over time. In addition, her preference for metaphors that position her as a protector distinguish her use of WAR metaphors from that of Margaret Thatcher, who used them to rally her like-minded citizens to attack, as well as defend, issues that were important to her (Charteris-Black 2005).

Future research could examine three levels of metaphor as proposed in Steen (2008), namely the linguistic (direct vs. indirect metaphors), conceptual (novel vs. conventional metaphors) and communicative levels (deliberate vs. non-deliberate metaphors). Perrez and Reuchamps (2014), for example found that metaphors were often used deliberately to set up a particular argument, and also that groups with different political preferences used the same source domain differently when exploring the issue of Belgian unity. While we have seen that most conceptual metaphors were used by Clinton in all three of her three roles, it would be useful to examine if and when these metaphors were used deliberately and if there were any novel usages. This would allow us to determine if Clinton uses deliberate metaphors more in a particular role or in regard to a particular issue, such as health care, the environment, or national security, to name just three possibilities. Along these lines, work by Musolff (2016) in examining novel metaphoric frame building that 'emerges' from discursive processes, rather than underlying it, as discussed herein, would also be a valuable addition to understanding how Clinton used metaphors within the WAR discourse scenario.

In addition to the above possibilities for future research, it would also be useful to look at the conceptual metaphor analysis of male politicians, such as Barack

Obama (Democrat) or John McCain (Republican), to determine to what extent conceptual metaphors invoking the source domain of WAR vary their target domains depending upon whether they were serving as a U.S. Senator or a presidential candidate. By comparing these results, researchers can determine whether male or female politicians use different target domains for mapping to the source domain of WAR and demonstrate a shift in political identity as they assumed different political roles from U.S. Senators to U.S. presidential candidates.[21] This will further advance our understanding of the relationship between conceptual metaphor use, identity and gender.

Acknowledgments

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21. Another area to explore would be examining if patterns of language use, such as those found with WAR metaphors, also co-vary with other metrics, such as approval ratings and polls. For example, are politicians more likely to invoke WAR metaphors when they are behind or ahead in ratings (during their term of service) or in polling (during an election period)?

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Appendix 1. Keyword list and word forms searched

Keyword list	Word forms searched
attack	attack, attacks, attacked, attacking
battle	battle, battles, battlefield, battleground
combat	combat, combats, combating
defeat	defeat, defeats, defeated, defeating
defend	defend, defends, defended, defending, defendant, defender, defenders
destroy	destroy, destroys, destroyed, destroying
fight	fight, fights, fought, fighting, fighter, fighters, fight for, fighting for, fought for, fight against, fighting against, fought against
protect	protect, protects, protected, protecting, protection, protections, protectionist, protectionism
struggle	struggle, struggles, struggled, struggling
threat	threat, threats, threaten, threatens, threatened, threatening
war	war, wars

Fairies, Christmas miracles and sham marriages

A diachronic analysis of deliberate metaphors in Belgian political discourse

Pauline Heyvaert

This research analyzes the use of potentially deliberate metaphors in Belgian governmental policy statements over a time span of ten years. The analysis of this type of metaphor allows for further investigation into metaphor variation. Our results suggest that one variable that plays a role in the variation of political metaphors is the political situation of a country: the more hectic the political landscape, the more metaphor variation might occur. Throughout this chapter, some of the most striking potentially deliberate metaphors and tendencies are discussed, with the aim of establishing a possible explanation for what drives metaphorical variation in political discourse.

Keywords: Belgian politics, deliberate metaphors, variation in political metaphors, political discourse, annual governmental declarations

1.   Introduction

In October 2006, Belgian Prime Minister Guy Verhofstadt stated in his governmental declaration that doing politics is like navigating a ship:

(1) *Er zijn twee manieren om aan politiek te doen en een land te besturen, zoals er twee manieren zijn om **een schip** te **besturen**. Ofwel is je enige zorg het **schip drijvende** te houden, zonder specifiek **baken**, zonder duidelijk doel. Je **dobbert** dan **voort** in eender welke richting. Ofwel heb je een missie, een visie, een droom. Je hebt een helder doel voor ogen, ook al weet je dat je soms **woeste wateren** en **zware stormen** zal moeten **trotseren**.*
"There are two ways to do politics like there are two ways to **navigate a ship**. Either your only concern is to keep the **ship floating**, without a specific **beacon**, without a specific purpose. You just keep on **floating** in whatever direction. Or you have a mission, a vision, a dream. You have a clear purpose in mind, even though you know you might have to **face wild waters and heavy storms**."[1]

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1.   All English translations in this chapter are personal translations of the original data.

In response, Patrick de Groote from the Flemish nationalist party (N-VA) said:

(2)   *U sprak met bevlogenheid over uzelf als **kapitein** die zijn **schip** door **woelige wateren loodst**, mijnheer de eerste minister, maar mij raakt het alleszins niet.*
"You enthusiastically talked about yourself as a **captain leading** his **ship** through **wild waters**, Mr. Prime Minister, but this doesn't get to me one bit."

These examples introduce a few noteworthy features about the power of metaphors in politics. First, metaphors have the powerful potential to frame a political debate (Billig and Macmillan 2005; Koller and Davidson 2008; Lakoff 2004; Musolff 2012; Perrez and Reuchamps 2014, 2015), but also to indirectly communicate hidden ideologies (Goatly 2007). In this case, the metaphors used by Belgian politicians have the potential to reflect the Belgian political landscape and to convey politicians' ideologies and perceptions regarding the situation.

Second, and more important within the framework of the current study, a more thorough analysis of the examples above reveals that the metaphors used by the politicians can be qualified as so-called deliberate metaphors (Steen 2008, 2011, 2015, 2017). Deliberate metaphor use can be defined as the intentional use of metaphor *as* metaphor (Steen 2015: 67). It implies that '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, p. 68).

As opposed to non-deliberate metaphors, which are simply based on the available language means to talk about topics, deliberate metaphors are typically more original and novel. This is exactly where the focus lies in this study of political metaphors. Our claim is that the analysis of deliberate metaphors is relevant when looking at political discourse and metaphor variation because these metaphors are 'explicitly used to present one's conceptualization of a given issue' (Perrez and Reuchamps 2015: 169) – in this case, Belgian politics. Political discourse is situated in a space of conflicts between people's representations, implying that it may also be a fertile ground for the use of different types of deliberate metaphors conveying those representations. Taking it a step further, by framing the debate and presenting one's conceptualization, political (deliberate) metaphors also have the potential to have an actual impact on people's representation of the topic at hand.

We argue that deliberate metaphors are the perfect candidate for metaphor analysis in political discourse. The use of these original, novel mappings has the potential to be highly persuasive and to vary greatly in this type of discourse. It is precisely because these metaphors do not necessarily follow conventional schemes of metaphor use that they are worth analyzing. In the current study, we analyzed the use of deliberate metaphors in the Belgian political context by looking at the Belgian governmental declarations from 2006 until 2016. These declarations consist

of the Prime Minister's policy statement, on the one hand, and Belgian politicians' responses to the statement, on the other. During this time, the Belgian political situation was hectic which led to a number of heated debates, which afford a valuable opportunity to investigate deliberate metaphors. Our analysis provides some preliminary answers to the main questions at the center of this book: What type of metaphors is used in a given political context? Why are some political metaphors more used than others? What political goal or function lies behind these metaphors? And, most important, what drives metaphor variation?

2. Theoretical framework: CDA, CMT and DMT as starting points for political metaphor analysis

One of the larger aims of the book is to bring together research on political metaphor using different methodological approaches, including Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT, see Lakoff & Johnson 1980), due to their important role in (especially political) metaphor analysis.

CDA emphasizes the importance of discourse and ideology in politics. The analysis of metaphors is important within political discourse because the way ideologies and perceptions are transmitted is often through figurative language, especially metaphors. In the words of Fairclough (2001), 'different metaphors have different ideological attachments'. They are often used, in a political context, 'to change social and political attitudes' (Musolff 2016: 136).

Musolff's statement implies that, when analyzing political metaphors, we have to take into account the communicative purpose of these political metaphors. This is why we focus on deliberate metaphors in the current study. Deliberate Metaphor Theory (hereafter DMT) finds its origins in the so-called 'paradox of metaphor' (Steen 2008), which claims that the majority of metaphors are in fact not processed by cross-domain mapping, but rather by categorization or lexical disambiguation. This claim challenges the main assertion made by CMT, which is that cross-domain mapping is an essential cognitive process in metaphor processing and that this mapping concerns *all* metaphors.

As a solution to this paradox, Steen proposes to switch from a two-dimensional model of metaphor analysis (CMT) to a three-dimensional model (DMT).[2] According to DMT, metaphor is not only seen as a matter of conceptual structures (thought) expressed by means of linguistic forms (language), they are also an essential part of the communication between language users (communication).

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2. It is important to mention that DMT does not go against CMT. Instead, it should be seen as an extension of CMT.

At the heart of this communicative aspect, DMT makes a distinction between *deliberate* metaphors, processed by cross-domain mapping, and *non-deliberate* metaphors, involving lexical disambiguation. Deliberate metaphor use implies the use of metaphors *as* metaphors (Steen 2015). From a communicative perspective, deliberate metaphor seeks to move attention momentarily away from the target domain or the topic of the utterance toward the source domain brought forth by the metaphor-related expression: 'deliberate metaphors are perspective changers' (Steen 2011).

3.   Data and method

3.1   Description of the corpus and political context

From 2007 to 2016, Belgium went through two major political crises, one of which broke all records when the country spent 541 days without a government. Given that Belgian politics has been marked by a lot of ups and downs, it has the potential to bring about heated debates between politicians. In turn, it could provide a valuable opportunity to investigate deliberate metaphors.

To analyze the use and nature of deliberate metaphors in political discourse, this research relies on the analysis of the Belgian governmental declarations between 2006 and 2016, a timeframe that contains two periods of heavy crises in Belgium. The governmental declaration consists of two types of political discourse. First, the Belgian Prime Minister (hereafter: PM) gives a speech that elaborates on the current state of affairs regarding Belgian politics and in which the PM tackles a variety of different topics (such as the economy, justice, the environment, etc.). Second, the Prime Minister's speech is followed by responses from members of Belgian political parties, ending in a vote of confidence on the proposed policy program. Our corpus consists of approximately one million words. One additional feature of our corpus – given Belgium's linguistic situation – is that it is bilingual (French/Dutch). The entire corpus can be found online on the official website of the Belgian Chamber of Representatives.[3]

Table 1 presents an overview of the entire corpus used for this study, describing each Belgian government for each year, as well as the political situation characterizing each government.

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3.   www.lachambre.be

Table 1. Overview of the corpus

Date of governmental declaration	Government	Political situation	Word count
17 Oct. 2006	Verhofstadt II 12 July 2003 – 11 June 2007	Government coalition consisting of: Open Vld,ᵃ PS, sp.a and MR. – 11 June 2007 marks the end of Verhofstadt's 'classic' mandate before the formation of an interim government in December 2007.	82600
21 Dec. 2007	Verhofstadt III 21 December 2007 – 20 March 2008	Beginning of the first political crisis – Formation of an 'interim government': – June 2007: the federal elections were the starting point for negotiations to form a governmental coalition. These negotiations, however, were characterized by disagreement between the Dutch – and the French-speaking parties regarding the need and nature of a constitutional reform. – November 2007: the negotiations are still ongoing, which leads to the longest formation period in Belgium. – December 2007: Belgium has been without a government for 194 days. Prime Minister Verhofstadt is asked by the King to form an 'interim government'. – Interim government consisting of: Open Vld, CD&V, MR, PS and cdH.	44700
20 Mar. 2008 (a)	Leterme I 20 March 2008 – 19 December 2008	New government coalition: Open Vld, CD&V, MR, PS and cdH. – An official coalition agreement was finally signed on 18 March 2008 and Yves Leterme (CD&V) was sworn in as PM on 20 March. – Four months later, 14 July 2008: failure in meeting the deadline for the negotiations regarding the constitutional reform and the electoral arrondissement Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde (BHV). – 15 July 2008: Yves Leterme offers his resignation to the King. The King refuses. – 19 December 2008: Leterme offers the resignation of his government. The King accepts.	62450
14 Oct. 2008 (b)	Leterme I		113800

(continued)

Table 1. (*continued*)

Date of governmental declaration	Government	Political situation	Word count
13 Oct. 2009 (a)	Van Rompuy 30 December 2008 – 25 November 2008	– December 2008: Herman Van Rompuy (CD&V) is asked by the King to form a new government. He is sworn in as Belgian Prime Minister on 30 December 2008. – The new coalition consists of: Open Vld, CD&V, MR, PS and cdH. – November 2009: Van Rompuy is nominated as first President of the European Council and resigns shortly after as Prime Minister, meaning Belgium needs a new Prime Minister, which leads to the following government: Leterme II.	112300
25 Nov. 2009 (b)	Leterme II 25 November 2008 – 26 April 2010	– 25 November 2009: Yves Leterme becomes Prime Minister for the second time, after Van Rompuy's nomination as President of the European Council – Leterme's coalition: Open Vld, CD&V, MR, PS and cdH. – The difficult negotiations between French- and Dutch-speaking parties regarding BHV that existed during Leterme I still persist. Subsequent to these constant tensions, the Flemish liberals decide to leave the Belgian government. – Yves Leterme offers his resignation on 22 April 2010 – Leterme II keeps acting as a *caretaker government* dealing with current affairs in Belgium until it was succeeded by the next government on 6 December 2011.	59100
7 Dec. 2011	Di Rupo 6 December 2011 – 26 May 2014	Belgium breaks records: 541 days without government[b] – The results of the federal elections of June 2010 keep on widening the gap between the different Belgian political parties (with the Socialist Party as the largest party in the French-speaking part of the country, and N-VA – the separatist New Flemish Alliance – as the largest party in the Dutch-speaking part), which leads to a fragmented political landscape.	77500
21 Nov. 2012	Di Rupo		82000
15 Oct. 2013	Di Rupo		87000

Table 1. (*continued*)

Date of governmental declaration	Government	Political situation	Word count
		– 25 December 2010: 195 days without government – 17 February 2011: world record – 249 days of political crisis – 6 December 2011: a new government coalition, with Elio Di Rupo (Socialist Party) as PM, is sworn in after 541 days of negotiation and formation – and without government. – The Di Rupo government consists of the following parties: PS, CD&V, MR, sp. a, Open Vld and cdH. – An agreement regarding the Sixth Belgian state reform is finally reached (*The Butterfly agreement*) – The Di Rupo government offers its resignation on 26 May 2014 and continues to act as a *caretaker government* until October 2014.	
14 Oct. 2014	Michel 11 October 2014 – Present	– Government coalition rising from the federal elections of 25 May 2014 – Unique type of coalition consisting of Christian democrats (CD&V), Flemish nationalists (N-VA) and liberals (Open Vld and MR) – MR (Reformist Movement) being the only French-speaking party	186500
13 Oct. 2015	Michel		83500
16 Oct. 2016	Michel		104000

a. Overview of the Belgian political parties' acronyms: CD&V (Flemish Christian Democrats), cdH (Francophone Christian Democrats), Ecolo (Francophone Ecologists), Groen (Flemish Ecologists), FDF (Francophone Regionalists), MR (Francophone Liberals), N-VA (Flemish Regionalists), Open Vld (Flemish Liberals), PP (Francophone Populists), PS (Francophone Socialists), PTB-GO! (Francophone Radical Left), sp.a (Flemish Socialists), VB (Flemish Radical Right), UF (Union of the Francophone in Flanders).

b. Given that there was no government in 2010, our corpus does not contain any discourses dating from this year.

Within the area of applied metaphor studies, analysis of the use of political metaphors boomed – a trend which Twardzisz defines as 'the politicization of metaphor research' (2013: 50). Apart from a few exceptions (e.g. Perrez and Reuchamps 2014; Heyvaert et al., submitted) researchers often looked at metaphors in public political discourse (Musolff 2016: 3), that is politicians mostly addressing citizens and/ or media (for an overview, see for instance Carver and Pikalo 2008). By analyzing our corpus consisting of the Prime Minister's inaugural speech as well as the

parliamentary debates following this speech, this research seeks to investigate yet another type of political discourse and, in doing so, aims at further contributing to the wide scope of political discourses analyzed in metaphor research.

One of the issues raised in the introduction of this book is that of the political goal or function that resides behind the use of political metaphors. Most research on the use of metaphors in elite discourse assumes that elites might knowingly use metaphors with the political goal of convincing the audience. Our corpus represents an interesting contribution to political metaphor research because this type of discourse consists of multiple illocutionary effects (Gruber 1993; Strauss 1986) due to the fact that it simultaneously targets different audiences. In the first instance, there is a direct interaction between political elites: the PM's main target audience is other politicians, whose reactions, in turn, constitute an answer to the Prime Minister's statement. However, in addition to the direct interaction between elites, this type of discourse also targets the media, as well as the overhearing audience who can follow the debates through media reports.

Analyzing deliberate metaphors in this type of political corpus might thus provide interesting insights as to how politicians view the current political situation in which they find themselves. It allows us to look at how the Belgian political elite generates metaphors to make sense of the political landscape they are confronted with and to express their point of view, be it positive or negative, regarding the situation, and more precisely the Belgian Prime Minister's policy statement.

3.2   Methodology: The identification of potentially deliberate metaphors

In order to account for the metaphors used by Belgian politicians in our data, and more precisely, deliberate metaphors, we applied the Deliberate Metaphor Identification Procedure (hereafter DMIP) (Reijnierse et al., 2018). DMIP identifies *potentially* deliberate metaphors, because it relies on a semiotic, rather than behavioral, approach. In other words, DMIP does not make claims about what happens in people's minds when they are confronted with deliberate metaphors: the purpose is not to determine how metaphorical utterances are processed by language users, both in production and in reception, as behavioral studies could do (see, e.g., Gibbs 2011, 2015; Thibodeau 2017). This implies that a semiotic approach can only determine whether metaphors are potentially deliberate or not.

The first step of DMIP is to apply MIPVU[4] to the entire corpus, a systematic and reliable procedure aiming at identifying metaphor-related words (MRW) in discourse. MIPVU determines whether words are related to a metaphor or not

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4.   For a complete overview as well as a step-by-step explanation of the application of the MIPVU-procedure, see Steen et al., 2010.
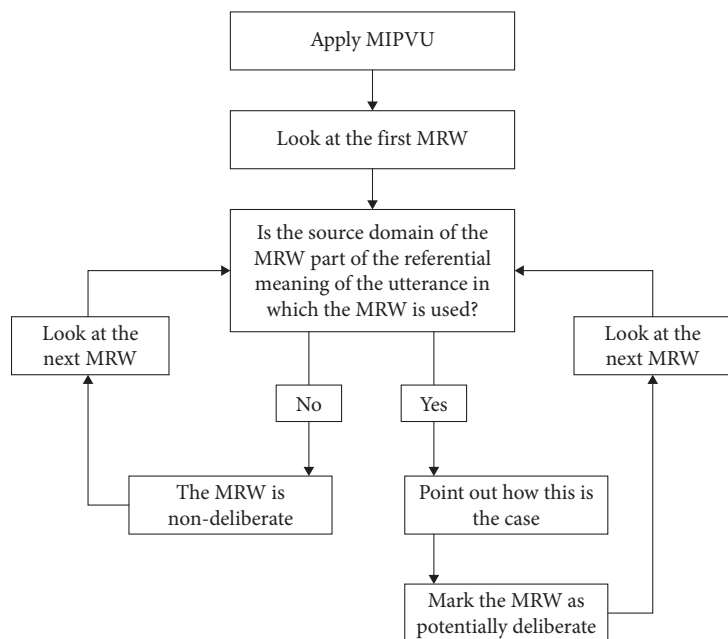
Figure 1. Schematic step-by-step overview of DMIP (Reijnierse et al. 2018)

by contrasting their basic meaning with their contextual meaning.[5] Consider the words *ruines* ('ruins') and *bâtir* ('build') in the following statement taken from our corpus:

(3) *Plutôt que de subir les événements, nous voulons en être les acteurs. Plutôt que de pleurer sur les **ruines** de la crise financière, nous **bâtissons** pour les générations futures.* (Elio Di Rupo, Prime Minister, PS, 2011)
'Rather than suffering from the events, we want to be participants. Rather than crying over the **ruins** of the financial crisis, we are **building** for future generations.'[6]

In this example, the contextual meanings of the words 'ruins' and 'build' are, respectively, 'the state of something that has been destroyed or severely damaged' and 'to develop something'. Both words also have a more basic meaning, i.e. respectively 'the parts of a building that remain after it has been severely damaged' and 'to make a building or other large structure by putting its part together'. Following

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5. To determine the basic and contextual meaning of words, the use of dictionaries (preferably usage-based) is required. In our case, we used the online version of *Le Petit Robert* for French, and the online version of *Van Dale* for Dutch.

6. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/53/ap057.pdf

the MIPVU procedure, the next step then is to determine whether some sort of comparison can link the basic meaning and the contextual meaning of the word, which is the case for 'ruins' and 'build' in our example. Therefore, 'ruins' and 'build' were marked as metaphor-related words.

After applying MIPVU to the entire corpus, the next step is to identify potentially deliberate metaphors. The procedure builds on the operational definition for deliberate metaphors – developed by Reijnierse et al. 2018 – as a starting point: 'a metaphor is potentially deliberate when the source domain of the metaphor is part of the referential meaning of the utterance in which it is used'. In order to fully understand this definition, and in order to be able to apply DMIP and to identify potentially deliberate metaphors correctly, a few aspects must be taken into account that are essential to DMT and, accordingly, DMIP.

According to DMT, metaphor is not only a matter of conceptual structures (thought) being expressed by means of linguistic features (language), it is also a matter of communication between language users (communication). Accordingly, for a metaphor to count as potentially deliberate, it must not only be identified as a source-domain word at the linguistic level of utterance meaning and consequently as a source-domain concept at the conceptual level, but it also has to set up a source-domain referent in the state of affairs designated by the utterance (Steen 2017). To illustrate the difference between deliberate and non-deliberate metaphors, take a look at the following examples:

(4)   'During the debate, Charles Michel **attacked** Bart De Wever's arguments.'

(5)   'It's a good thing that the Belgian government is taking measures, but **closing** the **roof window** of the Belgian **house** if all the **doors** and **windows** are still **open** doesn't make a lot of sense.'

The lexical unit 'attacked' in (4) is an example of what would be identified as a MRW by means of MIPVU, but as a non-deliberate metaphor by means of DMIP. To determine whether 'attacked' is deliberate or not, we have to examine whether there are cues suggesting that the source domain of attacking plays a role in the referential meaning of the utterance. In Example (4), such cues are not present. For the verb 'attacked', a conventionalized metaphorical meaning is available in the dictionary that matches the target domain meaning of the utterance, i.e. 'to strongly criticize someone or something for their ideas or actions'.[7] Based on this, it is possible to build a complete and coherent referential meaning for this utterance and to fully understand the meaning of the utterance without having to resort to the source domain.

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7.   Definition taken from the online version of the Macmillan dictionary (https://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/attack_1#attack_1__7)

Example (5), on the other hand, would be considered as a case of potentially deliberate metaphor us by means of DMIP. Applying the same procedure as for 'attacked' in Example (4), we find that there are no conventionalized metaphorical meanings matching the target domain available in the dictionary for the lexical units marked in bold in Example (5). This implies that, to fully grasp the meaning of the utterance, we have to rely on our knowledge of the source domain.

Put differently, a metaphor counts as potentially deliberate when the source domain plays a role in the representation of a referential meaning of the utterance.[8] A final important aspect concerns the 'way in which the presence of the source domain in the referential meaning of an utterance can be observed in language use'[9] (Reijnierse et al. 2018). Reijnierse et al. (2018) suggest that this can be determined by searching for metaphorical signals and other co-textual cues. Previous studies provide some suggestions on what these cues could be: they can range from lexical signals like *as* or *like*, novel metaphors, extended metaphors, metaphors that are a part of word play, and so on (Goatly 1997; Semino 2008; Krennmayr 2011; Nacey 2013, etc.). However, Reijnierse et al. (2018) also suggest that the presence of the source domain in the referential meaning of an utterance can be expressed by other means than just lexical signals.[10]

In order to further clarify how we applied this procedure, take a look at another example taken from our corpus:

(6)   *De minister presenteert zich als een **rode fee** met een **groene toverstok**, maar het is eigen aan **feeën** dat ze de mensen **betoveren**.*   (Roel Deseyn, CD&V, 2006) 'The Prime Minister presents himself as a **red fairy** with a **green magic wand**, but it is typical for **fairies** to **cast a spell on** people.'[11]

Example (6) contains a few elements that are identified as MRW with MIPVU: '(red) fairy', '(green) magic wand', 'fairies', and 'cast a spell on'. The next step in analyzing the example above to see whether or not the words marked as MRW are potentially deliberate at the level of communication. This is done by looking at whether 'the source domain of the MRW [is] part of the referential meaning of the utterance in which the MRW is used'. In other words, do we need to go to the

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8.   See central question in the schematic overview of DMIP: "is the source domain of the MRW part of the referential meaning of the utterance in which the MRW is used?"

9.   See schematic overview of DMIP: "Point out how this is the case"

10.   We will not go into further details in this article, but for more information, see Reijnierse, W.G., Burgers, C., Krennmayr, T. et al. (2018).

11.   Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/51/ap236.pdf

source domain brought forward by the metaphor-related words in this utterance in order to understand it?

To determine this, we have to look at the sense descriptions in the dictionary for each MRW. In the case of 'fairy'/'fairies' and 'magic wand', none of the sense descriptions in the dictionary captures the target domain sense (i.e. a meaning related to politics) of these nouns, implying that there is no conventionalized target domain sense available. This in turn suggests that the use of these MRWs invites the receiver to adopt a new perspective on the target domain (politics), and that the source domain (magical fairies) is needed as a distinct referent in the topic of the utterance. Therefore, 'fairy', 'magic wand' and 'fairies' were marked as potentially deliberate metaphors. In the case of 'cast a spell on', there is a sense description available in the dictionary capturing the target domain sense of the verb. However, given the presence of the previous potential deliberate metaphor, we marked 'cast a spell on' as a potentially deliberate metaphor as well, due to the fact that we considered it as part of an extended metaphor. Other cues reinforced the idea that these MRWs were potentially deliberate. First, the fact that the metaphorical meaning of some of the MRWs was not in the dictionary, implies that these metaphors are novel, novelty being considered as a major cue for deliberateness. Moreover, Example (6) also contains what we could classify as a lexical signal, namely 'presents himself as'. Bringing all of this together, we support the fact that it is safe to say that Example (6) is a good example of deliberate use of metaphor.

A final step in our methodology was to organize all potentially deliberate metaphors, since as suggested by Cameron (2007: 201), 'systematic patterns of metaphor use are described by collecting the individual linguistic metaphors used in discourse events and grouping them together into larger semantically connected domains'. In our case, these 'larger semantically connected domains' might better be referred to with the term 'metaphor scenarios' (Musolff 2016: 30). The notion of scenario is interesting because it encompasses more than semantically related domains. That is, it 'enable [s] us […] to go beyond mere categorization of metaphors based on domains by searching for recurring argumentative, narrative and stance-taking patterns in corpora of present-day metaphor use' (Musolff 2016: 133).

In the following section, some potentially deliberate metaphors and metaphor scenarios emerging from our data are presented and discussed. Moreover, we will go further into the analysis of the variation of these metaphors and scenarios by attempting to establish a connection between the variation of these elements and the political situation in Belgium at the time of the emergence of these metaphors and scenarios.

Step 1: Apply MIPVU to the entire corpus (see Steen et al. 2010)	
Goal: Determine which lexical units can be identified as metaphor-related words (MRW)	**Procedure:** ❂ *Is there a difference between the basic meaning and the contextual meaning of the lexical unit?* – Yes: mark the lexical unit as MRW/No: mark the lexical unit as NOT MRW

Step 2: Apply **DMIP** to all lexical units that were identified as MRW (see Figure 1, p. 13)	
Goal: Determine which of the MRWs are potentially deliberate metaphors	**Procedure:** ❂ Look at dictionary entries for all MRWs to determines for each MRW if it is part of the referential meaning of the utterance? ❂ If so, are there additional cues available to support this? (e.g. novelty, extendedness, lexical signals, etc.)

Step 3: Organize all the identified deliberate metaphors in **metaphor scenarios**	
Goal 1: Determine the source domains/ scenarios used to talk about the target domains **Goal 2:** Obtain an overall view of the scenarios occurring in the entire corpus to investigate the variation and circulation of these scenarios	**Procedure:** ❂ Look at all sentences in which deliberate metaphors were identified ❂ Determine of which semantically linked domains (=scenarios) the deliberate metaphors are part ❂ Establish names for the different scenarios (e.g. POLITICS IS RELIGION, FOOD, NAVIGATING A SHIP, etc.)

Figure 2. Step-by-step overview of methodology

4. Findings: Diachronic perspective on the variation of potentially deliberate metaphors in Belgian politics

Before discussing the variation of potentially deliberate metaphors in our data from a qualitative perspective, a short outline is provided of the overall quantitative analysis (see Table 2).

Table 2 shows that there is some variation in the amount of potentially deliberate metaphors used depending on the year, as well as the number of scenarios employed. This finding reinforces the idea that the political situation of the country could potentially influence the use of political metaphors.

A closer look at these results reveals a few tendencies. First, our politicians seem to tend to resort slightly more to the use of potentially deliberate metaphors as well as different types of metaphor scenarios at the beginning and at the end

Table 2. Short outline of overall quantitative results

Year	Lexical units as DM[a]	Scenarios[b][c]	Context
2006	49	15	Politics as usual
2007	99	20	Beginning of crisis
2008a	79	17	End of crisis
2008b	41	16	No crisis, yet rather unstable situation
2009a	105	27	In between two crises
2009b	35	16	No crisis, yet rather unstable situation
2011	48	20	End of crisis
2012	52	19	Politics as usual
2013	52	17	Politics as usual
2014	42	19	Politics as usual
2015	19	9	Politics as usual
2016	40	10	Politics as usual

a. Number of separate lexical units which were identified as potentially deliberate metaphor by means of DMIP.

b. These numbers represent the amount of 'scenarios' in which potentially deliberate metaphors were found. To put it simply, each example discussed in the entire chapter counts as one scenario.

c. Given that the current study is still at the exploratory stage, the frequencies presented in Table 2 are raw frequencies. Accordingly, the discussion of these results will not present generalizations of our results. Rather, our results and the relationship between the variation and circulation of metaphor scenarios and the political situation in Belgium will be discussed in terms of suggestions and possible avenues in need of further research.

of political crises (i.e. in 2007, 2008a and 2011). Second, when a new government coalition is created and, accordingly, a new Prime Minister is sworn in, the number of varying scenarios containing deliberate metaphor also seems slightly higher compared to other years (i.e. in 2008a, 2011, and 2014). A final remark regarding these quantitative results concerns the highest number of deliberate metaphors and scenarios, that is 2009a. This year is situated right in between the two major political crises in Belgium, and at that point a new Prime Minister, Herman Van Rompuy, was sworn in as a consequence of the former Prime Minister's, Yves Leterme, resignation. Both elements combined to make 2009 a special year in Belgian politics, which might explain the considerable amount of potentially deliberate metaphors in politicians' discourses. The quantitative results raise a further question about deliberate metaphor in politics. Namely, *why* do politicians use of deliberate metaphors more often when the political situation is more complicated and unstable?

We explore this question with a qualitative analysis of the potentially deliberate metaphors and metaphor scenarios. This analysis reveals interesting tendencies regarding the variation of the metaphors and the scenarios Belgian politicians resort to when talking about the country's political landscape and the Prime Minister's

policy statement, as well as their conceptualization and point of view regarding these topics.[12]

The year 2007 marked the beginning of the first political crisis in Belgium. Following the federal elections, a period of negotiation between political parties began with the goal of forming a government coalition. These negotiations, however, were characterized by a substantive disagreement between the French- and the Dutch-speaking parties with discussion about the need and nature of a constitutional reform at the heart of this disagreement. After 194 days of complicated negotiations, Belgian politics was still at a standstill. Guy Verhofstadt was then asked to form an interim government until a new government coalition could be formed. He presented his new policy statement on 21 December 2007. During the parliamentary debates revolving around this event, a few interesting and original potentially deliberate metaphors revolving around to metaphor scenarios emerged. Not all political parties were satisfied with the interim government. In the responses to the Prime Minister's policy statement, an interesting image surfaced in which the interim government was compared to a Christmas miracle:

(7) *Votre "**miracle de Noël**", **naissance** d'un gouvernement, n'efface pas la nécessité d'un second **miracle**, à Pâques et par Yves Leterme cette fois.*

(Jean-Marc Nollet, Ecolo, 2007)

'Your "**Christmas miracle**", **birth** of a government, does not erase the necessity for a second **miracle**, on Easter and this time by Yves Leterme'.[13]

This image of the interim government being a Christmas miracle seemed to strike other politicians, since some of them employed the same domain to share their viewpoint of the situation:

(8) *Le Premier ministre fait preuve d'une grande capacité de **résurrection** : il **naît** à Noël et **mourra** à Pâques […] Mais à Pâques, les observateurs politiques seront attentifs au **troisième jour**!*   (Daniel Bacquelaine, MR, 2007)

'The Prime Minister **resurrects** as if it's nothing: he's **born** on Christmas and will **die** on Easter […] But on Easter, the political observers will look out for the **third day**!'[14]

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12. Given the limited space, we will not go into detail for all the potentially deliberate metaphors that were identified in our date. Instead, we will focus on some of the most noticeable results and tendencies.

13. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/52/ap014.pdf

14. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/52/ap014.pdf

(9)   *De christelijke hoek heeft ook nog wat symboliek uit de brand gesleept, met een regering van Kerstmis, de **geboorte**, tot Pasen, de **verrijzenis**. Hoewel het ook wel eens een **kruisiging** zou kunnen worden.*

(Jean-Marie Dedecker, LDD – Libertarian, Direct, Democratic, 2007)

'The Christian corner has managed to "secure" some symbolism, with a government from Christmas, the **birth**, till Easter, the **resurrection**. Although it could also become a **crucifixion**.'[15]

A second salient scenario characterized the situation as a forced marriage, as in:

(10)   *Het wordt hoog tijd voor een echte regering met een visie op lange termijn. Daarvoor moeten we nog wachten tot de paasklokken luiden, als dit **gedwongen huwelijk** tenminste zo lang stand houdt.*   (Peter Vanvelthoven, sp.a , 2007)

'It is high time for a real government with a long-term vision. For that, we still have to wait until the Easter bells toll, if this **forced marriage** lasts that long.'[16]

After referring again to the domains of Christmas and Easter, this politician then switches to another image to describe Belgian politics, that is a forced marriage. POLITICS IS A MARRIAGE is a very common conceptual metaphor in politics, and especially in Belgium. However, it is still noteworthy in our case because it is one of those metaphors that is often used to represent people's conceptualization of Belgian politics and that is often the subject of original metaphorical fillings, as in the following example:

(11)   *Deze regering is geen **politiek huwelijk** en zelfs geen **verstandshuwelijk**, maar hooguit een **schijnhuwelijk**. En een **schijnhuwelijk** leidt altijd naar een catastrofe, omdat het gebaseerd is op misleiding.*

(Jean-Marie Dedecker, LDD – Libertarian, Direct, Democratic, 2007)

'This government is not a **political marriage** and not even a **marriage of convenience**, but at the very most a **sham marriage**. And a **sham marriage** always leads to a catastrophe, because it's based on deception.'[17]

Following the interim government led by Guy Verhofstadt, a new official government coalition was finally formed in March 2008 with Yves Leterme as PM. One of the main objectives of this new government was to reach an agreement regarding a constitutional reform for Belgium, meaning that the new coalition had to perform as a true team in order to achieve this goal. However, after Leterme's first policy statement (2008a), some politicians did not seem convinced that this teamwork was

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15.   Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/52/ap015.pdf

16.   Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/52/ap015.pdf

17.   Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/52/ap015.pdf

indeed present in the new coalition. These politicians resorted to some very conventional conceptual political metaphors, notably POLITICS IS A GAME (Example 12) or POLITICS IS SPORTS (see Example (13)). Nonetheless, the way in which these conceptual metaphors are conveyed is done by means of (sometimes very) original language use.

(12) *C'est la photo d'un **gouvernement** « **mikado** » : aucun des ministres ne regarde dans la même direction ! Vous connaissez ce **jeu**, avec ces **bâtonnets entrecroisés**. Lorsqu'on en **retire** un – en l'occurrence le Premier ministre Verhofstadt – il y en a dix qui **bougent**. Et c'est ce que nous avons avec quatre nouveaux ministres et sept secrétaires d'État en plus.* (Jean-Marc Nollet, Ecolo, 2008a)
'It's the picture of a **Mikado government**: none of the ministers are looking in the same direction! You know that **game**, right, with those little **sticks** that are **stacked together**. If we **take** one **out** – in this case Prime Minister Verhofstadt – , ten others **move**. And that is precisely what is happening now, with four new ministers and seven additional state secretaries.'[18]

(13) *Net als premier Leterme heb ik een voorliefde voor de wielersport. Elke **ploeg** heeft een **kopman** die de **eindmeet** wil **halen**. Ik hoorde de heer Verherstraeten de eerste minister al feliciteren omdat hij de **eindmeet gehaald** zou hebben, maar volgens ons is dit nog niet de **eindmeet** en worden de **prijzen** pas **uitgedeeld** in 2011. Een **ploeg** is heel belangrijk. Het is de **kopman** die de **leiding neemt** en de **ploegmaats** helpen hem. […] De **kopman** moet van zijn **ploeg** een geheel maken, maar misschien hebben sommige **ploegmaats** al een **contract** bij een **andere ploeg** getekend? Wie aan de **start verschijnt**, kan niet vroegtijdig **afhaken**.*
(Bart Tommelein, Open Vld, 2008a)
'Just like Prime Minister Leterme, I have a particular affection for the cycling sport. Each **team** has a **leader** who wants to **reach** the **finish**. I heard Mr. Verherstraeten already congratulate the Prime Minister for **reaching** the **finish**, but according to us, this is not the **finish** yet and the **prizes** will only be **awarded** in 2011. A **team** is important. It's the **leader** that **takes** the **lead** and the **teammates** help him. […] The **leader** has to make a whole of his **team**, but maybe some **teammates** have already **signed** a **contract** with **another team**? Who **appears** at the **starting blocks** cannot **drop out** early.'[19]

(14) *Helaas lijkt de oranje-blauw-rode coalitie meer op een **klas kibbelende kinderen** dan op een regering. De premier die de **klas** moet **leiden**, **munt** vooral **uit** in besluitenloosheid. […] De **eindjaarsexamens** zijn roemloos voorbij en de regering heeft **zware buizen** op zak.* (Meyrem Almaci, Groen, 2008a)

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18. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/52/ap029.pdf

19. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/52/ap030.pdf

'Unfortunately, the orange-blue-red coalition looks more like a **class** of **bickering children** than a government. The Prime Minister who has to **lead** the **class**, **exceeds** in indecisiveness. […] The **final examinations** are over, in an inglorious manner, and the government carries **a grade F**.'[20]

As far as variation is concerned in the above examples, the interesting thing is that politicians employ very different source domains to express their doubts regarding the strong collaboration between governmental parties and Leterme, or rather the lack of such collaboration.

As mentioned, one of the main objectives of this government was to reach an agreement regarding a constitutional reform. However, Leterme I did not meet the deadline and failed in reaching this agreement. Again, this failure led to the use of some original and varying political metaphors, as in the following examples:

(15)   *Hij [Leterme] is geen leider, maar een **bedelaar**, en zijn begroting is een **bedeltas**.*
            (Jean-Marie Dedecker, LDD – Libertarian, Direct, Democratic, 2008b)
         'He is not a leader, but a **beggar**, and his budget plan is a **beggar's wallet**.'[21]

(16)   *[…], het is je reinste façadepolitiek. Er **staat** nog wel een **gevel recht**, maar de **put** erachter is **gigantisch**.*   (Meyrem Almaci, Groen, 2008b)
         '[…] it is make-believe politics of the highest order. The **house front** is still **up**, but the **well** behind it is **gigantic**.'[22]

The year 2009 (a), when Van Rompuy led the government coalition, also yielded a number of striking political metaphors and their variation. As opposed to 2008, however, this variation did not concern the use of different source domain to talk about the same topic; instead, the variation occurred within one and the same source domain. This is what we have called a '*circulation*' of metaphors. Van Rompuy stated in his policy statement that:

(17)   *Je kan als land alleen de **wind** niet **veranderen**, maar wel de **stand** van de **zeilen bijzetten**. […] Het is niet de tijd voor spektakel, maar om dag in dag uit, met vastberadenheid, stappen in de goede richting te zetten en de **koers aan te houden**.*
            (Herman Van Rompuy, Prime Minister, CD&V, 2009a)
         'As a country, you cannot **change** the **wind** by yourself, but you can **set** the **sails**. […] It's not time for a show, but it's time to, day in and day out and with determination, take steps in the right direction and to **stay on course**.'[23]

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20. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/52/ap030.pdf

21. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/52/ap056.pdf

22. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/52/ap056.pdf

23. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/52/ap115.pdf

This metaphor reminds us of Verhofstadt's metaphor in which he stated that doing politics is like navigating a ship (see introduction of this chapter). In a way, this metaphor could be linked to the conceptual metaphor of POLITICS IS A JOURNEY. Van Rompuy uses this future-oriented metaphor in a very positive way, implying that, despite the last government's failure, the governmental parties have to keep on working together and stay on the right track.

It is in other politicians' responses that metaphorical variation on this source domain starts to arise: the politicians use the same conceptual source domain but are adapting it by means of changes at the linguistic level in order to convey their points of view or perceptions on the communicative level. In contrast to Van Rompuy, who put forward a rather positive metaphor, his colleagues give it a more negative spin (see Examples (18)–(21)):

(18)   *De premier gebruikt de economische crisis om het vastlopen van het systeem te verbergen achter het beeld van de **wind** en de **zeilen**: de **wind waait** en wij kunnen alleen maar de **zeilen bijzetten**. De realiteit is echter dat wij op **twee schepen varen**, met **twee masten** en **twee stellen zeilen**. Die **varen** naast elkaar en ertussen is een **loopbrug**, waarop, heel wankel, de premier op een stoel zit.*

(Gerolf Annemans, VB, 2009a)

'The Prime Minister uses the economic crisis to hide the fact that the system is crashing behind the image of the **wind** and **sails**: the **wind blows** and the only thing we can do is **set the sails**. The reality, however, is that we are **sailing on two different ships**, with **two poles** and **two sets of sails**. These **ships** are **sailing** next to each other and between them, there is a **footbridge** with a chair, on which – in a very unstable way – the Prime Minister sits.'[24]

(19)   *Hij **klampt** zich **vast** aan de **reddingsboei** die de Hoge Raad voor Financiën hem **toewierp** om gedurende twee jaar helemaal niets te doen.*

(Gerolf Annemans, VB, 2009a)

'He **clings** to the **lifebuoy** that the High Council of Finance **threw** to him to then do nothing at all for two years.'[25]

(20)   *Daarom **kruipt** de regering samen op een **schip** in de hoop dat de **storm gaat liggen** in de plaats van de **zeilen** bij te **zetten**.*   (Bruno Tobback, sp.a, 2009a)

'That's why the government **crawls** together on a **ship**, in the hope that the **storm blows over** instead of **setting the sails**.'[26]

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24. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/52/ap114.pdf

25. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/52/ap114.pdf

26. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/52/ap114.pdf

(21) *De premier gebruikte de boutade dat je als land de **wind** niet kan **veranderen,** maar dat je wel de **stand** van de **zeilen** kan **bijzetten**. Hij vergeet dat je tijdens het **zeilen** ook **op de klippen kan lopen**.*

(Jean-Marie Dedecker, LDD – Libertarian, Direct, Democratic, 2009a)

'The Prime Minister uses the image that as a country, you cannot **change** the **wind's direction**, but that you are able to **set** the **sails**. He seems to forget that while **sailing**, you might **dash against a cliff**.'[27]

From 2011 on, tensions started to 'lower' in Belgium politics: it was the end of the second – yet, longest ever – political crisis. Moreover, 2011 was also characterized by an important achievement by the Di Rupo government: an agreement regarding the next constitutional reform of the country. However, despite the speck of light at the end of the tunnel, politicians still used (sometimes very) novel and deliberate metaphors. Some of these instances are illustrated in the examples below:

(22) *Deze regering wil met **homeopathische middelen** een **kankergezwel helen**.*

(Jean-Marie Dedecker, LDD – Libertarian, Direct, Democratic, 2011)

'This government wants to **cure** a **cancerous growth** with **homeopathic remedies**.'

(23) *Je comprends que les Flamands souhaitent leur indépendance. Si j'étais néerlandophone, je la souhaiterais aussi. M. Di Rupo est le **fossoyeur** de la Wallonie et de Bruxelles. J'espère qu'il ne sera pas le **fossoyeur** de la Belgique.*

(Laurent Louis, MLD – Liberal, Democratic Movement, 2011)

'Mr. Di Rupo is the **grave digger** of Wallonia and Brussels. I hope he won't be Belgium's **grave digger**.'[28]

(24) *Ons land bestaat uit een **lappendeken** van besturen, de bestuurders zijn **ketellappers** die niets anders doen dan **gaten dichten** in een **lekkende emmer** en hun maatregelen zijn niets anders dan **lapmiddelen**.*

(Jean-Marie Dedecker, LDD, 2012)

'Our country is a **patchwork quilt** of policies; the leaders are **tinkers** who do nothing else than **patching holes** in a **leaking bucket** and their measures are nothing else than **stopgaps**.'[29]

(25) *De eerste minister was de voorbije twee jaar eigenlijk een soort van **conciërge**. Soms deed hij het zelfs niet slecht. Hij **herstelt** wat **kapot** is, maar **renoveert** niet en denkt niet vooruit. Hij gedraagt zich niet als de **architect** van het België van morgen met een vergroende economie die innovatief is en werkbare jobs creëert.*

(Stefaan Van Hecke, Green Party, 2013)

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27. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/52/ap115.pdf

28. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/53/ap060.pdf

29. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/53/ap113.pdf

'For the past two years, the Prime Minister was some kind of **janitor**. Sometimes he even did a good job. He **fixes** what's **broken**, but he does not **renovate** and does not think ahead. He doesn't act like the **architect** of tomorrow's Belgium with a greening economy that is innovative and creates manageable jobs.'[30]

(26) *Vous obligez Mme Galant à être le **Diafoirus** du gouvernement : comme dans Le Malade imaginaire de Molière, on **traite** tous les **maux** par des **saignées**, des purges, des **clystères**.* (Laurette Onkelinx, PS, 2015)

'You are forcing Mrs. Galant to be the **Diafoirus** of the government: as in Le Malade imaginaire by Molière, we **treat** all the **pains** with **bloodletting**, **purging** and **clysters**.'[31]

(27) *Het beleid van deze regering is als een **spinnenweb**. De **grote vogels vliegen** er zo doorheen, maar de **kleine vliegjes** blijven erin **plakken**. De regering kiest niet voor de toekomst van iedereen.* (Meyrame Kitir, sp.a, 2016)

'This government's policy is like a **spider web**. The **big birds fly** right through it, but the **little flies** stay **stuck** in it. The government does not choose for everyone's future.'[32]

The examples highlight the variety of different deliberate metaphors and metaphorical frames politicians employ to talk about Belgian politics. They show that deliberate metaphors are a deemed to be an appropriate tool for politicians to convey their conceptualization and perception of the issue at hand, be it their vision of the Prime Minister himself – comparing him to a grave digger or even a janitor – or their perception of the government itself and its policies.

5. Discussion

The interest of this research lies in the analysis of potentially deliberate metaphors in Belgian political discourse with the aim of contributing to a potential explanation answering the central question of this book: what motivates metaphor variation? To do so, our study relies on the analysis of metaphors in Belgian policy statements (from 2006 to 2016) and the responses to these statements. During this time, the Belgian political situation was often complicated and unstable. Taking this into account, Belgian political discourse paves the way for heated debates between politicians and conflicts between their perceptions of the topics at hand. Metaphors

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30. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/53/ap162.pdf

31. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/54/ap073.pdf

32. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/54/ap133.pdf

are a great tool to convey one's perception and conceptualization of a given issue. Varying perceptions yielded varying metaphors.

In the previous section of this chapter, we presented a wide range of potentially deliberate metaphors and metaphor scenarios that were identified in our data. These results point to a noteworthy variation of political metaphors, and this on different levels – as discussed in Section 4.

The main focus of the previous section was to explore one variable that might potentially play a role in the variation of political metaphor, that is the political situation in which a country finds itself at a given moment. Does the stability of the political situation lead to politicians resorting more or less to the use of deliberate metaphors? First, the quantitative analysis of our data suggests a tendency to resort to different degrees of deliberate metaphor use depending on the political situation: the use of metaphors seems to vary depending on the political context as there were slightly more deliberate metaphors and scenarios during years in which Belgian politics was at its weakest or in an unstable situation. Second, the qualitative analysis provides us with more insight into how the political situation of a country drives metaphor variation, as further explained hereafter.

A first observation regarding our results is the variation of metaphor scenarios when politicians are talking about the same topic, which in our case was often the PMs policy statement and the government coalition's functioning. As demonstrated by some of our examples discussed in Section 4, our politicians make use of original deliberate metaphors as a means to convey their perception of the issue at hand: Prime Ministers are being compared to fairies, beggars and even janitors, his policies are like spider webs and patchwork quilts, while the government coalition is perceived as a Mikado game or even a class of bickering children.

The presence of such variation in metaphor scenarios does not only suggest that the political context might play a role in the type of metaphor use, it also implies that metaphor variation can be driven by individual preferences. Why does one politician opt for a comparison with fairies, while the other sees the PM more as a janitor?

As part of this final section, we would also like to put emphasis on the second observation arising from our results: the metaphor variation within one and the same metaphor scenario, which we refer to with '*circulation*' of metaphors. This phenomenon was illustrated by the examples discussed for 2009a (Examples (17)–(21)). The idea behind circulation of metaphor is that, when using metaphorical language, language users react to one another by using the same metaphor scenario, but they adapt the metaphorical filling of this scenario based on their own personal perceptions of a given issue. Political discourse has the potential to allow for a lot of circulation of metaphor, given that political discourse is often filled with conflicts between people's representations and perception of a given topic. It should be

noted that circulation of metaphors is also worth investigating because (1) it is not restricted by one particular political discourse, as for example policy statements, but instead has the potential of occurring in a wide range of discourses within the political sphere (i.e. elite, media and/or citizen discourse) and (2) it allows for a diachronic perspective on how one metaphor scenario may evolve over time.

6. Concluding remarks

With this chapter, we sought to answer the question of what drives metaphor variation. We were interested in the use of potentially deliberate metaphors, because these metaphors may be especially revealing of politicians' perceptions of the topic at hand. Deliberateness implies the use of metaphors *as* metaphors, both in production and reception, which means that this type of metaphor also has the potential to have an 'impact' on its receivers. Language users might also be more likely to pick up on them and be 'aware' of their presence.

The analysis of our data revealed two tendencies when it comes to metaphor variation: (1) '*variation*' of metaphor scenarios, and (2) variation of metaphorical filling within the same scenario – which we called '*circulation*'. Following this exploratory study, we believe that one variable which might play a role in the variation and circulation of metaphor is the political context and situation of the country. When a political system is perceived as unstable or malfunctioning, this seems to be reflected in the metaphor use of politicians. Conflicting situations lead to conflicting perceptions between politicians, which in turn lead to a wide spectrum of different types of metaphors and scenarios.

As far as avenues for further research are concerned, we believe that our study raises a number of important questions for future research on the variation of (political) metaphors. First is the idea of individual preferences. It could thus be interesting to dig deeper into how individual preferences, as well as preferences of political parties, might drive political metaphor variation. More precisely, is it typical for certain political parties to make more use of deliberate metaphors? Or is it possible to observe a relationship between political parties and source domains: is it typical for a given political party to (almost systematically) resort to the same source domain when talking about politics or not?

Finally, from a more stylistic point of view, we also argue that the type of political discourse analyzed might be a possible variable explaining variation of political metaphors. Each type of political discourse represents a particular communicative situation between language users, which in turn might entail a more extensive use of deliberate metaphors and, accordingly, a possible variation in political metaphor (see for instance Perrez, Randour & Reuchamps, to appear). In our case, we analyzed

discourses representing a peer-to-peer interaction (elite vs. elite). However, it might also be interesting to look at political metaphor variation depending on the audience (e.g. elite vs. media; elite vs. citizens; media vs. citizens): does a variation in the audience also generate a variation in metaphor use?

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The rhetorical use of political metaphor before, during and after the presidency

Television interviews with the former Croatian president

Nikolina Borčić and Ivona Čulo

This paper examines the ways in which politicians, depending on their political position, employ political metaphors as a tool to create a public image. Therefore, the use of political metaphors is analyzed through the prism of synergies of political topics, rhetorical strategies of evaluation and the use of personification. The research has been conducted on the sample of political interviews with the former Croatian President Ivo Josipović in a weekly talk show Nedjeljom u dva (Two o'clock on Sunday), aired on Croatian Television's first TV channel. The analysis was based on making a distinction between the political phases of the chosen politician (presidential candidate, elected president, former president and politician). The aim of the paper was to point out how the same politician used the same source domain in an interrelation with the topic and as support for different argument functions. The results suggest that differentiating between political roles enable a view on how this particular politician frames his political debate depending on his function and goals.

Keywords: political language, political metaphor, political function, argument strategies

1. Introduction

Political discourse is competitive discourse because politicians aim to gain a power advantage over each other (Musolff 2016: 137). Under political discourse there are ideologies and 'below ideologies there are values, enduring emotional dispositions toward domains infused with moral feelings, such as fairness, responsibility, gender roles, religious faith, or the use of military force' (Westen 2007: 151). Therefore, in this paper the term political discourse is used to cover all topics (economic, social and political) when speaking from a politician's standpoint.

The aim of a political speech is to inform, persuade and motivate the public, as well as present a politician as a person who would meet the expectations of both potential and actual voters (Westen 2007). The recipients' (interpreters') understanding of a political text and/or discourse depends on their level of knowledge and their expectations, as well as on the politician's communication skills and cognitive abilities (Borčić 2017: 2). The strategies used for framing political messages, therefore, include impression management, directing recipients' perception and encouraging their activities, whereas, at the same time, the constructions of power and powerlessness are being built in the background of political speeches (Dürscheid et al. 1995: 20–24).

One of the tools used for attracting attention involves the implicit or explicit use of emotion. In *The Political Brain*, Drew Westen (2007: 51) has pointed out that emotion is both central and valid in political discourse, because 'feeling and thinking evolved together, and nature "designed" them to work together'. As Musolff (2016: 137) puts it: 'Political communication means contesting and being successful in the speech community, so political metaphors need to be grounded on universal experience. They must fit in with the discourses already familiar to their recipients, so that they can be recognized as a basis for argument conclusions. And the primary goal of political statements should be to inform and to evoke emotions that move (potential) voters (Westen 2007: 256).

The novelty in the current research is connecting the analysis of political communication through the prism of synergies of the topic, argumentative strategies of evaluation, the use of metaphor based on personification and a person's political function (presidential candidate, the elected president, former president and politician) in an identical communication environment (the same talk show, the same host). In this light, we will explore how politicians use the same source domain as a support for different argumentative functions used in the economic, social and political topic he is talking about.

Personification evokes knowledge which is inherent to all speakers of a language because of their perception of the interrelation between people or between people and their physical world. That perception could create the potential for a range of emotions towards friends and family and enemies, and towards our experience of the physical world (Charteris-Black 2004: 205). As a mapping process, personification of abstract themes is therefore common in political discourse because abstract domains are easier to understand through experienced concepts (Taylor 1995, Steen 1999, Borčić 2012, 2017).

This paper is organized so that the next section explains how political discourse theories relate to the use of political metaphors of personification. Based on this, Section 3 uncovers the aim of the research and its methodology. The central part of the paper, Section 4, provides the results of the analyses with a discussion. The conclusion presents a generalized view of the key findings concerning the theory.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Metaphors in political discourse

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT; Lakoff & Johnson 1980/2015) posits that our thought-and-reasoning-processes are interwoven with conceptual metaphors that are fundamental for the understanding of a language and the knowledge of the world (Lakoff & Johnson 2015: 10).

Metaphors are also of interest in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) because the use of metaphors may reveal ideological tendencies (Musolff 2016). In this perspective, metaphors are seen as providing a direct access to conceptual, including ideological, structures (Musolff 2016: 3). With his Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) Charteris Black (2014) emphasizes the potential of ideological bias and manipulative effect of political metaphors because they bring together different areas of experience and knowledge, so that a particular domain is cognitively and communicatively presented in terms of another topic (Musolff 2016: 8, Charteris-Black 2005, 2014).

A conceptual metaphor is formed by mapping a source domain onto a target domain, which means the target domain is structured and understood in terms of the source domain (Lakoff and Johnson 2015: 3–5; see for instance also Kövecses 2002: 4–6; Lakoff and Johnson 2015: 7–14). At the level of language use, metaphorical expressions from the source domain are called linguistic metaphors.

Linguists (see for instance Girnth 2002, Kopperschmid 1986, Charteris-Black 2004, 2005, 2014, Cox 2012, Lakoff 1991, 2002, 2004, 2008, 2014, Borčić 2010, 2012, 2017, Borčić et al. 2016), who analyze political language and the use of conceptual metaphors, assume that the subtle expression of emotions towards the expected convictions of the common public is effectively realized through the mapping processes.

In this paper we investigate the mapping processes of personification in argument strategies of positive or negative evaluation of the topic. Only the given argument strategies have been selected because they are directly related to the basic functions of political language, and these are persuading and informing (Niehr 2014).

2.2 A political topic as a person within the public image of politicians

The analysis of the use of personification as a background for mapping in political discourse is common in both scientific and professional literature. The aim of this research is to analyze the use of linguistically realized political metaphors in correlation with the topics and the above-mentioned argument strategies, and to examine how political metaphors of personification are used as a rhetorical strategy in political discourse in order to construct a political image depending on a

politician's role. Since the basic function of political language is to influence the audience (Niehr 2014: 13), conceptual metaphors are suitable for political discourse because of their implication potential and the possibility of mapping only one part of the source domain, which can be used to either enhance or reduce an aspect of a target domain or the topic of a politician's speech (Niehr 2014: 144).

Personification, as the most common ontological mapping process, means that different abstract topics (such as decision, state, crisis, etc.) are explained with the help of categories common to people (Lakoff and Johnson 2015: 44–45; Charteris-Black 2005; 2014). As discussed above, a mapping process from the source domain PERSON, therefore, has the potential to transfer a range of assumptions that are usually associated with the source domain on the political issues and to suggest a course of evaluation of the target domain.

The source aspect of the PERSON metaphor as a discourse-based conceptual structure that involves evaluative bias elements makes it useful for rhetorical exploitation within the process of the construction of the political image (Musolff 2011: 33). The mapping processes of personification forms an association between the topic and a person's experience of himself and the world around him. Such an association creates a precondition for understanding the content. Therefore, political metaphors, such as A NATION/PARTY/POLITICAL TOPIC IS A PERSON, have the largest ability to provide an association evoked by the potential for a range of emotions towards friends and family and enemies, and towards our experience. Lakoff (2008: 76–82) argued that a person's modes of moral and political thought are taken from the metaphor THE NATION IS A FAMILY. He sees the mind as both a factor and actor in politics (2008: 4).

These metaphors are also interesting because of their frequency in political discourse (e.g., FAMILIAL SOLIDARITY/HIERARCHY, MARRIAGE PROBLEMS, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS; Musolff 2016: 37). Charteris-Black (2005: 204) explained the high frequency of personification in political discourse with the argument that 'nations, political parties, particular abstract nouns (e.g. freedom, tyranny, progress, etc.) become more emotionally arousing if they are thought of as good or bad people'. Some personifications (party, the government, institution) are a part of our everyday language and, as such, they do not attract much attention, unlike, for instance, novel metaphors. Nevertheless, the authors of this paper started with the assumption that personification processes need to be analyzed, because due to their familiarity and closeness they can be an efficient channel for framing a topic.

3.   Methods and data

3.1   Research design and research questions

In order to show the correlation between the uses of political metaphors based on personification and argument strategies of evaluation, we focused on their use in a weekly talk show Nedjeljom u dva (Two o'clock on Sunday), aired on Croatian Television's first TV channel on the example of interviews with the former Croatian president before, during and after his presidency. The main focus of the research is to analyze the use of political metaphors as seen through the relationships between metaphors, topics and political phases. The idea is to see whether there is any difference in the use of political metaphors based on personification depending on a political role.

In accordance with the focus of this research, the following questions have been posed:

1.   Does the choice of topics in an interview changes depending on the political role?
2.   Has the use of metaphors been identified in argument strategies of positive or negative evaluation?
3.   What are the differences and similarities in the use of political metaphors, topics and arguments?

The research was conducted on the sample of four political interviews with Ivo Josipović, first when he was a presidential candidate (2009), then after being elected President (2012) and the other two after his mandate (2015, 2016), aired in a Croatian weekly show '*Nedjeljom u dva*'[1] (Sunday at Two, hosted by Aleksandar Stanković). These are the only interviews given by Josipović in the above-mentioned talk show. We chose this particular talk show because of its high viewing figures and, accordingly, due to the important impact it has on public opinion. Since this is a very popular program, which has been aired every Sunday at two pm on the Croatian Television for the last eighteen years, Josipović saw it as an opportunity to express his views to a heterogeneous audience. The choice of the same talk show ensures the objectivity of the communication, since the analyzed interviews are the only ones given by Ivo Josipović in that talk show.

Although the research corpus is not large enough for collecting comprehensive results, the work gives insight into how political messages are affected by a politician's position (candidate, president, former president).

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1.   Hrvatska radiotelevizija www.hrt.hr (20.01.2018).

3.2 Methodological approach

All four interviews have been transcribed. The unit of analysis is one interview.

One of the research questions was to describe the connection between political roles and topics of discussion. The first step in the analysis was to identify the topic he is talking about, after which we counted the answers in each interview and identified the themes. In order to treat the topic of discussion coherently, we focused on the topic regardless of the answers. The result of that was that we could identify fewer topics than answers. The second step involved separating the identified topics into four groups: political, economic, social and private. Due to spatial limitations, this research did not take into account the subtopics' interdependence and the use of metaphors, which is then left to some other future research.

The second stage of the analysis included text analysis, identification of linguistically realized conceptual metaphors based on personification process and the analysis of their evaluative potential. Therefore, we analyzed the use of metaphors on the linguistic (lexeme as an expression of a conceptual domain), conceptual (conceptual metaphor) and rhetorical (evaluation) levels.

The metaphorical potential of the selected lexical items was evaluated using the Pragglejaz metaphor identification process (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 1–39), where a Croatian dictionary was used instead of an English one. Therefore, we read the entire interview so as to come to a global understanding of the topics covered in the interviews and to determine the lexical units in the corpora. Although we did consider all the lexical units, in that step we included a manual selection of lexemes according to the four groups of topics (political, economic, social and private). It should be emphasized that, since we were interested in the metaphors based on personification, we assessed only the metaphorical potential of the lexical units referring to the source domain of a person or living being. The following step was to connect the linguistic metaphor and the conceptual metaphors. This phase included a manual selection of the lexemes which indicate conceptual metaphors, such as THE STATE IS A PERSON, A STATE BODY IS A PERSON, A PARTY IS A PERSON. The analysis of the corpora has been made independently by both authors.

The third stage of the analysis included the discursive analysis of the political statements where certain linguistic metaphors were used and determining whether their purpose was to evaluate the topic positively or negatively. Since we have been primarily interested in how Ivo Josipović frames a political debate depending on his political role, and not in the overall percentage of metaphorical units found in the analyzed interviews, we interpreted the use of political metaphors and the evaluation potential qualitatively.

4.   Findings

Since the research questions are connected with the politician's position, the results were interpreted separately for 2009 (presidential candidate), 2012 (elected president) and together for 2015 and 2016 (former president and politician). Furthermore, since these are small text corpora, the results were interpreted only qualitatively, with the exception of topic representation in the interviews.

4.1   The choice of topics depending on a political phase

The choice of the discussion topic depends on the responsibility of a particular political function and can have an impact on the politicians' public image. Consequently, one of the research goals was to identify and describe how the choice of topics corresponds with Ivo Josipović's political era. Table 1 summarizes the results of our quantitative analysis of the topic representation in the interviews.

Table 1. The representation of topics in the analyzed interviews

Topic	2009		2012		2015		2016	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
POLITICAL	27	46%	15	34%	21	54%	23	52%
ECONOMIC	11	19%	6	14%	4	10%	4	9%
SOCIAL	4	4%	15	34%	8	20%	7	16%
PERSONAL	17	29%	8	18%	6	15%	10	23%
TOTAL	59	100%	44	100%	39	100%	44	100%

Josipović's first appearance in the above-mentioned talk show in 2009 was also an opportunity to introduce himself and his political program to the potential voters, so as to achieve transparency and gain support. According to the Nielsen data, the average minute rating (AMR) of the broadcast talk show in 2009 was 12, 98% and the share (SHR) was 34.26%.

   The analysis (Table 1) showed that out of 59 topics, 27 (46%) were political (for example, his political background, his party, other political parties in Croatia, former and present Croatian politicians, topics regarding the war in Croatia in the '90s and its consequences, as well as the cooperation with The Hague Tribunal, and others), 17 (29%) were personal (concerning Josipović himself, his family, his descent and property, his background and motivation for the function), 11 (19%) were economic (such as the economic crisis, the Swiss Franc Loans Crisis, the possible role of the International Monetary Fund), while 4 (7%) of the topics were social, concerned with his attitude towards, for instance, the media, optimism and

pessimism in Croatian society and patriotism. Since he was at the time relatively unknown to a wider public, Josipović used the program as a springboard for presenting his knowledge and skills, which he would use in his potential presidency. Further to this, Marijana Grbeša (2012: 94) claims that 'his media image preceding the first election was unpretentious but favorable: he was widely esteemed for his legal expertise and his public reputation was overall positive'.

During his mandate, Josipović gave only one interview in the mentioned show, and this was in 2012. The AMR[2] of that show was 14.27% and the SHR was 44.66%. As shown in Table 1, as President, Josipović spoke to the same extent about political (34%) and social issues (34%). This was because he talked about his presidency, while also explaining his view of the situation regarding the scandal some media imputed to him at the time.[3] The topic of the scandal was his former connection with the Croatian Composers' Society and the Copyright Law. So, due to the topic, he mentioned both political and social aspects in context. The analysis showed that out of 44 questions, 8 (18%) were personal and concerned Josipović's private life, including his personal relationship to the people in the above-mentioned scandal. Only 6 (14%) questions concerned his attitudes regarding economic topics.

While running for the second mandate, Ivo Josipović lost to Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović in a narrow defeat. It was the first time that the incumbent president was not re-elected for a second term. Furthermore, after the election, he stated that he would not return to his former party (SDP) but that he would establish a new one called Naprijed Hrvatska. Therefore, his appearance in the show in 2015 and 2016 was an opportunity to position himself as a politician who started building a new political career. The AMR of the show broadcast in 2015 was 12.80%, and the SHR was 44.60%. The AMR of Josipović's last appearance on the talk show, aired in 2016, was 15.78%, and the SHR was 43.07%. As shown in Table 1, he mostly covered political topics (54% in 2015 and 52% in 2016). The emphasis in 2015 was on why he lost the presidential election and in 2016 the topic was why his party suffered a defeat in the parliamentary elections in 2016.

4.2   The relationship between the topics, metaphors and evaluation

The Tables 2–4 show the relationship between the lexical units referring to the source domain of a person and argument strategies of evaluation.

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2.   All the AGB Nielsen results used in the text refer to the target audience MF 4+.

3.   Novi list http://www.novilist.hr/Vijesti/Hrvatska/Slucaj-ZAMP-otkriva-novo-lice-Ive-Josipovica (10.02.2018).

Table 2. The representation of PERSON metaphors in the statements

Corpus and evaluative potential	Examples of lexical items referring to the source domain PERSON	Examples of terms referring to the target domain POLITICAL TOPIC	Examples of terms referring to the target domain ECONOMIC TOPIC	Examples of terms referring to the target domain SOCIAL TOPIC	Examples of terms referring to the target domain PRIVATE TOPIC
2009 – affirmative evaluation	*to do; to act; fairly; to cooperate; to move; fat; to walk; to follow; to leave; cooperation and friendship; to satisfy; to make a contribution; to propose; to be; character; defense; to be against something;*	party (SDP); the presidential office; political experience; Croatia; other states; The Hague Tribunal; Homeland war;	Economic reforms; unions;	Television (NOVA TV);	Music; football;
2009 – negative evaluation	*to sleep; to do, to take action; snake; cobra; to go; to harm; to spend; maneuver; problem; to carry the burden; hostage; to return; guilty; to be good for something; to give up*	Government; party (HDZ); Croatia;	Crisis; citizens; industry;	the Croatian society; Croatian news media;	

Table 2 shows the identified linguistic metaphors, which point to the following metaphors: STATE IS A PERSON, CRISIS IS AN ANIMAL, POLITICAL PARTY IS A PERSON, SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUE AS A PERSON, ECONOMIC-POLITICAL ISSUE AS A PERSON; PERSONAL ISSUE AS A PERSON; INSTITUTION IS A PERSON. Within that mapping process, human traits and/or everyday activities are transferred to political issues. In that light, it can be assumed that metaphors of personification are used to create personal narratives which fit the candidate's image. As seen in (1), criticizing the former government and its reaction to the crisis by using the metaphors CRISIS IS AN ANIMAL and A GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON is the way in which Josipović expresses his opinion through a negative value judgment of the person – government. This was expected of him at the time, since he was a member of the opposition party. In the statements from the interview which took place when he was a presidential

candidate, he used the metaphor POLITICAL PARTY AS A PERSON to point out the advantages of his former party (SDP) and its leaders, as shown in (2).

(1) Aleksandar Stanković: 'You would like to be President of Croatia. What are your motives?'
(*Aleksandar Stanković:* 'Iskazali ste želju da budete Predsjednik Republike. Koji su Vam motivi?')
Ivo Josipović: 'Well, I assume the second question will be whether I am capable for the task, so I'll merge these two questions into an answer. We can see we are facing a crisis, and it was seriously discussed last year, such as what effect it has on us. The crisis is like a *cobra*, it *watches* different components in our society and then it freezes. The Government *is doing* nothing about it.'
(Ivo Josipović, Nu2; 2009)
(*Ivo Josipović:* "Pa evo, pretpostavljam da će drugo pitanje biti jeste li Vi za to za to sposobni, jel, pa ću ja spojiti ta dva pitanja u odgovor. Naime, vidimo da je kriza tu, negdje tamo počelo se ozbiljno govoriti pred ovu godinu, i kakav ona efekt ima kod nas. Ona je poput kobre, gleda različite faktore u našem drušvu i onda se ukipi. Vlada ne poduzima ništa.')

(2) Aleksandar Stanković: "How would you comment on the SKH members leaving the parliament in 1991 when the establishment declaration was being announced?"
(*Aleksandar Stanković:* 'Kako ocjenjujete izlazak iz sabornice članova SKH-a 1991. kada se donosila deklaracija o uspostavi?')
Ivo Josipović: "This is a spin, how will I put it, one of HDZ's *maneuvers*. SDP *was not against* the Declaration (…). However, since there was no agreement on the text, then SDP *may have carelessly left* the parliament, which is now interpreted the way you have just done."   (Ivo Josipović, Nu2; 2009)
(*Ivo Josipović:* 'To je jedan od velikih spin kako bih rekao manevara HDZ-a. Naime, SDP nije bio protiv Deklaracije. (…) Dakle, SDP je predlagao svoju Deklaraciju neovisnosti. Međutim kako tada nije bilo sklonosti usuglašavanja teksta, onda je možda neoprezno SDP izašao iz Sabornice što se evo sad interpretira ovako kako ste možda interpretirali.")

As already stated, the aim of a political speech is to inform, persuade and motivate the public, as well as present a politician as a person who would meet the expectations of both potential and actual voters. As a presidential candidate, but also as a renowned professor of international and criminal law, Josipović used the metaphor INSTITUTION IS A PERSON to point out the influence of the media on creating the image regarding the perception of the legitimacy of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. Using positive evaluation, he suggested a positive perception of that institution to the local population, as is evident in (3).

(3) Aleksandar Stanković: "Why does the public have this impression?"
(*Aleksandar Stanković:* 'Zašto je takav dojam u javnosti?')
Ivo Josipović: 'Unfortunately, I have to say here that the media were sometimes not critical, and I also have to say that some media have done a lot to reveal the crimes and motivate the public and the politics to view the international judiciary differently than initially. By the way, I think an interesting piece of information, which perhaps the wider public doesn't know, is that Croatia was the first country to propose the founding of the International Court of Justice.'
(Ivo Josipović, Nu2; 2009)
(*Ivo Josipović:* 'Pa znate, od početka postojanja Haškog suda su svi političari u svim zaraćenim zemljama naravno bili protiv Suda. Nažalost, evo moram reći da su ih i mediji nekad pratili nekritički, ali isto tako moram reći da su neki mediji jako puno napravili upravo i na razotkrivanju zločina i na motiviranju i javnosti i politike da na međunarodno pravosuđe gleda drukčije nego što je to bilo u prvi trenutak. Inače, mislim da je dosta zanimljiva informacija koju možda šira javnost ne zna da je upravo Hrvatska bila prva koja je predložila da se osnuje Međunarodni sud.')

Since the primary goal of political statements is to inform and to evoke emotions that move (potential) voters, Josipović used the conceptual metaphor STATE IS A PERSON, as in (4), to correlate his attitude about patriotism and the Croatian War of Independence, which is often the case in Croatian political discourse.

(4) Aleksandar Stanković: 'How would you define patriotism? What is patriotism to you?'
(*Aleksandar Stanković:* 'Kako biste Vi definirali domoljublje, što je za Vas domoljublje?')

Ivo Josipović: "Well, yes, patriotism was a rather practical thing until now; the relationship with *the defense* of Croatia. Here I think the Croatian people exhibited a high degree of patriotism because Croatia *had to defend* itself in circumstances which were not easy, and we know that unfortunately many gave their lives for this country." (Ivo Josipović, Nu2; 2009)
(*Ivo Josipović:* 'Da, domoljublje je bilo do jučer praktično, odnos prema obrani Hrvatske i tu mislim da je hrvatski narod pokazao zaista visok stupanj domoljublja jer se Hrvatska obranila u vremenima koja nisu bila laka i evo znamo da su nažalost mnogi dali život za domovinu.')

Table 3 shows the use of lexical items referring to the cases of personification from the presidential interview. As in 2009, this mapping process is dominant in affirmative attitudes.

Table 3. The representation of personification in the statements

Corpus and evaluative potential	Examples of lexical items referring to the source domain PERSON	Examples of terms referring to the target domain POLITICAL TOPIC	Examples of terms referring to the target domain ECONOMIC TOPIC	Examples of terms referring to the target domain SOCIAL TOPIC	Examples of terms referring to the target domain PRIVATE TOPIC
2012 – affirmative evaluation	*to enter; member; to open to; to work with; to move forward; to relax¸ to lead; to be older; to exist; o consult; to take over; to see clearly; to return; partner; to agree; to have; to get closer; to be weak; to participate*;	European union; Croatia; other states; neighbor states; Government; decision; discussion; the European Council; HDZ (Croatian Democratic Party)	tax administration; Croatian economy;	the Croatian Composers' Society; the Copyright Law; the media; the Croatian society; the Croatian Radio Television Law; The Croatian Television; The labor law; history; anti-fascism;	
2012 – negative evaluation	*to harm; to cooperate; to enter into; to fight; to refuse*;	Government; law; conflict; policy;	Economic criminal; Croatian economy; unemployment; consequence;	Scandal; the Croatian Composers' Society; media news portal; theater; stage set; publishing houses; the Croatian society; football;	viral infections

The results show that the dominant metaphor in that interview is THE STATE IS A PERSON, as in (5), and NEWS MEDIA IS A PERSON, as in (6–8).

(5) 'Ivo Josipović: With regard to foreign policy, I said my wish is that Croatia becomes an EU member, a member of a big European community of nations, so that its first main goal (…).'   (Ivo Josipović, Nu2; 2012)

(*Ivo Josipović:* 'Dakle, kad je riječ o vanjskoj politici, rekao sam da želim da Hrvatska postane članica EU, članica europske, velike europske zajednice naroda, dakle to je prvi glavni cilj').

Even if he was talking about his presidency, as in (5), the main focus in the interview was to explain his view of the situation regarding the scandal some media imputed to him at the time, as in (6) – (8). While using the metaphors NEWS MEDIA IS A PERSON, AN INSTITUTION IS A PERSON and LAW IS A PERSON, he tried to construct an image of a person who suffered the negative impact of how he was presented by the media.

(6) Aleksandar Stanković: 'The second year of your mandate, or more precisely, the end of the second year, was stained with a scandal which concerns the Copyright Law, that is, your role in the passing of that law and you possibly condoning some people's behavior. Let's start from the beginning. Did you design the HDS's legal concept for the copyright on music?'

(*Aleksandar Stanković:* 'Druga godina, odnosno sam kraj druge godine Vašeg mandata obilježen je jednom aferom koja se tiče Zakona o zaštiti autorskih prava, odnosno Vaše uloge u donošenju tog Zakona i eventulanog povlađivanja određenim osobama. Sad, ajmo ovako od početka. Jeste li Vi osmislili taj HDS-ov pravni koncept zaštite muzičke?')

Ivo Josipović: 'First things first. So, one online portal *came up* with this and *started discussing* it quite persistently, but without much effect. Mr. Babić was here in your show and in quite a graphic little tale about cats he concluded the following: 'There was once an MP Josipović who forcefully introduced the Copyright Law, which is an unseen miracle, and which suited his organization, so he founded ZAMP. He appointed a friend to manage it, who reaps extra profit from it, isn't that right? (…) ZAMP *exists* since 1950 and is seven years *older* than me, seven years older.'   (Ivo Josipović, Nu2; 2012)

(*Ivo Jospović:* 'Ajde krenimo redom, dakle, na jednom portalu je otvorena priča, vrlo uporno se pojavljivala, nije imala nekog odjeka, bio je gospodin Babić ovdje kod Vas i u jednoj slikovitoj maloj pričici sa mačkama je zapravo ustvrdio sljedeće: bio je zastupnik Josipović, pa je onda isforsirao Zakon o autorskom pravu koji je čudo neviđeno, koji pogoduje njegovu organizaciju pa je osnovao ZAMP i onda je poslove tog ZAMP-a dao svom prijatelju koji od toga ostvaruje dodatnu korist, jel tako. (…) ZAMP postoji od 1950. godine i sedam godina je stariji od mene, sedam godina stariji od mene.')

Political metaphor THE STATE IS A PERSON is used to emphasize the main goal of his politics (5), the Croatian accession to the European Union, as well as to imply and suggest a positive idea and feeling about one's own country. The same metaphor is also used to communicate a personal patriotic feeling, which could have been used as a rhetorical strategy of negative evaluation to move the focus from the topic to

the emotion or concerns for the homeland, as seen in (7). As mentioned above, the dominant metaphor in this interview is, as in (8), NEWS MEDIA IS A PERSON. In (8) we could see the example of the use of evaluation in synergy with the lexical metaphor *to talk* for the purpose of positive evaluation of news media in general, which implicitly includes the negative evaluation of the media news portal (Index) who started the scandalous story.

(7)   Aleksandar Stanković: 'Do you think it is necessary to change that which existed nine years ago? I mean the law, in a way that perhaps HDS and ZAMP don't hold a monopoly over everything?'

(*Aleksandar Stanković:* 'Da li mislite da je potrebno mijenjati ono što je prije koliko, devet godina, Zakon, na način da možda HDS i ZAMP ne budu monopolisti svega toga?')

Ivo Josipović: "The principle of an organization for one kind of representation is a European principle. Here, look at all our neighboring countries (…) this *will be a problem* for Croatia."   (Ivo Josipović, Nu2; 2012)

(*HR – Ivo Josipović:* '*Načelo jedne organizacije za jednu vrst zastupanja je europsko načelo, evo, pogledajte i sve susjedne zemlje, (…) i tu će biti problem za* <u>*Hrvatsku.*</u>')

(8)   Aleksandar Stanković: "Don't you find it strange that concerning this whole scandal, where either you or the other party could be absolutely right, I am not taking any sides? The EPH has not been reporting about it."

(*Aleksandar Stanković:* 'Je li Vama čudno da u cijeloj ovoj aferi u kojoj Vi možete biti apsolutno u pravu, a može i druga strana, ja sad ovdje ne zauzimam nikakvo stajalište, EPH uopće nije izvješćivao.')

Ivo Josipović: "There is really no need. Protection of Nino Pavić, that is ridiculous. I have already heard one of the theories, Styria, and so on. What this is about: we were discussing the quality of articles on Index. Which serious newspaper would ever publish this, which serious newspaper would ever *talk* about this?"   (Ivo Josipović, Nu2; 2012)

(*Ivo Josipović:* 'Ma ne treba, ma koja zaštita Nine Pavića, pa sam već čuo jednu od teorija pa s Styria s ovima, s onima, o čemu se radi, govorili smo o kvaliteti priloga na Indexu, pa koja bi ozbiljna novina to prenosila, koja bi ozbiljna novina to prenijela?')

According to the results from Table 3, the identified lexical items also point to the following metaphors: SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUES AS A PERSON, ECONOMIC-POLITICAL ISSUE AS A PERSON, PERSONAL ISSUE AS A PERSON, INSTITUTION IS A PERSON. To conclude, according to the selected items, when Ivo Josipović speaks about politics as President s, the prevailing themes are various presidential activities, where he speaks from a perspective of a party-wise neutral person.

As mentioned above, Ivo Josipović's appearance in the 2015 and 2016 shows was an opportunity to present himself as a person who has a political vision regarding the future of Croatia, while positioning himself as a politician who started building a new political career. Since his loss in the presidential election was the first time that the incumbent president was not re-elected for a second term, we expected that he would try to construct an image of the former president/important politician explaining why his staying in politics is important for Croatia. According to the results in Table 4, he used the personification within the political themes,

Table 4. The representation of personification in the statements

Corpus and evaluative potential	Examples of lexical items referring to the source domain PERSON	Examples of terms referring to the target domain POLITICAL TOPIC	Examples of terms referring to the target domain ECONOMIC TOPIC	Examples of terms referring to the target domain SOCIAL TOPIC	Examples of terms referring to the target domain PRIVATE TOPIC
2015 – affirmative evaluation	*to cooperate; to go; to suggest; to solve; to help; to fight for; to satisfy; to find a job; to mitigate; to accept;*	Party (Naprijed Hrvatska); state (Croatia); political program; political changes; a company; Europe;	reforms; various companies;	News media;	
2015 – negative evaluation	*To have contact; to cooperate; to lose; to take many; to expect; to have capacity; to have no confidence; to solve; to change; to demolish;*	Opposition; government; party (SDP, HDZ; MOST); Croatia; election;	crisis;	Society; news media; society;	
2016 – affirmative evaluation	*To work with; to try; to be good for someone; to appear; to offer; attitude; to interfere;*	party (Naprijed Hrvatska; SDP; Croatia; other states; the Constitutional Court		Church; society;	
2016 – negative evaluation	*to experience; to talk with; unfair; to finance; to give; to lose; to be twins;*	Opposition; government; party (SDP; HDZ; MOST); Croatia; coalition; Constitutional Court	system;	Church; society;	

placing the focus on the evaluation of the political environment in Croatia. The results from the 2015 and 2016 programs will be interpreted together because in both Josipović is talking from the perspective of a former president.

After the electoral defeat, Josipović also publicly stated that he would not return to his previous party (SDP) but that he would establish his own, Naprijed Hrvatska. The media's narratives about his decision were implicit and/or negatively framed, as stated by the journalist in (9 and 10), so we may conclude that the increase of the metaphorical use, especially in the talk show after losing the election, could also indicate his effort to recreate an image of a leader.

(9) 'Aleksandar Stanković: You said here, and I didn't want to interrupt you, that you think you were doing your job well. Wouldn't you say that, because of the fact you lost the election, you were not doing it so well?'

(*Aleksandar Stanković:* 'Rekli ste ovdje, nisam Vas htio prekidati, da mislite da ste dobro obavljali svoj posao. Ne čini li Vam se, činjenice, da ste izgubili izbore, da ga niste dobro obavljali?')

Ivo Josipović: 'No. (…) perhaps this wish to continue with this essential, quality program outweighed everything else.'   (Ivo Josipović, Nu2; 2015)

(*Ivo Josipović:* 'Ne. (…) možda baš i ova želja da idem s ovim suštinskim, kvalitetnim programom, prevagnuo'.)

(10) Aleksandar Stanković: 'When talking about society, the media are an integral part. Many will say that the media were highly inclined to you, until the moment you lost the election. Then we saw some leading political opinion makers and those people who create public opinions. They said something in the lines of: "Why go back to active politics Ivo Josipović? To what end? Until when? Why doesn't this man turn to composing, or teaching at university?" as one commentator said just today. You're here, try to explain why.'

(*Aleksandar Stanković:* 'Kada govorimo o društvu.. neizostavan su dio i mediji. Mnogi će reći da su mediji Vama izrazito skloni bili, sve dok niste izgubili na izborima. Pa smo onda vidjeli vodeće političke opinion meakere i one ljude koji kreiraju javno mjenje, kako su rekli, zašto ponovno u aktivnu politiku Ivo Josipović? Čemu? Dokle? Zašto se čovjek ne bavi, evo baš danas jedan komen-tator tvrdi, zašto se ne bavite komponovanjem, zašto se ne bavite predavanjem na fakultetu? Tu ste, pokušajte reći zašto?')

Ivo Josipović: 'Ah, it's either this or you want to talk about the media. We won't talk about the media but about my decision. In my five years as President my task was to do all the constitutional duties. I believe I did a satisfactory job, I did it in a good way, but I had a greater ambition, such as to work on development, to offer something good to this country.'   (Ivo Josipović, Nu2; 2015)

> (*Ivo Josipović:* 'Aha, ili hoćete o medijima. Nećemo o medijima, nego o mojoj odluci. Dakle, ja sam pet godina kao predsjednik imao zadaću obavljati sve one ustavne zadaće, mislim da sam ih obavljao na zadovoljavajući, na dobar način, ali sam imao i veću ambiciju, ponuditi razvoj, ponuditi nešto dobro državi.')

The emphasis in the 2015 and 2016 corpora is on the discursive strategies linked to the metaphors PARTY/STATE AS A POSITIVE/NEGATIVE PERSON, and it mostly reflects the attitude related to the main political parties in 2016. This attitude was stated through the value judgment concerning their work and activities for (or against) the better future in Croatia, as evident in (13).

The target domains in 2009, 2015 and 2016 were concrete actions, praised or criticized, and associated with a particular party. In 2009 the positive attitude was mainly related to SDP (Social Democratic Party) and the negative to HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) and the HDZ government at that time as well. In 2015 and 2016 the negative attitude was also related to SDP (Social Democratic Party), due to his personal disagreement with the party leader at the time, as in (11) and (12). He consciously or unconsciously emphasized the statements that 'invoke' more or less positive or negative associations with other parties or are related to the issues of the state and governmental bodies. In this way, as in (11), he justified the defeat in the election for the second presidential mandate or (12) the election results of his new party.

(11) Ivo Josipović: '(…) Our governments, I say it in plural, not singular, seem to fear female presidents in some way. As I understand it, a president is supposed to be the government's *partner*. I wished to be one to Ms. Kosor and, of course, to Mr. Milanović, as we stem from one same or similar political flock. However, it was completely clear that nothing would come out of it.'

(Ivo Josipović, Nu2; 2015)

(*Ivo Josipović:* ' – … – Naše vlade, govorim u množini, ne jednini. Izgleda da imaju određeni strah od predsjednika ili predsjednice Republike. J astma podrazumijevao da predsjednik treba biti partner vladi. Želio sam to biti i gospođi Kosor i naravno gospodinu Milanoviću, mi dolazimo negdje iz istog ili sličnog političkog jata. Međutim, bilo je potpuno jasno da od toga nema ništa.')

(12) Ivo Josipović: 'Objectively speaking, we are a small party which has just been founded. No matter the leadership, I think it is promising. It *offers* Croatia a modern type of developmental politics. And I was glad to hear that all that *haggling with partners* at MOST that in fact reforms were being offered which I have actually advocated since the early days of my presidency.'

(Ivo Josipović, Nu2; 2016)

> (*Ivo Josipović:* 'Mi smo objektivno jedna mala, nova stranka, koja se pojavila. Za koju, ja mislim da je načelno perspektivna sa ovim ili onim vodstvom. Koja nudi Hrvatskoj jednu modernu, razvojnu politiku. I meni je bilo jako drago slušat sad ova natezanja Mosta s partnerima da su se zapravo nudile reforme koje sam ja, zapravo, zagovarao od predsjedničkih dana.')

In 2016 the negative attitude was mainly related to SDP (Social Democratic Party) and to HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union), and the HDZ government at that time, as seen in (13).

(13)   Aleksandar Stanković: 'What have you got to say about HDZ's pre-election promise to cut down the number of ministries?
(*Aleksandar Stanković:* 'Što kažete o predizbornom obećanju HDZ-a o smanjivanju broja ministarstava (…)?')

Ivo Josipović: 'First of all, our entire situation here, economic and political, is stranded on a rock of nepotistic ambitions and desires. A typical example of that is not only the number of ministries, agencies and everything, but also the organization of the state. This situation, with six hundred, almost six hundred units of local self-government, with all these dysfunctional counties, is simply impossible for us to swallow. And yet they prevail, as they are advocated by HDZ, SDP as well, so I sometimes say that in a way these two parties are like twins.'
(Ivo Josipović, Nu2; 2016)
(*Ivo Josipović*: 'Kao prvo, naša, naša cijela situacija, gospodarska i politička se nasukala na greben nepotističkih ambicija i želja. Klasičan primjer je, ne samo broj ministarstava, agencija i svega, nego i ustroj države. Mi ovakvu situaciju, sa šesto, gotovo šesto jedinica lokalne samouprave, sa ovim silnim disfunkcionalnim županijama, naprosto ne možemo progutat. A one opstaju, vidjeli smo, to zagovara i HDZ, zagovara i SDP isto, zato ja neki put kažem da su u određenom smislu blizanci.')

A positive evaluation of the topic is evident, since Josipović explains some aspects, that is, informs the public about the causes or effects, or explains the causes and consequences between the state and the church, as in (14), or the president and the government, as in (15).

(14)   Aleksandar Stanković: "Let's say that your catering to the church goes in the sense that you didn't have a clear attitude towards financing it, saying that people should finance it according to their own will."
(*Aleksandar Stanković:* "Recimo, mislim da je dodvoravanje crkvi u smislu kad se niste sasvim jasno odredili prema financiranju crkve, u smislu da bi je trebali financirati ljudi prema vlastitome nahođenju.")

Ivo Josipović: "Some states said that culture should also be financed according to the people's own judgment." (Ivo Josipović, Nu2; 2016)

(*Ivo Josipović:* "Neke države su i rekle da i kulturu treba financirat prema vlastitome nahođenju.")

(15) Aleksandar Stanković: 'A president cannot say that the government's economic policy is bad. Why?'

(Aleksandar Stanković: 'Predsjednik ne smije reći da vlada vodi lošu gospodarsku politiku? Zašto?')

Ivo Josipović: 'I used to say that, relatively frequently. But to go into details, no, a president mustn't do that. The constitutional division is such. If I were the president again, I still wouldn't *interfere* with the government.'

(Ivo Josipović, Nu2; 2016)

(*Ivo Josipović:* 'To sam ja znao reći, relativno često. Ali ići u detalje, ne to predsjednik ne smije radit. To je ustavna podjela takva. Ja da sam ponovno predsjednik, ponovno vladi ne bih uskakao')

Since we focused only on A PERSON/A LIVING BEING as a source domain, we expected the variations in the argumentative use of political metaphors, depending on the political role of politicians. Therefore, according to the literature on political language (Charteris-Black 2004; 2014; Chilton 2004; Goatly 2007; Musolff 2011; Stanojević, 2013), metaphors based on personifications are used to give political issues human characteristics and thereby to transmit some specific association on the public and to motivate the direction of possible evaluation of a chosen political statement. To conclude, the findings show that before and after his presidency, Ivo Josipović used the chosen metaphors to criticize other political actors, which was not allowed from the presidential position. As President, however, he tried to be more objective and to criticize fewer politicians and political parties.

5. Conclusion

The paper examines how political metaphors of personification are used as a rhetorical strategy in political discourse in order to construct one's political image. The impact of figurative language to express emotion in political and media discourse has been the issue of recent literature concerning metaphorical language (Charteris-Black 2004; 2005; 2011; Lakoff 2004; 2008). The personification of political topics involves pervasive evaluations and is therefore important for its rhetorical evaluative potential. In this paper we also investigate the mapping processes of personification in argument strategies of positive or negative evaluation of the

topic. Only the given argument strategies have been selected because they are directly related to the basic functions of political language, and these are persuading and informing (Niehr 2014).

The sample consists of the political interviews given by the former Croatian President Ivo Josipović. An analysis of how argument strategies are constructed in political discourse can point to some image construction trends. Although political metaphors gain persuasive potential (linguistic metaphors gain rhetoric potential), we believe that research can clarify the connection between a political position (former, current and potential), topic, manner of argument and using metaphors. This could yield valid data concerning one of tactics for the image construction on both textual and conceptual levels. These data form a precious source of knowledge, both for the partakers in political communication and their researchers.

Our research also showed that Josipović used the source domain of personification according to his political position and according to the expectation of his role in society. As a politician, Ivo Josipović used the metaphors of personification underlining some positive characteristics of our nation and/or the selected party and negative ones concerning some other party and/or chosen topic. As the presidential candidate, Josipović's affirmative and negative public speech primarily focused on the thematic concepts associated with the party of which he was a member and the opposing party and their activities and viewpoints. As President, his affirmative and negative attitudes primarily related to the statements concerning political activities in the country and of the country, and of certain governmental bodies, but regardless of the party. Results suggest that Josipović performed his duty as a president who emphasized his personal evaluation of the political parties, which was then allowed after his presidency. Therefore, he pointed out the important role of the media in the process of creating the politicians' public image. After his presidency, Josipović's affirmative and negative public speaking primarily focused on the thematic concepts associated with the party of which he was a member. However, he was disappointed with its leader. He predominantly used personification to affirmatively evaluate his new established party.

Even if the results on which the conclusions are drawn are only symptomatic in this sample, they may serve as an incentive for further research. It would be interesting to apply Steen's (2008) three-dimensional model of metaphor analysis in communication as suggested by Perrez & Reuchamps (2014) on the same sample of the above interviews. The idea would be to identify potential metaphorical expressions related only to the discourse concerning Croatian parties, political and economic topics and then to compare the results with the analysis of the interviews with other former and present Croatian presidents. That methodological approach might allow us to consider if the former and present Croatian presidents use their discourse so as to respond to their powers given by the Constitution.

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Knifed in the back

A metaphor analysis of party leadership takeovers

Ben Fenton-Smith

A politician's first public address in the role of party leader is a crucial performative act, as it presents him/her with a rare opportunity to (re) negotiate his/her personal narrative and 'brand' before an attentive national audience. Metaphors play an important role in this discursive management of power transfer. The data for this paper comprises speeches given in the aftermath of political deposals in Australian federal politics in the past quarter century. Reasons for variations in the metaphors found therein are considered, including the influence of genre, function and ideology. Four metaphor scenarios are found to be recurrent: LEADERSHIP AS DIRECTION, LEADERSHIP AS CONFLICT, LEADERSHIP AS FOUNDATION, and LEADERSHIP AS HARD WORK. The significance of novel metaphors is also considered.

Keywords: Australian politics, leadership, metaphor, political discourse

1. Introduction

Metaphors, being both "memorable and persuasive", are one way in which politicians meet the public's expectation for oratorical competency and thereby enhance their reputation (Charteris-Black 2014: 161). While this may be the case any time a politician speaks, it is particularly so when they first address the public after seizing control of a major political party. The power of metaphors in Australian political life is indicated by two examples that entered the national lexicon in recent years: "the killing season" and "captain's call". The former denotes the summer weeks leading into Christmas when, with people's minds on beach holidays and family get-togethers, political parties take the opportunity to remove unpopular leaders (Ferguson and Drum 2016). The latter refers to policies and decisions made by Prime Ministers without consulting colleagues. This term was crowned 'Word of the Year' for 2015 by the Macquarie Dictionary (Australia's national dictionary), as the publication explains:

> This is a first! The people and the Committee have agreed that captain's call is the Word of the Year. Clearly this term has resonated with Australians, possibly because it touches on two of our national passions – cricket and politics. […] Captain's call perfectly encapsulates what happened in Australia over the past year. There has been an interesting change in usage; an infrequent item of the jargon of cricket makes the leap into politics and is now being used generally with an ironic tinge.
>
> (Macquarie Dictionary Online 2016)

The killer blow to the faltering leadership of conservative Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott was this metaphor. On January 26, 2015 Abbott announced a decision made without consulting fellow MPs. The recipient of the highest Australia Day honor would not be an Australian, but the 94-year-old British monarch Prince Philip, husband to Queen Elizabeth II. The decision to 'knight' the Prince incurred ridicule from the press, public and political foes. Although only two years into his Prime Ministership after a landslide election victory in 2013, Abbott was an unpopular leader nationally, and rumored to be so internally as the result of an unconsultative, autocratic and centralized leadership style (Savva 2016) that was prone to half-cocked policy announcements and a lack of vision. By September Abbott was finished, overthrown by his own party without contesting a second federal election.

The storyline is familiar to Australian voters. The administrations that both preceded and succeeded Abbott ended in cannibalistic leadership takeovers. The leftist Labor Party's period in office from 2007 to 2013 is best remembered for the leadership rivalry of Kevin Rudd and Julia Gillard. Rudd ended a decade of conservative rule by winning the 2007 federal election, but was deposed by his deputy, Gillard, in 2010 – who was eventually deposed by Rudd again in 2013. Similarly, Abbott's successor as Prime Minister, Malcolm Turnbull, who seized the top job in a leadership takeover in 2015, enjoyed less than three years in the role before himself being ousted in an internal deposal in 2018. Leadership takeovers clearly have a bewilderingly strong tradition in Australian politics and, as this paper will show, language (particularly metaphor) plays an important role in the presentation and management of these events by the central actors.

2.   Metaphor variation in leadership takeovers

As explained in this book's introduction, the underlying reasons for the variations in political metaphors are both multifarious and underexplored. This chapter argues that metaphors play a key role in 'dressing up' the messy business of leadership takeovers. By focusing on one identifiable, recurrent and socially significant political phenomenon, we garner insight into how and why metaphors vary in political discourse. At the same time, the study of metaphors allows us to understand how

the phenomenon itself (leadership takeovers) is rhetorically stage-managed by political actors.

With a focus on how variation occurs within a single genre of political discourse (the deposal speech, defined below), we are delivering on Charteris-Black's call (2014: 174) for a form of metaphor analysis that "aims to identify *which* metaphors are chosen in persuasive genres such as political speeches, party political manifestos or press reports, and attempts to explain *why* these metaphors are chosen". He distinguishes between "discourse systematicity", which is the analysis of metaphors in a set of identifiable political text types (e.g. inauguration speeches), from "local systematicity", which is the analysis of metaphors within a particular speech. This paper predominantly adopts the discourse systematicity perspective, but also shows how context-specific political motivations can lead to the effective use of a specific "novel" metaphor.

Another issue raised in this book's introduction, and in the Charteris-Black quote above, is that of function: for what political purpose are certain metaphors chosen? Leadership takeovers are particularly useful for understanding how metaphor selection is driven by interpersonal, or pragmatic, factors. This aspect is underrepresented in the metaphor literature given its predominantly conceptual bent and is deserving of more research. In one sense a deposal speech is a face-threatening act, since its triumphalism comes at the expense of a very public loser. Invoking Goffman's (1959) notion of the presentation of self as a "theatrical performance", Chan and Yap (2015: 33) point out that politicians use metaphors to construct identities and images for themselves, their rivals and the electorate:

> [T]he concept of 'face' is ubiquitous and speakers constantly engage in various discourse strategies to address potential face threats that may arise in the course of ongoing talk. […] In the political arena, politicians often use metaphors as a verbal indirectness strategy to either promote themselves and their political agenda […] or to attack their opponents in a less face-threatening way.

This points to the "affective" (interpersonal, pragmatic) dimension of metaphors, which is easily neglected in favor of their "ideational" (topic-defining) function (Cameron 2003, 2007). This chapter also considers the relationship of metaphor variation to power and ideology. Metaphors are a key device by which political actors configure and project a worldview to which they hope voters will assent. As many scholars of political discourse urge, metaphors are not mere decorative figures, but the very stuff by which debates are framed (Billig and Macmillan 2005; Carver and Pikalo 2008; Koller and Davidson 2008; Lakoff 2004; Musolff 2012; Perrez and Reuchamps 2014, 2015). Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 157) memorably observe that "people in power get to impose their metaphors". Thibodeau and Boroditsky (2011) go so far as to claim that "even the subtlest instantiation

of a metaphor (via a single word) can have a powerful influence over how people […] gather information to make well-informed decisions" and that the influence is often covert and can override pre-existing political affiliation (liberal or conservative).[1] Moreover, because certain 'entailments' flow from metaphors, they act as "a guide for future action" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 156), and therefore suit deposal speeches which, as markers of new regimes, are future-oriented. Political scientists themselves use a metaphor to describe this phenomenon: "rhetorical path dependency" (Grube 2016). A further purpose of this paper is therefore to show how varying configurations of metaphors construct these rhetorical paths for the purpose of winning over the people in the wake of a divisive event.

3.   Defining the genre: Leadership challenges

Bynander and 't Hart (2007: 48) have observed that although leadership tensions and deposals in democratic systems are "hotly debated and intensely reported", there is a lack of "systematic" research on this issue. The present paper addresses that gap by providing a rare discursive perspective on leadership challenges, taking as its data the "rhetorical situation" (Bitzer 1992) that is created by a leadership overthrow, when the victor makes his/her first public address about the event. "Politicians", in the words of Charteris-Black (2014: 204), "establish legitimacy by representing themselves as upholding the moral values that bind society together by regaining control over rampant forces". The first task of a victorious leader in the aftermath of a deposal is to achieve this in public oration. Thus in all the cases listed in Table 1 (below) the new leader called a press conference immediately upon assuming office and delivered a prepared statement (journalists' questions typically followed).

This study focuses on leadership takeovers in the two major Australian political parties, Liberal (conservative) and Labor (progressive). Minor parties do not feature because only the leaders of Liberal and Labor have the potential to be Prime Minister. This is an important and distinguishing contextual element in the design of speeches by the new leaders, since they are presenting themselves as either the new Prime Minister or the alternative one. Moreover, although there are many ways in which leadership changes occur, this paper only examines those involving involuntary removal from office: i.e. situations where the incumbent leader did not want to go, but was forced to. Table 1 displays all such cases in Australian politics of the last 30 years.

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1.   However Steen, Reijnierse, and Burgers (2014) dispute the experimental evidence on which this claim is based.

Table 1. Successful leadership contests in federal Australian politics (1985–2018)

Year	Party	New leader	Ousted leader	Contested office	Contest details	Contest votes
1985	Liberal	John Howard	Andrew Peacock	Opposition Leader	Howard and Peacock had a long rivalry, as kingpins of the party's right and left. Howard was Peacock's Deputy Opposition Leader but refused to rule out challenging for the leadership. Peacock formally sought Howard's removal, but Liberal MPs re-elected Howard. His position untenable, Peacock resigned the leadership, and Howard defeated the only other candidate (Jim Carlton).	Howard: 57 Carlton: 6
1989	Liberal	Andrew Peacock	John Howard	Opposition Leader	Howard struggled as Opposition Leader and was caught unawares by a surprise challenge from Peacock's supporters.	Peacock: 44 Howard: 27
1991	Labor	Paul Keating	Robert Hawke	Prime Minister	Although Hawke had taken Labor to a record four election victories, his appeal was diminishing. Hawke had also reneged on a secret succession plan with Keating. The win came after Keating's second challenge within the year.	Keating: 56 Hawke: 51
1994	Liberal	Alexander Downer	John Hewson	Opposition Leader	Hewson lost a so-called 'unlosable' election to Keating in 1993 and was subsequently undermined from within.	Downer: 43 Hewson: 36
2003	Labor	Mark Latham	Simon Crean	Opposition Leader	Incumbent leader Simon Crean reluctantly vacated office having lost party room support due to the lackluster polling. Latham defeated Crean's rival Kim Beazley in resultant leadership ballot.	Latham: 47 Crean: 45
2006	Labor	Kevin Rudd	Kim Beazley	Opposition Leader	Rudd issued a direct challenge to Beazley, who had succeeded Latham after the 2004 election loss but suffered consistently low poll ratings.	Rudd: 49 Beazley: 39
2008	Liberal	Malcolm Turnbull	Brendan Nelson	Opposition Leader	While Kevin Rudd enjoyed high popularity as new Labor Prime Minister, Nelson was crippled by poor polls and internal dissent. He called, and lost, a leadership spill in an attempt to head off Turnbull.	Turnbull: 45 Nelson: 41

(continued)

Table 1. (*continued*)

Year	Party	New leader	Ousted leader	Contested office	Contest details	Contest votes
2009	Liberal	Tony Abbott	Malcolm Turnbull	Opposition Leader	Like Nelson, Turnbull could not compete with Rudd's high popularity. He was also unpopular within the Liberal Party's conservative wing, of whom Abbott was a leader. Abbott engineered and narrowly won a leadership spill.	Abbott: 42 Turnbull: 41
2010	Labor	Julia Gillard	Kevin Rudd	Prime Minister	The public shine eventually came off Rudd's Prime Ministership, and his own colleagues were dissatisfied with a chaotic and dictatorial leadership style. Gillard challenged at the behest of party MPs, and Rudd did not contest due to poor internal support.	No contest
2013	Labor	Kevin Rudd	Julia Gillard	Prime Minister	Gillard failed to gain traction and legitimacy with the Australian public. She was constantly undermined by Rudd and a growing band of MPs who viewed him as their only chance of surviving the upcoming federal election.	Rudd: 57 Gillard: 45
2015	Liberal	Malcolm Turnbull[2a]	Tony Abbott	Prime Minister	Having constantly pilloried Labor for removing a first-term Prime Minister, the Liberals committed the same act when they removed Abbott in the face of poor polls and policy missteps.	Turnbull: 54 Abbott: 44
2018	Liberal	Scott Morrison	Malcolm Turnbull	Prime Minister	Turnbull, a moderate, was constantly undermined by the party's conservative faction which sought revenge for Abbott's deposal. Turnbull conceded the leadership after calling a leadership spill to quell back-room manoeuvres by conservative Peter Dutton. In a final ballot, former Turnbull loyalist Scott Morrison emerged as a compromise victor.	Morrison: 45 Dutton: 40

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2. For ease of reference, the first deposals of Rudd and Turnbull will be termed 'Rudd#1' and 'Turnbull#1', and their second deposals 'Rudd#2' and 'Turnbull#2'.

Although the mode of departure for the vanquished leaders varied, the key common factor is that they were forced out of office against their will. Even those who stood down to allow a leadership ballot between fresh candidates did so as the result of an internal revolt. For ease of reference therefore, the term "deposal" is used as a catch-all to describe all such cases.

What is clear from Table 1 is that leadership challenges are common in Australian politics. Between 2010 and 2018, three Prime Ministers were directly elected by the public, whereas four were installed in backroom deals. Bynander and 't Hart (2007: 61) state that, bar Italy, 'no established democracy comes close' to Australia's record, while the BBC has described the country as the 'coup capital of the democratic world' (Bryant 2015).

4.   Data and methodological approach

The data on which this paper draws are comprised of 'victory' speeches delivered in the wake of the leadership takeovers listed in Table 1.[3] In each case the new leader delivered a prepared address before assembled media and in some cases took questions from reporters (however these exchanges do not form part of the data). On average the statements were 1050 words long, the shortest being 638 words (Turnbull #1) and the longest 1548 (Gillard).

The metaphor analysis can be broadly categorized as the "discourse dynamics" approach outlined by Cameron (2003, 2007). This aligns with a view of metaphors as cognitive constructs that shape the way people see their world, but also emphasizes their "affective" impact as carriers of evaluation in interactions and as means for positioning "speakers relative to other people or to the content of which they talk" (Cameron 2007: 200).

As an initial step in identifying metaphorical language in the data set, the "metaphor identification procedure" (MIP) developed by the Pragglejazz Group (2007) was applied. This involved determining which lexical units had meanings that would be considered more "basic" in other contexts: i.e. more "concrete", "related to bodily action", "precise" (not vague), or "historically older" (Pragglejazz Group 2007: 3). To understand how this works, we can consider the following statement made in one deposal speech: "there are some WOUNDS that do need to be HEALED". The capitalized words have been deemed metaphorical since they carry a basic meaning that is more concrete (easy to see and feel, as it were) and is related to

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3.   Note that Peacock (1989) and Downer (1991) are not included, as archival searches have so far failed to uncover transcripts/recordings of their press conferences.

bodily action. This contrasts with the contextual meaning, which refers to the coming together of two groups after a (non-physical) disagreement.

These selections of lexical units were then organized in the manner recommended by Cameron (2007: 201): "Systematic patterns of metaphor use are described by collecting together the individual linguistic metaphors used in discourse events and grouping them into larger semantically connected domains." This is not, as Cameron argues, a precise operation but one that requires "principled flexibility" guided by the "research goals" and "the actual discourse evidence" (2007: 205–6). The term "metaphor scenario" is used throughout this paper to denote a particular semantic domain. This comes from Musolff (2016: 30) and is preferred here because a scenario can include not only semantically related concepts, but also scripts, frames and narratives, often with evaluative elements, that assist (or influence) receivers in making sense of events. A deposal speech is one person's story – a self-interested actor's "take" on a set of events. Metaphor scenarios are a device for making that story more believable and persuasive.

In the next section the major metaphor scenarios that emerged from the data are presented and discussed, and links are made to findings in other studies where relevant. A genre-specific distinction is made between "internally oriented" metaphors, which reference the leadership takeover process itself, and "externally oriented" metaphors, which direct the focus of the speech away from the takeover.

5.   Metaphor scenarios

5.1   Leadership is direction

It has been remarked that metaphors of journeys, paths, directions, and movement back-and-forth are characteristic of political discourse (Cameron 2007; Charteris-Black 2011, 2014, L'Hôte and Lemmens 2009; Perrez and Reuchamps 2014). It is no surprise to find them in deposal speeches given the expectation for new leaders to demonstrate *future-oriented* visions. Take, for example, the announcement by fresh young Labor leader Mark Latham:

> (1)   I see this is A LINE IN THE SAND for the Australian Labor Party – a chance TO MOVE FORWARD together, together for the benefit of the Australian people.

Metaphors of this type generally express the idea that successful government involves advancement towards a destination of benefit to all.

Interestingly, all such metaphors were conveyed by five speakers, four of whom were Labor politicians (Latham, Gillard, Rudd#1 and Rudd#2). L'Hôte and Lemmens (2009) similarly reported that UK Labour politicians tended to use

JOURNEY metaphors. Small sample size notwithstanding, it is worth speculating whether left-wing parties traditionally frame their mission as one of BRINGING EVERYONE ALONG, as opposed to other ways in which bright futures could be framed, such as the promises of TRICKLE DOWN ECONOMICS that may be characteristic of neoliberal parties.

Kevin Rudd's first deposal speech is striking because it is all based on an extended JOURNEY metaphor. This construction depicts the nation (Australia) as a group of travelers on a road trip. One inference of the trip metaphor is that decisions have to be made about which roads to go down. Rudd does not pitch these choices as between himself and his Labor leadership rivals – i.e. he does not employ internally oriented metaphors that focus on the internal party dispute. Rather, he frames a choice between himself and his rival for leadership of the country, the reigning conservative Prime Minister John Howard, thus using externally oriented metaphors. This rhetorical strategy deflects attention from the adversarial intra-party machinations that had only just brought Rudd to power, and instead focuses the public on the next election.

Rudd uses the term "fork in the road" repeatedly (10 times in a 1,300-word speech) to signal policy differences between himself and Howard:

(2)   Our belief is that Australia has reached A FORK IN THE ROAD. […] There's A FORK IN THE ROAD when it comes to our economy. […] We also see that there is A FORK IN THE ROAD when it comes to the laws governing our workplaces. […] A FORK IN THE ROAD in climate change. […] A FORK IN THE ROAD also when it comes to education and health. […] This FORK IN THE ROAD has emerged because John Howard has taken A BRIDGE TOO FAR – A BRIDGE TOO FAR on industrial relations, A BRIDGE TOO FAR when it comes to Iraq and A BRIDGE TOO FAR on climate change BY NOT GOING FAR ENOUGH. […] This FORK IN THE ROAD presents us with clear alternatives…

Not only do the voting public have to choose which road to go down, they are also made aware that in some cases they have traveled 'a bridge too far' (e.g. losing workplace protections, going to war in Iraq, allowing global warming), contributing to an urgent sense that the journey (and importantly the driver) must be reconsidered and changed. Collective pronouns ('Our belief…', 'our workplaces', 'We also see…', 'the road presents us…') emphasize that although the journey is taken together, the national leader controls the direction, and in this case that person (Howard) has led the nation off course.

While Rudd's speech has the flavor of a campaign launch, that of his erstwhile deputy Julia Gillard, who deposed him to become Prime Minister, used internally oriented metaphors to explain her *personal* road to the top. Thus, from the outset, the narrative of her Prime Ministership was centered on her intra-party grab for

power, which fed the public perception of politicians as self-interested. Indicative references to the personal are evident early in the speech:

(3)   And it is these values that will GUIDE me as Australia's Prime Minister.

(4)   It's these beliefs that have been MY COMPASS during the three and half years of the most loyal service I could offer to my colleague, Kevin Rudd.

These values and beliefs are in turn construed as an external agent of the leadership change, distancing her own ambition for power:

(5)   My values and beliefs have DRIVEN me TO STEP FORWARD to take this position as Prime Minister.

The remainder of the speech is peppered with metaphors focusing on the "direction" of the government, e.g.:

(6)   I asked my colleagues to make a leadership change. A change because I believed that a good Government was LOSING ITS WAY.

(7)   I know the Rudd Government did not do all it said it would do. And at times, it WENT OFF TRACK.

(8)   Ultimately, Kevin Rudd and I disagreed about THE DIRECTION of the Government.

A subtle but significant difference between Rudd and Gillard's use of these metaphors is that Rudd posits the whole nation – Australia – as the entity on the move (in the wrong direction). This prospect, which is frightening, entails a complete change of government to set things right. Gillard, on the other hand, is careful to state that only "the Government" has lost its way, not the country itself. While her logic is questionable, this formulation suggests that only a change of leader is required to steady the ship of state.

Goatly (2006: 33) points out that while SUCCEEDING IS MOVING FORWARD is a common and positive cultural frame, it can slip into the less appealing idea that ACTIVITY/COMPETITION IS A RACE:

> [I]n late capitalist society, it is ideologically significant that metaphors for activity and success should have developed into the highly elaborated theme of a competitive race. Race can mean 'competition for power or control'… Before a (horse) race or competitive activity starts you will know who is taking part (the field), who is in the running, and who is the favorite or the outsider (the contestants likely or unlikely to win).

New leaders have to be careful that their success is not perceived as a competitive victory. No doubt Gillard understood this, but she did not achieve it in her address, underestimating the power of metaphor in political discourse to conjure narrative frames in the public mind, unintended or otherwise. Rhetorically, Gillard was caught between a rock and a hard place. No-one can take the Prime Ministership without explaining why. But in doing so, she drew the public's attention to the direction of her own government and the legitimacy of her leadership, resulting in endless discussion of both, for the length of her term. Nevertheless Gillard later argued in her autobiography that her mistake was to *not* explain the deposal in *more* detail (although ironically, hers is the longest deposal speech in our collection):

> Because I wanted to treat Kevin respectfully, I offered no real explanation of why the change had happened. This was a decision I came to regret. I should have better understood and responded to the need of the Australian people to know why.
>
> (Gillard 2014: 23)

The predicament brings to mind Lakoff's (2004) 'Don't think of an elephant' principle: if she had focused on the backstage politics more, she may only have succeeded in further eroding her administration's legitimacy. By not doing so, she looked 'sneaky'.

Eventually, Gillard herself was deposed and Rudd became Prime Minister again. But although he used JOURNEY metaphors in his return speech, they were not internally oriented, because to do so would be to admit that his own government had again "lost its way". Instead his metaphors focused on the threat of the opposition conservatives:

(9)   I simply do not have it in my nature TO STAND IDLY BY and to allow an Abbott government TO COME TO POWER in this country by default.

The opposition party, and particularly its leader Tony Abbott, is portrayed as moving inexorably towards power, a destination it will reach at the next election. The journey seems to have no obstacle or challenge – unless one person, which must be Rudd, is prepared to step forward and place himself in its path.

To 'lead' implies movement, journey and direction. A lead*er* is therefore the person with prime responsibility for making the journey happen, and who can be held accountable when or if the journey is deemed 'off track' by those on board. While stagnation is undesirable, movement of itself is not sufficient – it must be in the right direction. A party takeover speech is an identifiable genre of political discourse that marks the reassessment and rejection (explicit or otherwise) of the journey taken to this point. It is for this reason that the metaphor scenario LEADERSHIP IS DIRECTION is so prevalent in this speech type.

5.2   Leadership is conflict

The cover term ACTIVITY IS FIGHTING has been offered by Goatly (2006) to denote metaphorical themes associated with conflict, which in politics is typically inter-personal and/or ideological. Charteris-Black (2014) has also demonstrated that multiple conceptual frames operate in political discourse around notions such as POLITICS IS WAR, POLITICS IS SPORT, and POLITICS IS A GAME (with winners and losers). Not surprisingly, variations in metaphors related to the master scenario LEADERSHIP IS CONFLICT are rife in deposal speeches, given that one key purpose is to apply a rhetorical balm to an often messy and divisive victory of one rival over another. In these cases, where the conflict is construed as interpersonal, the deposal metaphors acquire an internal orientation, since their purpose is to stage manage the relationship between the contestants in the leadership dispute. However, con-flict can also be ideological – as when a new leader declares the ideas or principles s/he is prepared to 'fight for'. In these cases, metaphor variation is driven by an external orientation, since the speaker's focus is typically the party to which s/he is opposed, and which represents a different view of the world. To illustrate these points, let us consider some representative variations that emerged in the data.

One repeated metaphorical theme was the construal of the leadership take-over process, including its aftermath, as a form of MEDICAL CARE necessitated by the "BLOODY BUSINESS of politics" (Rudd #1). In these representations, politics is framed as a combative, viscerally hurtful pastime, whose participants incur actual physical injury. Scott Morrison, for example, observes that his party "has been BATTERED and BRUISED this week". Such statements therefore entail TREATMENT metaphors, as in Mark Latham's statement:

(10)   We needed A HEALING PROCESS within the Australian Labor Party and that is what we've got.

Tony Abbott makes a similar observation:

(11)   Obviously, there are some WOUNDS that do need to be HEALED.

Whereas Latham frames the leadership ballot as the means by which infighting is resolved, Abbott concedes that tensions would continue to simmer after, and per-haps because of, the takeover. But an inference stemming from both metaphors is that a period of reparation is needed and expected, and it is the victor's leadership which can enable this to happen. As the Latham statement suggests, the leadership conflict can even be viewed as a healthy if hurtful event, since it has brought the warring parties together.

Abbott was, fittingly, an Oxford University boxing Blue and is typically portrayed in the press as a macho, virile, chest-thumping hard man in the mold of Vladimir Putin (who, coincidentally, he once pledged to "shirtfront" – an Australian football metaphor – at a G20 summit over the deaths of Australians in the MH17 Malaysian Airlines tragedy). Not surprisingly, he adopts a PUGILISTIC metaphor to acknowledge his rivalry with Malcolm Turnbull, who he deposed and who would eventually depose him:

(12)   I have known Malcolm for a long time. We have sometimes been SPARRING PARTNERS, but we have mostly been friends.

Sparring is more training than real brawling, so the metaphor allows Abbott to frame their rivalry as the healthy to-and-fro expected of vigorous 'alpha male' competitors vying for leadership of the same team. Most of Abbott's fighting metaphors are, however, externally oriented, directed at the then-ruling Labor Party. Like Rudd in 2006, Abbott skillfully used his deposal speech to effectively launch his federal election campaign:

(13)   Ladies and gentlemen, this is going to be A TOUGH FIGHT, but it will be A FIGHT. You cannot win an election without A FIGHT. […] Now I cannot promise VICTORY. Obviously this is going to be VERY TOUGH. But I can promise A CONTEST. It will be A GOOD CONTEST, it will be A CLEAN CONTEST, and I know my colleagues are gearing up for THE FIGHT OF THEIR LIVES.

This language aligns with Abbott's popular image as a 'conservative warrior' and 'political headkicker' (Griffiths, Vidot, and Barbour 2015; Wroe 2013) and can be seen as a unifying call to arms for his side of politics.

By the time Scott Morrison acceded to the Prime Ministership in 2018, his Liberal Party had embarrassingly offered three Prime Ministers in three years. His speech evidences an acute awareness of the public's displeasure at this, with the opening seven sentences containing a repetitive metaphor string beginning with explicit acknowledgment of their perception of POLITICS AS WAR/SPORT/A GAME. However, he then subverts this scenario into one of *LIFE* AS WAR/SPORT/GAME:

(14)   There's been a lot of talk this week about WHOSE SIDE PEOPLE ARE ON in this building. And what Josh and I are here to tell you, as the new generation of Liberal leadership, is that we're ON YOUR SIDE. That's what matters. We're ON YOUR SIDE. We're ON YOUR SIDE because we share beliefs and values in common. As you go about everything you do each day – getting up in the morning, getting off to work, turning up on site, […] the Liberal party is ON YOUR SIDE, the National party is ON YOUR SIDE.

These words play on the distinction between internally and externally oriented metaphors in leadership disputes. Using the conceit of "taking sides", which is sourced from the domain of CHILDREN'S GAMES, SPORTS and WAR, it begins by acknowledging the political infighting that has occurred: "there's been a lot of talk about WHOSE SIDE PEOPLE ARE ON". It then uses the same metaphor, but in an externally oriented manner. Instead of focusing on political infighting, it construes the notion of a "side" that is unified and inclusive; one that comprises the new leadership team, the party, and the public. One may ask, who is *not* on this side? That is not specified, but by implication must include the opposition parties. In this way, Morrison has used CONFLICT metaphors in both an internally and externally oriented manner within the short opening to his speech.

Finally, CONFLICT metaphors feature in deposal speeches to indicate issues upon which new leaders will take a stand and fight. In doing so, leaders are able to formulate an intellectual and values-based 'personal brand' and communicate a sense of passion and urgency for the job, which goes some way to justifying their seizing of the top office. Examples include Paul Keating's "pledge to FIGHT THE BATTLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT" and Latham's commitment "to WIN THE WAR AGAINST TERROR internationally" and fight "THE DOMESTIC WAR AGAINST INEQUALITY". Because these metaphors do not reference the defeated rival, they can be seen as having an external orientation. They display the policies and principles that will be at the center of the leader's battle to win the next election.

5.3   Leadership is a foundation

UPPER SPACE is another master scenario that is common in political discourse. Goatly (2006: 26) points to four metaphorical constructions of this type that carry positive meanings: GOOD IS HIGH, IMPORTANCE/STATUS IS HIGH, ACHIEVEMENT/SUCCESS IS HIGH, and POWER/CONTROL IS ABOVE. He also notes that the converse is true: movement downwards connotes failure (e.g. falling, crashing, and collapsing). This is echoed by L'Hôte and Lemmens (2009), who demonstrate the prevalence of the broad metaphor COMPLEX ENTITIES ARE VERTICAL STRUCTURES in new Labour discourse. More specific metaphors within this domain include THE NATION IS A BUILDING (under construction), SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IS A STRUCTURE, SOCIAL MOBILITY IS A LADDER, and POLITICIANS ARE ARCHITECTS. In the leadership takeover speeches, two variations of the SOLID FOUNDATIONS metaphor emerged: one referring to the legacy of previous leaders, upon which things are built, and another referring to society as a structure, which can be enhanced or degraded by actions in the political sphere.

Let us consider PAST LEADERS ARE FOUNDATIONS first. Former leaders can be safely invoked in a deposal speech when they are venerable figures from the distant past, as in the following statement by Julia Gillard:

(15)   I give credit to the Labor giants, Bob Hawke and Paul Keating, as THE ARCHITECTS of today's modern prosperity.

But when *rival* party leaders are mentioned, the metaphors assume an internal orientation and their affective function comes into play. An example is Rudd #1's praise of the rival he has just vanquished:

(16)   He has also in the last two years of his leadership left me as the new Leader with A SOLID POLICY FOUNDATION ON WHICH TO BUILD. And I thank him for that.

The metaphor is internally oriented, but with a positive spin. It suggests that the party continues to "build" in spite of leadership changes. However, parties can also be brought down by internal strife. By the time Rudd deposed Gillard to regain the Prime Ministership, the Australian public had tired of leadership coups and Rudd acknowledged that political legitimacy was crumbling:

(17)   There's been AN EROSION of trust.

He elaborated on the need to rebuild faith, but naturally did not refer to his own actions as part of the problem.

Invoking SOCIETY AS A STRUCTURE allows a new leader to portray him/herself as the necessary individual to build or protect that structure and/or its vital elements, thereby legitimizing the takeover. Thus Rudd#1 spoke of "the actual FABRIC of our Federation" which was "not often talked about in this country but is critical" and the "DEEP STRUCTURAL SHIFTS UNDERWAY in how our STRUCTURE and system of government is working". A visionary leader, this suggests, is one who knows the structure in the way an engineer or architect does, and can be trusted to maintain, repair or reform it. For Malcolm Turnbull – a politician in the neoliberal mold and recognized as a successful businessman before entering politics – it is "free trade agreements" that "represent some of the KEY FOUNDATIONS of our future prosperity". For Gillard, coming from a traditional Labor background, it is the potential destruction of socialist reforms under a conservative government which justify her drastic actions:

(18)   I love this country and I was not going to sit idly by and watch an incoming Opposition CUT education, CUT health and SMASH rights at work.

In either case – progressive or conservative – the leader portrays him/herself as the preserver of the foundations that s/he perceives to be the essential underpinnings of the state. The foundations are so important that their safeguarding overrides any suggestion that self-advancement is actually the motive for party takeover.

Another leader, Latham, used the "RUNGS OF OPPORTUNITY" as an extended metaphor throughout his speech. As a Labor leader he, like Gillard, construes life as a process of upward progression with an active role for Government:

(19)   I believe in AN UPWARDLY MOBILE SOCIETY where people can CLIMB THE RUNGS OF OPPORTUNITY, CLIMBING THE LADDER OF OPPORTUNITY to a better life for themselves and their family. […] And the problem in Australia that we've got at the moment is the Howard Government has TAKEN OUT TOO MANY OF THE RUNGS. It has TAKEN OUT TOO MANY RUNGS. I want to PUT THEM BACK IN. […] [M]y aim as the new Labor leader […] will be to PUT THE RUNGS OF HEALTH CARE, EDUCATION, EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT, DECENT SERVICES back into that LADDER OF OPPORTUNITY.

This is an externally oriented metaphorical framework that has obvious appeal, as it casts John Howard's ruling conservatives into the role of destroyers of the social ladder and thwarters of opportunity for ordinary, hard-working people. As with all metaphors, though, part of their power comes from what they obscure as much as what they illuminate. A neoliberal leader might well argue that Latham's ladder would be too expensive and high taxing, or that social mobility is better facilitated by encouraging business growth.

A final point is that the commonality of social mobility metaphors across both this study and that of L'Hôte and Lemmens (2009) casts doubt on Lakoff's (2004) claim that left-wing politicians tend to lack well developed and effective metaphorical frames when compared to those of the right. It may be that this is truer of the American political context where public health and social welfare are less widely accepted than they are in the UK and Australia, amongst other places.

5.4   Leadership is physical labor

This metaphor scenario is not as prominent in the data as the other three mentioned above, but is nevertheless worthy of comment. It is offered here partly because it does appear in the deposal speeches, but also to canvas the hypothesis that the broader scenario POLITICS IS PHYSICAL LABOR is a recurring metaphorical frame in political discourse. While the latter claim cannot be proven in the present paper, it would make an interesting avenue of further research into the metaphors that politicians use.

The first issue for the analyst of the source domain PHYSICAL LABOR is whether the word "work" actually carries a degree of metaphoricity. When we say we "work

hard" we do not always mean that we literally expend physical energy. Work can be an activity of the mind or body, although sometimes we explicitly invoke metaphors from the source domain of PHYSICAL LABOR to signal that our work is highly taxing, as when we say "I've been SLAVING AWAY for hours over that report."

In the deposal speeches, the word "work" features prominently in the texts of four Labor leaders. This makes sense: any national Labor leader is, ultimately, the supreme representative of the country's working people. Blue collar toil is a core value signaled in the party's very name – a party that is the political arm of the union movement. For these reasons it is not unreasonable to suspect that Labor politicians intend some connotation with physical labor (not to mention their traditional base, the so-called working class) when using the word "work". Moreover, this meaning is more "basic" or "concrete" in MIP terms. It is also worth noting that all politicians are keen to deflect the accusation that they do not work hard for their constituents. Internal party machinations can give the impression that politicians are more concerned with their own interests than with those of the general public.

Turning to specific usages in the data, there are eight instances of "WORK (ING) HARD" in Mark Latham's speech as well as associated colloquialisms such as "getting stuck in" and "having a go". This degree of repetition suggests Latham is aware of the positive resonances to be derived from the hard work theme. Similarly, the rhetorically weighted final sentence of Gillard's speech – her "take-home message" for the audience – is:

(20)   On every day, I will be WORKING MY ABSOLUTE HARDEST for you.

Along similar lines, Rudd#1's rhetorically weighted *opening* sentence is

(21)   So now the new and THE REAL WORK begins.

Rudd#1 also pledges "to DELIVER a new policy agenda for the nation and in the weeks and months ahead we will be SLEEVES ROLLED UP doing that". Moreover, in Rudd's second deposal speech he describes economic policy work during his initial Prime Ministerial term as

(22)   WORKING IN THE TRENCHES day in and day out, night in, night out, here in Canberra, WORKING TOGETHER to prevent this country from rolling into the global economic recession and avoiding mass unemployment.

We can note that these are all externally oriented metaphors. They do not refer to defeated rivals or internal party brawling, but rather to the tough endeavors that the new leader's pledge to undertake to ensure that good government is carried out selflessly and reliably, for the good of the people. The metaphors paint a picture of administrations focused on industriousness over self-advancement and diligence over deceit. Only further research on metaphors in political discourse can confirm

the stability or otherwise of the POLITICS/LEADERSHIP IS PHYSICAL LABOR scenario more generally.

   To conclude this section, Table 2 presents an overview of the four metaphor scenarios discussed so far, including a list of "inferences" (Musolff 2016: 30) that can be expected to flow from them.

Table 2.   Overview of key metaphor scenarios

Metaphor scenario	Orientation	Example	Inferences
Leadership is direction	Internal	I believed that a good government was LOSING ITS WAY.	– The nation/Government is on a journey. – Leaders are guides or drivers of the journey or direction. – Nations/governments/political parties should be moving forward. – Leaders cannot be idle bystanders if direction is wayward.
	External	Our belief is that Australia has reached a FORK IN THE ROAD.	
Leadership is conflict	Internal	We have sometimes been SPARRING PARTNERS, but we have mostly been friends.	– Politics is a blood sport. – Wounds must be healed after leadership contests. – Leadership aspirants are fighters. – Conflicts can be clean or dirty. – Ideas can be fought for.
	External	You cannot win an election without A FIGHT.	
Leadership is a foundation	Internal	He has also in the last two years of his leadership left me as the new Leader with A SOLID POLICY FOUNDATION ON WHICH TO BUILD.	– Past leaders lay solid foundations for a party or nation. – Certain services, laws, rights, policies and principles constitute the foundations of a nation's well-being. – Political opponents can destroy the nation's foundations and must be stopped. – Bold leaders understand that structural reform is necessary for progress.
	External	I was not going to sit idly by and watch an incoming Opposition CUT education, CUT health and SMASH rights at work.	
Leadership is physical labor	Internal	(not observed in the data)	– A good leader is a hard worker. – The people are the boss – the leader works for them. – A leadership change is only the beginning of hard work.
	External	Our purpose through that is to DELIVER a new policy agenda for the nation and in the weeks and months ahead we will be SLEEVES ROLLED UP doing that.	

6. Novel metaphors

As mentioned earlier, the discourse systematicity and local systematicity of metaphors are equally valid perspectives (Charteris-Black 2014) on metaphor variation. But when reporting on metaphors within specific genres of political communication, there is a temptation to catalogue only those that occur most frequently. However, in doing so we run the risk of failing to account for highly effective metaphors that do not 'fit' the metaphor scenarios that recur within certain genres of political communication. To put it another way, 'most frequent' does not necessarily equate to 'highest impact' when evaluating metaphors in public language. Any account of metaphor variation must consider those that are novel as well as those that appear regularly.

One reason is that the more conventional a metaphor becomes, the more it can "deaden political awareness" (Billig and Macmillan 2005: 459). A figurative item may cease to be processed as a metaphor due to overuse. At the other extreme are novel and/or deliberate metaphors which are "explicitly used to present one's conceptualization of a given issue" (Perez and Reuchamps 2015: 169) and may "trigger people's processing of a metaphor *as* a deliberately used device" (Steen 2015: 68).

A second reason is that political discourse is *mediation* (Fairclough 2003) – filtered by various forms of media – and therefore most people only receive preselected sound bites of politicians' communications. In a book-length critique of contemporary political communication, a senior minister under Prime Ministers Rudd and Gillard lamented that simplicity and novelty are keys to having one's message projected to the outer world by the media, and that nuanced, detailed explanations of issues and policies are unlikely to be understood, let alone heard (Tanner 2011).

With these thoughts in mind, one may expect to find a significant number of novel metaphors in the data set. However, this was not the case: only one significant example could be identified in the corpus. In 2006, new Labor leader Kevin Rudd used his deposal speech to make the following claim:

> (23)   When I travel the length and breadth of this country and talk to working families everywhere as Julia and I did the other day in my electorate in Brisbane, people ask this question: they are concerned about their KIDS BECOMING GUINEA PIGS IN THIS NEW DANGEROUS EXPERIMENT of John Howard's, which he calls *Work Choices.*

Howard had introduced workplace relations reforms ("Work Choices") that many viewed as putting too much power in the hands of employers over employees. Political commentators now regard this overreach as a major reason he lost office after a decade in power. Rudd's framing of the issue directly hit at Howard's

traditional strong suit – family values. The metaphor reframed Howard from a protective grandfatherly figure into a clinical authoritarian whose main concern was big business. Far from being a conservative – a leader who can be trusted to *maintain* institutions – Howard was now cast as the conductor of a "dangerous experiment" on that most sacred of institutions, the family, even using "kids" as "guinea pigs".

Rudd's use of a vivid and original metaphor in this passage does not fit any of the conventional categories discussed in this chapter but is all the stronger for that. He conjured an image that has much greater 'sound bite potential' than either non-metaphorical or conventional metaphorical language. The utility of cut-through messages such as these is therefore another important factor when accounting for metaphor variation in political discourse, and it is surprising that political communicators have not made greater use of them, at least in the corpus analyzed in this study.

7.   Conclusion

We now return to the central question of this book: what drives metaphor variation? For this paper, it is primarily the context-specific function of the generic speech situation which determines the kinds of metaphor scenarios that are engaged by political actors. We have focused here on party leadership takeovers, which are a recurrent and highly newsworthy fact of life in Westminster party democracies. Such events demand rhetorical address because 'backstage' transfers of power raise issues of legitimacy, and new leaders have a momentary opportunity of national exposure to explain their actions and display their credentials. What then are the legitimacy issues faced by the new leaders? In effect, the recurrent metaphor scenarios answer this question for us.

First, when leaders are overthrown, there must be question marks over the direction of the party, the Government or even the nation itself. If there were no such questions, why would a change of leader be necessary? With this in mind, metaphors related to DIRECTIONS, PATHS, JOURNEYS, and PURPOSEFUL FORWARD MOVEMENT are recurrent. Variation is further driven by the speaker's focus: whether it be the direction of his/her own party (an internal focus) or the direction of the nation led by an opposition party (an external focus). We may also speculate whether ideological orientation can further drive variation. It may be, for example, that metaphors of BRINGING EVERYONE ON THE JOURNEY are more characteristic of leftist politicians.

A leader's legitimacy is also eroded when doubt emerges over unity within a party. This can never be more so than in the wake of a leadership contest. For

this reason, metaphors alluding to CONFLICT recur in deposal speeches. Again, they can vary along the internal/external axis. When internal, metaphors typically have the purpose of smoothing over intra-party disputes, and when external, they may constitute a rallying cry against an opposition party. The size of victory in the leadership contest (see Table 1) may also bear on the extent to which unity/conflict metaphors are invoked.

Legitimacy can also be undermined if there is a perception that the foundations upon which society is built are unsound or under threat. Just as a party or Government cannot afford to be seen as disunited, so too it cannot be viewed as unstable. New leaders have the opportunity to (re)assert the familiar and trusted foundations upon which their platform rests. They may applaud the legacy of previous leaders (including a vanquished opponent) to establish a sense of continuity and override the perception of reckless incoherence that a party purge can engender. When externally oriented, blame for SOCIETY'S CRUMBLING FOUNDATIONS can be laid at the feet of other parties and other parties' leaders. A counter variation is that of the LEADER AS STRUCTURAL REFORMER – s/he who is visionary and courageous enough to institute fundamental change. We can also expect variation along ideological lines. What constitutes a foundation will vary between progressives (universal health care, free education, etc.) and conservatives (low taxes, free enterprise, etc.). The mechanisms by which citizens SCALE THE SOCIAL EDIFICE may also vary metaphorically. Labor leaders, for example, see it as the Government's role to provide the ladders and steps that assist people in raising their socioeconomic status.

Finally, the legitimacy of politicians is continually questioned in relation to their work ethic and professional integrity. Who do they really work for: themselves or the people? Are they showered with benefits or enslaved by the unforgiving grind of public life? This paper suggests that politicians' sensitiveness to this issue is a possible generator of metaphors about work, particularly for Labor politicians who purport to represent the proverbial working man or woman.

While it is useful and necessary to account for emergent metaphor scenarios within a recurrent genre, no two contexts are the same. Each leadership takeover occurs in a unique context of interpersonal rivalries, varying levels of support, issues of the day, and sociocultural conditions. Therefore, the impact of a single completely fresh metaphor may be more noteworthy than a speaker's selection of a chain of more-or-less conventionalized ones, as in Rudd's "social experiment" metaphor. The Macquarie Dictionary's choice of a political metaphor as the 2015 Word of the Year demonstrates that metaphors have the power to effortlessly illuminate political machinations in the public mind. How this occurs will continue to be an important task for scholars of political language.

Data sources

This list is presented to match the order of historical events (i.e. Table 1).

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Greek metaphors in the fiscal straightjacket

Anastasios Vogiatzis

This paper examines the use of figurative language in the context of the Greek financial crisis during the period 2010–2011. In particular it examines the use of metaphor as a framing device (Camp 2015) in five speeches delivered by the Greek Prime Minister, George A. Papandreou. These speeches aimed to officially introduce to the public the collapse of the Greek economy, and most importantly, the change in the financial policies of the government which would be, or were, characterized by harsh economic measures such as job cuts, reduction of wages and pensions, as well as cuts on social spending. A close look at these speeches reveals extensive use of metaphoric language, with positively valenced metaphoric frames significantly outnumbering negative ones. The metaphoric language of the speeches appears in clusters and revolves mainly around three core themes: namely, the state of the economy, the process to improve it, and the role of the Greek people in this process. Variation in political metaphor is observed in these three themes and also in a case of a non-linguistic metaphor related to LIGHT. A fact that makes the use of metaphoric language of extreme interest in these speeches is that it is placed within a straightjacket, i.e. the fiscal straightjacket.

Keywords: metaphor, political speech, framing, valence, variation, financial crisis

1. Introduction

In the wake of the 2009 economic crisis, there was concern that Greece (and other Eurozone countries) could default on their debt. The EU, in collaboration with other institutions, went on to support these countries with bailouts (Amadeo 2018). The first bailout was designed for Greece and mandated extensive reforms, which would directly affect the public. As a result, a new form of political discourse developed within the country. This type of discourse focused on managing the financial crisis by making reference to the bailout itself, the process that had to be followed in order to improve the economy, the outcomes of this process, as well as the role of the

Greek people in the crisis. The aim of this chapter is to examine how positive and negative metaphors were used to frame the bailout and the crisis (for a discussion on positive and negative metaphors, see Camp 2015). I focus on five speeches delivered by the Greek Prime Minister (PM) George Papandreou during the first years of the crisis in Greece (2010–2011). These speeches were short proclamations that were broadcast on the Greek television to officially introduce to the public the collapse of the Greek economy and the bailout. The analysis of the data revealed an extensive use of metaphoric language, which seems to have been applied as a linguistic device that would make complicated issues easier to be understood by the public (Mio 1997). I will argue that these metaphors built – metaphoric – frames there were designed to "influence […] how audiences think about issues […] by invoking interpretive schema[s] that influence the interpretation of incoming information" (Scheufele 2000: 309). Previous work has found that metaphoric frames "are used more often in public debates in which the *status quo* is under discussion compared to debates where the status quo is agreed upon" (Burgers et al., 2016: 422).

The metaphors used in the speeches are mainly of positive valence, and mostly revolve around three themes: the processes for the improvement of the Greek economy, the state of the economy, and the Greek people. The metaphors appear in clusters within the speeches, especially in what concerns their valence. That is, positive metaphors cluster together, as do negative metaphors.

Variation in political metaphor plays an important role in the speeches as well, especially in relation to the three core themes. In addition, a case of variation in a non-linguistic metaphor related to LIGHT is also observed. The more the country progressed into the crisis the less adequate previously used metaphors seemed to be. As a result, they were subsequently replaced by new ones that had received a facelift in order to both look and sound more appealing to the public. An interesting fact about the metaphors examined here, as the title suggests, is that these metaphors were placed, metaphorically, in a straightjacket, known to the world of economics as the *fiscal straightjacket*. This financial condition placed extreme pressure on the Greek PM in order to handle the crisis verbally in relation to the public. At that time the PM and the government were the ones who knew the true condition of the Greek economy while the rest of the Greek people were still enjoying the false prosperity of excessive public borrowing.

2.   The fiscal straightjacket

The concept of the *fiscal straightjacket* is related to an aggressive fiscal policy by countries with large deficits, such as Greece, and constitutes "a general economic principle that suggests strict constraints on government spending and public sector borrowing, to limit or regulate the budget deficit over a time period" ("Fiscal policy," 2016). This type of economic policy, when applied, is expected to have tremendous effects on growth; whether an economy adjusts to a large or limited extent "involve[s] risks: not enough fiscal adjustment could lead to a loss of market confidence and a fiscal crisis, potentially killing growth; but too much adjustment will hurt growth directly" (Cottarelli 2012). Taking aggressive measures in order to deal with the deficit entails lower growth, higher unemployment and reduction in public spending, which are all characteristics of the economic program that the international lenders and the European Union designed for Greece. Since Greece in 2010 was facing a substantial deficit, the Greek government was forced to take immediate and aggressive measures to reduce public spending in order to reduce its deficit and receive the bailout (Magnay et al., 2010). The frame of the aggressive fiscal policy, the *fiscal straightjacket*, was one of the major problems that the Greek government had to deal with in the country due to the fact that all actions of the government took place the way this policy dictated, and thus had to be justified accordingly. The political language examined in the following paragraphs is situated within this frame. The analysis of the five speeches aims to show the role of metaphor in the government's attempt to persuade the Greek public on the need for reforms, especially to highlight the potential advantages that the harsh measures would have. The primary audience of these speeches was the country's middle class, who were also the primary targets of the fiscal reforms (although, of course, people of other socio-economic classes of the country were also recipients of the message and were also affected by the economic measures taken).

3.   Corpus and method

The corpus consists of five proclamations by the PM to the public between 2010–2011. These were the only cases of this type of speech delivered by the PM during the period of his governance that were a direct address to the Greek public. The proclamations were linked to the crisis starting from the activation of the joint European Union (EU), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and European Central Bank (ECB) support mechanism, ending with the reshuffling of the government a few months before its collapse. This corpus consists of 3,019 words, with a mean of 603.80 words (Table 1).

Table 1. Speeches addressed to the Greek public

Speech	Date	Title of speech	Words
1	23/04/2010	Δήλωση Πρωθυπουργού από Καστελόριζο 'Statements of the prime minister from Kastelorizo'	770
2	31/12/2010	Μήνυμα του Πρωθυπουργού για το Νέο Έτος 'Message of the Prime Minister for the new year'	409
3	27/05/2011	Δήλωση από Μέγαρο Μαξίμου 'Statements from the government headquarters'	909
4	10/09/2011	Σας καλώ να δουλέψουμε μαζί 'I invite you to work together'	670
5	15/06/2011	Είναι ώρα ευθύνης 'It is a time of responsibility'	261
		Total word count	3,019

The speeches were coded for metaphorically used items and for metaphor valence. In what concerns the first, coding took place manually, by reading the speeches, and applying the Metaphor Identification Procedure VU (MIPVU) (Steen et al., 2010). This procedure enables the researcher to identify metaphorically used items reliably by following a few steps. Briefly put, the text was first read to get a general idea of its meaning and locate lexical items that could possibly constitute metaphors. Then the contextual meaning of the potential metaphors was compared with their "basic contemporary meaning" (if there is one). According to the procedure, if "the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it" the lexical item was marked as a metaphor (Steen et al., 2010: 5–6).

After identifying the metaphorically used items in the five speeches, they were coded for positive or negative valence. Assigning positive (+) or negative (−) valence to these metaphors was done by taking into consideration the context in which they were used (Lopez & Llopis 2010). Four independent raters were asked to code a set of 39 sentences (i.e. metaphors in their context) as positive (+) or negative (−). Two cases were given as indicative examples of +/− metaphoric frames: *for Greece to stand strong* (+) and *and a storm of problems* (−). The raters were asked to judge the cases distinctively regarding their linguistic content, not for the political actions that accompanied them. The average Cohen's Kappa between pairs of raters was 0.79 before discussion (group 1:.706; group 2:.892). After discussion there was an agreement for the valence of more than 95% of the cases.

In the analysis to follow I present a total word count of the speeches as well as a word count of the positive and negative metaphoric frames. The word count of the positive and negative metaphoric frames includes lexical items that were not used metaphorically but were crucial in building the context in which a linguistic

item developed its metaphorical valence. For example, in '*We hoped that the decision would suffice to* **calm down** *and* **bring to reason** *the markets*',[1] only the items *calm down* and *bring to reason* were considered to be metaphors. These phrases metaphorically portray the financial markets as a furious/mad individual/entity that needs to change its irrational behavior. Out of context, these items can be described as positive since calming down or bringing into reason the markets is something that would benefit Greece. However, the context evoked by *hoped* and *would*, which indicate the non-fulfillment of the hope, reveal the negative valence these of these metaphoric items. Further expansion of the context solidifies the negative valence of these items, as *the markets did not respond/react*,[2] meaning that they did not calm down and were not brought to reason. Thus, though only two items are used metaphorically in the example above, the rest non-metaphoric items are vital in building the negative metaphoric frame and are thus considered in the total word count.

4. Quantitative analysis

Overall the speeches are characterized by the high presence of metaphors. This is common in political speech as "[i]n an evaluation of public speeches, [Mio (1990)] found that speeches addressing the general public contained twice as many metaphors as those addressing more limited audiences" (Mio 1997: 128). *Graph 1* shows the total word count of each speech (green) as well as the word count of the metaphoric frames (red).
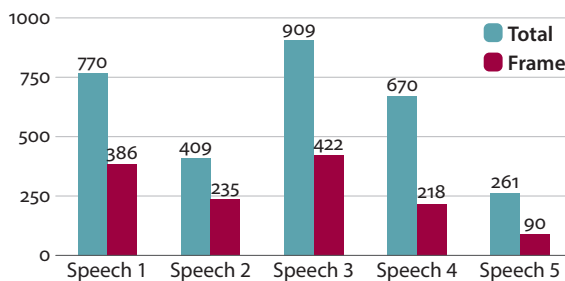
Graph 1. Total word count vs frame word count

Half of *Speech 1* (PrimeMinsterGR 2010a) is based on metaphoric frames (MF) which cover 50% of the total lexical units. This is not accidental, of course, as this speech was the official declaration of the crisis in Greece and the need for metaphoric framing urgently emerged in an attempt to persuade the public under the pressure of the *fiscal straightjacket*. *Speech 2* (PrimeMinsterGR 2010b) was a message for the New Year's Day and came only a few months after the declaration of the crisis. This speech contains the most MF (57%). *Speech 3* (PrimeMinsterGR 2011a) contains the third most MFs (46%). This speech was related to the attempt of the PM to get consent from the opposition parties regarding the measures that were about to be taken. In *Speeches 4* and *5* (PrimeMinsterGR 2011b & PrimeMinsterGR 2011c), the metaphoric frames covered roughly 1/3 of the total word count, 32% and 34%, respectively. *Speech 4* was the announcement of new measures that were to be implemented. *Speech 5* was more of a statement regarding the government itself. A few months after *Speech 5*, the government collapsed.

Table 2 shows the word counts of the speeches as well as the counts of the metaphorically used items identified by the application of MIPVU. In order to provide an accurate image of the rate of metaphor use in the following speeches (Arrese & Vara-Miguel 2016), I removed closed class words, articles in particular, since items such as *a* or *she* that accompany every single noun in the Greek language should be counted as metaphoric items, though they are not. In this way accuracy was increased by an average of 2%.

Table 2. Metaphor density – Excluded items counts

	Speech 1	Speech 2	Speech 3	Speech 4	Speech 5	Total
Word count	494	351	763	555	209	**2372**
Metaphors	92	68	109	93	27	**389**
Metaphors per 1000 words	186	193	142	167	129	**163**
% Metaphors per 1000 words	18.6	19.3	14.2	16.7	12.9	**16.3**

Table 2 shows the number of metaphorically used items (*Metaphors*) for every speech as well as the metaphor density per 1000 words.[3] In a discussion of two reconciliation conversations, Cameron & Stelma (2004) identified a metaphor density for an average of 102 metaphors per 1000 words. In the cases examined here the average metaphor density is 163 metaphors per 1000 words which is 62% higher density than the cases of non-political talk examined in Cameron & Stelma (2004).

Graph 1 and *Table 2* reveal that the Greek PM extensively used metaphoric language in order to create the frames within which the financial crisis and the

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3.   The bottom row of the table presents the densities in %, or as x metaphors per 100 words. Adjusted to 'per 100 words', Cameron and Stelma's (2004) result would be 10.2 words.

economic policies would be placed. With a metaphoric frame average coverage of 44%, and average metaphor density of 163 metaphors per 1000 words, the speeches are highly based on metaphoric language. The overall use of metaphor in these speeches does not catch us by surprise as in the framework of the financial crisis "[s]omething is needed to simplify decision making, and metaphor and other shortcut devices (e.g., cognitive heuristics) address this need" (Mio 1997: 130).

5.   Positive *vs* negative metaphoric frames

The corpus of the PM speeches is dominated by metaphors that were used in order to frame specific themes related to the crisis. Examples (1) and (2) are cases of negative frames describing the state of the Greek economy at that time:

(1) (−) […] *μια οικονομία **εκτεθειμένη** στο   **έλεος** της **αμφισβήτησης***
         One economy exposed   to-the mercy of   contestation
      'an economy **exposed** to the **mercy** of **contestation**'

(2) (−) […] ***βρεθήκαμε*   σε   *τόσο μεγάλο αδιέξοδο***
         Found-we at such big   dead   end
      'we **found ourselves** in such a **huge dead end**'

Examples (3) and (4) are cases of positive metaphoric frames. Example (3) refers to the process that had to be followed in order to successfully deal with the economic problems of the country which was described as a path with a destination. Example (4) uses the metaphor of cleanliness to describe a moral, and thus good, decision (Lizardo 2012).

(3) (+) […] *ξέρουμε   τον **δρόμο** για την **Ιθάκη***
         Know-we the way   for the Ithaka
      '*we know the **way** to **Ithaca***'

(4) (+) […] *στην   **ξεκάθαρη**, την πιο συλλογική **ξεκάθαρη** μας απόφαση*
         To-the clean   the most collective clean   our decision
      'to the **cleanest**, our most collective **cleanest** decision'

Other instances of metaphor were less clearly positive or negative. These cases were assigned positive or negative valence based on an extended metaphoric context of the frame. Examples (5) and (6) illustrate such cases:

(5) (+) *Όλοι μας **κληρονομήσαμε***
         All   us inherited
      'We have all **inherited**'

Example (5) describes the Greeks as heirs. Being an heir is, of course, positive as world knowledge tells us that heirs, most likely, are the benefactors of the wealth from a deceased individual. However, things start to take a negative turn when the context reveals that the fortune inherited is in fact that of a *sinking ship* (Example (6)). This situation becomes worse with the realization that the so-called heirs, the Greek population, is on the direct receiving end of this and even more disastrous when we realize that we, as heirs or citizens of Greece, are on it. Thus, though positive in its first part, this metaphoric frame taken into its broader – metaphoric – context is rather negative and marked as such:

(6) (−) *Όλοι μας κληρονομήσαμε[…] ένα σκάφος έτοιμο να βυθιστεί*
         All   us   inherited   one ship   ready to sink
     'We have all **inherited** […] a **ship** ready/about to **sink**'

Example (6) also raises a methodological issue. Namely, it consists of two different metaphoric frames: that is, INHERITING and SHIP are marked by three different metaphorically used items (inherit, ship, sink). Taken independently from the overall valence, these would be counted as two or three separate frames. However, since the cluster of the three metaphors provides the overall (negative) valence of this instance of political speech, these frames (inherit + sinking ship, or inherit + sink + ship) are counted as one single metaphoric frame of negative valence.

6.   Comparison between positive and negative metaphoric frames

Table 3 shows the number of positive and negative metaphoric frames in all five speeches. The upper part of the table shows the counts of positive and negative frames in raw numbers, while the bottom half of the table presents them in terms of percentages. Overall, *Table 3* reveals that positive metaphoric frames outnumbered the negative ones. In all five speeches the positive metaphoric frames covered at least 54% of the total metaphoric frames used, with a maximum of 89%, and an average total of 72.8%. Negative metaphoric frames were less common, although one would expect them to be more frequently used given the dire situation the Greek economy and the government were in.

Table 3. Positive and negative figurative frames

	Speech 1	Speech 2	Speech 3	Speech 4	Speech 5	Total
Positive Frames	27	28	44	39	6	144
Negative Frames	16	8	10	5	5	44
Positive Frames %	**63**	**77**	**81**	**89**	**54**	**72.8**
Negative Frames %	37	23	19	11	46	27.2

Speeches 2, 3 and 4 were especially notable for their use of positive metaphors, with an average of 82%. This probably reflects an attempt by the PM to create hope to the public right *in the middle of the way*. In *Speeches* 1 and 5 the difference between positive and negative metaphoric frames was smaller. However, the positive MFs accounted for an average of 58% of all MFs used (63% and 54% respectively). In total, the positive metaphoric frames were more common than the negative ones. Positive MFs covered 72.8% while negative MFs were limited to 27.8%.

In order to compare the frequencies of the positive and the negative metaphoric frames, I conducted a Pearson Chi-square test for each speech separately. In *Speeches* 2, 3 and 4 the difference between the number of positive and negative MFs was highly significant[4] in all cases (*Speech 2*: $\chi^2 = 11,111$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$; *Speech 3*: $\chi^2 = 21,407$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$; *Speech 4*: $\chi^2 = 26,273$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). In *Speeches* 1 and 5 the difference between positive and negative MFs was not significant (*Speech 1*: $\chi^2 = 2,814$, $df = 1$, $p = .093$; *Speech 5*: $\chi^2 = .091$, $df = 1$, $p = .763$). In total, in all the proclamations given in the period 2010–2011 the Greek PM showed a clear preference for the use of positive metaphoric frames compared to negative ones with the difference being highly significant (Total: $\chi^2 = 53,191$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). The Prime Minister used positive metaphoric language in order to frame the economic crisis, the measures (to be) taken and the outcomes of the policies (to be) implemented.

7.   Qualitative analysis

This section focuses on the qualitative analysis of the data. First, some indicative examples of positive and negative metaphoric frames from the speeches are discussed. Next, I adopt a different perspective and present the main themes that run through the speeches and their metaphors, as well as cases of metaphor variation. In addition to linguistic instances I present a non-linguistic realization of a metaphor in terms of variation.

To start with, Paivio (1979: 150) described metaphor as a solar eclipse "[which] hides the object of study and at the same time reveals some of its most salient and interesting characteristics when viewed through the right telescope". The metaphors of the five speeches examined here reveal the way the PM wished to portray his predecessors by hiding some aspects of their governance and foregrounding others that would provide an alibi for the unpopular actions of his government that would

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4.   A (highly) significant Chi-square test means that the difference between the number of positive and negative metaphoric frames is not due to chance

soon come into practice[5] while at the same time the metaphoric language portrayed his government as a hero or the victim of the situation.

Traditionally, an important aspect of metaphor is that "[e]ach metaphor intensifies selected perceptions and ignores others, thereby helping one to concentrate upon desired consequences of favored public policies and helping one to ignore their unwanted, unthinkable, or irrelevant premises and aftermaths" (Edelman 1971: 67). In the cases examined here the use of metaphoric language tries to mitigate the effects of policies that were to come, or that had already been implemented. The metaphoric language focused on the positive outcomes of the new policies and did not mention any of the policies *per se* or their negative consequences. These policies were almost exclusively described in vague terms as *sacrifices* made, or to be made, by the public/tax payers. The *sacrifices* are a very common and powerful frame in the Greek culture sometimes of positive valence – or negative if you were the offering, or if the sacrifices had no effect – stemming from the practices of ancient Greeks and their sacrifices to the twelve gods of Mount Olympus. In the data examined the *sacrifices* were coded as either negative (Example (7)) or positive (Example (8)) depending on the extended context.

(7)   […] *βρεθήκαμε σε τόσο **μεγάλο αδιέξοδο** που μας υποχρέωσε να*
          Found-we in such bug   dead end that us compel   to
*κάνουμε **μεγάλες θυσίες***
make   big   sacrifices
'we were **found** (arrived) in a such a **big dead end** that we had to **make big sacrifices**'

(8)   […] *οι **θυσίες**   μας έπιασαν τόπο η   Ελλάδα απέφυγε την*
          The sacrifices our catch   place the Greece avoided the
κατάρρευση
collapse
'our **sacrifices** brought results, Greece **avoided** the **collapse**'

Thus, Example (7) is marked as negative as the Greek public was forced to make sacrifices that it was not willing to do due to the *dead end*, while (8) is marked as positive since the sacrifices had a positive effect on the economy of the country by saving it from the *collapse*.

In what regards the negative metaphors of *Speech* 1 apart from the *heirs* and the *ship*, other cases are a person in a difficult situation, or even, an ill person or a collapsing structure, which are cases of reification and personification that

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5.   In speeches 2–5 the measures were already in practice as these speeches were delivered after the activation of the joint EU, IMF, ECB economic stability mechanism.

is something common in financial reporting (Charteris-Black & Musolff 2003). Example (9) below is a case of personification in which a country is a person who has friends and coworkers.

(9) […] *μια χώρα   χωρίς **κύρος** και που είχε **χάσει** το σεβασμό*
      One country without prestige and that had lost   the respect
      *ακόμα και των **φίλων** και **εταίρων** της*
      even   and the friends and associates hers
      'a country without **prestige** that has **lost** the respect even of its **friends** and **associates**'

The practices of the previous government are described in rather negative terms as a CRIME (10) or BAD WEATHER (11):

(10) […] *τις **εγκληματικές** επιλογές*
       The criminal   choices
       'the **criminal** choices'

(11) […] *την **καταιγίδα** των   **προβλημάτων***
       The storm   of-the problems
       'the **storm** of **problems**'

The positive metaphoric frames of this speech refer to the actions taken or to be taken in order to help the country and the economy recover from the difficult situation they were in, as well as to the positive effects that these actions would have – in the years to come. Another common frame, in most speeches, is that of SUPPORT. This can be self-support, or support by others (Examples (12), (13)); other cases are safe waters, weather (14), and construction metaphors (15) all of which concentrate around the theme of the future financial condition of the country.

(12) […] *για να σταθεί η   Ελλάδα στα   πόδια της δυνατή*
       For to stand the.F Greece to-the feet   her strong
       'in order for Greece to **stand** on her **feet strong**'

(13) […] *για να στηριχτεί η   Ελλάδα*
       For to support   the.F Greece
       'so that Greece can be **supported**'

(14) […] *οι εταίροι μας θα συνδράμουν αποφασιστικά, ώστε   να*
       The associates ours will contribute   decisively   so that to
       *παράσχουν στην Ελλάδα το **απάνεμο λιμάνι***
       provide   to her Greece the lee   harbor
       'Our associates will contribute significantly in order to **provide** Greece with the **lee harbor**'

(15) […] *να **ξαναχτίσουμε** το **σκάφος** μας με   γερά   και*
　　　　To rebuilt-we   the ship   our with strong and
　　　αξιόπιστα   υλικά
　　　trustworthy materials
　　　'to **rebuilt** our **ship** with **strong** and **trustworthy materials**'

Speech 2 is the message of the PM for the New Year to come, i.e. 2011. In this speech the PM almost exclusively focused on the outcomes of the measures that had already been implemented in the months that preceded this talk. This speech concentrated on the broader frame of a VICTORY/SUCCESS against an ordeal that the Greeks, the government, the country and the economy went through:

(16) […] *η   Ελλάδα απέφυγε την κατάρρευση*
　　　　The.F Greece avoided the collapse
　　　'Greece **avoided** the **collapse**'

(17) […] ***στηρίξαμε***   *την προοπτική μας ως έθνος*
　　　　Supported-we the potential   our as nation
　　　'we **supported** our potential as a nation'.

(18) […] *σταθήκαμε όρθιοι*
　　　　Stood-we standing
　　　'we **stood up**'

(19) […] *μπορούμε να κοιτάμε το μέλλον με   μεγαλύτερη ασφάλεια*
　　　　Can-we   to look   to future with greater   security
　　　'we can **see** into the future with **safety**'

(20) […] *που **καταπολεμούμε** τα **βαθύτερα** αίτια   που μας **οδήγησαν***
　　　　That fight-we   the deeper   reasons that us drove
　　　*στην   **κρίση***
　　　to-the crisis
　　　'that we **fight** the **deeper** causes that **led** us to this **crisis**'

The negative frames of this speech are rather limited and revolve around the hardships that the Greeks *suffered* during the period preceding this speech. It is interesting to note the use of the collective *we*, indicating that the government faced the same difficulties as the general public, though this was not the case as members of the parliament were not affected by the measures. The examples below show the frame of the HARDSHIP that was employed to describe the measures, as well as the use of collective *we*:

(21) […] *το 2010, ζήσαμε μια   μεγάλη δοκιμασία*
　　　　In 2010 lived-we one.F big   ordeal
　　　'in 2010 we **experienced** a **great ordeal**'

(22) […] *βρεθήκαμε σε   τόσο μεγάλο αδιέξοδο*
           Found-we in such big   dead   end
      'we **found** ourselves in a **huge dead end**'

(23) […] *μας υποχρέωσε να κάνουμε μεγάλες θυσίες*
           Us compelled to make   big   sacrifices
      'we were forced to make **great sacrifices**'

The third speech is also characterized by positive metaphoric frames which fore-ground the targets of the government but not the consequences of the measures, with the Greeks getting in or out of the *fight* ((24)–(25)). The MOTION schema is also present in the speeches. This schema has as a starting point the onset of the crisis (SOURCE), a journey/road (PATH) as the course of actions taken, and an end point (GOAL) which reflects the outcomes of these actions (26). The frame of VICTORY/ SUCCESS is also repeated in this speech:

(24) […] *γιατί   στη **μάχη** αυτή θα **μπούμε** πιο   δυνατοί*
           Because in-the fight this will enter   more strong
      'because in this **fight** we will **get in** stronger'

(25) […] *θα **βγούμε νικητές** πιο   γρήγορα*
           Will exit   winners more fast
      'we will **get out** as **winners** sooner'

(26) […] *που μας **οδηγούν** στην   **έξοδο** από την **κρίση***
           That us drive   to-the exit   of the crisis
      'that **lead** us to the **exit** of the **crisis**'

Some of the positive metaphoric frames of *Speech 3* concern the government itself and the PM. These frames revolve around the way both of them dealt with the challenges they had to face, and also make reference to the *openness* of the PM to the other political parties whose consent and cooperation he was asking for (27). The practices of the previous government were described with negative metaphoric frames such as stealing public money, i.e. *looting* (28). Negative frames were also used to describe the objective circumstances, i.e. the crisis.

(27) […] *συνεχίζω   να είμαι **ανοιχτός** σε συνεργασίες*
           Continue-I to am   open   to cooperations
      'I continue on being **open** to co-operations'

(28) […] *ένα πολιτικό οικονομικό σύστημα στο   οποίο κυριαρχούσε η*
           One political economic system in-the which prevailed   the.F
      *λογική του **πλιάτσικου***
      idea   of looting
      'a political and economic system in which the idea of **looting** prevailed'

The last two speeches (4 and 5) follow the same pattern as all the preceding speeches in terms of positive *versus* negative metaphoric frames. *Speech 4* focused on the issue of consent and cooperation of the other political parties which severely opposed the policies of the government. This speech also focused on the outcomes and on the way to reach them with two characteristic metaphoric frames being these of FREEDOM, and VICTORY, and also the MOTION schema with an endpoint focus ((29)–(31)).

(29) […] *την **απελευθέρωση** των **υγιών** δυνάμεων της πατρίδας μας*
　　　 The release 　　　 them healthy powers 　 her country 　 us
　　　 'to **free** the **healthy** powers of our country'

(30) […] *δεν θα **εγκαταλείψουμε** τη **μάχη στη** μέση της **διαδρομής***
　　　 Not will abandon-we 　 the.F fight in-the middle of-the way
　　　 'we won't **give up** the **fight in the middle of the way**'

(31) […] *θα **βγούμε** από τη κρίση*
　　　 Will exit-we from the crisis
　　　 'we will **get out of** the crisis'.

The fifth speech was delivered a few months before the collapse of the government and concentrated on the efforts that the government had done until then ((32), (33)). Very limited mention was made in these last speeches on the efforts of the public, which comes in contrast to all the previous speeches.

(32) […] ***πήραμε στους ώμους** μας τις **αμαρτίες** άλλων*
　　　 Took-we to-the shoulders ours the sins 　　 others
　　　 '**we took on our shoulders** the **sins** of others'

(33) […] *η κυβέρνησή μας δίνει 20 μήνες τώρα τη **μάχη** για τη*
　　　 The government us give 20 months now the fight for the
　　　 ***διάσωση** της χώρας*
　　　 rescue 　 of-the country
　　　 'the government has been **fighting** for twenty months to **rescue** the country'

Graph 2 is a visual representation of the course of the positive and the negative metaphoric frames as these were represented in the five speeches of the prime minister over the period of his governance. It is interesting to note that the more the Greek government had to deal with the consequences of the implemented measures and the deeper the crisis, the more the PM resorted to positive metaphoric frames in order to support the measures and his government. The positive *versus* negative frames follow the opposite pattern between each other and the two lines in *Graph 2* mirror each other so that an increase in positive metaphoric frames is – unavoidably – accompanied by a decrease in the negative ones and *vice versa*.
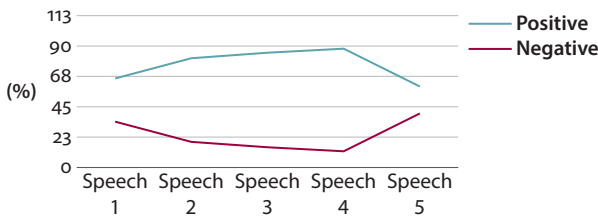
Graph 2. Course of positive and negative metaphoric frames

8. Central themes and variation in political metaphor

As previously noted, three core themes appeared throughout the speeches and were framed by the use of either positive or negative metaphoric frames. The themes that predominantly run through the speeches are the economy of the country, the process for the improvement of the economy (including the measures), and the Greek people.

As far as the economy is concerned, this is presented in three different points in time (past, present, and future). The past economic state of the country is exclusively presented in negative terms, as a sinking ship, or bad weather conditions. In terms of variation, these negative metaphors are reversed when the PM makes reference to the economy in view of the present or future. In this case the ship is not sinking but is about to be rebuilt (34), and the weather is not stormy but bad climate conditions that can be reversed (35).

(34) […] *για να **ξαναχτίσουμε** το   **σκάφος** μας*
       For to rebuild   the ship   our
       'to **rebuild** our **ship**'

(35) […] *για να **αναστρέψουμε** αυτό το   **αρνητικό κλίμα***
       For to reverse   this the negative climate
       'to **reverse** this **bad climate**'

In addition to these metaphors the present and future economic state of the country is described in terms of *support* metaphors and the verticality schema. Support can be regarded as closely connected to an entity being able to maintain a vertical position especially when it cannot do so on its own powers. Thus, the Greek people *kept the country standing*, which means that they supported the economy by bearing the reforms, while at the same time the *support mechanism* (economic help) was activated to prevent the collapse of the economy, or of *Greece*, metonymically speaking. The verticality schema is also presented through metaphors that portray

the country/economy as a person in an upright position, such as *Greece standing on her feet.*

A theme that is dealt with quite extensively in these speeches is the process of an improvement of the economy, which was the economic program that had been, or was to be, implemented. This process was mainly framed by the use of the MOTION schema which takes various forms, such as an *Odyssey*, a *journey*, a *road*, or a *Marathon*. The path which is most often a dangerous one such as a *treacherous terrain* or *uncharted waters* that the Greeks are traversing by taking *brave steps*, in order to achieve a visible improvement of the country's economy and reach the *destination*, which for the Greeks is *Ithaka*, an allusion to Homer's Odyssey. In terms of variation of political metaphor, it is worth noting that in this case metaphor variation is perceived in what concerns the type of the path. Depending on the type, and also on the planning (*We have charted the waters*), positive or negative framing of the economic program is achieved, at the same time implicitly describing the toughness of the measures which are framed as *steps*, *brave steps*, and even *sacrifices*.

The last theme is the Greek people and the government. Throughout the speeches these two entities are either presented independently from each other, or as one by using the collective *we* for "positive ingroup description" (van Dijk 1998: 33). Irrespective of whether they appear in isolation or not, the metaphors used to describe them are similar. In order to describe these two entities, the PM used a variety of metaphors that bring the struggle of the Greek people into the foreground, as well as of the government, to survive in the difficult situation that they were facing. Both the Greek people and the government were described as being fighters in a battle (36), travelers trying to reach a destination (37), captives struggling to be liberated (38), and those who offer everything they have to a divine goal (39), which was the salvation of the Greek economy.

(36)　[…] *σε αυτή τη* **μάχη** *θα* **μπούμε** *πιο δυνατοί*
　　　　To this the fight will enter more strong
　　　'in this **battle** we will **get** in stronger'.

(37)　[…] *δεν πρέπει να* **εγκαταλείψουμε** *στη* **μέση** *του* **δρόμου**
　　　　Not must to abandon in-the middle of-the way
　　　'we mustn't **give up in the middle of the road**.'

Image 1: Speech 1　　*Image 2: Speech 2*　　*Image 3: Speech 3*　　*Image 4: Speech 4*　　*Image 5: Speech 5*

(38) […] *για να* **απελευθερώσουμε** *τις δυνάμεις των Ελλήνων*
        For to liberate-we   the powers of-the Greeks
    'to **liberate** the powers of the Greeks'

(39) […] *κάναμε πολλές* **θυσίες**
        Did-we a lot   sacrifices
    'we **made** a lot of **sacrifices**'

8.1 Variation in non-linguistic metaphor

Apart from the different types of linguistic metaphors used to describe the three core themes, there is an instance of a non-linguistic realization of a metaphor that is worth mentioning in terms of variation. This type of variation is related to the LIGHT *vs* DARKNESS metaphor in terms of the *good* and *bad* situation the economy, the people, and the government were in. The images 1–5 are screenshots of the videos broadcasted on the Greek television from each speech and clearly show variation in what concerns the light in the background. *Speech 1* (image 1) was delivered from the remote Greek island of Kastelorizo under the bright sunlight, probably in an attempt to show the bright future of the Greek economy after the bailout that the PM was about to announce. In the next two speeches, after the implementation of the first economic measures, the light is limited and rather dim only coming from behind the curtains of the PM's office with an exception in image 2 in which case there was also an artificial source of light, probably to indicate the *support mechanism*. In *Speech 4*, a time that everyone in the country was facing the harsh consequences of the crisis and of the measures, the light barely sneaks in the frame from the right side of the picture. In the last speech, which was delivered right before the reshuffling of the government and a couple of months before its collapse, there was no light left at all in the background, just a sense of darkness reflecting the mood of the PM, the consequences of the crisis, and the rather grim prospects of the Greek economy which at that time was right on the verge of collapse.

9. Clusters of metaphoric frames

Of particular interest in the speeches examined is the fact that positive and negative metaphoric frames appear in clusters (Cameron & Low 2004). A common pattern, *Pattern A* (*Graph 3*), is that the speech starts with a set of negative frames (crime, bad weather, sinking ship, etc.). The negative frames often focus on describing the previous government and its policies (*Speech 1, 2, 5*). Following these negative frames are a set of positive frames (good weather, victory, standing up/healthy)

that mainly praise the current government or the Greek people for the effort they had made in dealing with the problem. The rest of this pattern is characterized by positive metaphoric frames which primarily focus on the outcomes of the people's sacrifices or on the actions of the government. Some additional negative metaphoric frames may be present in the middle of this pattern; these are mainly related to a third party, such as the international markets that *attacked* the Greek economy. In another pattern (*Pattern B*), the speech instead of starting with negative metaphors starts with positive metaphoric frames followed successively by negative and positive ones (*Speeches 4 and 3*[6]). Below are two indicative visual displays (bar graphs) of the two patterns of the clusters of positive *versus* the negative metaphoric frames; The horizontal axis represents each individual valenced metaphoric frame identified in the speeches (Table 3), while the vertical axis shows the number of metaphoric items in each of these valenced frames (Table 2).

Pattern A: Speech 1
Pattern A: Speech 4
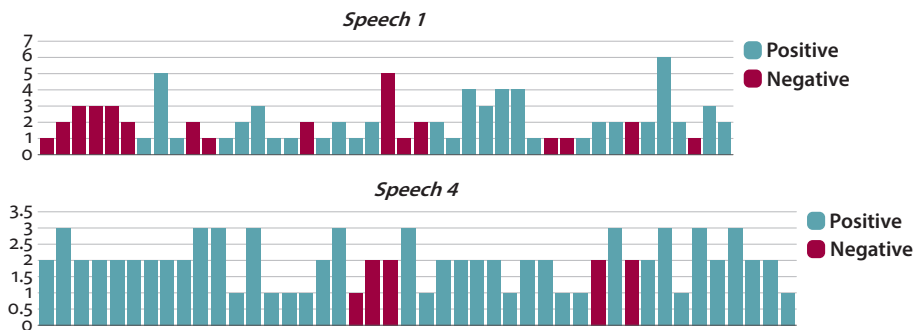
Graph 3. Positive and negative FF patterns

10. Discussion

In the face of the crisis and under the extreme pressure of the immediacy of the collapse of the Greek economy, the Greek Prime Minister was tasked with introducing the Greek public to the economic measures that his government was forced to implement as part of the economic deal that was reached with the European Union, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In order

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6. This is a marginal case as it starts with a negative frame. However, since there is only one negative frame at the beginning and the rest are positive I regard it as a case of *pattern B*.

to present this complicated issue, the PM used positive metaphoric language. The metaphors mainly revolved around three central themes: the economy, the Greeks (the people and the government), and the process to restore the economy. As simple metaphors can make a complex issue understandable by the public (Edelman 1971; Selino 2008), while at the same time they can also involve them in the political actions to be taken (Thomson 1996), the PM chose to use a wide array of metaphors that are common to everyday people, and especially to the Greek culture, such as sea-related metaphors. By using metaphor as a communication tool, the PM tried to simplify and explain the reasons why the Greek economy was on the verge of collapse as well as the process that had to be followed in order to overcome the economic difficulties that the country was facing, and most importantly, justify the consequences that the Greeks would be, or were already, facing.

In regard to the justification and legitimization of the consequences for the bailout, the PM chose to frame these in terms of the expected positive outcomes of the new economic program using familiar metaphors (Cornelissen, Holt & Zundel 2011) such as metaphors related to weather, health, etc. Reference to the negative consequences was absent, while reference to the positive outcomes was very common. The outcomes were always framed in terms of positive metaphoric language, such as gaining freedom or reaching a destination, such as Ithaca. Using positive metaphors was of great importance at that time, as positive metaphors can potentially have a positive effect on the target audience in evaluating political actions as positive, while negative metaphors can have the opposite effect (Johnson & Taylor 1981). Regardless the effectiveness of metaphor on the audiences (cf. Steen et al., 2014; Reijnierse et al., 2015; Reuchamps et al., 2018), in what concerns valence it would be extremely unlikely and it would involve high political risk for the PM to frame the economic measures in terms of the negative effects these would have, such as unemployment, reduction in pensions and wages, etc. Instead of doing this, he preferred to talk about the positive effects that the program would have on the country's economy by talking about *exiting the crisis*. If he, however, had decided to talk about unemployment by using negative metaphoric frames, i.e. *jobs devoured by the monster of IMF*, or on public health, *letting patients drown in the sinking health system* instead of *our sacrifices served their purpose Greece avoided the collapse*, he and the government would have had a hard time, not only to implement the measures, but even to announce them, as such negative framing would probably immediately cause social unrest. I call this a case of double framing as, first, the consequences of the measures (e.g. unemployment/poverty/loss of income) were framed as positive outcomes (i.e. reduced deficit, or even increased competitiveness) which were then framed with positive metaphoric language such as *avoiding the collapse, reaching Ithaka*, etc. Positive metaphors were not only used to frame

the outcomes. Overall, these metaphors were more frequent in the data than the negative ones, with the difference being highly significant which shows that the PM intentionally chose to use this type of framing.

The negative frames of the fabricated examples above reveal "that the same information can be perceived differently depending upon the narrative in which it appears" (Tversky & Kahneman 1981: 121). In plain sight, the examples shown above refer to non-imaginary situations; however, by using positive metaphoric frames the negative consequences were excluded from the speeches and consequently not considered by the target audience as forthcoming consequences of the new financial norm. The audience could not form a complete policy opinion as only one side of the issue was highlighted, i.e. the positive outcomes (Ottatti, Renstrom & Price 2014; Landau, Sullivan & Greenberg 2009; Thompson 1996). Such positive metaphoric framing has the potential to justify or legitimize the actions that the government was planning to take (Creed, Langstraat & Scully 2002) "reduce uncertainty and possible resistance in the process [of change]" (Cornelissen, Holt & Zundel 2011: 1709) and minimize or even eliminate any possible reactions by the Greek public.

In contrast to the negative effects of the new economic program which were presented in terms of positive outcomes through positive metaphoric frames, the negative facts regarding the previous government, the financial markets, or the past condition of the Greek economy, were presented as they were, negative, using negative metaphoric frames. No attempt was made to mitigate the negative contributions or the responsibilities these participants had in the crisis, but on the contrary, there was an attempt to put the blame for the – then – current situation, and for any possible negative results of the new economic policies, on his predecessors by holding them responsible for the crisis as a whole.

11.   Conclusion

The fiscal straightjacket is a situation of extreme pressure for those who have to handle it, whether this is the policy makers or the public which has to deal with the consequences of a strict fiscal policy. Dealing with such a situation for the first time in its modern history and after years of prosperity which was based on borrowing (Wallop 2010), Greece had to act fast and efficiently, especially in what concerns the announcement of the new economic policies to the public. In order to deal with this, along with the implementation of further new measures, and with the opposition from the other parties of the Greek parliament being harsh, the PM resorted to positive metaphoric language. The five speeches examined here show that frames based on metaphoric language were "invaluable tools for presenting

relatively complex issues, […] in a way that makes them accessible to lay audiences because they play to existing cognitive schemas" (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007: 10); their extensive use reveals the effort placed in order to make the new situation understandable to the desired – positive – degree, and thus accepted. As birds of a kind flock together, positive or negative metaphoric frames appeared in clusters following similar patterns, while metaphor variation is observed especially in what concerns the state of the economy, the process for its improvement, and in the role of the Greek people as those affected by the consequences of the new financial norm.

Despite the extensive use of metaphoric frames in these speeches, and most probably due to the various limitations of this type of political discourse, the PM did not succeed in persuading the public on the necessity of the measures taken, nor did he manage to shed a positive light on them. This failure is revealed by the fact that his party came third in the elections that followed the fifth speech, plummeting from 43.92% in the elections of 2009 to just 12.28% in 2012 (YPES). Of course, this result was not only due to metaphor. Metaphors have been shown to affect the way we perceive information (Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2013) and there remain important empirical questions about when and how valenced metaphors influence attitudes in the real world. In the case of Greece, the use of metaphor probably managed to limit reactions to some extent especially at the early stages of the crisis. Politics is not a one-man show, or to put it in metaphoric terms, a one – positive – metaphoric frame show. The metaphoric frames that the PM used in his speeches, such as the one of Greece being a SHIP, were immediately adopted and torn apart by journalists and opposing parties turning back to the government as a boomerang which the government was unable to avoid. In the frame of the SHIP, for example, it was only the government that presented it as being under repair; all other references to this metaphor were limited to the ship sinking or crashing on rocks. Metaphors (positive metaphoric frames in the cases here) are a powerful tool in the hands of politicians, as they help communicate complicated messages and shape public opinion. However, it is not only in the hands of the policy makers whether these will be as effective as they want them to be.

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The use of sensorimotor-based concepts during and after presidential campaigns – Emmanuel Macron and Donald Trump

Liane Ströbel

Sensorimotor-based concepts (SBCs), a variation of political metaphors, are frequently used in political discourse. The particular challenge with these kinds of metaphors is that for a long time they have kept a low profile. SBCs are basic level concepts and can be used, not only frequently, but also iteratively to convey a subliminal story line. The present paper seeks to call attention to SBCs and to the extent to which this subgroup of metaphors orchestrates a wide range of precise, persuasive functions, by discussing differences in their usage during the French and U.S. presidential campaigns; in particular, in the speeches of Emmanuel Macron and Donald Trump before and after their respective election.

Keywords: political discourse analysis, Sensorimotor-Based Concepts (SBCs), conceptual anchoring points, conceptual parameters, frames, Emmanuel Macron, Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, Marine Le Pen, François Fillon

> Metaphor is a solar eclipse. It hides the object of study and at the same time reveals some of its most salient and interesting characteristics when viewed through the right telescope.
> (Paivio 1979: 150)

1. Sensorimotor-based concepts (SBCs) a variation of political metaphors

Metaphors are omnipresent in everyday communication (Gibbs 1994; Graesser, Long & Mio 1989; Landau, Meier, Keefer 2010; Mio & Katz 1996). Although originally considered as strictly literary devices reserved for extraordinary or poetic utterances (Kreuz & Roberts 1993; Kreuz, Roberts, Johnson & Bertus 1996), they are now recognized as ubiquitous across multiple domains. Especially in advertising, marketing (Hunt & Menon 1995; Landau, Sullivan & Greenberg 2009) and political discourse (Howe 1988; Lakoff 1987, 1993, 2004; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; McNeill 2005; Mio 1996) they fulfill the role of effective pervasive devices, even as

their presence can be rather subtle and difficult to detect (Bougher 2012; Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2011). In political discourse, metaphors are used to highlight existing relations, to intensify selected perceptions and connections, and to redirect focus away from inconvenient facts (Edelman 1971, Goatly 1997, Gibbs 2008, Hansen 2007, Keefer et al. 2011, Kintsch 2001, Klapper 1960, Klemperer 1947). Metaphors are a perfect tool to manipulate the way we conceptualize and especially reanalyze our world. One of the main characteristics of metaphors is that they do not invent new concepts, but instead redirect our focus by offering an alternate perspective (Bustos 2000: 143; Darwin 1974: 132). Metaphors influence our beliefs, attitudes and values because they activate unconscious emotional associations and influence the value that we place on ideas and beliefs (Ottati & Renstrom 2010). However, metaphors are not a homogeneous group, but come in different variations and with different purposes.

In this chapter, I will concentrate on 'metaphor scenarios' (Musolff 2016), that use sensorimotor-based concepts (SBCs) as a source domain. SBCs are basic level concepts and can be used frequently and iteratively. The different scenarios and uses of SBCs are categorized and illustrated with the help of conceptual parameters (Ströbel 2017b). While sensorimotor-based metaphors, a variety of prototypical political metaphors (see Ahrens and Fenton-Smith in the present volume), have not gained much attention in political discourse analysis to date, these vivid mental images have been examined in various other domains already.

SBCs played an important role in Piaget's theory of cognitive development through sensorimotor equilibration (Piaget 1967), as well as in Poincaré's theory of the active role of movement in the construction of spatial perception (Poincaré 1907). Furthermore, sensorimotor-based influences can also be found in existential phenomenology (Heidegger 1962; Merleau-Ponty 1963), artificial intelligence (Beer 2003; Brooks 1991; Harvey et al. 1997; Nolfi & Floreano 2000; Winograd & Flores 1986) and evolutionary biology (Oyama 2000). Psycholinguistic studies show that different sensorimotor-based experiences shape the use and comprehension of complex situations and metaphorical statements. These findings are consistent with neuroimaging studies (e.g. fMRI, EEG) and patient studies (Bach-y-Rita et al. 1969; Engel et al. 2001; Grossman et al. 2008). The linguistic perspective is covered by theories in cognitive science that support the claim that many concepts are grounded in sensorimotor processes (Barsalou 2008; Gibbs 2005; Pezzulo et al. 2011; Wilson 2002).

SBCs are also the basis for embodied and enactivist theories of cognition (Varela et al. 1991; Wilson & Foglia 2011; Shapiro 2011). The embodied approach focuses more on the close link between bodily action and neuronal representations (Goldman & de Vignemont 2009; Gallese 2010; Goldman 2012; Gallese & Lakoff 2005; Lakoff & Johnson 1999; Núñez 2010; Casasanto & Lupyan 2015; Wilson 2002; Gibbs 2005; Spivey 2007; Ströbel 2016), while the enactivist approach centers

on the active side of this phenomenon, and largely on perceptual experience of 'structural coupling' between an organism and its environment (O'Regan & Noë 2001; Noë 2004; Maturana & Varela 1987; Thompson & Varela 2001; Thompson & Cosmelli 2011; De Jaegher, Di Paolo & Gallagher 2010). As such, in comparison to embodiment, enactivism is more action-based and process-aware (Noë 2004; Varela, Thompson & Rosch 1991; Thompson 2007; Di Paolo 2009; Froese & Ziemke 2009).

SBCs can be regarded as a specific subgroup of metaphors or, in other words, a variation of political metaphors (Ströbel 2017a, 2018a, 2018b). The particular challenge with these kinds of metaphors used frequently in political discourse is that up to date it seems that they have covered their tracks. SBCs appear more 'innocent' and less 'effective' than expressive metaphors. But as neurolinguistic studies show, appearances are deceptive (Hauk & Pulvermüller 2004). In political discourse in particular, the effectiveness of a linguistic tool depends less upon its quality and more upon the quantity in which it is used. The use of metaphors can be extremely limited, likely due to their high expressivity. SBCs are not only conceptually simple and easy to encode given the fact that they are part of our everyday life, but due to their semantic complexity they can also function as cognitive anchoring points for a diverse range of encoding strategies (Ströbel 2010, 2011, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2015, 2016, 2017a, 2017b, 2018a, 2018b).

In the following, we will illustrate that SBCs are so much more than simply idiomatic figures of speech (Haser 2005; McGlone 2007; Pinker 2007), as they help to transfer information in combination with the intended associations (Ghiglione 1974; Landau, Meier & Keefer 2010; Landau, Robinson & Meier 2013). In order to do so, we will mainly focus on how specific SBCs are used by presidential candidates before and after their elections, and we will tackle the following questions. First, how do these 'innocent' linguistic tools help to transform complicated issues of presidential candidates into more simplified packets of information? Second, can a difference in usage be stated once the candidate became elected?

2.   SBCs as a non-exclusive persuasive device of the winning candidates

An important goal of a presidential candidate's political speech is to convey that they are the best candidate for office. However, doing so explicitly, as a show of confidence, can potentially put off voters. Therefore, they have to find strategies to implicitly create the impression that they have what it takes. In other words, the candidates have to fulfill the mental task of implicitly introducing or transforming abstract concepts such as 'knowledge', 'experience', 'vision', 'competence', 'commitment', 'devotion', 'structure', 'willpower', 'strength', 'determination' or 'external and internal challenges' into the chronological and hierarchical linearity inherent

in language. This is achieved by observing a well-established fact, namely, that *sensorimotor-based action words* speak louder than *non-sensorimotor-based words* (Hauk & Pulvermüller 2004). Therefore, the candidates anchor their ideas in mental images based on bodily actions. Findings in cognitive neuroscience and cognitive psychology suggest that mirror neurons not only simulate observed actions, but that they 'fire' to some extent when SBCs are mentioned (Gallese 2010; Rizzolatti 2008; Calvo Merino 2006; Grafton 2009).

The 2016 U.S. election showed that we should not think about politics in terms of red states and blue states, but rather focus on what really determines an election, namely, the voters' states of mind (Westen 2007). This state of mind can be influenced with the help of language, since 'language is crucial in the gentle arts of persuasion and impression management through which leadership is performed' (Charteris-Black 2011: 2, Mio et al. 2005). In political discourse, leaving vivid mental images in the minds of voters is essential. SBCs serve this purpose perfectly, addressing as they do symbolic themes that are latent in public consciousness. SBCs, then, are powerful means of persuasion, because it is through mental simulation that an audience, rationally and/or emotionally, identifies with the message of a speech.

Nevertheless, the fact that they are not only frequently used by the winning candidates, but also by their opponents, can be seen as one reason why they have not been in the focus of many studies so far.

Before we illustrate their specific use in the discourses of Emmanuel Macron and Donald Trump, we will briefly illustrate that other candidates also made vivid use of them during their presidential race.

Hillary Clinton's campaign, for example, used the emotionally loaded somatic metaphor 'heart' in 2016 in order to blend two distinct concepts ('devotion' and 'structure') that are closely linked to the idea of perfect leadership. The concept of 'heart' can be divided into a range of conceptual anchoring points or conceptual parameters (Ströbel 2017b) based on our experience with this 'object', such as [shape], [form], [function], [location], [point of location = center/core], [material], [animated], [container], etc. In the majority of her speeches during the second half of 2016, she used 'heart' either to convey an emotion or to underline her determination to become the 45th president of the United States. In the first case – 'heart' as the seat of emotion –, the conceptual anchoring points [shape], [form] and [container] are at play. Hillary Clinton envisions change in the shape of positive associations with herself or her supporters, e.g. *My heart just swelled when […], He spoke from his **big heart** about our party's commitment to working people as only he can do* (HC-16/06/29) or *[…], if I did not in **my heart** believe that America's best years are still ahead of us* (HC-16/07/18*)*.

Moreover, Clinton uses 'heart' to show that her strategies, ideas and plans are structured, given that the heart was long considered the center of the human body

([location] or [point of location]), e.g. *[…] And I'm going to keep America's security at the heart of my campaign* (HC-16/06/02). Therefore, we can at least state the blending of two distinct conceptual anchoring points for the somatic *heart* in Hillary Clinton's speeches: (a) as a [container] with the aim to convey an emotion, and (b) as a central [point of location], to structure her plans.

In contrast to Hillary Clinton's speech, in the warm-up for the French presidential elections, French *cœur* 'heart' was hardly used to underline the motivations of a candidate, e.g. *[…], nous sommes de cœur et d'esprit avec vous* (MLP-16/10/20, 'our **hearts** and minds are with you'). In the majority of analyzed examples, 'heart' was used to structure an idea, a strategy, an institution or a geographical site, e.g. *Si la francophonie est aujourd'hui en échec, c'est parce que son cœur, la France, a baissé les bras dans la défense de sa culture* (MLP-16/11/09, 'If francophony is nowadays considered as a failure, it is because its **heart**, France, has given up [lit. lowered its arms] on the defense of its culture').

Another somatism, the 'eye' in general, is prototypically associated with quite a number of concepts, such as [function], [form], [position], etc., but interestingly, in the speeches analyzed for the present study, the focus is often on the vision somebody has [figurative function] or the awareness of the current situation [observative function], e.g. *[…] It takes patience, persistence and an eye on the long game – but it's worth it* (HC-16/06/02). The audiovisual aspect is stretched in order to convey to voters that the politicians are aware of the problems, and that they have acknowledged the needs of the people, e.g. *There can be no justification, no looking the other way* (HC-16/07/18). In contrast, in the French pre-primary discourses, the politicians use visual somatism to indicate their commitment and to hint at their aims, e.g. *[…] seul compte à mes yeux l'intérêt de la France et des Français […]* (MLP-16/09/11, '[…] in my **view** only the interest of France or the French people counts […]').

The audiovisual set is used to underline the determination and to evoke the feeling of interaction or connectivity with the audience, e.g. *And I still hear her voice urging me to keep working, keep fighting for right, no matter what* (HC-16/06/29). In the French presidential race, auditive concepts are also used to refer to potential voters, e.g. *De plus en plus de voix s'élèvent […]* or *[…] même élu, on n'est pas propriétaire de la voix des Français* (MLP-16/05/01, '**Voices** are rising up […] or […] even once elected, we are not the owners of the **voice** of the French people').

Furthermore, sensorimotor verbs such as *standing* and *running* frequently occur in presidential campaigns. They are both motor verbs in a canonical [position], with a maximal vertical [direction], while standing is associated with physical [effort] to sustain [stativity] and a (start) [position] for walking, e.g. *So I know we have to be able to both stand our ground when we must […]* (HC-16/06/02). To *run* or *running* are associated with a dynamic [motion], [power], [control], a

[direction] and an implicit [goal], e.g. *I'm **running** for President to build an economy […]* (HC-16/08/11). Therefore, it comes as no surprise that these motor verbs in particular are frequently used in Hillary Clinton's speeches to underline determination, e.g. *to **ramp***, which combines haptic and motor [actions], plus a specific bodily contraction [manner of motion], e.g. *And I'm going to **ramp** up […]* (HC-16/08/11). Combinations of haptic and motor actions are also used in order to underline the willpower or determination of a candidate by a vivid image, e.g. *More than a few times, I've **had to pick myself up** and **get back** in the game* (HC-16/06/29).

SBCs are not only used to convey the idea of ideal leadership by suggesting experience, commitment or willpower, or by creating fear scenarios,[1] but they are also very suitable for implicitly anchoring a story or a sequence of images in the minds of the audience.

As previously mentioned, recent findings in cognitive neuroscience and cognitive psychology suggest that mirror neurons not only simulate observed actions, but are also activated when action or somatic lexemes are used:

(1)   I **wrestled** with the Chinese over a climate deal in Copenhagen [action 1] (…), **twisted** arms to **bring** the world together in global sanctions against Iran [action 2], and **stood up** for the rights of women [action 3] (…).   (HC-16/06/02)

Here, Hillary Clinton uses three physical actions in order to show her commitment. A similar but even longer enumeration of SBCs was employed by François Fillon, e.g. *Ne **cédez** […], ne **marchez** jamais à l'ombre […]. Sur le chemin de la victoire nous **traverserons** les vents contraires ; nous **passerons** à travers les bourrasques ; nous **franchirons** tous les ponts. […]* (FF-17/11/01, 'Do not **yield** […], never **walk** in the shadow […]. On the way to victory we will **traverse** adverse winds; we will **pass** by squalls; we will **overcome** all bridges. […]').

Besides simple enumerations, we can also find complex narrative frames, e.g. *One of the differences between Donald Trump and me is I'm **telling** [action 1a] you what I will **do** [action 1b], I'm **laying out** my plans [action 2a], and I will **stand by***

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1.   On a similar note, the reiterative use of the somatic denominal lexeme 'to face' in Hillary Clinton's speeches (e.g. *in the face of terrorism, etc.*) cannot be considered as a pure coincidence, but as a way of creating a scenario of fear and to present external and internal challenges. The 'face' is not only a central part of our body [object] that displays our emotions [surface], it is also at the center of our verbal interaction with other people [container]. Furthermore, through metonymy, the meaning of 'face' [container] is semantically extended [whole person] (Kövecses 2010). By creating the image of a face-to-face with a challenge or an adversary, Hillary Clinton initiates a mental simulation of the action in the brains of her listeners (Gallese & Lakoff 2005; Hauk & Pulvermüller 2004) and, by doing so, the audience – consciously or unconsciously – identifies more fully with the content of the speech, as the auditory message is reinforced by mental simulation.

*them [action 2b], and I want you **to hold** me accountable [action 3a] for **delivering results** [action 3b]* (HC-16/08/11). By blending current and future events, and by conceding the role of the 'judge' to her potential voters, Hillary Clinton emphasizes that all her effort is directed to the benefit of her voters.

Similarly, Marine Le Pen plays with variation patterns of sensorimotor verbs implying 'force' to overcome a present feeling of 'weakness' or surrender:

(2)   C'est ce qui me **pousse à venir** [force] vers vous, aujourd'hui, pour vous convaincre qu'il ne faut pas **baisser la tête ni ployer le genou** [weakness], mais au contraire **poser un acte de résistance** [force]   (MLP-16/07/04)

'Today, I see myself **forced to come** to you, to convince you, that we should **not give up**, but **stand strong**'

She uses the dynamic haptic verb *pousser* 'to push' in combination with the directional motion verb *venir* 'to come' [action 1a & b]). Moreover, she employs a somatic construction connoting weakness, or a demure body position associated with surrender (lit. 'head hanging down/bending of the knees' [action 2a & b]), followed by *poser* 'put/take' [action 3], another haptic verb implying 'force'.

SBCs, a variation of political metaphors, are not only frequently, but also iteratively, used by presidential candidates. Therefore, they should gain more attention in political discourse analysis and be examined from different perspectives. In the following, we will focus on salient usage patterns of the winning candidates during the campaign and as presidents.

3.   Salient SBCs used by Emmanuel Macron before and after his election

As we have seen in the previous section, SBCs are not an exclusive phenomenon of the winning candidate. Therefore, it was undoubtedly a conglomeration of several factors that led to the victory of Emmanuel Macron. Nevertheless, we encountered interesting findings comparing his particular use of SBCs before and after his election. We looked at 28 speeches (154,173 tokens) from the period April 2016 through to April 2017, and at 27 speeches (218,171 tokens) from the period between May 2017 and November 2017,[2] i.e., from a time span *after* his election.

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2.   All five corpora (Emmanuel Macron "before" and "after", Donald Trump "before", "after a" and "after b") used in this paper were analyzed with the help of the following tools: Anthony, L. (2017). AntConc (Version 3.5.0) [Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. and Anthony, L. (2017). AntFileConverter (Version 1.2.1) [Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. Both available from http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software.

Interestingly, in the analyzed cases the percentage of SBCs dropped tremendously after his election (see Figure 1).
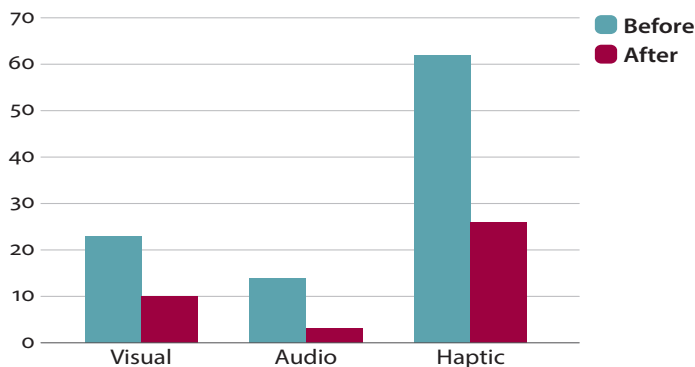
Figure 1. Audiovisual and haptic verbs used by Emmanuel Macron

A Pearson Chi-squared test (with Yates's continuity corrections) further revealed that the correlations between the use of SBCs before and after are salient (*chi-squared* = 24.1366, *df* = 1, *p-value* = .002). The sudden decrease in audiovisual and haptic verbs right after the election can be explained by the fact that they were mainly used to seduce the voters (a) by creating the feeling of interaction or connectivity with the audience through audiovisual verbs, or (b) by evoking electoral gifts or implementing visions with the help of haptic verbs.

Especially in the case of Emmanuel Macron, who named his movement *En marche!* to suggest a [path] of vigor and determination, haptic verbs were used to create narrative frames.

In order to verbally stimulate pertinent brain areas, with the aim of creating and anchoring the mental image that he had the power to be the perfect leader for former voters of the left, as well as of the right, Emmanuel Macron told the following anecdote during his campaign:

(3)   Et le journaliste demandait à quelques-uns, toutes celles et ceux qui étaient, je crois, autour de Christophe, s'ils avaient voté jusqu'ici à gauche, et la moitié de la salle **a levé la main**. […] Puis, le même journaliste a demandé « qui ici avait voté la dernière fois à droite ? », et la moitié de la salle **a levé la main**

(EM-17/01/14)

'And the journalist asked a group, all those who were near Christophe, I believe, whether they had up until now voted left, and half of the audience **raised their hands**. […] Then, the same journalist asked, "which of you voted right last time?" and half of the audience **raised their hands**.'

The double marked haptic expression '**raise** the **hand**' is closely connected to the 'voting' frame, as by raising your hand you show your support for somebody. Furthermore, by twice evoking the mental simulation of 'raising the hand', Emmanuel Macron mentally anchored the idea that he is a competent leader for both sides.

A comparison of the three most frequent haptic verbs used by Emmanuel Macron showed that he seems to use them selectively to evoke certain connotations (see Figure 2).
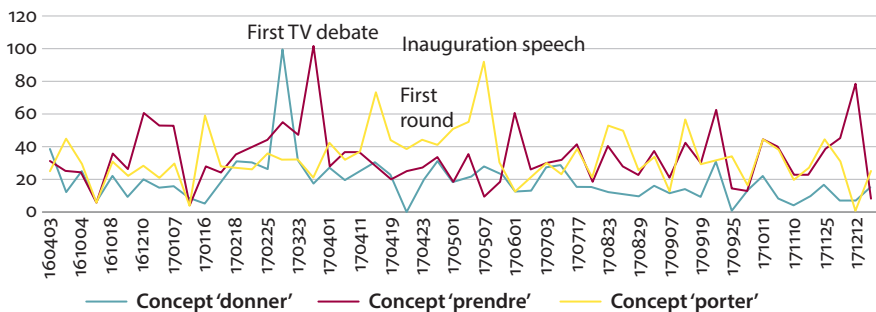
Figure 2. Haptic concepts used by Emmanuel Macron

Haptic verbs imply a sensorimotor motion combined with a repertoire of tactile and kinesthetic sensations. *Donner* 'to give' implies a [volitive] and [directed] [transfer] and is therefore suitable for evoking electoral gifts, a tactic, that is used by Emmanuel Macron especially before the 'hot phase', in between the first TV debate and the first round of the presidential race to distinguish himself from the other candidates:

(4) De la même façon, je **donnerai plus de responsabilités** à nos fonctionnaires de terrain, je **donnerai plus d'autonomie** à nos universités (…)   (EM-17/02/25)

'In the same way, I will **give more responsibility** to our field officers, I will **give more autonomy** to our universities (…).'

Once elected the focus is less on evoking a [volitive] and [directed] [transfer] towards the potential voters and more on concrete concepts dealing with the realization of the given promise to the citizens, e.g. *Faire vivre la responsabilité partout dans nos institutions, c'est aussi assurer l'indépendance pleine et entière de la justice.* (EM-17/07/17) 'To make responsibility live everywhere in our institutions is also to ensure the full and complete independence of the judiciary.'

Prendre 'to take' implies a [forceful] and [directed] [motion] towards a point of [contact] with an object and results in the [transfer] of [possession] of the latter.

Emmanuel Macron is using *prendre* during the 'hot phase' to emphasize on his commitment:

(5)   Alors pour cela, nous allons mener des actions concrètes, pragmatiques, et je **veux prendre quelques engagements** clairs (…) Et donc là, **l'engagement que je veux prendre**, c'est un engagement d'égalité des chances d'accès

(EM-17/03/23)

'So to do this, we will take concrete, pragmatic actions, and I want to **take on some clear commitments** (…) And so, **the commitment I want to take on** is a commitment to equal opportunities of access.'

After his election, the absence of haptic verbs in similar constructions, e.g. *Car par notre engagement les Français retrouvent leur fierté* (EM-17/07/17) 'Because through our commitment, the French regain their pride', implies that, now that he has the status to change things, his [force] and motivation does not need to be expressed verbally anymore.

Finally, a frequency analysis reveals that the lexeme *projet* 'project', used nearly 500 times in the campaign corpus, often co-occurred with the verb *porter* 'to carry', a verb combining a static action ('being in possession of something and to hold it against gravity') with a dynamic [motion], [orientation] and [path] reading (Ströbel 2018a, b). Macron's use of the nexus '*porter un projet*' mainly serves to evoke a corporate feeling:

(6)   Mais nous sommes cinq mille à vouloir **porter un projet** (…). (…) **le projet que nous allons porter** (…). **Le projet que nous portons**, et que nous allons construire ensemble (…)   (EM-17/01/14)

'We are five thousand that want **to carry (out) a project** (…). (…), This is **the project we will carry (out)** (…). **The project we are carrying (out)**, and that we will bring to life together (…).'

Emmanuel Macron's frequent use of '*porter un projet*' is especially interesting, as neither Marine Le Pen, nor François Fillon made use of this particular combination.

In the case of '*porter un projet*', the evocation of the corporate feeling is based on the experience that the act of carrying an object (in this case, an abstract project) of a certain weight [gravity] over a distance [path] becomes easier by transforming an individual act into a collective one.

By evoking the image of traveling together part of the way and carrying a project, which can be seen as his 'vision', Emmanuel Macron is projecting himself and his 'vision' into the future. By doing so, he is strengthening the belief in his audience that everything is possible as long as they picture themselves on a path to reach their goal. Here, we can clearly see the close connection between certain conceptual

metaphors (based on [path] and [direction] concepts) and SBC's. Especially in cases, such as 'progress is a forward movement', whereby the idea is even supported by the word's etymology, as progress is derived from Latin *pro-gressus* 'going forward', similar, as French *projet* (derived from Latin *pro-jacere* 'to throw forth'). Even though these derivations – from a synchronic perspective – might appear opaque, it is interesting nevertheless that Emmanuel Macron also uses this particular idea in a way more 'transparent' even from a synchronic angle (e.g. *lancer* 'to throw forth'):

(7) Parce que le moment est venu de faire des choix clairs, de se **lancer dans une nouvelle aventure** collective, qui ne peut être que collective, pour prendre les décisions courageuses dont le pays a besoin   (EM-16/07/12)

 'The time has come to make clear choices, to **throw oneself in (to start) a new collective adventure**, that only can be collective, to take the kinds of brave decisions this country needs.'

After his election, Emmanuel Macron hardly uses haptic verbs in similar contexts, e.g. *Notre responsabilité est donc immense dans le projet politique qui est le nôtre* (EM-17/10/12) 'Our responsibility is therefore immense in our political project', but continues using *porter* in order to maintain a corporate feeling, e.g. *Parce que certaines et certains ont oublié qu'être Français, c'est aussi **porter la France** (…).* (EM-17/07/27) 'Because some people have forgotten that being French is also about supporting (lit. carrying) France'.

To sum up, with few exceptions, we noted a significant drop in the use of SBCs once Emmanuel Macron became elected, or in other words, a high percentage of SBCs when 'under attack' as opposed to a lower percentage after 'reaching the goal'. It seems that, once elected a candidate changes (at least) his linguistic strategy from persuading to governing. In the next section, we will compare the results for Macron with the use of SBCs by Donald Trump.

4.   Salient SBCs used by Donald Trump before and after his election

Donald Trump used SBCs to create a complex narrative cluster during his campaign:

(8) The shooter in Orlando reportedly celebrated in his classroom after 9/11. He too was interviewed by the FBI. His father, a native of Afghanistan, supported the oppressive Taliban regime, and expressed anti-American views – and by the way, was just **seen sitting** behind Hillary Clinton with a big **smile** on his **face** all the way through her **speech**. He obviously **liked** what she had to **say**

(DT-16/08/15)

Donald Trump [actor 1] starts the blending-over process with a combination of sensorimotor-based concepts, in this particular example a perception verb (*to see* [action 1]) that anchors the situation by placing the previously introduced negative subject (*father of the Orlando shooter* [actor 2]) with a locative position verb (*sitting behind Hillary Clinton* [location]). This setting is followed by the evocation of an emotion (*with a big smile*) connected to the negatively marked subject (*on his face* [actor 2]). The latter is then linked even more closely to Hillary Clinton again through her action (*speech* [action 3]), as well as with an evaluation of a subjective judgment (*liked* [actor 2] *what she* [actor 3] *had to say* [action 3]) (see Figure 3).
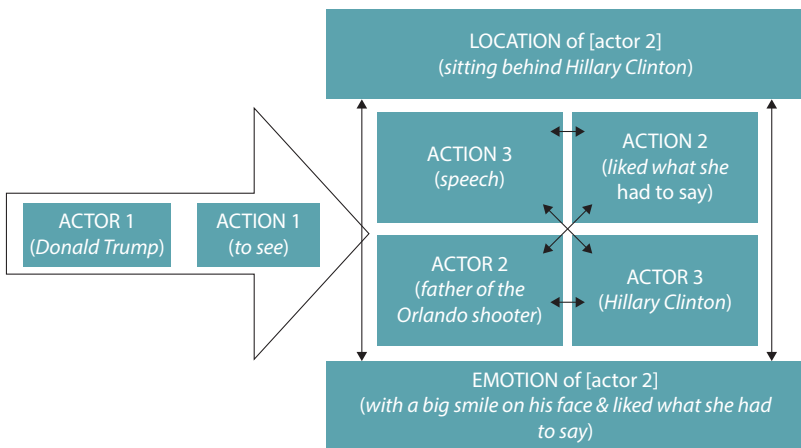
Figure 3. Donald Trump's storytelling with sensorimotor-based concepts

Using this tactic, Donald Trump blends the negative associations inherent in the naming of 'Orlando shooter' [actor 2] in conjunction with Hillary Clinton [actor 3]. In this way, the sequence of mental images or frames created by Donald Trump is likely to have remained vivid in the minds of his audience long after his speech.

The goal here is to reveal the underlying persuasive strategies that Trump leveraged using SBCs (Boettcher & Cobb 2006; Dimitrova & Stromback 2005, Entman 2004, Kruglanski et al. 2007, Mio & Lovrich 1998). To do so, we used three corpora. The first (before the election) is based on six of his speeches (26,633 tokens) during the summer of 2016. The second is composed out of 26 weekly addresses (13,986 tokens) between March and December 2017 (referenced to in the figures below as 'after a'). Finally, the third corpus contains 10 of his speeches (27,489 tokens) delivered between his inauguration and December 2017 (referenced to as 'after b') (see Figure 4).
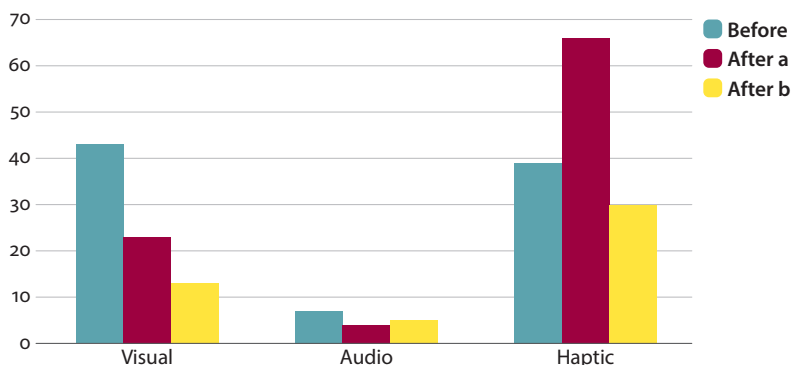
Figure 4. Visual, audio and haptic verbs used by Donald Trump before and after his election

A Pearson Chi-squared test (with Yates's continuity corrections) revealed two findings:

1. The correlations between the use of SBCs during his campaign and in his weekly addresses are salient (*chi-squared* = 13.7404, *df* = 1, *p-value* = .001) and that the result is significant at *p* < .05. Similar to Emmanuel Macron, the use of audiovisual concepts decreased, but in contrast to the French findings, a salient rise of haptic concepts in Donald Trump's weekly addresses were detected.
2. The correlations between the use of SBCs during his campaign and in his international speeches as a president are not significant at *p* < .05 (*chi-squared* = 5.8308 *df* = 1, *p-value* = .054). Even though it seems that the pre- and post-election speeches are conform to the pattern, i.e. displaying a drop of frequency once being elected, they do not display significant differences, but just indicate a tendency for a lower use of SBCs as a president.

Therefore, in the following we concentrate on the rise of haptic concepts in his weekly addresses, as they could be a fertile ground for speculations that Donald Trump is continuing to use haptic verbs at a high frequency in order to emphasize particular national interests, e.g. *[…] we are **bringing back** our jobs, we are **Making America Great Again**.* [DT-17/08/04].

An analysis of the most frequent four haptic verbs (*to give, to take, to bring* and *to cut*) in his weekly addresses showed that they often co-occurred in collocations referring either to the topics of *jobs, taxes* or *border control*:

(9)   And that is why under our plan, we are **cutting** the business tax rate all the way down to 15 percent, **bringing** thousands of new companies and millions of new jobs to our shores   (DT-17/05/05)
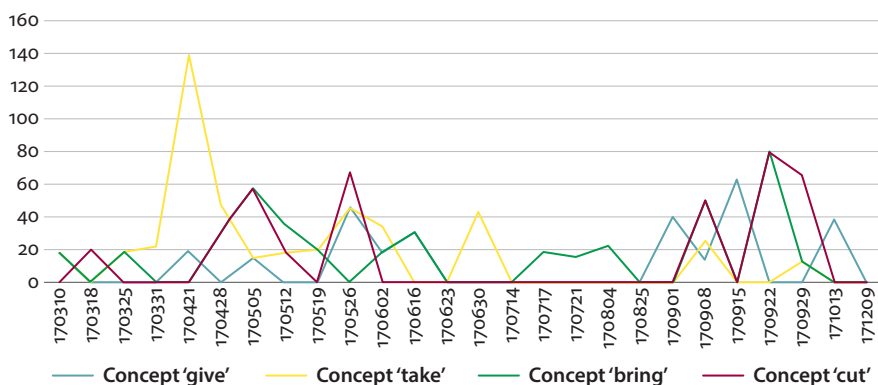
Figure 5. Haptic verbs used in Donald Trump's weekly addresses

(10) We need to **bring down** our tax rate so we can create jobs, wealth, and opportunity right here, in the United States of America, so we can **bring our jobs back** and **bring our businesses back** (DT-17/09/22)

Trump also continues to use haptic verbs in order to establish a connection with his citizens:

(11) We must rise to the task of self-governance, prove worthy of the sacrifices made to carve out this magnificent nation, and we must **give our loyalty** to our Republic and its citizens in all that we do (DT-17/09/15)

(12) They **take pride** in their jobs, and we **take pride** in them (DT-17/04/21)

(13) Each month families across the country work very, very hard to balance their budgets and to make the tough choices necessary to **take care** of their loved ones and to **give their children opportunities** they never had before (DT-17/05/26)

Clusters of SBCs can be especially useful in highlighting contrasts, as in, e.g. *The real debate here is whether we **keep** these alliances strong or **cut** them off* (HC-16/06/02) or in:

(14) **I took historic action** to ensure that Federal Projects are made with American Goods – and to **keep** American workers and companies from being cheated out of contracts by countries that **break the rules** and **break every regulation** in the book to **take advantage** of the United States (DT-17/04/21)

We could conclude from these findings that Trump uses haptic SBCs frequently in his weekly addresses (1) to promote and to fight for specific topics close to his heart, or (2) because he still considers himself 'under attack' and therefore tends to reinforce his image of a competent leader and 'stable genius' (DT via @realDonaldTrump, 18/1/6, 9:30) with SBCs.

5.   Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to put a spotlight on SBCs, a variation of political metaphors, as – due to mental simulation processes – they inherently possess the power to influence us subliminally. SBCs reveal important details and perform concrete functions while maintaining a low profile. This may also explain why SBCs have received relatively little attention in political analyses to date, even though they are effective persuasive devices that activate mental images and frames.

We focused on differences and variation patterns in their use during and after the presidential campaigns to illustrate how SBCs are used to achieve specific goals.

The main takeaway from this work is that the use of SBCs drops after an election. In other words, there is a high percentage of SBCs when candidates are 'under attack'. There is a lower percentage of SBCs after the candidates 'reach the goal' and have to uphold their image. At these times, they are likely to avail themselves of more sophisticated linguistic strategies.

Analyzing Donald Trump's discourse, we encountered, at first glance, a slightly different pattern. We found parallels in the use of audiovisual concepts in his speeches before and after winning the election. Nevertheless, in his weekly addresses we stated a high percentage of haptic verbs. Given the fact that at this point we can only speculate about his motivation, further research is needed to elucidate the role of SBCs in general and in Donald Trump's weekly addresses in particular.

Nevertheless, the usage pattern during and after the recent presidential campaigns in France and the U.S. reveals the tendency of SBCs to surface whenever feasible to convey the idea of perfect leadership qualities: a combination of experience, commitment, and/or willpower that can confront any external and internal challenge.

We suggest that future research explores SBCs in more detail because they are a perfect tool for shaping attitudes and beliefs. In particular, they reanalyze our world, since they do not introduce new concepts but instead will mold our beliefs, attitudes, and values.

Furthermore, they represent an effective linguistic tool that can be used frequently and iteratively to create a narrative frame that will resonate with voters long after hearing a speech.

For these reasons, SBCs subconsciously and substantially influence the reception of a speech. Even though SBCs appear more 'innocent' than prototypical political metaphors, they are powerful persuasive tools as the frequency and the way they are used seems to indicate that politicians are aware that they might have the inherent power to manipulate an audience through mental stimulation and emotional arousal.

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Variations of metaphors in party manifestos about EU finality

Assessing party positions through conceptual metaphors

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The literature on party positions on European integration and the closely related literature on Euroscepticism rely largely, from a methodological point of view, on coding of election manifestos and expert surveys/judgments. This paper opts for a different approach to study party positions on European integration based on an analysis of variation of the metaphors used by political parties in the discourse about the EU political finality. On the basis of key conceptual metaphors used in the discourse on EU finality that are identified in the relevant literature as well as the corpus itself, we analyze Czech political parties' election manifestos issued for the 2004, 2009 and 2014 European Parliament elections. The analysis is then connected to party positions on European integration.

Keywords: metaphors, party positions, European integration, election manifestos, European Union

1. Introduction

Research of party stances towards the EU usually takes national political parties as a starting point of its analyses. Several methodological approaches were employed to empirically measure party positions on European integration and to identify which parties take a pro-EU and/or a Eurosceptic stance. These techniques can be broadly subdivided into four categories:

a. analysis of (election) manifestos/programs (Klingemann et al. 2007),
b. expert surveys (Benoit and Laver 2006),
c. surveys of party members/self-reported positions (Trechsel and Mair 2011), and
d. behavioral measures such as roll-call votes (Hix and Noury 2009).

The aim of this paper is to look differently at political party stances towards European integration. The approach adopted here builds on the 'metaphorical theory of international politics' (Drulák 2004: 12–16) that introduces the study of metaphors into theoretization of EU politics. Since the early 1990s, the analysis of metaphors has steadily become a popular technique for examination of EU politics (Musolff 2004; Hulsse 2006; Luoma-aho 2004). Our aim in this chapter is to assess the variation of political metaphors across party ideologies from both a diachronic and a synchronic perspective, and to link their variation to party positions on European integration. While Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) has not been previously used to assess party stances towards the EU, we attempt to show how CMT can be used to provide evidence of variation in stances towards European integration. Specifically, this paper analyzes metaphors used in party discourse about EU finality[1] (Serfaty 2003) and estimates party positions on this basis. Our methodological and conceptual framework is applied in a case study of Czech political parties to illustrate how CMT can bring added value to analytical methods of interpreting texts for discovering the political stances behind them.

We believe that applying CMT to a study of party positioning can add to and complement traditional political science approaches to researching party stances. First, political science approaches, in particular, content analytical ones, usually treat words as data by using their relative frequencies to estimate party positions (van Elfrinkhof, Maks, and Kaal 2014). Political science methods are usually content-based and account neither for the dynamics of language use and meaning in a changing context nor for the extra-textual occurrences of cognitive schemas of meaning construction (Kaal 2017: 83–86). However, political text analysis should go beyond the surface represented by words as data since these texts 'rely on rhetorical patterns of meaning construction that operate at the deeper, subconscious, level' (Kaal 2017: 83). By focusing on the processes by which issues, events and policies are constructed and framed at the discourse level and how content is contextualized to get meaning, discourse-based approaches, such as metaphor analysis, can overcome the traditional political science content-based focus on what is constructed. Metaphor analysis can, therefore, build a bridge between language studies and political text analysis to produce a deeper understanding of what parties' discourses actually stand for.

The following section outlines the fundamentals of the study of metaphors and provides arguments in favor of the use of metaphor analysis in order to discover party attitudes towards the EU that are implicit in texts. We then discuss different metaphorical constructions of the EU's political finality. After this, we present our

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1.   By EU finality, or European finality, we mean the debate on the future of European integration and its final state, including its institutional structure.

method of metaphor analysis and clarify other methodological issues. Next, we describe the metaphors of EU finality found in the discourse of selected Czech parties and connect them with party positions on European integration. Finally, the findings are discussed in light of the literature on methods of political text analysis and party positions towards the EU.

2.   Metaphors and the study of party positions on European integration

Given that the aim of this paper is to study metaphorical representations of EU finality, the question is how and why metaphor analysis may complement political science methods for studying party positions. Building on CMT (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), we maintain that metaphor is an elementary component of human cognition, and metaphors are ubiquitous in everyday life. That is, the metaphorical language people use is a reflection of the way they think (Lakoff and Turner 1989). In the words of Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 6), the 'essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another'. From a cognitive point of view the cross-domain conceptual mapping allows us to understand 'one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain' or, in other words, to understand the 'target domain […] through the use of the source domain' (Kövecses 2002: 4).

Therefore, metaphors represent a mechanism for comprehending abstract concepts and performing abstract reasoning (Cienki 2013). CMT maintains that metaphors 'govern our everyday functioning' (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 4), and 'structure and define the ordinary conceptual system in terms of which people think and act' (Luoma-aho 2004: 107). Thus, our 'conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined' (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 7). In the words of Drulák (2006: 502), metaphors are 'necessary conditions of speaking and thinking, rather than (…) mere rhetorical deviations from normal language'. In constructivist terms, metaphors create reality by constituting the object they signify by projecting the known target domain onto an unspecified source domain (Hulsse 2006), thus connecting cognition with the making of social reality.

This brings us directly to the aim of this paper – that is, with the help of metaphor analysis, to investigate party positions on European finality. More specifically, the question is how metaphor analysis may be helpful in investigating party stances towards the EU's political finality. As noted earlier, metaphors construct social reality by projecting the meaning of a familiar issue domain onto an unfamiliar one. The EU is an abstract domain, and an institution that is distant from the people and different from the domestic democratic institutions that people are used to (Føllesdal and Hix 2006: 536). In addition, the more unfamiliar and abstract the

issue domain, the more it makes sense to use metaphor to visualize and make sense of the situation and express it (Bougher 2012). Conceptual metaphors are, therefore, often used to categorize foreign policies and international actors (Chaban and Kelly 2017). European finality is such an abstract concept and, therefore, conceptual metaphors are likely to feature prominently in the discourse about it.

Taken together, conceptual metaphors are fundamental tools that people use for 'thinking about and expressing abstract concepts' (Cienki 2013: 294). They provide a variety of grounds on which to conceptualize the world and its particular articulation. Any event, international actor, or political decision can be metaphorically understood, conceptualized or constructed in multiple ways.[2] Importantly, research has shown that the use of metaphors by political parties to conceptualize a particular issue differs between political ideologies (Lakoff 2016). The European political finality is a typically ambiguous concept that can be framed in a variety of metaphor domains.[3] Therefore, a party's choice for a particular metaphorical expression when speaking of the EU reflects a particular understanding and construal of it. By speaking about the EU in concrete metaphorical terms, parties bring it to a concrete or familiar level of reasoning and thinking. The advantage of focusing on metaphor analysis is that it says something about how political parties think about the EU since their worldviews and discourses are permeated by metaphors, regardless of whether they use them consciously or unconsciously.

Since metaphors are ubiquitous in our language and thought, a systematic inquiry into the use of metaphors in European party discourses captures an important variant in discourses about EU finality. This section discussed how conceptual metaphors reflect political reasoning. Metaphor analysis gives insight into how parties imagine Europe and its 'finality' (Drulák and Beneš 2015). The next section discusses how to link metaphorical variation to estimating party positions on EU finality.

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2.   For example, Hulsse (2006) and Chaban and Kelly (2017) show how EU enlargement can be metaphorically framed in terms of a road with obstacles (EU ENLARGEMENT IS A MOVEMENT), a house with open doors (EU ENLARGEMENT IS A HOUSE), a process of rejuvenating a geriatric Europe (EU ENLARGEMENT IS A HUMAN BEING) or family reunification (EU ENLARGEMENT IS A FAMILY).

3.   EU finality is commonly framed in a number of metaphor domains. Among the most common ones are THE EU IS AN EDIFICE, THE EU IS A CONTAINER, THE EU IS A BODY, THE EU IS A HOUSE, THE EU IS A CENTRE, and THE EU IS A FAMILY (Kimmel 2009b).

3.   Metaphors about the European finality debate: The research design

One of the first tasks every metaphor analysis has to execute is deciding whether it should study all metaphors related to all issues in the given corpus (the target domains) or only metaphors related to some specific issues (Kimmel 2012: 5–6). A handful of studies attempt to capture metaphors related to any and all target domains in the given corpora. More often, however, researchers restrict their focus to one related target domain or a small number of them and discard any off-topic metaphors related to other target domains (Bougher 2012). This latter approach is taken in this paper and we only analyze metaphors related to one specific target domain: the EU's "finalité politique", which can be metaphorically mapped to several source domains (Drulák 2004). The identification of the target domain of interest, however, raises a subsequent question: what source domains will be used in order to capture metaphors on the EU finality or, in other words, how can one come up with a list of conceptual metaphors that would be used to understand the EU's finality?

In practice, one can decide to capture all the featured source domains to which the selected target domain is bypassed or choose to capture only some pre-defined source-target cross-domain conceptual mappings. At the same time, it can be argued that every discourse has a particular set of metaphors that are normally used when referring to the topic of the given discourse. Moreover, there is no universal criterion that would let us determine which level of abstraction 'should be used for addressing conceptual metaphors' (Drulák 2004: 7). This choice reflects the particular research design and the way we look for metaphors. Generally speaking, there are two ways to come up with a list of conceptual metaphors: the deductive approach and the inductive approach (Kimmel 2012). In identifying conceptual metaphors, the former approach relies on previous theoretical literature or prior knowledge of the field (Drulák 2006). Alternatively, under the latter approach conceptual metaphors are generated while the discourse itself is explored. Practically, the inductive approach begins with metaphorical expressions found in the discourse and then classifies them into abstract conceptual metaphors (Kimmel 2012). Of course, one can combine both of the approaches within one research design and rely on reiterated interaction between theory and data.

In this chapter, we only deal with metaphorical bypasses that connect an arbitrarily selected target domain (EU finality) with other a priori specified source domains. Practically, this study attempts to reveal how political parties understand the target domain (EU "finalité politique") through the metaphorical representations linked to specific source domains. The reason for such a methodological selection is that we aim to link metaphorical representations of the European finality debate to party positions on EU issues and hence we ignore metaphorical mappings that are not relevant for the assessment of party stances towards the EU.

But how do we select, in practice, the conceptual metaphors on EU finality to assess party positions on this issue? In his analysis of the use of metaphors in the discourse about the EU's institutional set-up, Drulák (2006) illustrates that the following conceptual metaphors are the most significant metaphorical representations of the EU's finality: THE EU IS A CONTAINER, THE EU IS AN EQUILIBRIUM, THE EU IS A MOTION, THE EU IS A CORPORATION, THE EU IS A CENTER, THE EU IS A DREAM, and THE EU IS A HERITAGE (see also Drulák and Konigová 2007; Drulák and Beneš 2015; Drulák 2005). These metaphors were shown to account for most of the metaphorical expressions used in the discourse about the European finality (Drulák and Konigová 2007: 8). In the first step, the identification of conceptual metaphors that connect the target domain of interest (the EU's finality) to (a) specific source domain(s) was executed by looking at previous research on the metaphorical representations of the EU's "finalité politique". In the second step, these metaphors were used as tentative guides when approaching and reading the analyzed texts.

When reading the texts, we still attempted to look for other possible metaphorical expressions whose target domain was EU finality. After reading the texts, we revised the initially identified conceptual metaphors to fit the metaphorical expressions found in the corpora. This process included not only the specification of the initially identified conceptual metaphors but also the identification of new conceptual metaphors which had not been found in the first step of the identification process and which were related to metaphorical expressions found in the texts.[4]

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4.   The identification of the metaphorical status of individual lexical units and their assignment under one of the three conceptual metaphors used in the study combine the traditional metaphor identification procedure (MIP) of the Pragglejaz Group (Pragglejaz Group 2007) with a less linguistic-dependent identification method based on a vocabulary used by a particular speech community that was derived from a related institutional and theoretical context. My selection of conceptual metaphors and, in particular, the related metaphorical expressions differ from the more linguistic approaches such as MIP. We understand a speech community as a group of people who interact frequently and who, through these interactions, develop a shared body of verbal signs (lexical units), which distinguishes them from other groups (Gumperz 1972b). The members of the speech community share a language and experiences in a particular time, and their shared understandings are (re)produced in its communication networks. A speech community usually has a clear social dimension, and tends to coincide with specific social units such as countries, tribes, or religious groupings but speech communities may also be transnational (such as the community of the expert discourse on European integration that includes political parties) and include several languages, as long as there is at least one language that all the members have in common, and rules governing basic communicative strategies are shared so that the speakers can decode the social meanings carried by alternative modes of communication (Gumperz 1972a). In this sense, the most rudimentary tool of communication is a shared vocabulary which results from interactions inside the transnational speech community. For example, such a shared vocabulary emerged in the process of European integration. While this vocabulary relies mostly

On the basis of this process, we established the final set of conceptual metaphors relevant for assessing parties' stances towards the EU's finality: THE EU IS A CONTAINER, THE EU IS AN EQUILIBRIUM and THE EU IS A MOTION. Still the question remains how these conceptual metaphors are related to political parties' positions on European integration.

Building on Drulák (2006) it is argued that these three conceptual metaphors entrench three different (institutional) visions of the EU. First, THE EU IS AN EQUILIBRIUM reflects, by and large, the intergovernmental approaches (realism, liberal intergovernmentalism) to theoretization of the EU. Most basically, this conceptual metaphor sees the EU as being composed of a number of containers (member states) trying to accommodate their conflicting interests in mutual trade-offs (Drulák and Konigová 2007: 8). More specifically, the concepts of balance of power and bargaining equilibrium are the most powerful expressions of this conceptual metaphor (Drulák 2006: 512; Drulák and Beneš 2015). This conceptual metaphor

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on French and English, some of its most important metaphors, such as 'acquis communautaire', 'engrenage' or 'pooled sovereignty', etc., can be understood only with respect to the integration experiences of the given transnational speech community. We can indeed ask whether these metaphors come from English or from French, but what is more important is to look into their conceptual backgrounds in integration theory. What is therefore important is that the EU integration transnational speech community developed its own vocabularies, including its own metaphors which are conceptually anchored in EU integration theories (Drulák 2006). The examples of metaphorical expressions in Table 1 are thus related to this specific vocabulary that individual theories of European integration (that I connect to particular conceptual metaphors) are using. In other words, certain expressions in Table 1 would not necessarily be considered metaphorical outside the specific speech community and its theoretical and institutional context and could be also linked to other conceptual metaphors but in the given institutional and theoretical context they align well with our three conceptual metaphors and can be considered metaphorical. This is also based on the idea that we see conceptual metaphors as condensed theories of the political reality to which they refer. Therefore, the identification and examination of conceptual metaphors require a careful investigation of the given theoretical and institutional context from which they are deduced (Drulák and Beneš 2015). Such an approach is much less dependent on the actual linguistic context than on the linguistic approaches to politics such as that of the Pragglejaz Group, which induces conceptual metaphors from the actual discourse. Taken together, building on previous research on European integration theories, related metaphors and metaphors on EU finality, I have identified several conceptual metaphors as well as some concrete metaphorical expressions related to these metaphors. While a pure linguistic approach to metaphor identification could consider some of the expressions from Table 1 as literal/non-metaphorical within the general speech community, we argue that in the vocabulary used in the transnational EU integration speech community that includes political parties, the selected expressions are metaphorical – as they are used metaphorically within the community – and more importantly they fit the conceptual metaphors they are categorised under since they reflect the vocabulary of individual theories of European integration that the three conceptual metaphors entrench.

portrays the EU as a loose group of states that seek to establish a balance between one another or, in other words, a balance among competing units. It brings about the image of the EU as a loose collective of actors seeking their individual benefits, either material or intangible. The EU and its institutional set up are designed so as to reflect a careful calculation of the net expected benefit.

On the other hand, the conceptual metaphor THE EU IS A CONTAINER reflects the supranational theoretical approaches (federalism, comparative politics, European constitutionalism) to European integration (Drulák 2006: 512). In general terms, this conceptual metaphor sees the EU as a state-like polity, a united whole that is clearly separated by boundaries from the outside world. Concretely, this conceptual metaphor is built around the concept of domestic analogy that refers to an understanding of the EU along the domestic models (Drulák 2004: 21). Put differently, the CONTAINER conceptual metaphor perceives the EU as a system comparable to the domestic (national) politics of a democratic nation state. This conceptual metaphor often understands the EU's finality in terms of a European federation and evokes the image of the EU of a coherent whole and a unitary actor.

Last but not least, the conceptual metaphor THE EU IS A MOTION reflects, for the most part, the neofunctionalist theory of European integration but also other approaches building on its legacy such as multi-level governance, institutionalist, and constructivist approaches (Drulák 2006: 513–514). Moreover, it is very different from the previous two conceptual metaphors. It attempts to capture the seemingly never-ending process of permanent internal change and transformation of the EU and at the same it attempts to counter 'its delineation by traditional categories such as borders or the division of competencies' (Drulák and Konigová 2007: 8). It does not presuppose any fixed and permanent actors, identity or anchor, and sees the EU as being fluid (Drulák and Beneš 2015; Drulák 2006: 513). Moreover, in comparison with the previous two metaphors, when grasping the EU in terms of THE EU IS A MOTION metaphor the usual political vocabulary, which is static by default, can hardly be used (Drulák 2010).

The final network is hence composed of three conceptual metaphors of the EU, MOTION, EQUILIBRIUM, and CONTAINER, whose validity for understanding diverse conceptual (target) domains related to the EU is underlined by a number of studies (Kimmel 2009b: 61–63; 2009a: 144–145; Musolff 2004). This network of metaphors lays the ground for understanding the EU finality and, by extension, party positions on European integration. The three conceptual metaphors provide a comprehensive framework for a metaphorical analysis of the European finality. First, the CONTAINER metaphor allows for interlinking institutions and structures of the nation state, on the one hand, and EU institutions and structures of the EU, on the other. As a result, the EU is represented metaphorically as a kind of imperfect state. This metaphor therefore embraces the EU's agency and sees EU institutions,

together with the member states, as important actors in the European integration process. Given the present state of European integration the CONTAINER metaphor supports further deepening of the EU and advocates the creation of a fully fledged political union based on federative principles. In the light of what the EU is today, it is very Euro-enthusiastic.

In contrast, the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor stresses the role of the nation state as a genuine agent of European integration and constructs the EU's "finalité politique" as consisting of more or less independent interacting units. Thus, this metaphor is at odds with the EU's agency as it is nationalist and sees member states – as opposed to EU institutions – as the main actors in the European integration process. Given the current state of European integration this conceptual metaphor opposes the continuing and further deepening of the EU and even advocates shifting integration backwards to encompass only economic but not political aspects. It is skeptical of the current state of European integration as it perceives it as a conglomerate of states, as a 'balance between state interests pursued in the market-like structure' (Drulák and Beneš 2015: 547). The current state of European integration is at odds with this metaphor as the EU has already passed the stage of mere economic integration to also encompass aspects of political integration.

The MOTION metaphor allows one to think about the EU as an ongoing, fluid process without any specific final destination/goal. Put differently, this conceptual metaphor is, in principle, in conflict with ideas of European finality or European borders. It also, by and large, reflects the current status quo and construction of the EU in terms of a never-ending process on the basis of an ever closer union that is, however, short of state-like characteristics and federative principles (Drulák 2005: 20). Finally, and most importantly for party positions on European integration, the three conceptual metaphors may be ranked on an axis based on the pro-/anti-EU understanding of European finality. Thus, the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor is Eurosceptic, and the CONTAINER metaphor is highly Euro-enthusiastic, or pro-EU, while the MOTION metaphor stands somewhere in between and can be seen as an alternative path to the previous two (Drulák and Konigová 2007: 11–12).[5] Each of

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5. The counterargument here could be that the conceptual metaphors do not unequivocally fit together with a clear position regarding the EU's finality based on, for instance, the nature of the container or the destination. As we argued above, however, our identification of conceptual metaphors and the related expressions is much less dependent on the actual linguistic context compared to linguistic approaches to metaphors in politics that induce conceptual metaphors from the actual discourse. Deriving the conceptual metaphors from the theoretical and institutional context, we treat them as condensed theories of the political reality (European integration) to which they refer, and thus they represent specific visions of the EU finality through which we can subsequently approximate the positions of the respective parties towards it. In other words, the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor represents the vision of EU finality based on an intergovernmental

these three identified conceptual metaphors has manifold realizations at the level of metaphorical expressions. Table 1 shows some examples of how these conceptual metaphors are represented in terms of metaphorical expressions in a text.

Table 1. Conceptual metaphors about the European finality debate and examples of their accompanying metaphorical expressions

Conceptual metaphor	Metaphorical expressions
THE EU AS A MOTION	Travel and journey ('new steps', 'leaps forward', 'moving forward', 'brave steps into uncharted territory', 'avoiding a drifting off course', 'accelerate the integration', 'slowing-down the train'); Moving objects ('new locomotive', 'the flame of Europe'); Change and motion in general ('constant changes', 'continuous process', 'future direction of integration', 'permanent treaty-making', 'never-ending circle of treaty change', 'avant-garde'); Euro-speak ('community method', 'Monnet method', 'supranational method'); European uniqueness ('a unique construction', 'a sui generis institutional framework', 'a super-power of its own kind', 'keeping institutional balance'); Hybrids and oxymorons ('constitutional treaty', 'pooling sovereignty', 'sharing sovereignty', 'sharing powers', 'federation of nation states', 'a super-power but not a superstate').
THE EU AS A CONTAINER	Building ('European edifice', 'foundations'); Homogeneous space ('forging Europe', 'unification', 'the abolition of dividing lines', 'single judicial area'); Body ('being at the heart of Europe'); Actor ('being a driving force', 'speaking with one voice', 'European general interest'); Domestic analogy ('European constitution', 'European foreign minister', 'separation of powers', 'checks and balances', 'federal model', 'European sovereignty', 'European society').
THE EU AS AN EQUILIBRIUM (OF CONTAINERS)	Inter-state relations ('balance of power', 'treaty' instead of 'constitution' or 'constitutional treaty', 'alliance-building', 'balanced institutional arrangements which serve the interests of all member states', 'co-operation between member states' or 'partnership of democratic states' instead of their 'integration'); Interaction of states ('contending national interests', 'equality between member states'); States as supreme actors ('restoration of former sovereignty', 'directoire', 'democracy is rooted in states').

Source: Adapted from Drulák (2006) and modified by the author.

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logic where states are the main units trying to balance their interests. Such a vision in the most general reflects the logic of the EU before the Maastricht Treaty and is primarily focused on economic integration based on unanimity. In sum, the more linguistic-based approaches deriving metaphors from the actual linguistic context would definitely be more dependent on, e.g., the nature of the container when it comes to approximating party positions. On the other hand, the approach we use is less dependent on the nature of the container since the conceptual metaphors in our approach are less dependent on the linguistic context given that they are condensed theories of European integration and, as such, represent different visions of EU finality. At the same time, we have, of course, taken into account the positive/negative stances towards the given conceptual metaphor in assessing party positions.

Another important decision concerns the size of the unit of analysis, or in other words, what should be the maximum text span of a metaphor (Kimmel 2012: 6–7)? Following the tradition of the cognitive linguistic approach to metaphor, we capture units as small as single words or phrase-like collocations that are identifiable metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The corpus is analyzed for metaphors in source-target terms typical for the cognitive approach to metaphors, usually on the level of a sentence. A word or phrase is eligible for being considered a metaphor when it has a related but more primary meaning in other contexts, whereas in the present context it is used in a sense felt by the speakers to be more secondary, i.e., non-literal (Kimmel 2009a: 120). In practice, the identification of metaphorical expressions related to individual conceptual metaphors usually includes several readings of the texts in question (Kimmel 2012).

A considerable number of studies on the (elite) usage of metaphor in politics rely on traditional corpora – large collections of naturally occurring texts, i.e. speeches, parliamentary debates, manifestos, newspapers, etc. (e.g. Bougher 2012; Drulák 2006; Musolff 2004; Kimmel 2009b; Luoma-aho 2004). On the other hand, analyzes of public discourse, albeit not exclusively, usually rely on in-depth qualitative interviews, focus group studies, blogs and so forth (Bougher 2012; Chaban and Kelly 2017). Given that the aim of this paper is to investigate the (elite) discourse about the EU's finality and link it to political parties' positions on this issue, the choice of the traditional corpora approach is logical.

The discourse of the EU's finality may have, as any discourse, many different manifestations (speeches, media items, parliamentary debates, civil society contributions, etc.). The purpose of this study logically limits the attention solely to political parties' discourse as it aims to interlink metaphor analysis and party stances towards the EU's finality. Specifically, we focus on election manifestos prepared for the EP elections in 2004, 2009 and 2014 and we only include relevant political parties. To be included, a party had to have gained seats at least twice during the sixth, seventh and eighth terms of office of the European Parliament. Specifically, we analyzed manifestos of the Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD), the Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-ČSL), the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM), and the Civic Democratic Party (ODS). Altogether, we included 12 manifestos in the sample, one for each party at each election time. We analyzed the entire manifestos for the presence and variations of metaphorical expressions.

The decision to analyze election manifestos prepared for EP elections is, indeed, obvious since our aim is to analyze parties' discourse on the EU's finalité politique. Still, the reasons behind this decision should be clear. The decision to examine election manifestos for EP elections was made because: (a) as these documents are issued by the given party's central office, they provide authoritative statements of

parties' official positions and thus could be considered accurate representations of the positions of the parties as unitary actors (Klingemann et al. 2007); (b) election manifestos are 'major elements of the democratic theory of mandate' (Budge 1994) since they are arguably the most articulated platforms through which parties place issues on the agenda, and present to the public the parties' policy preferences and commitments (Gabel and Hix 2002); and (c) they serve as guidelines for the party candidates in the campaign and they help the media to deal with issue emphases of parties and conflicting positions between parties (Eder, Jenny, and Müller 2017).

Moreover, while in manifestos for national parliamentary elections EU issues are hardly considered, research shows that manifestos for EP elections are more focused on issues related to European integration (Kovář 2015) and one might, therefore, expect that (d) EP election manifestos especially should deal with EU issues. Finally, in order for the metaphor analysis to address the sensitive issues of the contextual differences, the study of metaphors should work with a collection of texts written in the same period which address the same or similar issues (Tully 1988). The last reason for the decision to examine EP election programs is that (e) analyzing parties' election manifestos allows for a better standardization of the documents, with one document for each party at each election, and hence allows for analyses and comparisons to be made over time and between elections as well as between states (Budge, Robertson, and Hearl 1987).

4.   Analysis and results

The identified network of conceptual metaphors was applied to election manifestos prepared by selected Czech political parties for the 2004, 2009 and 2014 EP elections. In total, the sample consists of 12 election manifestos. To begin the analysis, we hold the assumption that the significance of a conceptual metaphor in the discourse can be measured by its relative frequency (Cortazzi and Jin 1999). To assess their frequency, conceptual metaphors must be associated with metaphorical expressions. We therefore consider each metaphorical expression as a basic unit of analysis. The analysis itself combines both qualitative and quantitative methods for the assessment of the use of conceptual metaphors. After several readings of the textual sample all metaphorical expressions identified in the text are sorted into the categories of conceptual metaphors they fit in. The occurrence and normative appraisals of metaphorical expressions corresponding to each conceptual metaphor in the text sample were recorded. As a result, each manifesto and, consequently, the whole sample was analyzed as regards the relative importance and frequency of the conceptual metaphors they used. This scales down each manifesto to a specific configuration of conceptual metaphors.

We evaluated the importance of individual conceptual metaphors within each manifesto on the basis of four categories: dominant, important, occasional, and rejected (see also Drulák 2006; Drulák and Konigová 2007; Drulák and Beneš 2015). The first three categories are quantitative; they reflect the occurrence of the respective metaphorical expressions in the given manifesto.[6] The final category, on the other hand, is qualitative, reflecting the author's normative evaluation of the use of metaphorical expressions and, thus, the conceptual metaphor as well. The conceptual metaphor is labeled rejected if it was used in a negative sense or regarded as inappropriate for the portrayal of the target domain in question. These four categories are disjunctive and, at the same time, the latter qualitative category takes antecedence over the quantitative one. In practice, this means that when a conceptual metaphor was dominant in the document, but received a negative appraisal, it was coded as 'rejected'. On this basis, we established the relative frequencies with which individual conceptual metaphors occurred in the given category. Such a summation enabled us to compare the use of conceptual metaphors of individual political parties as well as to compare the use of conceptual metaphors by a given party over time.

4.1 Variation of metaphors: Interparty and cross-temporal comparison

While the aggregate level of analysis provides initial insight into the frequency of the use of the conceptual metaphors in the Czech political party discourse, it masks important differences between individual political parties. Since our investigation focuses on party stances towards the EU's "finalité politique", it is necessary to go beyond the macro level of analysis to see the use of conceptual metaphors by Czech political parties from a more refined perspective. The micro level not only tells us how significant each conceptual metaphor is with respect to the given

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6. Source-target pairings of metaphors usually reveal that some source domains are shared by more metaphorical expressions than other source domains. On this basis, the metaphorical expressions with the same source (i.e. related to the same conceptual metaphor) that occur with a relatively greater frequency and which appeared in a greater variety of forms constitute the dominant metaphor in this paper (its metaphorical expressions are far more frequent than the metaphorical expressions related to other conceptual metaphors). Metaphors that appeared less frequently, and with less variety of expression, but still more often than occasional metaphors, were labelled as important metaphors (metaphorical expressions that are frequent but not dominant). Finally, occasional metaphors were those that were used only once or only a few times (only a few metaphorical expressions of such metaphors occur in the texts), and rejected metaphors are those whose metaphorical expressions are used negatively (for similar approach, see Cortazzi and Jin 1999; Drulák 2006; Chaban, Stats, and Bain 2006). As a methodological convention, only one conceptual metaphor can dominate the text.

political party, but it also reveals how consistent the party is with respect to the given conceptual metaphor over time. How do individual Czech political parties differ in their metaphorical representations of the European finality? In Tables 3–6, we present the results for each political party included in the analysis. There are clear differences in the metaphorical construction of the EU's finality between the Czech political parties.

Table 2 shows the relative frequency with which the given conceptual metaphors occurred in the election manifestos of the Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party. In the discourse of the KDU-ČSL, the MOTION and CONTAINER metaphors play roughly comparable roles as dominant metaphors (with relative frequencies of 37% and 35%, respectively). On the other hand, the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor is the least frequently used (with a relative frequency of 7%) and also more often rejected (with a relative frequency of 15%) than praised as a metaphorical construction of the future form of European integration. The other two conceptual metaphors combined are rejected less often than EQUILIBRIUM (with relative frequencies of 7% vs. 15%, respectively). In terms of their stance towards the EU's "finalité politique", the Christian Democrats prefer the status quo, whereby the EU's finality is undefined, as epitomized by the MOTION metaphor. However, the second preference of the KDU-ČSL is to construct the EU on the basis of the Euro-enthusiastic CONTAINER metaphor; they thus aim to transform the EU in the direction of a single European state based on federative principles. The Eurosceptic metaphorical construction of EQUILIBRIUM is, in contrast, rejected by the party. It does not want to see the EU's future as being characterized by a loose group of states trying to balance their interests, which are pursued in a market-like structure. Clearly, the KDU-ČSL's stance towards the European finality is pro-European and it rejects the Eurosceptic position of moving European integration back so that it would encompass only economic integration.

The diachronic analysis of the KDU-ČSL's discourse shows the growing importance of the CONTAINER metaphor in its view as well as its growing rejection of the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor. While CONTAINER was an 'important' metaphor in 2004 (with a relative frequency of 27%) and 2006 (with a relative frequency of 34%), it became a 'dominant' metaphor in 2014 (with a relative frequency of 42%). On the other hand, the Christian Democrats gradually became more skeptical towards the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor, whose relative frequency decreased from 12% in 2004 to only 2% in 2014. The MOTION metaphor is constantly used by them during the analyzed period with a relative frequency of around 35%. But while it was a 'dominant' metaphor in 2004 and 2009, it became a merely 'important' metaphor in 2014. During the period under study, the KDU-ČSL also constantly rejects the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor, whose relative frequency as a 'rejected' metaphor slightly decreased from 18% in 2004 to 15% in 2014. The results point out that the party is

Table 2. KDU-ČSL: Conceptual metaphors according to their distribution (%)

	Dominant	Important	Occasional	Rejected
2004				
EQUILIBRIUM			12	18
CONTAINER		27		3
MOTION	38			3
2009				
EQUILIBRIUM			9	13
CONTAINER		34		4
MOTION	37			3
2014				
EQUILIBRIUM			2	15
CONTAINER	42			3
MOTION		35		3
2004–2014				
N = 109	Dominant	Important	Occasional	Rejected
EQUILIBRIUM			7	15
CONTAINER		35		4
MOTION	37			3

consistent in its use of the given conceptual metaphors over time. At the same time, they show that over time it moved towards a more pro-EU position advocating the creation of a state-like entity in the EU.

Table 3 indicates that in the election manifestos of the Czech Social Democratic Party, the MOTION metaphor is the most widespread (with a relative frequency of 50%), followed by the CONTAINER metaphor (with a relative frequency of 25%). The EQUILIBRIUM metaphor is the least often embraced metaphorical construction of the European finality by the party (with a relative frequency of 15%). Conversely, the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor is also the most frequently rejected as a metaphorization of the EU's "finalité politique" by the ČSSD. Similarly to the KDU-ČSL, the ČSSD also more often rejects it than the other two conceptual metaphors combined (with relative frequencies of 6% and 4%, respectively). The party's position on the European finality is characterized by a preference of the status quo and a construction of the EU in terms of a never-ending process of permanent internal change without any clear finality. Their second preference, once again, is the construction of the EU along the CONTAINER metaphor in the direction of a looming state-like entity. In contrast, the Eurosceptic EQUILIBRIUM is the least often used metaphorical construction of the ČSSD. Taken together, the Social Democrats have a similar

pro-European position on the European finality as the Christian Democrats. At the same time, the ČSSD does not imagine the EU's finality in terms of a state-like entity as often as the KDU-ČSL and does not reject the construction of the EU on the basis of a loose group of states as frequently as the Christian Democrats do. Nevertheless, the position of the party towards the issue can still be regarded as pro-European.

Table 3. CSSD: Conceptual metaphors according to their distribution (%)

	Dominant	Important	Occasional	Rejected
2004				
EQUILIBRIUM			18	4
CONTAINER		29		2
MOTION	45			2
2009				
EQUILIBRIUM			16	6
CONTAINER		24		4
MOTION	49			
2014				
EQUILIBRIUM			12	8
CONTAINER		21		2
MOTION	56			2
2004–2014				
N = 150	**Dominant**	**Important**	**Occasional**	**Rejected**
EQUILIBRIUM			15	6
CONTAINER		25		3
MOTION	50			1

Again, the cross-temporal analysis demonstrates that the Social Democrats are consistent with respect to their use of conceptual metaphors over time. The relative frequency of the MOTION metaphor classifies it as a 'dominant metaphor' in their discourse in all three election years. Its importance increased from 45% in 2004 to 56% in 2014. Thus, over the studied time period the party intensified its metaphorical representation of the EU as being characterized by a never-ending process of permanent internal change that is just short of a creation of a single European state. In addition, CONTAINER is consistently the second most frequently used metaphor by them in all three election years, but its relative frequency decreased from 29% in 2004 to 21% in 2014. This signals that in the ČSSD's discourse, the metaphorical construction of the EU as a state-like entity is on the decline, and this vision of the

EU's finality gains less prominence. During the period under investigation, the party also slightly increased in its refusal of EQUILIBRIUM, whose relative frequency as a 'rejected' metaphor increased from 4% in 2004 to 8% in 2014. In sum, in its view, the main metaphorical representation of the European finality remains and even increases on the basis of the MOTION metaphor representing the status quo, while the importance of the radically pro-EU and state-like CONTAINER as well as the anti-EU EQUILIBRIUM decreases over time.

Table 4 illustrates the relative frequency with which the conceptual metaphors appeared in the election manifestos of the Civic Democratic Party, which is significantly different from the two previous parties in this regard. In the discourse of the ODS, the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor clearly plays the role of the dominant metaphor (with a relative frequency of 53%). It is followed by the MOTION metaphor (with a relative frequency of 24%), and the CONTAINER metaphor is practically absent from its discourse about the EU's "finalité politique" (with a relative frequency of 2%) and it is also more often rejected than adopted (with a relative frequency of 17%) as a metaphorical construction of the EU's finality. Also, it is significantly more often refused than the other two conceptual metaphors combined (with relative frequencies of 17% and 4%, respectively). In terms of party positions, the Civic Democrats

Table 4. ODS: Conceptual metaphors according to their distribution (%)

	Dominant	Important	Occasional	Rejected
2004				
EQUILIBRIUM	52			2
CONTAINER			3	13
MOTION		26		3
2009				
EQUILIBRIUM	49			
CONTAINER			2	18
MOTION		27		4
2014				
EQUILIBRIUM	57			2
CONTAINER			2	19
MOTION		19		2
2004–2014				
N = 174	Dominant	Important	Occasional	Rejected
EQUILIBRIUM	53			1
CONTAINER			2	17
MOTION		24		3

clearly prefer to build the EU along the lines of a loose group of states that aim to balance their interests between each other in a market-like structure. The second preference of the party is to maintain the status quo epitomized by the use of the MOTION metaphor. In contrast, the party strongly rejects the EU's finality based on federative principles; it does not want the EU to become a single European state. In sum, the ODS is, on the discursive level, a proponent of economic integration but not political integration. In the light of the current state of European integration, its position can be understood to be hard Eurosceptic as it advocates, in terms of its metaphor use, shifting the integration backwards to encompass only economic aspects (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2002).

The diachronic analysis of the ODS's discourse indicates a growing prominence of the EQUILIBRIUM METAPHOR, as well as an increasing rejection of the CONTAINER metaphor. The relative frequency of the MOTION metaphor categorizes it as a 'dominant metaphor' in all three election years. Its relative frequency increased from 52% in 2004 to 57% in 2014. The party therefore intensified its metaphorical construction of the EU on the basis of a loose group of states in a market-like structure. The MOTION metaphor is constantly used as an 'important' metaphor during the analyzed period. But its significance decreased from 26% in 2004 to 19% in 2014, which signals that the Civic Democrats are increasingly skeptical about the current state of the European integration process. By contrast, the ODS gradually more often refused the CONTAINER metaphorical representation of the European finality. The relative frequency of CONTAINER as a 'rejected' metaphor increased from 13% in 2004 to 19% in 2014. Therefore, over time the party moved towards a more Eurosceptic position advocating the shifting of European integration back to its state before the Maastricht Treaty, and was ever more skeptical towards the status quo represented by the EU.

Finally, Table 5 reveals that in the election manifestos of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor is the most widespread (with a relative frequency of 46%), followed by MOTION (with a relative frequency of 28%). The CONTAINER metaphor is its least often accepted metaphorical construction of the European finality (with a relative frequency of 13%). At the same time, the Communists reject portrayals of the EU's "finalité politique" in terms of the CONTAINER metaphor and, similarly to the Civic Democrats, they reject this conceptual metaphor more often than the other two conceptual metaphors combined (with relative frequencies of 8% and 5%, respectively). Thus, the position of the party on the European finality is characterized by a preference of the EU as a loose group of states that seek to establish a balance between one another. The alternative vision is to maintain the status quo and construct the EU in terms of a never-ending process of permanent internal change which, however, does not lead to the creation of a single European state along federal principles. This is an outcome that the party

rejects, at least as far as its metaphorical representations of the EU's finality are concerned. Essentially, in the light of the current state of European integration the KSČM has a very similar Eurosceptic position as the ODS since it prefers the EU as a loose group of states and as such it favors economic integration (and hence even a shift of the integration process backwards) but refuses political integration. At the same time, its position is less Eurosceptic given that it does not reject the CONTAINER metaphor as often as the ODS, and constructs the EU in terms of EQUILIBRIUM less often and metaphorically represents it in terms of the MOTION metaphor more often than Civic Democrats.

Table 5. KSČM: Conceptual metaphors according to their distribution (%)

	Dominant	Important	Occasional	Rejected
2004				
EQUILIBRIUM	41			3
CONTAINER			21	5
MOTION		28		3
2009				
EQUILIBRIUM	45			
CONTAINER			13	8
MOTION		30		5
2014				
EQUILIBRIUM	51			2
CONTAINER			7	10
MOTION		27		2
2004–2014				
N = 120	Dominant	Important	Occasional	Rejected
EQUILIBRIUM	46			2
CONTAINER			13	8
MOTION		28		3

The cross-temporal analysis of the KSČM's discourse on the EU's "finalité politique" shows that it is gradually more characterized by the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor and decreasingly less symbolized by the CONTAINER metaphor. EQUILIBRIUM was the 'dominant' metaphor for the party in all three elections years and its relative frequency increased from 41% in 2004 to 51% in 2014. On the other hand, the Communists used the CONTAINER metaphor gradually less often (its relative frequency decreased from 21% in 2004 to just 7% in 2014). The CONTAINER metaphor in their discourse as their vision of the EU is increasingly contested as its relative

frequency as a 'rejected' metaphor increased from 5% in 2004 to 10% in 2014. The MOTION metaphor is constantly used during the analyzed period by the party with a relative frequency of around 27% and it has been classified as 'important' in each election year. The diachronic analysis points out that the Communists are, by and large, consistent in their use of the conceptual metaphors over time. The party is moving towards a more Eurosceptic position epitomized by its more frequent use of the EQUILIBRIUM construction of the EU's finality, which refers to a loose group of states in a market-like structure. This is also underlined by its increasing rejection of the EU as a state-like entity, which is embodied in the decreasing prominence and more common refusal of the CONTAINER metaphor in its discourse.

5.   Discussion

The analysis of variation of metaphors of the EU's "finalité politique" in the discourse of selected Czech political parties helps us understand their conceptualizations of the desired form of European integration. It permits us to peep into the conceptual toolboxes of these parties to determine the conceptual metaphors each of them utilize when portraying, be it positively or negatively, the EU's finality. It also permits us to examine the variation of metaphors across individual parties and hence uncover differences in the parties' conceptual toolboxes. We deem this approach fruitful since the metaphors people (and political parties) use when speaking about the EU reflect their understanding and cognitive structures of it. By analyzing variations in the metaphors political parties use, we can move beyond the level of their (strategic) behavior to the level of discursive and cognitive structures. This provides us with an alternative technique of revealing their attitudes towards the EU. The three theory-derived conceptual metaphors provide a useful starting point for a theoretically informed analysis of the political discourse and, consequently, the party positions on the EU's finality. Each of the three conceptual metaphors proposed in this paper captures a different conceptualization of the final form of European integration and thus the variation in their use signals different preferences regarding EU finality.

The MOTION conceptual metaphor helps us comprehend the EU in terms of a never-ending transformation process of permanent internal change and why it is so often characterized by hybrid, Sui generis or even self-contradicting labels. This conceptual metaphor also most closely captures the current status quo in the EU, which is characterized by the building, on the basis of the Community method, of an 'ever closer union' that is just short of a federative state-like nature. On the other hand, the metaphors of CONTAINER and EQUILIBRIUM refer to the conceptualizations of the EU that are qualitatively different from the current EU's institutional

form and maybe even too radical to be acceptable at the present time (Drulák and Beneš 2015: 549). As such, they provide a leeway for the most likely expected direction of the change of the EU's finality if the status quo fails (Drulák 2006: 521). While the CONTAINER metaphor implies state-like features for the EU and could be too radical for being too federalist, the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor implies the primacy of sovereign member states, which could be too radical for being too intergovernmental and even nationalist.

As these three metaphorical conceptualizations of the EU's finality are markedly different, the analysis of their variation, the frequency of their use and/or its positive or negative appraisal by political parties provides a useful method to classify and differentiate political party attitudes regarding the EU's "finalité politique". With respect to the political parties' debate on the future of the EU, the empirical results of the analysis, as presented above, bring several tentative conclusions. On the aggregate level, the party discourse about the EU's finality mainly relies on the three conceptual metaphors in the following descending order: MOTION, EQUILIBRIUM, and CONTAINER. This means that at this level of analysis, the most frequent metaphorical construction of the EU's finality adheres to and promotes the contemporary status quo that makes us understand and construct the EU as being fluid and whose main feature is constant change. The blueprint for the most likely direction of EU change advocated by Czech political parties is provided by the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor. This metaphor is rooted in the intergovernmentalist logic which perceives the sovereign member states as primary actors. It is highly skeptical of the current nature of European integration and advocates shifting the integration backwards to encompass economic but not political integration. Lumped together, Czech political parties are not keen to construct the EU as a CONTAINER with a federative, state-like character. This metaphor is also the most often rejected metaphorical representation of the EU's finality.

However, the results at the aggregate level can only speak of the general party discourse about the EU's finality and therefore, they hide important differences in terms of metaphor variation among parties and their related specific positions towards EU finality. There are, indeed, clear differences between the analyzed political parties in terms of metaphor variation. The most Euro-enthusiastic position on the EU's finality is taken by the Christian Democratic Party, which uses the MOTION and CONTAINER metaphors with similar frequencies. While these two metaphors clearly dominate its discourse, the party is skeptical towards the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor and more often rejects this vision of the EU than praises it. The evolution of its discourse points to an increasing prominence of the CONTAINER metaphor and a decrease in their use of the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor. For the KDU-ČSL the maintenance of the status quo is therefore the primary construction of the EU, but the most likely direction of change is along the state-like CONTAINER metaphor. In

contrast, the party is not keen to picture the EU as an EQUILIBRIUM and rejects the intergovernmentalist vision of it.

The discourse of the ČSSD is characterized by similarly positive attitudes towards the EU's finality. The party clearly uses the MOTION metaphor most frequently to construct the EU. In this case, an alternative metaphorical construction of the EU is embodied by the CONTAINER metaphor, and the Social Democrats are skeptical towards the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor, which is often rejected by them. The evolution of their discourse hints at an increase in their use of the MOTION metaphor and their decreasing use of the CONTAINER and EQUILIBRIUM metaphors. The ČSSD thus clearly advocates maintaining the status quo of building an 'ever closer union' short of federative characteristics, and the most feasible direction of change in its view is towards a single European state, which is epitomized by their frequent use of the CONTAINER metaphor. Similarly to the KDU-ČSL, the Social Democrats refuse the construction of an intergovernmental EU as an EQUILIBRIUM.

The Communists and the Civic Democrats both have similarly Eurosceptic stances towards the EU's "finalité politique". The intergovernmental perspective of the EU, epitomized by the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor, is dominant and deeply rooted in their discourse about the EU's future. In this case, an alternative metaphorical construction of the EU is embodied by the MOTION metaphor. Importantly, both parties tend to avoid any metaphorical vocabulary that gives the EU state-like qualities: the CONTAINER metaphor is thus clearly the least used by them. The ODS even rejects this vision of the EU more often than praises it. This can be construed as a deeply lukewarm attitude towards the federalization of Europe. The evolution of the two parties' discourses over time also points to their increasing use of the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor and a decrease in their use of the CONTAINER metaphor, which is especially visible in the case of the KSČM. For both parties the main desired vision of the EU's future tends to be along the lines of intergovernmental groups of states. The alternative to this primary metaphorical construction of the EU is to maintain the status quo. Neither party prefers the construction of the EU as a CONTAINER. Rather they are opposed to an EU that would be like a single European state built along federative principles. In fact, the only difference between the two parties in this respect is that the ODS is even less comfortable with, and more often rejects, the CONTAINER metaphor and more often advocates the EQUILIBRIUM metaphor than the KSČM. They both embrace the MOTION metaphor that embodies the EU's status quo of a permanent transformation with relatively the same frequency.

Taken as a whole, our analysis of metaphor variation in the Czech party discourse points to the following classification of Czech political parties' attitudes towards the EU's "finalité politique" (see Table 6): the most Euro-enthusiastic is the KDU-ČSL, followed by the ČSSD, and on the other side of the spectrum is the

rather Eurosceptic KSČM and the most Eurosceptic ODS. The findings from the empirical analysis not only fit in with but also complement previous research on attitudes of Czech political parties towards the EU. Havlík (2011) has put together the most comprehensive mapping of Czech parties' stances towards the EU to date on the basis of three clusters: (1) Euro-supporter parties – e.g. the ČSSD and the KDU-ČSL, (2) Euro-critical parties exhibiting skepticism towards some aspects of European integration – e.g. the ODS, and (3) a Euro-negative party – the KSČM. This classification groups together parties' stances towards both the political and the economic dimension of European integration, including its various policies. We complement this classification by categorizing parties on the basis of the variation of metaphors they use and their related stances towards one single aspect of European integration – the EU's "finalité politique". If we contrast these two classifications, one can observe an incongruence in that the KSČM is no longer the most Eurosceptic established Czech political party, and this position is instead taken by the ODS. It may be the case that the ODS has a more positive position towards the economic dimension of European integration and/or various policies, which compensates for its negative stance towards political integration. When both dimensions are combined, as in the quoted project of Havlík (2011), then the ODS has a less Eurosceptic position than the Communists.

Table 6. Stances of Czech political parties on the EU's "finalité politique"

Euro-optimist Single European state	Status-quo Continuous internal change	Eurosceptic Intergovernmental group of states
KDU-ČSL		
	ČSSD	
		KSČM
		ODS

6. Conclusion

The analysis of variation of metaphors provides an alternative and useful technique for revealing party positions on the EU and its policies which may serve as a complementary tool to classify party attitudes towards European integration. One of the main advantages of this technique is that it allows for going beyond parties' strategic behavior to the level of discursive and cognitive structures. We have applied the method and analyzed metaphor variation in the discourse on the EU's finality but it may be just as well employed to studies of individual policies, such as inter alia, the agricultural, foreign, employment or macroeconomic policy. Research on

party attitudes is important given that political parties are able to influence voter opinions rather than following public opinion on questions of European integration (Hellstrom 2008). Moreover, Chaban, Stats, and Bain (2006) emphasize that the use of conceptual metaphors and their variation by political actors is able to influence the audience's awareness of, and attitudes toward, concrete specific conceptual domains. Because of the distance of the EU from citizens, and their somewhat fuzzy preferences regarding EU issues, many voters would seem to take 'cues' on European integration matters from the parties they happen to support for other reasons (Lord 2010). Against this background, the investigation of the construction of cognitive and discursive structures regarding EU issues and their variation by political parties is an important exercise that enables us to subsequently understand the related public opinion and gain a cognitive understanding of these issues.

Finally, some potential caveats are in order. The sample only includes four established Czech political parties and it should thus have a high internal validity but a potentially low external validity. The sample is not big enough to adequately represent the Czech political party landscape as such, yet it is significant in terms of representing the core of the Czech party system. Therefore, it cannot speak for the general Czech political party discourse about the EU's finality but only for an important segment of it. Moreover, the results only inform us about the discursive preconditions of the EU structure and its potential for change without involving non-discursive elements. Given these caveats, these conclusions should not be overestimated, but they should not be discarded either. Finally, since the conclusions partly confirm but also depart from and complement the results of previous research, scholars could engage in testing them in future research that would apply the framework in other party contexts.

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Variation in methods for studying political metaphor

Comparing experiments and discourse analysis

Paul H. Thibodeau, James Fleming and Maya Lannen

This chapter explores methodological variation in the study of political metaphor, focusing on a comparison of two approaches: the Critical Discourse Approach (CDA) and experiments (the Response Elicitation Approach; REA). What kinds of political metaphors have been investigated on the two approaches and what insights have these studies revealed? What are the strengths and limitations of each approach? As cognitive psychologists, we have more experience with experiments, and our discussion is grounded in an exposition of the logic and mechanics of experimental design. But we advocate for methodological pluralism because understanding political metaphor is a multifaceted, interdisciplinary endeavor. Some research questions are better addressed through discourse analysis; others are better addressed with experiments; scholars should use the method that is best suited to addressing their research question.

Keywords: metaphor, discourse analysis, research methods, psychology

1. Introduction

Variation is at the heart of political metaphor. This chapter is about variation in two common methods for studying political metaphor. Most of the chapters in this book use a Critical Discourse Approach (CDA; Fairclough 2013; Musolff 2016). With CDA, patterns of real world discourse are identified, quantified, and interpreted to address research questions about political metaphor. One alternative to CDA uses experiments (e.g., Hauser & Schwarz 2015; Landau, Sullivan & Greenberg 2009; Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2013). In a typical experiment on political metaphor, naïve participants read and respond to carefully designed stimuli in a controlled setting. Participants' behavioral responses are analyzed to address psychological questions about how people process metaphors and use them to think. This method has been called the Response Elicitation Approach (REA; Boeynaems, Burgers, Konjin & Steen 2017).

In our own work, we primarily use experimental (REA) methods, which means that most of the analyses presented in this book are novel terrain for us. In this chapter we reflect on the relationship between experimental and discourse-based approaches to investigating political metaphor. We start by reviewing a recent study of the similarities and differences of CDA and REA methods (Boeynaems et al., 2017). Boeynaems et al. (2017) compare the types of metaphors that have been investigated and the findings that have been revealed by the two methodological approaches. One of our goals is to step back to consider how the logic and mechanics of the two approaches give rise to the similarities and differences identified by Boeynaems et al. (2017). Because of our experience with experimental methods, and because experiments feature less prominently in the preceding chapters, our discussion is anchored by an exposition of the logic and mechanics of experiments. In other words, we use the experimental approach as a "source domain" for understanding what is for us the comparably novel "target domain" of the discourse-based method.[1] Then we review some of the concerns and limitations of each approach, noting some of the ways that experiments can inform discourse analysis, and some of the ways that discourse analysis can inform experiments.

2.   An empirical comparison of discourse-based and experimental approaches to studying political metaphor

One way to compare CDA and REA methods for studying political metaphor is through systematic observation of past experiments and discourse analyses. For example, what are the similarities and differences in the types of metaphors that have been investigated with the two methods? What are the similarities and differences in the findings that have been revealed by experiments and discourse analyses?

A recent study carefully contrasted the two methodological approaches in this way (Boeynaems et al., 2017). A premise of the study is that, "Despite their differences, both aim to answer similar questions, namely how metaphorical framing of political issues affects citizens and society at large" (p. 120). As the authors note, if the two approaches have the same fundamental goal, "It is, therefore, important to empirically examine to what extent these different perspectives report converging or diverging results" (p. 120).

Boeynaems et al. (2017) catalogue 109 previous studies of political metaphor (45 CDA and 57 REA studies). They identify similarities and differences in (a) the types of metaphors investigated and (b) the findings revealed by the two approaches (see Table 1).

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1.   Again, it is important for us to acknowledge that we have significantly less experience and expertise with the critical discourse approach. Any mistakes or misunderstandings in how we characterize discourse analysis are our own.

Table 1. Similarities and differences in the types of metaphors investigated and the findings revealed by REA and CDA approaches to studying political metaphor, as identified by Boeynaems et al. (2017)

	Similarities	Differences
Metaphor types	Both focus on WAR metaphors. Both focus on anthropo-morphizing metaphors. Both focus on dehumanizing metaphors.	CDA studies focus on more negatively valenced issues than REA studies. CDA studies focus on more realistic uses of metaphor than REA studies. CDA studies focus on more intense uses of metaphor than REA studies.
Findings	No noteworthy similarities in findings.	CDA studies always reveal an effect of the metaphor; REA studies do not. CDA studies always reveal an effect in line with the frame; REA studies do not. CDA studies reveal bigger effects than REA studies.

First, they compare the types of metaphors that have been investigated with the two methods. They find that WAR metaphors, anthropomorphizing metaphors, and dehumanizing metaphors have been studied extensively on both approaches (see Boeynaems et al., 2017 for examples). In other words, there is similarity in the metaphorical source domains that CDA and REA scholars have investigated with respect to political metaphor.

They also find differences in the types of metaphors that have been investigated: "differences in frame valence, frame fictionality, and frame extremity" (p. 124). Frame valence refers to the emotional connotation of the metaphor. CDA studies have focused primarily on negatively valenced metaphors (e.g., negative: "The *war* on terror"; Bartolucci 2012), whereas REA studies have focused on both negatively and positively valenced metaphors (e.g., positive: "The human immune system is an *army*"; Jansen, Van Nistelrooij, Olislagers, Van Sambeek & De Stadler 2010).

Frame fictionality refers to the extent to which the framed issues, "have oc-curred in real life, and are known by many people" (p. 126). CDA studies focus on real world uses of metaphor in discourse for real world issues. REA studies often test the persuasive influence of metaphors for partially fictional issues – like a crime problem in a fictional city (e.g., Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2011).

Frame extremity refers to how the metaphors are used. Metaphors can be used to express hyperbolic positions, as in "political and social adversaries are parasites" (Musolff 2014), and to frame especially intense events like the 9/11 terror attacks in the United States (Bartolucci 2012). But metaphors can also be used to describe less intense events like employment and tree planting campaigns (e.g., Ahn, Kim & Aggarwal 2014; Robins & Mayer 2000). CDA studies have primarily focused on analyzing the effects of metaphorically framing intense issues. REA studies, on

the other hand, have analyzed the effects of metaphorically framing high-intensity issues, as well as less intense issues.

Second, Boeynaems et al. (2017) compare the results yielded by CDA and REA studies. They find relatively few similarities, concluding that, "differences in reported effects were predominant" (Boeynaems et al. 2017: 127). Whereas discourse analyses always seem to reveal an extreme effect of a metaphor in the predicted direction, the results of experiments are more equivocal: "We noticed differences in effect presence, with all CDA frames being effective, contrary to a part of the REA frames. Furthermore, we saw that CDA effects were always in line with the frame, contrary to REA effects. Finally, we noticed that CDA studies typically reported on effects that were more intense and impactful than REA studies" (Boeynaems et al. 2017: 129). They speculate that some of these differences in findings may be tied to differences in the types of metaphors being investigated (i.e., the emphasis on more extreme, negatively valenced, and realistic metaphors in CDA studies).

Finally, Boeynaems et al. (2017) conclude their study with recommendations for future research. They encourage experimentalists to use "more 'real' and natural language stimuli" (p. 130). They encourage discourse analysts to engage more deeply at the level of the individual, "since language is produced and interpreted in the brain, and the construction of knowledge about social issues thus takes place in the minds of [individual] people" (p. 131). They also recommend studying the time course of metaphor framing effects (e.g., how lasting is the influence of a metaphor frame?) and the boundary conditions of metaphor framing effects (e.g., what factors moderate the persuasive influence of a metaphor?).

We see tremendous value in comparing the two methodological approaches in this way. It is useful to know how scholars have used the two approaches to study political metaphor. We also see wisdom in the recommendations for future research: for experimentalists to investigate more realistic uses of metaphor, for discourse analysts to focus on the individual, and for both approaches to address novel questions about, for example, the time course and boundary conditions of metaphor framing effects.

On the other hand, we also think it is useful to take a step back and reflect on why the two approaches are similar and different. Contrary to a premise of Boeynaems et al. (2017)'s study, that "Despite their differences, both [CDA and REA studies] aim to answer similar questions, namely how metaphorical framing of political issues affects citizens and society at large" (p. 120), we think that the questions being investigated with the two approaches are sometimes fairly different. In turn, there are often good reasons to, for example, use fictional stimuli in experiments and to focus at the societal level in discourse analysis. To put some of these reasons in perspective, we discuss the underlying logic and mechanics of experiments and discourse analysis in the following sections before revisiting Boeynaems et al. (2017)'s findings and recommendations.

3.   The logic and mechanics of an experiment

3.1   The components of an experiment

Experiments are comprised of a hypothesis that can be tested, an independent variable that can be manipulated, a dependent variable that can be measured, and a task that yields data (see Figure 1). An experimental hypothesis is a prediction about a causal relationship between variables. For example, one recent experiment tested the hypothesis that WAR metaphors are useful for highlighting the urgency of a sociopolitical issue like climate change (Flusberg, Matlock & Thibodeau 2017).[2] The researchers tested this hypothesis with a task in which participants read a description of climate change and then rated the urgency of the issue. There were three levels of the independent variable: the description of climate change was infused with WAR metaphors, RACE metaphors, or no metaphors (see Table 2). The researchers manipulated the independent variable by randomly assigning participants to one of the three conditions. The dependent variable, urgency, was measured by asking people to respond to a question with a rating on a 5-point scale: "How urgent is it for the US to implement energy reduction programs right away?" The ratings were analyzed to see whether the experiment confirmed or disconfirmed the hypothesis. In this case, participants in the WAR metaphor condition rated climate change as more urgent than participants in the other conditions, thus confirming the hypothesis.
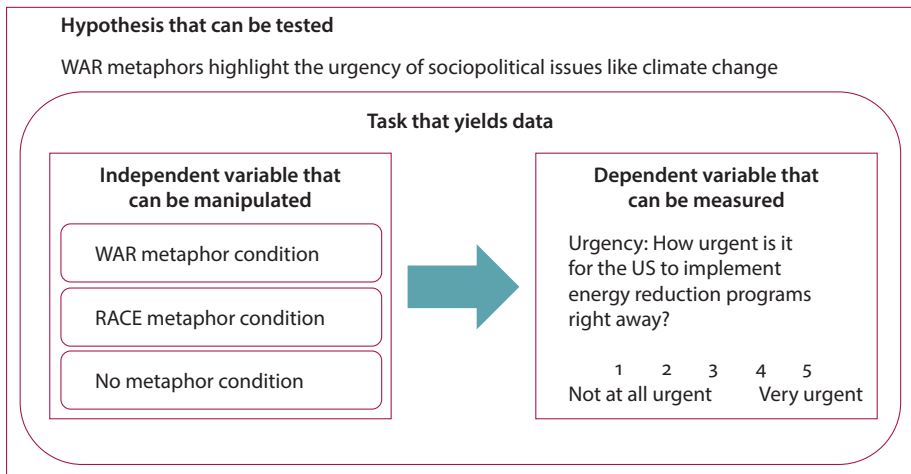
Figure 1. Components of an experiment with examples from a recent experiment on the persuasive influence of metaphor in climate change communications (Flusberg, Matlock & Thibodeau 2017)

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2.   Note that the full details of this experiment are simplified for didactic purposes.

Table 2. Excerpts of stimuli for three framing conditions of a recent experiment on the persuasive influence of metaphor (Flusberg, Matlock & Thibodeau 2017). Italics added to highlight differences between conditions

War condition	"When will Americans start to *combat* excessive energy use and *kill* the problems related to air pollution and the destruction of natural resources?"
Race condition	"When will Americans *go after* excessive energy use and *surge ahead* on problems related to air pollution and the destruction of natural resources?"
No metaphor condition	"When will Americans start to *address* excessive energy use and *resolve* the problems related to air pollution and the destruction of natural resources?"

3.2   Experimental choices

The validity of an experimental finding hinges on choices made by experimenters and the logic of experimental designs, and choices involve trade-offs. In this experiment, choices were made about how to operationalize the independent variable, how to measure the dependent variable, and how to design the task. For example, the researchers chose the three levels of the independent variable: WAR metaphor condition, RACE metaphor condition, and no metaphor condition. This choice affects the types of inferences that can be drawn from the study. It would be a mistake to infer that WAR metaphors are the *most* effective way to elicit a sense of urgency about climate change because the experiment only contrasted three conditions.

The researchers also chose how to operationalize each of the three levels of the independent variable. The stimuli were inspired by real-world discourse. Newspapers and magazines often use WAR metaphors in headlines and articles about climate change, as in: "We don't need a 'war' on climate change, we need a revolution" (Godoy & Jaffe 2016). They also use RACE metaphors, as in: "In race against climate change, innovations to this ingredient could determine the future of brewing" (Nurlin 2016). However, the text that was used in the study was written by the researchers. And it was written so that the paragraphs expressed parallel information (i.e. they were written so that the only difference between the paragraphs was in the metaphors). In the real world, there may be a tendency to use WAR metaphors to frame one aspect of climate change and RACE metaphors to frame another aspect of climate change. Thus, the way the paragraphs were written and how the metaphors were used represent choices that affect the generalizability of the results. It would be a mistake to infer that WAR metaphors *always* lead people to feel a sense of urgency about the issue they are used to describe because WAR metaphors can be used in many different ways.

Finally, the researchers chose how to design the task and how to measure urgency. It is, of course, possible to measure perceptions of urgency in different ways – with a different question than the one asked in the experiment or by measuring

a different behavior altogether. The researchers could have asked participants to make a charitable donation to a conservation effort. Maybe participants would be more likely to donate after reading about the WAR on climate change compared to the RACE against climate change. That would be a different way to measure urgency – and it would license different inferences (about urgency defined in terms of charitable giving rather than a rating).

3.3   Experimental obligations

Experiments also make certain demands of the researcher. First, they require that the researcher describe and justify the choices that they make. In the study above, the researchers explain why they compared a WAR metaphor condition to a RACE metaphor condition and a no metaphor condition: to see whether the urgency elicited by the WAR metaphors was the result of WAR metaphors *per se* or the result of using metaphoric language in general. If more urgency had been elicited by the WAR and RACE metaphors compared to the no metaphor condition, it might suggest that metaphors, in general, tend to elicit more urgency (or engagement) than non-metaphoric language. However, the experiment found that WAR metaphors elicited more urgency than RACE metaphors, suggesting that there is something particular about WAR metaphors that elicit a sense of urgency.

Second, experiments require that hypotheses are falsifiable – that the task could yield data that disconfirms the prediction. The hypothesis that WAR metaphors elicit more urgency than RACE metaphors in a description of climate change is falsifiable because the experiment could have yielded the opposite result: ratings of urgency could have been higher in the RACE metaphor condition.

Third, experiments require that the hypothesis be specified before data is collected. A hypothesis is a prediction about the future, given a specific set of conditions. Ideally, once a falsifiable hypothesis is specified and an experiment is designed, the researcher's hands are tied. The data are prioritized over the goals of the experimenter. When a prediction is confirmed with an experiment, we gain confidence about the causal relationship between variables. We gain confidence that the prediction will come true again in the future, given a similar set of conditions.

In this way, experimentally confirmed predictions are different from post hoc explanations. A post hoc explanation is an attempt to describe a relationship between variables from data, omitting the step of making and testing a prediction. In turn, the predictive value of post hoc explanations is less clear. For example, maybe there is a correlation between the use of WAR metaphors to describe climate change and feelings of urgency about climate change (e.g., maybe people who are passionate about the issue tend to use WAR metaphors to describe it). If this were the case, it would be hard to know whether WAR metaphors are a cause or a

symptom of urgency. That is, maybe WAR metaphors cause people feel that climate change is an urgent issue; or maybe the feeling that climate change is an urgent issue causes people to use WAR metaphors (or both). Experiments involve manipulating one variable and measuring another in order to test a prediction about the causal relationship between the variables. Specifying the prediction in advance makes the data more informative.

3.4   Summary

In sum, experiments involve choices and trade-offs. On the one hand, they give control to the experimenter to create an artificial environment in order to test causal relationships between variables. On the other hand, they take control away from experimenters – also in the service of testing causal relationships between variables. Experimenters control the hypothesis they test, the way that the variables are defined and manipulated, and the task used to measure them. But they do not have control over the outcome of the data. Experiments are designed so that objective measurements, taken under specified conditions, can be made by anyone.

These choices and trade-offs affect the inferences that can be made from experiments. They enable researchers to draw conclusions about causal relationships between variables under specific conditions. For example, WAR metaphors (operationalized in a particular way) cause people to feel more urgency about climate change than RACE metaphors (in at least some circumstances). As evidenced by the parentheticals in the previous sentence, experiments are also limiting. Based on the results of the experiment described, we can make a prediction about how people will respond to a description of climate change infused with WAR metaphors (with a sense of urgency) – but it can be hard to know the extent to which the results of a controlled experiment generalize to the real world. That is, it can be hard to know about the external validity of an experiment. We return to this issue later in the chapter.

4.   The logic and mechanics of discourse analysis

4.1   Similarities to experiments

Discourse analysis is similar to and different from the experimental method. The components of a discourse analysis are similar to those of an experiment: a hypothesis/question, an independent variable, a dependent variable, and a task/situation that yields data.

Like experimenters, discourse analysts make decisions about what questions to investigate and how to measure variables. Table 3 shows the questions investigated in the chapters of this book. For example, Ahrens (Chapter 1) investigates whether the role of a political actor (independent variable) affects their rhetorical style (dependent variable) – by quantifying the use of WAR metaphors in speeches given by Hillary Clinton from 1992 to 2008, during which time Hillary Clinton was the first lady of the United States, a senator, and a presidential candidate. Similarly, Vogiatzis (Chapter 5) investigates a set of questions related to how positive and negative metaphors are used as framing devices to describe difficult sociopolitical situations – by focusing on five major speeches given by the Prime Minister of Greece in 2010–2011. The decisions in these discourse analyses have to be explained and justified, just as they would in an experiment, so that other researchers can evaluate the findings and, if they choose, replicate or extend the results.

Table 3. Research questions explored in this book

Chapter	Research question
(1) Ahrens	Does the role of a political actor affect their rhetorical style?
(2) Heyvaert	Does the political stability of a country affect the prevalence of deliberate metaphors?
(3) Borcic & Culo	How do politicians use metaphors of personification to construct their public image as a leader?
(4) Fenton-Smith	How do politicians use certain metaphor scenarios (leadership as direction, conflict, foundation, hard work) to describe leadership takeovers?
(5) Vogiatzis	How do politicians use positive and negative metaphors to frame difficult sociopolitical situations?
(6) Ströbel	How do candidates for political office use sensorimotor-based concepts to persuade and influence the general public?
(7) Kovář	What do patterns of conceptual metaphor usage reveal about a political party's position about an issue like EU finality?

As with experiments, the choices made in the process of conducting discourse analysis affect the inferences that can be drawn from the study. Ahrens finds systematic variation in Hillary Clinton's use of WAR metaphors that corresponds to the public roles Clinton served in her political career. This suggests that a person's political role affects their rhetorical style. However, additional research is needed to test whether the specific patterns for Clinton generalize to other political actors. Vogiatzis finds that the Prime Minister of Greece extensively used positively valenced metaphors to frame the austere economic policies that the country was forced to adopt, suggesting an important role for metaphor in establishing the emotional tone of a

message. Again, however, additional research is needed to test whether the specific patterns found in this analysis generalize to other political leaders talking about other challenging sociopolitical situations.

Finally, the process of investigating research questions in discourse analysis shares some similarities with hypothesis testing in experiments. Hypotheses (or exploratory research questions) guide decisions about data collection on both methodological approaches. For example, Ahrens develops and analyzes a corpus of speeches given by Hillary Clinton to test a hypothesis about the relationship between *political role* and *rhetorical style*. Similarly, Vogiatzis collects and analyzes a particular set of speeches given by the Greek Prime Minister in 2010–2011 to explore how metaphors are used to frame unpopular economic policies.

4.2   Differences from experiments

There are also important differences between the experimental approach and the discourse-based approach. First, there are subtle differences in the components of the two approaches and the choices that researchers make. The "task" that yields data for discourse analysis is different from an experimental task. In an experiment, the researcher creates a controlled environment to isolate the relationship between the variables of interest (e.g., read one of three descriptions of climate change and rate urgency in an online survey). The independent variable is manipulated, and the dependent variable is measured.

With discourse analysis, the researcher finds creative ways to isolate the relationships between variables by focusing on specific types of real-world situations: situations in which the independent variable changes naturally and the dependent variable can be measured (e.g., Charteris-Black 2011; Fairclough 2013; Musolff 2016). For example, Ahrens focuses on speeches given by Hillary Clinton at different points in her career to operationalize *political role*; and analyzes the content of those speeches to measure *rhetorical style*. Similarly, Vogiatzis focuses on speeches given by the Greek Prime Minister about a specific topic – the financial crisis – and analyzes the content of those speeches to measure the use of positive and negative metaphors. In both of these examples, patterns between variables are revealed by choosing the situation from which the data are analyzed, rather than by manipulating one variable and measuring another.

Second, there are differences in how hypotheses are investigated on the two approaches. Experimental tasks are tailored to the hypotheses they are designed to test. Experimenters can tweak and rerun experiments to collect new data. If one experiment yields a surprising result, then a new hypothesis can be specified, a new task can be designed, and a follow-up experiment can be carried out. With

discourse analysis, hypothesis testing is more constrained. We can replicate the analysis of Hillary Clinton's speeches from 1992 to 2008, but not the conditions that yield the data (i.e., we cannot go back in time and have Clinton give new speeches). As a result, there are also differences in the types of hypotheses and research questions that can be investigated on the two approaches. Experiments are better suited to testing causal relationships between variables in a controlled setting. Discourse analysis is better suited to identifying and characterizing relationships between variables in the real world.

Third, the methods often engage at different levels of analysis. Experiments typically focus at the level of the individual (e.g., how do individuals process metaphors and use them to think?). Discourse analyses often focus at a more collective or societal level (e.g., how does a political leader's rhetorical style affect their popularity and ability to enact a political agenda in a country?).

Fourth, there tend to be differences in how data are analyzed on the two approaches, and, in turn, the types of knowledge they produce. Experiments are typically designed to yield quantitative data that are analyzed with statistical tests. In the experiment described earlier, the researchers found that reading a description of climate change infused with WAR metaphors elicited a greater sense of urgency ($M = 4.34$, $SD = 0.99$) than a description of climate change infused with RACE metaphors ($M = 4.25$, $SD = 0.95$), t (2182) = 1.98, $p = .048$. In this case, the statistical analysis tells us is that there is a 4.8% chance that the result is a "false positive" (i.e. that WAR and RACE metaphors actually elicit similar levels of urgency, even though the study found that WAR metaphors elicit more). Note that 4.8% is unlikely, but possible. In this way, the inference that WAR metaphors, compared to RACE metaphors, *cause* people to feel a greater sense of urgency about climate change is probabilistic. It is licensed by the logic of the experimental design – that the only difference between the WAR and RACE conditions was in the metaphors – and the statistical analysis.

Discourse analysis can involve quantitative measurement and statistical analysis – as Ahrens's and Vogiatzis's chapters show. However, they often involve analyzing qualitative patterns of language use. For example, Fenton-Smith (Chapter 4) discusses the role of four metaphor scenarios (LEADERSHIP as DIRECTION, as CONFLICT, as FOUNDATION, and as HARD WORK) in party leadership takeover speeches. Discussion of these metaphor scenarios and inferences about the roles that they play in party leadership takeover speeches are supported with examples from a corpus. Such descriptions of qualitative patterns of language use yield a different kind of knowledge than is produced by experiments. This type of knowledge is not inherently better or worse than the knowledge produced by experiments, but it is different.

Differences in the types of knowledge produced by the approaches, in some cases, reflect different epistemological commitments of the two approaches. Epistemology is the philosophical study of knowledge: What is it? How do we attain it? What human capacities make knowledge possible? (Amundson 1985). Experimentalists are largely positive empiricists, viewing knowledge as something that can be gained through systematic observation – by asking the right questions and taking valid measurements. This is why experimentalists create controlled environments to measure variables, why they emphasize hypothesis testing, and why they describe knowledge as probabilistic. A different epistemological commitment underlies at least some discourse analysis: a social constructivist view, in which knowledge is constructed and maintained through social practice. On this view, the value of knowledge comes from its applicability, usefulness, and clarity (Potter 1996). This is one reason why discourse analyses emphasize the real world, rather than controlled settings, as a source of data, and why discourse analyses often involve greater discussion of qualitative patterns of language use, rather than quantitative measurement and statistical tests.

4.3   Summary

There is a similarity in the components, logic, and mechanics of the experiments and discourse analysis. In both, researchers find ways to isolate and make inferences about the relationships between variables through systematic observation.

On the other hand, the two approaches often ask different types of research questions, find different ways to isolate and make inferences about the relationships between variables, and, in turn, produce different types of knowledge, which are grounded in different epistemological commitments and focused at a different level of analysis. Experimenters typically ask targeted questions about causal relationships between variables that can be manipulated and measured in a controlled environment with individuals. Discourse analysts often ask questions about relationships between variables in society at large that can be observed in a naturalistic setting.

5.   A return to empirical similarities and differences

Thinking through the underlying logic and mechanics of experiments and discourse analysis can help contextualize the empirical similarities and differences of the two approaches, as identified by Boeynaems et al. (2017). For example, both approaches have investigated WAR metaphors, humanizing metaphors, and dehumanizing metaphors because these metaphors are pervasive in political discourse

(Flusberg, Matlock & Thibodeau 2018; Gibbs 1994; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Musolff 2016). That is, both approaches are informed by real world patterns of language use.

Differences in the fictionality of the metaphors that have been investigated with the two approaches can be attributed to differences in the goals and logic of the two approaches. The goal of discourse analysis is to understand real world patterns of language use (i.e. to study realistic uses of metaphor). Experiments, on the other hand, aim to isolate relationships between variables in a controlled setting. They are fictional by design. For example, in the experiment described earlier, the researchers tested whether WAR metaphors elicit more urgency than RACE metaphors with carefully constructed paragraphs that were designed to express parallel information (i.e. to differ only in metaphoric language). The WAR metaphor condition could have been more hyperbolic as well. That would make it more realistic. But then it would be hard to know whether a difference in urgency between the conditions resulted from using WAR metaphors *per se* or from the use of hyperbole (or a combination of the two factors). In this sense, the real world applications of the experiment are secondary. The primary goal is to address a psychological question about how people process and interpret different metaphors for climate change. Using fictional stimuli in experiments reduces the potential influence of confounding variables.

The ability to create fictional stimuli allows experimentalists to explore a wide range of metaphors (both more and less extreme; both positively and negatively valenced). Discourse analyses have focused on more extreme and negatively valenced metaphors because these are some of the most interesting and influential real world instances of political metaphor.

The goals and methods of the two approaches also provide a context for thinking about why they yield different results. Experiments are designed to test specific hypotheses and to produce probabilistic knowledge. The observation that experiments sometimes find surprising results is heartwarming to experimenters – it's a feature, not a bug. Sometimes experiments yield surprising results for the same reason that a fair coin will, on rare occasion, land heads up ten times in a row (that is just how probability works). Other times experiments yield surprising results because the hypothesis was wrong. In this way, surprising results help researchers refine their theories – they help us gain new knowledge. If every experiment simply confirmed the prediction of the experimenter, how would we ever learn anything new? Indeed, an experimentalist might be cautious about the method of discourse analysis because the results seem to be too good to be true (Casasanto 2009; Keysar & Bly 1995; McGlone 2011).

Discourse analyses, on the other hand, are often designed to show and explain why a real-world event unfolded the way that it did: how, for example, patterns of

metaphor use change as a political actor takes on different roles; how a political leader uses metaphor to set an emotional tone to explain an unpopular policy or a dramatic transition of power. This is why the results of discourse analysis tend to find stronger, more consistent effects than experiments. The situations and patterns of metaphors investigated with discourse analysis are chosen deliberately – because they reveal something interesting about the relationship between metaphor, politics, and society.

Of note, we have encountered a number discourse analyses that highlight failed uses of political metaphor. For example, Musolff (2016) shows how political metaphors can have dramatic, unintended effects. In 1991, British Prime Minister J. Major proclaimed that Britain would, "work 'at the very heart of Europe'" (p. 40; originally from *The Guardian*, 12 March 1991). The metaphor implies that it is good to be at the center of a decision-making body, and that it is possible for Britain to be at the center of the European Union. However, this phrase was turned against its original intended meaning – because many Britons thought it would be impossible or impractical for Briton to serve a central role in the EU. Indeed, many Britons thought it could be harmful – it could cause a "coronary" (p. 43, Musolff 2016; originally from the *Economist*, 26 September 1992).

In sum, it is important to acknowledge that the research questions, methods, and types of knowledge produced by experiments and discourse analysis are similar in some ways and different in others. Simply comparing the metaphors investigated on and results produced by the two approaches can obscure fundamental similarities and differences in the underlying goals, logic, and mechanics of the methods.

6.   Limitations of experiments and discourse analysis: A crossroads, with avenues for future research

Concerns have been raised about experimental and discourse-based approaches to studying political metaphor. In some cases, the limitations of the two approaches complement one another. For example, a major critique of experiments is that they are overly reductionist (e.g., Boeynaems et al. 2017; Charteris-Black 2011). Experiments are designed to test causal relationships between variables by manipulating one and measuring another. And in order to manipulate and measure variables, experimenters have to use controlled (artificial) tasks. This limits the types of questions that can be addressed with experiments, and it raises questions about the generalizability (external validity) of the results produced by experiments. For example, it is not clear to what extent WAR metaphors in actual news articles about climate change affect perceptions of the urgency of climate change in the real

world. We can make a prediction based on the results of an experiment, but the knowledge that we gain from an experiment is necessarily limited.

On the other hand, a major critique of discourse analysis is that it is not reductionist enough (e.g., Casasanto 2009; McGlone 2011). Discourse analysis relies on real world patterns of language use. It is a correlational method. The analyst finds natural variation in one variable and measures another to see if the two are related. This raises questions about the nature of the relationship between the variables: X could cause Y; Y could cause X; or Z could cause X and Y. For example, Ahrens' finds that Hillary Clinton's *political role* is correlated with aspects of her *rhetorical style*. But it is unclear whether changes in Clinton's *political role* cause differences in her *rhetorical style* based on the data we have – because there are a lot of confounding variables. In addition to changing political roles between 1992 and 2008, Clinton got older, the US engaged in a literal war on terror, and there were dramatic changes in the social, political, and cultural context of the United States. It is hard to draw inferences about causal relationships between variables with correlational methods.

We agree that these two critiques are valid; however, we do not find them particularly concerning. Partly this is because what is framed as a limitation of the experimental approach is a strength of discourse analysis (and vice versa). More importantly though, we believe that research questions should guide the methodological choices that researchers make. Basic psychological questions about how people interpret metaphors, produce metaphors, and use metaphors to think are well suited to test with experimental methods. Psychological experiments inform psychological theories; and psychological theories have a proven track record of producing useful knowledge (e.g., Kahneman 2011). Nuanced questions about real world political rhetoric are well suited to discourse analysis. Such analyses inform theories at the intersection of politics, culture, language, and society writ large; and these theories also have a proven track record of producing useful knowledge (e.g., Charteris-Black 2011; Gibbs 1994; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Musolff 2016).

There are, of course, opportunities to use experiments to test insights gained through discourse analysis. Indeed, a number of experiment ideas emerge from the analyses presented in this book. For example, do interpretations of political metaphors vary as a function of the speaker's political role? An experiment could manipulate the supposed source of a speech (e.g., "Hillary Clinton said this when she was first lady vs. a senator vs. a presidential candidate") and measure participants' interpretation of the speech. Similarly, an experiment could test how people respond to austere policy speeches that are infused with positive versus negative metaphors; and an experiment could test how people respond to different political leadership takeover speeches that are infused with different metaphor scenarios.

There are also, of course, opportunities to use discourse analysis to test insights gained through experiments. Some are simple. For example, do environmental activists gravitate to specific types of metaphor scenarios to highlight the urgency of climate change? Some are more nuanced. For example, recent experimental work in psychology has given substantial attention to a range of cognitive, social, and affective factors that make some metaphors more persuasive than others (Thibodeau, Hendricks & Boroditsky 2017). One could imagine comparing the types of metaphors used by various political actors to see whether some leaders use metaphors more effectively than others; and whether the effective use of metaphor is correlated with real world outcomes – like the leaders' popularity or their ability to enact a political agenda.

Nevertheless, we think it is important to recognize that there are inherent limitations to both approaches. A common refrain is for experimenters to use more realistic stimuli in their experiments in order to "enhance the ecological validity of their research" (p. 131; Boeynaems et al., 2017). As we have noted, we see wisdom in this suggestion, especially if the goal of an experiment is to generate knowledge that is immediately useful for an applied real world purpose. For example, a researcher might want to compare two climate change messaging strategies in order to see which is more likely to make people donate money to a conservation effort. In this type of hypothetical experiment, controlling for differences between the messages would be less important, since the goal is to find the message that yields the most donations. On the other hand, such an experiment would be less informative to someone interested in psychological theory, since the two messages would likely be different in a number of ways. And if the two messages are different in a number of ways, it is hard to infer why one message caused people to donate more than the other.

In short, there is no perfect experiment, nor is there a perfect discourse analysis. Both involve choices and trade-offs. Both should be designed in a way that best addresses the research questions they seek to answer.

7.   Conclusion

The collective message of this book is that there is variation in political metaphor: variation in how metaphors are used, what they mean, and how they function. What we have emphasized in this final chapter is that there is also variation in how metaphors are investigated. We have focused on experiments and discourse analysis. We have tried to think through the logic and mechanics of the two approaches in a way that will help experimentalists understand discourse analysis (and vice versa).

In our view, both methods have distinct strengths and limitations. Mapping the logic of the approaches onto one another helps to highlight these strengths and limitations – for researchers and consumers of research. Experiments are designed to test hypotheses about the causal relationships between variables in a controlled setting. But not all variables can be manipulated in a controlled setting, so not all research questions can be addressed with experiments. And it can be hard to generalize from an experiment to the real world. Discourse analysis, on the other hand, is designed to investigate patterns of relationships between variables in the real world. But variables cannot be manipulated and measured in the real world like they can in an experiment, so it can be hard to know exactly how the variables are related to one another.

Embracing the strengths and limitations of the two approaches can help us develop even more useful theories about the nature of political metaphor. They can help us learn even more about the nature of politics, culture, society, and language by studying political discourse.

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A journey through variation in political metaphor

Paul H. Thibodeau, Julien Perrez and Min Reuchamps

The concluding chapter discusses political, linguistic, psychological, and methodological dimensions related to the study of political metaphor. It highlights common themes discussed in the primary chapters, noting points of convergence in the research questions being investigated, the methods used to investigate them, and the findings they reveal. In synthesizing some of these contributions, we hope to point towards potentially fruitful avenues of future research.

Books are journeys. This one started with a set of questions. What can we learn about the nature of politics, culture, society, and language by studying political discourse – by focusing on how political actors use metaphors in the real world? To address these questions, our tour guides chart a course through a multitude of political metaphors from a variety of countries, an assortment of political leaders, and an array of political situations.

The excursions are authentic. They are authentic in the sense that they focus on real-world data; that they grapple with issues central to the interdisciplinary endeavor; that they find *variation*. There is variation in the socio-cultural context in which political metaphors are used, as well as the characteristics and goals of the political actors who use them. And there is variation in how metaphors are expressed – in written and spoken language, but also in images and gestures. In turn, all of these sources of variation affect the meaning, function, and impact of political metaphors. In our view, this collective message – that there is no simple story to tell about what metaphors mean, how they function, or how they are expressed in real world political discourse – is also authentic. The topic of political metaphor is nuanced; it's complicated; it resists a simple conclusive story because metaphors serve many roles in politics.

We have been eager travelers on this journey and have learned a lot along the way. In this conclusion, we note some points of intersection across the chapters – in the research questions they investigate, the types of metaphors and political

situations they explore, and insights they reveal. We also highlight some of the methodological innovations and contributions they make. In doing so, we hope to point the way towards fruitful avenues for future research.

1.   Political dimensions

Metaphor is ubiquitous in political discourse. This, however, is not what makes political discourse special. Metaphor is ubiquitous in all discourse. Political discourse is special because politics is special. It is special insofar as politics deals with the big question of how do we – best – live together? Politics is about power and how we can influence one another. Defined in terms of power relationships, politics and therefore any discourse related to it is a fertile ground for metaphors, which have the potential to be highly persuasive tools. In Ancient Greece, Aristotle in *The Politics* (1984) had already noted this power of metaphors in politics. All chapters in this volume also show that metaphors are intrinsically linked to power and a motivation to persuade. When Heyvaert (Chapter 2) recalls the metaphor of the Belgian Prime Minister describing himself as a ship captain and the response of the opposition lead who says that he does not buy it, we have a telling example of how political metaphors seek to persuade an audience.

In the introduction of this book, we noted in the wake of Musolff's *Political Metaphor Analysis: Discourse and Scenarios* (2016) that what is so distinctive with metaphors in political discourse is their variation. That is, that the same metaphor may bear different meanings and can therefore be used for very different purposes. Focusing on one single metaphor, WAR, Ahrens (Chapter 1) shows that Hilary Clinton, in her different roles, chooses her battles carefully and uses figurative language to gain support for the causes that are important to her. While Ahrens studies the variation within one source domain, Kovář (Chapter 7) takes another stance and explores the variation within one target domain: the European Union's political finality (*finalité européenne*). On this basis, he demonstrates how three main source domains are used – CONTAINER (supranational), EQUILIBRIUM (intergovernmental politics), MOTION (multi-level governance) – in Czech political parties' election manifestos issued for the 2004, 2009, and 2014 European parliament elections. From these two chapters as well as the other contributions, it is quite clear that political metaphors vary significantly both in source domains and in target domains and that this political variation follows a political purpose.

The question that remains for further research is therefore the following: while it is established that there is much variation on the production side (that is how and why we produce metaphors in the political discourse), do we find a similar variation on the reception side (that is how we understand metaphors in political

discourse)? In classical CMT and CDA, such impact is often taken for granted (Perrez & Reuchamps 2015): political discourse matters, so it must influence people. Thibodeau and colleagues (Chapter 8) propose to dig into this important question by comparing discourse analysis and experimental methods. They show that both have their inherent logic, with more similarities than one might imagine. Both approaches can clearly shed light on the influence of political metaphors. It is not so much the question of whether political metaphors matter politically, but how and when.

This volume has sought to address a series of questions on the basis of large amount of empirical data. In total, the corpora used in this book amount to over two million words. This is the way to go in the analysis of political metaphors if one wants to take seriously the study of the political influence of political metaphors. If metaphors matter politically, do they matter linguistically? This is the next question that we should discuss when bringing this book to a draw.

2.   Linguistic dimensions

Metaphors play a prominent role in political discourse (see, among many others, Charteris-Black 2011, 2014, Lakoff 1996; Musolff 2004, 2016). The central question of this book is therefore not so much to what extent we will find metaphors in political discourse but rather to determine who produces a metaphor in a particular context and why. Or as Charteris-Black (2014: 174) framed it: to understand "*which* metaphors are chosen in persuasive genres such as political speeches, party political manifestos or press reports, and attempts to explain *why* these metaphors are chosen." From a linguistic perspective, this means that we focus on the pragmatic dimension of metaphor usage in political discourse, seeking to capture their communicative potential. Several chapters present semiotic analyses aiming at identifying and categorizing metaphors in political corpora and trying to relate them to the contexts in which they have been produced. A first way in which the communicative potential has been addressed in this volume is in trying to determine which source and target domains are mobilized in a wide range of different political contexts and how these domains relate to larger scenarios and ideologies. Of particular relevance for the communicative potential of metaphors, is the Deliberate Metaphor Theory (DMT) framework developed by Steen (2008), in which a distinction is made between metaphors at the linguistic, conceptual and communicative levels. Distinguishing deliberate from non-deliberate metaphors at the communicative level makes it possible to appreciate the varying nature of metaphors in discourse. For instance, it helps to account for the distinction between, on the one hand, the metaphors that are part of our everyday language and that are

spontaneously mobilized to talk about certain abstract issues, including political ones, and that covertly construct larger networks of interrelated meanings, and, on the other hand, those metaphors that have presumably been used deliberately as metaphors by a political actor to achieve a rhetorical function (to convince an audience, to dismiss an opponent, to strip a minister of all credibility). The relevance of DMT for political discourse analysis has been illustrated by Heyvaert (Chapter 2), who showed for instance how such deliberate metaphors prompt the audience to frame their reactions in terms of the same metaphorical mapping. It is also suggested by Ahrens (Chapter 1) and Fenton-Smith (Chapter 4). A key question regarding potentially deliberate metaphors is to understand to what extent they are intended to express one's vision of a given political situation, and/or to what extent they are produced as rhetorical expressions that are part of the stylistic characteristics of political discourse.

Another way in which the communicative dimension of political metaphor has been addressed in this volume is by assessing how metaphor usage evolves through political context. In this regard, most of the studies of this volume are based on corpora presenting longitudinal characteristics, either evolving through time (see for instance Heyvaert's analysis of Belgian policy statements from 2006 to 2016, Kovář's analysis of Czech party manifesto's for the 2004, 2009 and 2014 European Parliament elections or Benton-Smith's study of speeches given in the aftermath of political deposals in Australian federal politics during the period 1985–2015) or political function (see for instance Ahrens's study of Hilary Clinton's use of WAR metaphors during her different political functions, Ströbel's analysis of the speeches of Macron and Trump respectively as presidential candidates and elected presidents or Borčić & Čulo's study of TV interviews of Ivo Josipović through his different political roles). This longitudinal perspective on metaphor usage in political discourse makes it possible to understand how and why metaphors emerge in given political contexts. Typically, metaphors tend to emerge in contexts of political crisis, which could be economic, as found by Vogiatzis, or institutional, as found by Heyvaert. Other factors that lead to the emergence of metaphors are the need for constructing and legitimizing one's political identity (see for instance Fenton-Smith, Borčić & Čulo), or the particular political function one is fulfilling (see Ahrens, Ströbel).

There are two ways to look forward from here. A first avenue for future research would consist in broadening the scope of linguistic expressions that have been analyzed in political discourse. Twardzisz (2013: 50) pointed to "the politicization of metaphor research". Inverting this claim, one could also suggest that metaphors have been overrepresented in the study of political discourse, what could be seen as an "over-metaphorization" of political discourse analysis. Beyond metaphor, irony and hyperbole (see for instance Burgers et al., 2018), one could also pay attention

to other forms of figurative analogy, such as the one presented in Examples (1), (2) and (3) below.

(1) Een professor van de KU Leuven ziet gelijkenissen met de komische BBC-reeks *Keeping Up Appearances*, waar de hoofdfiguur bijzonder creatief te werk gaat om de schone schijn op te houden. Hoewel de begroting al jaren een tekort vertoont, benadrukt de Belgische regering steevast dat de begroting in evenwicht is. De schone schijn van de Belgische regering kost evenwel een bom geld aan de belastingbetaler.   (Patrick de Groote, 2006)[1]

Eng. A professor of the KU Leuven sees similarities with the BBC sitcom *Keeping Up Appearances* where the central character is particularly talented in keeping up appearances. Although the budget has been showing a deficit for years, the Belgian government firmly maintains that the budget is balanced. The façade of the Belgian government, however, costs a bomb to the taxpayer.

In Example (1), taken from Pauline Heyvaert's corpus of Belgian Policy Statements (see Chapter 2), parliament member Patrick de Groote explicitly compares the way the government deals with the federal budget to the BBC sitcom *Keeping Up Appearances*. Although this would not count as a prototypical metaphor, in that the mapping does not occur between two conceptual domains, but between one conceptual domain and a TV series, such intertextual references, which appear to be typical of some forms of political discourse, show similarities with the function of metaphors in political discourse. On the one hand, they make it possible to frame our understanding of a given political issue. On the other, at the communicative level, they show common rhetorical features with deliberate metaphors. For example, they can be used to strengthen an argument aiming at convincing an audience or dismissing an opponent.

(2) Bart De Wever stelt dat ons land '**Walloniseert**' bij gebrek aan echte hervormingen.   (*Het Laatste Nieuws*, 28/10/12)

Eng. Bart De Wever claims that our country is '**Wallonizing**' [= becoming like Wallonia] through lack of real reforms.

(3) SP.A-voorzitter Bruno Tobback vindt de uitspraken van Bart De Wever over de '**wallonisering**' van de economie 'beledigend en onjuist'
                                        (*De Standaard*, 29/10/2012)

Eng. SP.-A chairman Bruno Tobback considers Bart De Wever's claims on the '**wallonization**' of the economy as 'offensive and unfair'

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1. Source: https://www.lachambre.be/doc/PCRA/pdf/53/ap057.pdf. We kindly thank Pauline Heyvaert for sharing this example with us and allowing us to use it in our conclusion.

Examples (2) and (3) are instances of a neologism coined by NVA-leader Bart De Wever, formally derived from the proper name Wallonia, to suggest the political and economic situation of the country is becoming worse and worse due to the negative influence of one of its parts. With these neologisms, De Wever attempts to impose a particular vision according to which negative characteristics he attributes to Wallonia are applied to the whole country. As is the case with metaphor, this suggests the negative perception of the functioning of Wallonia would be mapped onto the country as a whole. However, such figurative analogies would not be identified as regular metaphors in that the mapping is not realized by two different lexical units but within one single one. But they appear as particularly relevant for the analysis of political discourse (see for instance Goatly 1996).

Another way forward would be to expand on the notion of political discourse. Indeed, in most linguistic research, this notion has been used as one internally coherent concept, but in the practice, it appears that this label has been used to refer to very different types of discourses (cf. Perrez, Randour and Reuchamps, forthcoming), varying as well as far as the medium is concerned (see for instance party manifesto's vs. political speeches, newspaper interviews vs. television debates) as the producer and the audience (for instance political actors speaking to other political actors, see Heyvaert's corpus; political actors talking to the citizens, see Vogiatzis and Borčić & Čulo's respective corpora; media discourse on political issues, as in Musolff 2004; or citizens talking to each other, see for instance Perrez & Reuchamps 2014). It would be interesting to describe the linguistic characteristics of such political discourses in order to determine how they relate to each other to what extent political discourse can be regarded as a proper genre. Furthermore, it would be interesting to consider metaphor variation among these subtypes of political discourses. For instance, do metaphors occur more frequently in parliamentary discourse than in television debates or focus group discussions? But also, does one metaphor circulate among various kinds of political discourse?

3.   Psychological dimensions

The chapters also highlight a number of psychological functions of metaphor. One psychological function of metaphor is conceptual: metaphors allow people to represent and reason about complex issues and abstract ideas (Boroditsky 2000; Gibbs 1994; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Thibodeau, Hendricks & Boroditsky 2017). Psychologists often distinguish between concrete concepts like BIRD and YELLOW, which people can learn about from direct perceptual experience, and abstract concepts like TRADE and TIME, that are more elusive (Boroditsky 2000). Metaphor is a

tool for helping people learn and reason about more complex and abstract concepts. For example, international trade is a complex socio-political issue that is difficult to conceptualize and reason about without the help of simplifying representations like metaphors.

Psychological experiments have shown that metaphorically framing issues like trade affects how people think about them. In one study, participants who read that international trade was a WAR were more likely to support a plan to implement trade tariffs than participants who read that international trade was a TWO-WAY STREET (Robins & Mayer 2000). These two metaphors suggest very different ways of thinking about international trade: the WAR metaphor highlights competition – and suggests that tariffs are important for protecting a country's economic interests; the TWO-WAY STREET metaphor highlights cooperation – and suggests that tariffs prevent countries from developing productive working relationships. In this example, metaphors affect how people construe and make inferences about international trade policies.

Because metaphors serve this conceptual function, observing patterns of metaphor use or asking people to identify their preferred metaphor for an issue can reveal how people think about that issue. For example, in one study, participants were asked to select between two common metaphors for policing – police officers are WARRIORS versus GUARDIANS – before answering a series of questions about their attitudes towards police officers. The metaphor that participants chose was highly predictive of their attitudes. Preference for the GUARDIAN metaphor was associated with a much more positive view of policing (Thibodeau, Crow & Flusberg 2017). In another study, participants were asked whether they identify, metaphorically, more with their HEAD or HEART before completing personality measures, answering general knowledge questions, and making decisions about a series of moral dilemmas. People who identified with their HEAD were more rational and interpersonally cold on the personality measures, answered more of the general knowledge questions correctly and suggested more utilitarian responses to the moral dilemmas (Fetterman & Robinson 2013).

In this way, metaphors can be a window into how people conceptualize topics. Several of the analyses in this book investigate patterns of metaphor usage to reveal how a political actor or party conceptualizes an issue. This can be seen clearly in Kovář's (Chapter 7) analysis of Czech political party manifestos. Different metaphors for the European Union – as an EQUILIBRIUM, CONTAINER, or in MOTION – emphasize different roles for the international body; and, as a result, reveal different ways that the political parties think about the EU. Ahrens (Chapter 1), Borčić and Čulo (Chapter 3), Fenton-Smith (Chapter 4), and Ströbel (Chapter 6) similarly analyze metaphor from this perspective: as a window into how political actors think.

In the psychological literature on metaphor processing, a distinction is made between conventional and novel metaphors (Bowdle & Gentner 2005). Novel metaphors are more cognitively effortful to process. This may make them especially useful political devices – an issue discussed by, for example, Fenton-Smith (Chapter 4). However, conventional metaphors can also engage listeners and influence how people think (Robins & Mayer 2000; Thibodeau, Hendricks, & Boroditsky 2017). Ströbel (Chapter 6) highlights some of the reasons that conventional metaphors are effective: because they can lead people to engage in a process of sensorimotor simulation.

In some cases, the most salient feature of a metaphor is its emotional valence (Citron & Goldberg 2014; Johnson & Taylor 1981). For instance, describing the flu metaphorically, as a *beast*, *riot*, *army*, or *weed* casts the flu in an especially negative and urgent light. One study found that describing the flu with one of these metaphors, rather than comparable literal language, made people more likely to get a flu shot (Sherer, Sherer, & Fagerlin 2015).

Several of the analyses in this book emphasize the role that metaphors serve in helping to establish an emotional tone. This can be seen clearly in Vogiatzis' (Chapter 5) analysis of the metaphors used by the Greek Prime Minister during the financial crisis. Positive metaphors were used to convey a hopeful economic message for the future, despite the widespread unpopularity of the austere economic policies that Greece was forced to adopt at the time. Indeed, several of the chapters in this book discuss the role of political metaphor in setting an emotional tone, including Borčić and Čulo (Chapter 3), Fenton-Smith (Chapter 4), and Ströbel (Chapter 6).

In addition to making complex issues conceptually tractable and emotionally salient, there is a pragmatic, or communicative, dimension to metaphor that moderates their influence. Metaphors that are used deliberately, for example, may be especially persuasive (Perez & Reuchamps 2014; Steen 2008). Heyvaert (Chapter 2) explores some of the conditions that give rise to the use of deliberate metaphors: namely, unstable political landscapes. Most, if not all, of the chapters discuss how metaphors are used intentionally in a political context – to achieve specific persuasive and rhetorical functions.

Moving forward, there are abundant opportunities to study the psychological dimension of political metaphor. Questions about how people process political metaphors and the factors that moderate the potency of political metaphors are largely psychological in nature. The analyses presented in this volume highlight a number of distinctions between types of metaphors – deliberate vs. non-deliberate, novel vs. conventional, positive vs. negative, etc. They also show that variation in the production of metaphors is linked to the role of political actors and the political situations of countries. Psychological studies can play an important role in helping researchers understand how these factors affect people on an individual level.

4.   Methodological dimensions

Political metaphor is an interdisciplinary topic of inquiry, touching on questions at the heart of political science, psychology, linguistics, sociology, anthropology, and more. As a result, it is investigated with a variety of methods. These methods often have distinct, but overlapping, goals, theoretical commitments, strengths, and limitations. Chapter 8 compares two: Critical Discourse Analysis and experiments. It reflects on some of the ways that the underlying logic and mechanics of the two approaches are similar and different, arguing that both make valuable contributions to our understanding of political metaphor – in related but different ways. In short, some research questions are better suited to investigation with critical discourse analysis; others are better suited to investigation with experiments; embracing the strengths and limitations of both can help advance our theoretical and practical understanding of political metaphor.

Most of the chapters in the book, though, use critical discourse analysis to investigate the meaning, structure and function of political metaphor. Critical discourse analysis views language as a form of social practice that helps to establish and maintain social power structures (Fairclough 2013; Musolff 2016). Scholars engaged in critical discourse analysis, therefore, focus on real world patterns of language use, real world political actors, real world political situations, and real-world consequences.

A starting point for the book is the observation that there is incredible variation in political metaphor. The central question of the book is why. What functions do political metaphors serve? How do they get their meaning? How are they expressed?

The chapters focus on different types of political metaphors, used by different political actors, in different countries. Nevertheless, there is a notable overlap in the specific research questions that are explored. For example, several chapters investigate how the role of a political actor affects their use of metaphor. Ahrens (Chapter 1) focuses on Hillary Clinton, contrasting her use of WAR metaphors in the speeches she gave as First Lady, as a Senator, and as a candidate for President of the United States. Borčić and Čulo (Chapter 3) examine Ivo Josipović's use of metaphor in TV interviews before, during, and after he served as President of Croatia. Ströbel (Chapter 6) contrasts the sensorimotor based concepts used by Donald Trump and Emmanuel Macron before and after their elections as Presidents of the United States in 2016 and France in 2017, respectively.

The types of discourse that are analyzed in these three chapters differ. Ahrens develops a compressive corpus of public speeches given by Hillary Clinton from 1992 to 2008. Borčić & Čulo consider four interviews from popular TV show. Ströbel finds examples of sensorimotor based concepts in speeches given in the immediate run up to and aftermath of the 2016 and 2017 presidential elections.

The units of analysis also differ. Ahrens quantifies Clinton's use of WAR metaphors. Borčić & Čulo quantify Josipović's use of personifying metaphors. Ströbel emphasizes sensorimotor based concepts. However, the three analyses reach similar conclusions: that a political actor's goals are shaped by their role, which, in turn, affect how they use metaphor to persuade, inform, and motive the public. In other words, these chapters suggest that one cause of variation in political metaphor can be traced to the speaker's political role.

Similarly, a number of chapters investigate how a country's political situation affects the use of metaphor. Heyvaert (Chapter 2) shows how deliberate metaphors are more common in times of political turmoil by focusing on policy statements by Belgian political leaders. Fenton-Smith (Chapter 4) identifies common metaphor scenarios in Australian disposal speeches and shows how they help manage the transfer of power. Vogiatzis (Chapter 5) analyzes five speeches given by the Prime Minister of Greece to describe the state of the economy, how specific policies will achieve important goals in the long-run, and the role of prime minister in the process. Finally, Kovář (Chapter 7) considers how the metaphors used in party manifestos about the European Union's political finality reflect different attitudes towards and conceptions of the complex political landscape.

Again, these studies develop and analyze different types of political discourse, support their arguments with different types of evidence, and emphasize different functions of political metaphor. However, an important high-level take-away message from all four of these chapters is that political situations shape the goals of political actors, which, in turn, shape how political metaphors are used. That is, another source of variation in political metaphor can be traced to the socio-political environment in which the discourse unfolds.

There are also a number of research questions that are unique to specific chapters, which reveal additional sources of variation in political metaphor. Some of these sources of variation include: the gender of the speaker (Ahrens, Chapter 1); the audience for the speech/discourse – for instance, whether the speech is intended for other political elites versus the general public (Heyvaert, Chapter 2; Fenton-Smith, Chapter 4); and the intended function of the metaphor. For example, in some cases political actors use metaphors to help construct and maintain their political image (Borčić & Čulo, Chapter 3), to set an emotional tone for an unpopular economic policy (Vogiatzis, Chapter 5), to trigger a mental simulation (Ströbel, Chapter 6), or help listeners conceptualize a complex issue (Kovář, Chapter 7).

The methodological tools developed and used by the analyses in this volume lay a foundation for future research. Indeed, one important contribution of this volume is to raise new questions about the role of metaphor in politics. For example, there are questions about the generality of the findings. Do patterns of metaphor usage that are identified with one political actor, country, or socio-political situation

emerge with other political actors, countries, and situations, as well? Another important contribution of this volume relates to the data that has been collected in the service of conducting the analyses, which have the potential to be analyzed in other ways in order to address further questions about variation in political metaphor. Finally, the methodological choices that are made in the primary analyses of the volume can serve as a model for future research: choices about the types of metaphors studied, the units of analysis, and the way in which patterns of metaphor use are interpreted.

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The objective of this book is to understand variation in political metaphor. Political metaphors are distinctive and important because they are used to achieve political goals: to persuade, to shape expectations, to realize specific objectives and actions. The analyses in the book go beyond the mere identification of conceptual metaphors in discourse to show how political metaphors function in the real world. It starts from the finding that the same conceptual domains are used to characterize politics, political entities and political issues. Yet, the specific metaphors used to describe these conceptual domains often change. This book explores some of the reasons for this variation, including features of political leaders (e.g., their age and gender), countries, and other sociopolitical circumstances. This perspective yields a better understanding of the role(s) of metaphors in political discourse.

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