

# The Language of Crisis

*Metaphors, frames and discourses*

EDITED BY  
MIMI HUANG AND LISE-LOTTE HOLMGREEN

DISCOURSE APPROACHES TO  
POLITICS, SOCIETY AND CULTURE 87



JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY

# The Language of Crisis

# *Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture (DAPSAC)*

ISSN 1569-9463

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## **Volume 87**

The Language of Crisis. Metaphors, frames and discourses  
Edited by Mimi Huang and Lise-Lotte Holmgren

# The Language of Crisis

Metaphors, frames and discourses

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The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.87

**Cataloging-in-Publication Data available from Library of Congress:**  
**LCCN 2019057625 (PRINT) / 2019057626 (E-BOOK)**

ISBN 978 90 272 0496 7 (HB)  
ISBN 978 90 272 6154 0 (E-BOOK)

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# Introduction

## Constructing and communicating crisis discourse from cognitive, discursive and sociocultural perspectives

Mimi Huang

### 1. Aims and contributions of the volume

As a phenomenon that has been experienced and observed by many, a crisis can take multiple shapes and forms, and can affect virtually any aspect of a society, organisation, group or individual. Although much has been studied in crisis management and crisis communication (see Coombs and Holladay 2010, Heath and O'Hair 2009), one area that remains under-explored is how social agents experience and communicate a crisis through relevant cognitive, discursive and sociocultural means. This book aims to address this research gap by showcasing a comprehensive volume of original scholarly ventures pertaining to the exploration of the discursive and cognitive features, patterns, effects and functions that collectively constitute crisis-related discourse. With its innovative findings and development of new working concepts and analytical models, the volume contributes to the advancement of theories and practice in discourse analysis, cognitive linguistics and crisis studies, presenting fresh critical insights and empirical evidence for the influential roles played by metaphors and frames in discourse and communication.

In order to present a balanced, in-depth, and nuanced examination of crisis discourse, this volume compiles a total of ten original chapters that examine three main types of crisis situations, namely organisational, political and personal struggles. Contributed by a group of international scholars whose expertise lie in discourse analysis, cognitive linguistics, narrative studies, media studies and communication sciences, this volume offers four remarkable features. Firstly, the chapters propose original approaches, findings and examinations of crisis discourse from cognitive, discursive and socio-cultural perspectives. The chapters

provide detailed accounts of how to identify and evaluate the patterns and functions of cognitive devices and discursive strategies that serve to negotiate and construct discourses surrounding hardship and struggle across different cultures and communities. Secondly, the contributors of this volume have taken a mindful and sensitive approach when evaluating the organisational, political and personal struggles revealed in the linguistics data. This approach strengthens the volume's overarching purpose of treating crisis discourse and crisis communication as a socially embodied construct that is grounded in cultural, ideological and moral values perceived and experienced by social agents. Thirdly, in the application of research methodologies, both qualitative and quantitative methods are employed in the discussions. Whilst the main analytical method adopted in this volume is qualitative in nature, quantitative methods, including corpus linguistics, psychometric testing and log-linear modelling, have been carefully considered and implemented in order to achieve more representative and generalisable findings where appropriate. Finally, this volume investigates authentic linguistic and extralinguistic data that feature under-researched areas. Examples include analyses of powerful vs less powerful social actors in political discourse; less explored case studies in hard-to-reach communities; visual and photographic evidence as well as digital data from social media, online forums and blogs. The examination of these data-sets provides a nuanced and context-sensitive understanding that sheds light on the profound impact of crises upon a diverse body of language communities, thereby giving voice to stakeholder groups that are often vulnerable and marginalised. With these features explored and examined in detail, this volume offers new research evidence and original understandings of the ways social agents with different backgrounds and ideologies navigate the complex social, cultural and political landscapes where crises are experienced and communicated.

In the following sections, a brief review of crisis studies is first presented in Section Two, with an emphasis on a social constructionist perspective upheld in this volume. The subsequent section proposes a combined approach of discourse analysis and cognitive linguistics, with a focus on conceptual metaphors and frames. This combined approach is further evaluated in Section Four, where the main line of inquiry within the volume is explained through five interrelated aspects. After this, Section Five gives an overview of the individual chapters, followed by the final section that discusses the implications and contributions brought forward by this volume to relevant fields of research as well as to its intended readers.

## 2. An overview of crisis and crisis management studies

The definitions of crisis have been many and varied, largely due to the complex nature, cause and outcome of any crisis event (Coombs and Holladay 2010). Despite this, some commonalities can be drawn in crisis related research where the essence of the phenomenon is under critical scrutiny. Many studies, for example, consider a crisis consists of three crucial elements: threat, urgency and uncertainty (Boin, Ekengren, and Rhinard 2010; Rosenthal et al. 1989; Rosenthal, Boin, and Comfort 2001). Threat emphasises that something of great value to an agent is at risk if no intervention takes place. Urgency highlights the limited amount of time available to the agent in responding to and finding means of intervention to avert the threat. Uncertainty addresses the vulnerabilities experienced by the agent when facing unknown or hard-to-predict consequences and (sometimes lasting) outcomes of the crisis at hand. This notion of crisis is compatible with an agent-centred stance, in that the three elements collectively point toward a sense of adversity in a time of crisis, henceforth calling for vital decisions made by social agents involved for reversing or alleviating the negative impacts brought upon by devastating events. Indeed, recent research in crisis literature has placed great attention to the aspect of agency for its capacities, influence and impact on crisis-related issues (Wrenn 2014; Bendle 2002; Bailey et al. 2016).

Whilst maintaining risk and uncertainty as the main characteristics of crises, scholars have also recognised a crisis can act as a crucial turning point. Interestingly, this conceptualisation of crisis can be observed in the Chinese word “危机” (crisis), which consists of two separate characters “危” and “机”. Whilst the first character “危” means danger, harm and disaster, the second character “机” refers to a crucial point amid said dangerous moment (Wang et al. 2015). This traditional view in the Chinese culture is in fact closely aligned with recent studies where a crisis is construed as a dynamic process with incipient potentials, some of which can transform into positive change, development and growth (Bloch 2014; Comfort 2007; Shank 2008 and Huang in this volume). Taken together, crisis has been understood – across disciplines and traditions – as a dynamic process within which rapid adaptations and effective leadership, as well as communication among social groups and individuals can play key roles in reducing risk and responding to danger.

Although crisis studies encompass research in differing disciplines and subjects, the majority of the recent works have adopted, or are compatible with, a contextualised and socially-oriented approach (Hearit and Courtright 2003; De Rycker and Mohd Don 2013). This means that while crisis is considered to possess both material and semiotic properties (Fairclough, 2010), the discussions and analyses emphasise the socially situated and collectively mediated nature of

a crisis phenomenon. This social constructionist view of meaning construction resonates well with the underlying principles in discourse analysis in that it rejects the positivist view that sees linguistic inquiry as an objective pursuit. Instead, discourse analysis studies how social realities and social interactions are constructed by language and language users in their own environments, and how ideologies are embodied in and reproduced through discourse practices (Baxter 2010). This social constructionist stance can also be observed in the recent “social turn” in metaphor studies in cognitive linguistics, where metaphor is on one hand an embodied, cognitive phenomenon, and on the other hand contextually grounded and influenced by social interactions (Kövecses 2015; Charteris-Black 2004; Hart 2011; Chilton 2004). It is in this spirit that we endorse a social constructionist perspective, alongside cognitive linguistic and discourse analytical frameworks to the investigation of crisis and crisis-related discourse in this book. The social constructionist view argues that the understanding and perception of a social phenomenon are achieved by social agents’ collective construction and sharing of their knowledge, values and ideas (Potter 1996; Berger and Luckmann 1967). In the event of a crisis, this process of co-construction across individuals and groups is intensified where people involved and affected act to pool resources and develop plans and strategies in response to emergency situations. While some social agents are able to work together to achieve joint goals, others may represent conflicting interests, values and ideologies that can lead to disagreements, disputes and even volatile confrontations amid crisis. In any case, crisis is experienced by the people involved as a dynamic and intersubjective process from its onset. As this volume shows, this process is constituted through the act of communication, where a body of discourse – both public and private – is formed and becomes an integral part of the way we perceive, identify and interpret the crisis. The dynamic nature of the crisis development process and its associated communication also result in the evolving meanings of crisis discourse. As asserted by Derrida (1978), the meaning of a text is continuously deferred in relation to its co-text and context, and new meanings can emerge in novel applications that alter the fabric of interpretive assumptions. A meaningful understanding of a crisis discourse therefore requires a situated, contextualised and agent-centred analysis on how people develop and assign meanings to their social, cultural and political environments where a crisis arises.

### 3. To study the language of crisis with a discourse and cognitive-based approach

Although the term “discourse” frequently appears in crisis-related research, the term itself is often used in a loosely defined fashion. A careful observation of this issue has been made by De Rycker and Mohd Don (2013) who point out that the examination of “discourse” in the majority of recent research on discourse and crisis (e.g. in disciplines of organisational studies, public relations, mass media communication and finance studies, to name a few) remains undefined, unproblematised, and is not subject to any linguistically-informed approaches or systematic discursive analyses. There is a lack of academic engagement in employing clearly-articulated linguistic theories to inform the investigation and interpretation of relevant discourse data. As previously discussed, this volume is situated within the tradition of discourse analysis within linguistics, which studies how we use language to engage with the world and each other in creating and shaping the social, cultural, political and personal formations of our lives and experiences in both public and private domains (Bhatia, Flowerdew, and Jones 2008; Fairclough, Cortese, and Ardizzone 2007; Paltridge and Hyland 2011). In addition, the investigation of the linguistic data is examined by cognitive linguistic approaches for their specific features in employing conceptual metaphors, frames and narratives in the construction of a crisis discourse. In order to provide the readers with the underlying rationale and theoretical background that this volume rests upon, the following sections discuss the essential aspects, strengths as well as potential challenges in adopting a discourse- and cognitive-based approach to the examination of crisis discourse.

#### 3.1 Analysing the discursive aspects within crisis-related discourse

Given the kaleidoscopic nature of crises, it is not surprising that a discursive approach to crisis discourse will involve multiple aspects, topics and theoretical frameworks. As an established analytical approach in linguistics, discourse analysis provides rigorous and systematic methods to untangle the complex elements that constitute a crisis discourse in question, revealing the fundamental and evolving relationships amongst social agents concerned. The employment of a discursive approach with a clear linguistic focus enables the researcher to fully capture and scrutinise the manifestation of a crisis discourse at its semiotic, cognitive and epistemic levels (Chalozin-Dovrat 2013), offering rigorous and insightful interpretations of the language that constructs often conflicting events, interactions and values. The volume also maintains an overall critical stance (Fairclough, 2010; Van dijk, 1995; Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Wodak & Chilton, 2005) in that it

recognises, where relevant, the socio-political issues that relate to ideologies and inequality as experienced by different social and political groups and individuals surrounding a crisis event. With the aid of empirical data and evidence, this volume addresses these power-relevant issues adequately, uncovering discursive strategies employed by the more powerful and the elite to persuade, legitimise and justify certain social and political values. These aspects are prominent in Part I and Part II of the volume. In addition to the critical evaluation of how a crisis-related discourse is shaped by the more powerful party, this volume also showcases the remarkably oppositional, agentive and reflective strategies by the less-powerful, under-represented and typically marginalised discourse participants when facing a crisis event (see Part III of the volume, as well as Chapter 3 by Holmgreen and Chapter 6 by Kotzur). Taken together, the discourse analysis approach employed in this volume provides a linguistically focused, context-sensitive, data-driven and problem-oriented account on the critical relationships between ideology, identity, agency as well as socio-cultural practices relevant to a crisis discourse.

Whilst there are many types of crises that are worth researching, this volume primarily focuses on discourses that surround three types of crises, namely financial and organisational crisis, political crisis, and personal crisis. Each chapter within the volume investigates the discursive topics, features, patterns and meanings emerging from the use of language surrounding a specific crisis (See Section 5 for a detailed overview of the contents of the chapters). Throughout the volume, multiple types of linguistic data are carefully surveyed from a wide array of sources, including discourse in the public domains (e.g. press releases, media coverage, government documents and official interviews), communications across social groups (e.g. commercial campaigns, community protests and social media disputes), as well as discourse taking place in more private and personal contexts (e.g. patient-therapist interactions during consultations, private interviews and written accounts about living with illness and disorders). When analysing these linguistic data, the chapters seek to reveal the intricate meanings and social relationships that emerge under these crisis situations through relevant discursive processes, functions and strategies. Although the crisis discourses examined in the chapters are individually different, they are all actively shaped, developed and experienced by the social agents involved. These agents – sometimes withholding conflicting interests and beliefs – have been observed to purposely construct, reconstruct and modulate the discursive information that is key to the development and resolution of the crises at hand. This powerful agentive stance brings forth the cognitive, perceptual, emotional and communicative processes that are crucial in crisis management. An analytical approach that provides elegant interpretations of the above aspects whilst keeping a linguistic focus is cognitive linguistics. The following section discusses how cognitive linguistics frameworks – in particular

conceptual metaphors and frames – can work effectively with the discourse analytical approach for the investigation of crisis discourse in this volume.

### 3.2 Exploring conceptual metaphors and frames with a discourse and cognitive-based approach

The cognitive approach as established within cognitive linguistics is an interdisciplinary venture that seeks to explore the interconnection and relationship between language and thought (Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007; Janssen, Maria, and Redeker 1999; Dabrowska and Divjak 2015). Situated within cognitive sciences, cognitive linguistics maintains an embodied, situated and grounded understanding of the mental structures, representations and processes that we incorporate and express via linguistic means to make sense of our knowledge, experience and interactions in our living environments. Within its broad coverage of linguistic research, the aspect of “discourse” has become pivotal and gained rapid growth in cognitive linguistic studies (Liebert, Redeker, and Waugh 1997). Metaphor studies that embrace socio-cultural determinants in meaning construction and discourse studies that endorse the social constructionist stance have a shared tenet that sets out to investigate how knowledge is mediated by the language we use and how the meaning-making process is achieved through language and communication in situated contexts. Indeed, there have been fruitful and successful explorations that combine cognitive linguistic approaches and discourse analytical frameworks for the investigation of the narrative, meaning constructions and discursive features from social, cultural, ideological and political dimensions (Dancygier, Sanders, and Vandelanotte 2012; Hart 2011; Tyler, Kim, and Takada 2008). Amongst the cognitive approaches that work compatibly with discourse analytical frameworks (Harder 2010; Gonzalez-Marquez 2007; Charteris-Black 2004), this volume places its primary focus on the contributions of conceptual metaphors and frames alongside discourse analysis to the description and exploration of meaning construction in crisis-related discourse.

This primary focus is based on the unique discursive features and their cognitive-linguistic content that can be observed in the linguistic data examined in this volume. As supported by recent research, conceptual metaphors and frames are both ubiquitous and pivotal to the shaping and interpretation of discursive information (Semino, Demjén, and Demmen 2016; Sullivan 2013; Cameron and Deignan 2006; Musolff 2004). Under the cognitive approach, metaphors are first and foremost systematic mappings across conceptual domains; it is a fundamental and highly useful cognitive process that we use to understand as well as to construct ideas and concepts in their contexts. In crisis-related discourse, metaphors play an influential role in conceptualising significant factors, behaviours and relationships



in their discursive contexts. For instance, during an economic crisis, a series of inter-related ontological metaphors, such as *ECONOMY IS ORGANISM*, *ECONOMY IS SICK* and *FINANCIAL CRISIS IS ILLNESS* can be employed in conceptualising the complex stages, components and impacts of a financial crisis in journalistic discourse (Soares da Silva 2016; and in this volume). Closely relating to conceptual metaphors, the notions of “frames” and “framing” provide further insight into the framing power and effects of metaphor in a discourse. The studies of conceptual frames have been studied under different academic disciplines including semantics (Fillmore 1975; Sullivan 2013), social sciences (Goffmann 1974), media analysis (De Vreese 2005) and artificial intelligence (Minsky 1979). Despite disparities in the definitions in existing literature, a “frame” is recognised for its heuristic functions and can be generally understood as “a portion of background knowledge that (i) concerns a particular aspect of the world, (ii) generates expectations and inferences in communication and action, and (iii) tends to be associated with particular lexical and grammatical choices in language” (Semino, Demjén, and Demmen 2016: 3). This volume adopts this view and sees frames as schematic units that contain knowledge structures and can be accessed by linguistic means. When working with conceptual metaphors, this notion of frames works compatibly with relevant concepts that have been developed in metaphor studies such as “scenarios” (Musolff 2006) and “metaphoremes” (Cameron and Deignan 2006), where a metaphorical expression can reveal and act upon structural mappings at the sub-domain level within a specific discourse context. This further gives rise to a vital component of the “framing” process where frames are used by social agents to define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgements and suggest remedies under specific contexts (Entman 1993; Hallahan 1999). Similar to conceptual metaphors, frames function in an embodied and situated manner. When we process a piece of linguistic information, we are able to evoke the relevant frames that contain the knowledge structure that can help us to navigate a given situation and to make meaningful interpretations of what the words try to communicate to audiences. Furthermore, the framing process involves both “selection” and “salience” (Entman 1993: 52–53), where certain aspects of a problem or issue are presented by certain social actors as more noticeable, meaningful and important, and are consequently perceived as such by the intended audiences. This strategic use of frames in communication has been researched in discourse studies (Tannen 1993; Ensink and Sauer 2003), and is further developed in this volume with new research evidence. Holmgreen (2015 and in this volume), for instance, studies the resilience of public frames to news media frames during public disputes, which demonstrates the conceptual grounding of the framing effect.

Taking into consideration the power of framing in discourse and communication, recent studies of metaphor and discourse have identified three main

perspectives where framing effects can take place within a metaphor, namely the cognitive, discourse and practice perspectives (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 2003; Musolff 2004; Semino et al. 2017). The cognitive-based perspective sees the framing effects of metaphor as primarily a cognitive phenomenon based on structural mappings between conceptual domains. The discourse-based perspective examines how discursive forms and functions of metaphor can reveal discourse participants' strategies, intentions and consequences in using the metaphors in their situational contexts. The practice-based perspective focuses on how metaphors in professional and organisational settings can facilitate or impede communication, and what relevant recommendations can be shared with policy makers and stakeholders to inform and improve future practice (for a detailed discussion of these three perspectives of metaphor in a case study in the healthcare context, see Semino, Demjén, and Demmen 2016). Whilst the three perspectives outlined here provide useful insights into the framing function of metaphors, they also shed light on the complexities and challenges to be addressed in current research. As pointed out by Semino et al. (2016), a thorough examination of a metaphor's framing effects requires careful considerations of the conceptual structures situated within their detailed, specific discursive context. In addition, attention should be paid to any emergent and context-dependent properties in language use by their discourse communities in order to adequately explain the framing implications of metaphor in a discourse. The next section outlines how this volume addresses these challenges through original findings, approaches and insights to the discussions of metaphors and frames in different types of crisis.

#### **4. The volume's contributions to the studies of metaphors and frames in crisis discourse**

After proposing a cognitive and discourse-based approach to the study of metaphors and frames, this section discusses how the volume employs this combined approach in contributing and advancing theories and practice in crisis studies, cognitive linguistics and discourse analysis through five interrelated aspects. The first aspect emphasises the importance of context in situating and enabling the construction of a crisis discourse. The second aspect focuses on the emergent linguistic expressions, patterns, as well as their associated meanings and conceptual structures that are evidenced in the discursive data surrounding metaphors and frames. The third aspect considers the roles and involvement of the relevant social agents, who purposely develop, manipulate and mediate a crisis discourse through sociocultural, cognitive and discursive means. The fourth aspect that underlies the volume's contribution is the authors' mindful and professional approach when

working with discourse participants from varied social and cultural backgrounds. The final contributing aspect highlights the volume's adaptation of multiple research methods and interdisciplinary approaches. In what follows, these five aspects are detailed in turn.

In the first aspect, "context" is essential to the discursive constructions and communication of a crisis phenomenon, and it is of great importance to the discussions in this volume. The term "context" concerns not only a range of situations, domains and scenarios where a discourse is produced, but also the ways it is construed by researchers in their work (Flowerdew 2014). In this volume, each chapter offers its own definition and interpretation of what context entails. Despite these individual differences, all the chapters take into consideration the information regarding the relevant background (which can be physical, social, cultural and situational, where appropriate), environment (both linguistic and extralinguistic), the social actors involved (from organisational to individual) as well as their beliefs and attitudes. This enables the authors to gain in-depth and comprehensive insights into the grounding and situated environments from which relevant metaphors function to frame and define a particular crisis event or process. Importantly, the aspect of context enables the dual position embraced by this volume, where metaphors both constitute and reflect culture models, and discourse actors may consciously or unconsciously adjust the use of certain metaphors and frames in the communication process (See Holmgreen, 2015 and in this volume). This line of inquiry is well illustrated in Chapter 3 of the volume, where Holmgreen conducts a case study on the framing power of metaphors in social media discourse relating to two high-profile Danish organisations that have attracted negative public response. The study uncovers the significance of the social and cultural contexts to the contingency of frames amid organisational crises and coherence amongst public perceptions. Throughout the volume, there is a clear consensus that metaphors and frames are grounded and embodied in the very situation and environment of a crisis. The chapters examine authentic and fresh evidence in linguistic data in order to reveal how metaphors and frames are perceived and interpreted in a crisis-related situation on the one hand, and how such metaphor and frames, on the other hand, can be purposely crafted by discourse actors in order to elicit specific responses and actions from the audiences.

The discourse contexts investigated in this volume include those in journalistic reports, political discourses, social media, internet forums, as well as in self-reflective writings and in psychotherapeutic consultations. The examination of these discourse contexts offers exciting new findings on crisis development and management via the functions of metaphors and frames on differing social, cultural, political and personal platforms and interfaces across varied discourse communities.

The second aspect highlighted in this volume concerns original linguistic expressions and their usage that emerge from relevant discourse contexts. These emergent linguistic expressions are explored for their communicative meanings, their usage within and across discourse communities, as well as the conceptual structures that facilitate such meanings and usage. The chapters offer detailed analysis of the linguistic data with well annotated examples from authentic data sources. Insightful arguments are presented by the authors to interpret the functions and applications of metaphors, frames and their constructive powers during the communicative processes. A noticeable feature of the volume is the authors' observations of the linguistic data for their diachronic and continuing development in meanings, usage, effects and impacts. For instance, Rasulić in Chapter 4 presents a corpus-aided study on how new metaphors and frames that emerge from Serbian political discourse contribute to the shaping and framing of a new geopolitical reality between Serbia and Kosovo by virtue of marginalizing previous metaphors and frames with opposing values and beliefs. With a similar focus on the political landscape, Ullmann in Chapter 5 examines the Arab Spring movement through a triangulatory approach that combines corpus-linguistic methods with critical metaphor analysis (Charteris-Black 2004). The study expands and advances Charteris-Black's analytical model for metaphor interpretation. The findings reveal the complex metaphorical mappings and entailments across a wide range of conceptual domains. The linguistic data examined in this volume provide new evidence to address the key issue of how metaphors and frames constitute a crisis event or process, and how they influence the perception and reception of a crisis phenomenon.

The third aspect that underpins the volume's contribution to knowledge concerns the discussion of agency and interpersonal relationships. This aspect regards the social agents as one of the central elements that shape and influence a crisis discourse. This resonates strongly with the social constructionist view presented in Section Two where agency and intersubjectivity bear significant values in the study of crisis discourse. This agent-centred stance, alongside the perspective of an embodied and grounded cognition, provide a strong theoretical grounding for advancing research topics that involve the social agents' roles, relationships, actions, emotions and values through the processes of experiencing, communicating and making sense of a crisis event. These topics highlight the personal and interpersonal agency in the construction of crisis discourse, and as such embrace a performative stance that serves to untangle the purposes, intentions and ideologies conveyed through the metaphors, frames and other cognitive and discursive strategies by the social agents. Throughout the volume, various types of interpersonal relationships are examined in relation to crisis discourse and the functions of metaphors and frames. In Chapter 1, for instance, O'Mara-Shimek scrutinises

metaphors in financial news media for their far-reaching effects and influences on Crisis Marketing, which provide unique insights into the critical debate of journalistic ethics, fairness and truth as exercised and performed by professional journalism organisations and individual journalists.

In addition to investigating agency and interpersonal relationships, the authors in this volume approach the research participants and data with mindfulness and respect, which forms the fourth contributing aspect of the volume. The authors take great care to ensure that research ethics are adhered to, and appropriate research methods are employed so that the research data and respondents are fairly represented. This careful positioning of the researchers, data and participants can be observed across the chapters and is especially prominent in Part III of the volume. In this part, the authors investigate both written and spoken discourse data that encompass different types of personal crises experienced by the research participants, ranging from physical illness to mental health (see Ferrari, Tay, Huang and Knapton in this volume). In keeping with the ethical standards in the research process, the authors take into consideration the feelings, emotions and values held by people involved in the research process. In doing so, this volume delivers fair and convincing representations of the personal and interpersonal relationships in their studies.

The fifth and final aspect featured in this volume is the use of multiple research methods and its rich adaptation of theoretical frameworks and models across the chapters. As crises can take many shapes and forms, investigations of crisis-related discourse must be supported by research data and analytical methods that are appropriate and suitable for the research purposes. Across the volume, both qualitative and quantitative data have been examined to study crises taking place in varied organisational, political and personal contexts. Examples of qualitative studies include case studies, interviews, social media entries and political campaign materials (e.g. see O'Mara-Shimek, Knapton, Holmgreen and Kotzur in this volume); examples of quantitative data can be found in the analysis of existing as well as self-compiled linguistic corpora (e.g. see Soares da Silva, Rasulić and Ullmann in this volume). In the process of data analysis, as previously discussed, this volume adopts a discourse and cognitive-based approach for its aptness in handling crisis-related discourse where metaphors and frames play prominent roles. In order to achieve further comprehensiveness and robustness in the data analyses, the authors in this volume further employ complementary analytical frameworks including psychometric testing, corpus linguistics, narrative studies and log-linear modelling (e.g. see Ferrari, Ullmann, Huang, Knapton and Tay in this volume) that serve to triangulate and contextualise the research findings. The rich sets of research data and the multi-method analytical approaches employed in this volume enable the authors to offer qualitative, case-specific as well as quantitative, generalisable findings of the language use in complex crisis situations.

After showcasing the five major aspects through which this volume contributes to the development and advancement of theories and practice in cognitive linguistics, discourse analysis and crisis studies, the following section moves on to introduce the main content of each of the chapters.

## 5. Overview of individual chapters' original research and findings

The chapters in this volume offer original research and findings on how metaphors and frames are utilised by social agents in constructing and communicating crisis discourses. The chapters are organised into three parts, each focusing on a specific type of crisis discourse. Part I of the volume consists of three chapters that investigate language use in large scale financial and organisational crisis. Part II of the volume presents a further three chapters that examine public discourse amid political turmoil and conflicts. The last part of the volume features four more chapters that explore counselling and narrative discourse in times of personal crises where individuals' health and wellbeing are in jeopardy.

Part I of the volume is concerned with media discourse in organisational crisis. Building upon the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, O'Mara-Shimek in Chapter 1 employs a broader concept of "Crisis Marketing" in order to explore how financial news media uses metaphor and metonymy when reporting on stock market crash in a financial crisis. Taking the perspective of "the Right to Information" as well as a critical analytical approach, O'Mara-Shimek evaluates the roles and responsibilities of news media organisations when making ideologically informed "decisions" that have the power to influence the perceptions of the public. The author further examines how metaphor teleology in the context of financial news reporting has far-reaching implications for consumers and investors, as well as posing serious challenges to professional ethics and practice in journalism organisations. Also informed by Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Soares da Silva in Chapter 2 compares the role of metaphors in the conceptualisation and ideological exploitation of the economic crisis in the Portuguese press in two crucial periods – the 2008 global financial crisis and the Portuguese government's austerity policies in 2011–2013 – when the government tried to tackle the severe economic crisis in the country. Benefiting from a successful convergence between cognitive linguistics, CDA and corpus linguistics, the study reveals how economic crisis and the by-product of austerity policies are metaphorically conceptualised and framed in the Portuguese press and how crisis- and austerity-related metaphors serve ideological, emotional and moral purposes. The chapter provides further empirical evidence from a socio-cognitive viewpoint that the crisis and austerity metaphors in Portugal are socially embodied, making them an instrument for manipulation. In Chapter 3,

Holmgreen investigates the creation and dynamics of public frames in social media through the analysis of two recent instances of large Danish organisational crises. Holmgreen employs Fillmore's theory of framing in combination with Conceptual Metaphor Theory and social media research. The data for the analysis consist of posts on social media, e.g. Facebook and Twitter, as well as articles from the Danish online media on two major organisational crises, i.e. that of a large Danish bank and a well-known Danish restaurant chain. Holmgreen argues that public frames are highly contingent on their social and cultural contexts, and are often established when announcements are made of corporate actions that challenge common notions of right and wrong. It is demonstrated that the most salient frames are rooted in shared cultural and social beliefs that serve to unite stakeholder groups in common action against reproachable organisational behaviour.

The second section of the book features three chapters with a shared theme of political struggle. It starts with a chapter by Rasulić, who addresses the current process of resolving a long-lasting crisis between Serbia and Kosovo. The chapter discusses how conceptual metaphor and metonymy function in the framing of Kosovo in Serbian political discourse. With the aid of corpus linguistics, the analysis highlights theoretical implications for the dynamics of metaphor and metonymy in a crisis-related political discourse. In particular, it evaluates the role of metonymy as an avoidance strategy and the ways in which metaphor and metonymy are used and abused in order to maintain inequality and promote the emergence of alternative frames. The chapter presents a detailed and critical description of the ongoing linguistic and conceptual management of a geopolitical crisis. The findings may be generalised and applied to other cases of political discourse related to territorial dispute crises worldwide. Also addressing the topic of political discourse, Chapter 5 studies the Arab Revolution on the basis of a purposely compiled linguistic corpus of speeches delivered by Western politicians from the United States and the United Kingdom between 2011 and 2013. Using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Conceptual Integration Theory in combination of corpus linguistics and critical metaphor analysis, Ullmann identifies key cognitive phenomena in political language surrounding the Arab Spring. She further discusses potential ideological characteristics and possible effects of these constructions on perceptions of the events by the general public. Importantly, the findings show that only selected entailments of the different mappings are frequently applied by the US and the UK respectively with both nations displaying clear preferences for different conceptual mappings in general. In Chapter 6, Kotzur addresses the emotional appeal and persuasive power of conceptual mappings underlying metaphors on demonstration posters used by opponents of the controversial urban development and railway project Stuttgart 21 (S21) in Germany. The data consist of over a hundred demonstration posters and short texts used in the protest, collected

from photographs published on websites, newspapers, and in the protesters' blogs. Through analysing the language use of the less powerful and under-represented social groups, the chapter provides a novel perspective for cognitive approaches to critical discourse analysis and critical metaphor studies.

The third and final part of the volume revolves around the discourse of personal crisis where an individual's health and wellbeing are under threat. Whilst Chapters Seven and Eight explore metaphors used in counselling and psychotherapy, Chapters Nine and Ten look at narrative data that depict individuals' viewpoints of their health conditions. In Chapter 7, Ferrari sets out to pinpoint the 'transformative power' of metaphor in the context of psychotherapy. Focussing on 'talking cure' practices and employing an innovative analytical model of "M" psychometric testing, Ferrari makes both qualitative and quantitative observations on how the psychometric test can systematically measure the transformative power of metaphors used by both counsellors and clients at thought, emotional and bodily levels. The evidence gathered shows that implemented use of metaphor may help deal with resistant cases, foster personal development and improve personal wellbeing. Moreover, the measure of the transformative power of metaphor through 'M' psychological testing can offer further degree of awareness for both counsellors and clients. Also situated within the context of psychotherapy and counselling, Chapter 8 observes the use of metaphors in counselling sessions where the therapist assists the client to come to terms with his sexuality. When identifying metaphorical expressions in the case study, Tay adopts Log-linear modelling to detect associations and higher order interactions between linguistic variables. The results reveal patterns of metaphor use, e.g. the relative frequencies of metaphor used by therapists and clients, as well as the relative predominance of novel versus conventional metaphors. Importantly, the evidence shows higher level associations at the bi- and multi-variate levels of analysis, which underlies the construct of crisis discourse through the use of metaphor. The findings provide empirical support for practitioners, clients and researchers for making meaningful interpretations of personal crisis discourse in psychotherapy and counselling.

Continuing the investigation of personal crisis discourse, the last two chapters of the volume focus on narrative data that illustrate the narrators' viewpoints of their health conditions and lived experiences. In Chapter 9, Huang develops an original working concept of "narrative modulation", which is a dynamic process in storytelling that configures and navigates relevant narrative elements for the purpose of developing storylines and themes within a narrative. Employing narrative modulation as an analytical model, the author conducts a case study that examines breast cancer survivors' transitional experiences from health crisis to survivorship through the participants' self-reflective writing. The case study shows how the participants adopt image schemas, metaphors, frames and psychosocial



coping strategies as “narrative modulators” in shaping and making sense of their transitional experiences under traumatic circumstances. The chapter further argues that narrative modulation is a useful analytical approach for both patients and healthcare professionals when communicating and working through illness and personal crises. The final chapter by Knapton investigates the personal and psychological crises experienced by women with obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD). Combining illness narrative analysis with theories of image schemas and frames, the chapter presents in-depth qualitative evidence from semi-structured interviews that show how the participants employ cognitive and discursive strategies in constructing their crises with highly personal frames that reject the more dominant biomedical frame. The research findings suggest an alternative framing of OCD with an embodied and contextualised perspective, and in so doing reveals how image schemas can be linguistically constructed to represent illness experience as well as to provide narrative structure in storytelling.

## 6. Scope and interest of the volume

With the aim to explore and advance the understanding of crisis-related discourses within their personal, social, cultural and political contexts, this volume presents original findings, develops new working concepts and analytical models that advance studies in crisis management, discourse analysis and cognitive linguistics. With a focus on conceptual metaphors and frames, this volume provides detailed accounts of the emerging linguistic patterns, discursive and communicative strategies, as well as narrative structuring and knowledge representation models pertinent in the construction and mediation of crisis-related discourse. The discussions in the volume are carried out with a contextualised, embodied and performative stance where research evidence is assessed and evaluated with mindful and sensitive approaches, allowing fair and truthful representations of multiple viewpoints and values from social agents with differing backgrounds and bearings. The original findings, concepts and frameworks developed in this volume should serve as important references to support, benefit and inspire future research in relevant fields. Furthermore, the volume offers practical implications for organisations and practitioners in developing effective crisis management strategies and in improving practice and services for stakeholders and communities involved.

This volume promises to appeal to a wide audience including readers concerned with crisis management and crisis communication, linguists of different persuasion (especially scholars of cognitive linguistics, discourse analysis, cultural linguistics, pragmatics and sociolinguistics), communication and media studies scholars, sociologists, cognitive scientists and language and communication researchers.

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PART I

# Investigating the language of financial and organisational crisis



# Crisis Marketing through conceptual ontology in metaphor in financial reporting

“Decision”, “change” ... and Right to Information?

Michael O'Mara-Shimek

This chapter explores basic ethical questions and implications of using metaphor in financial news reporting during crisis scenarios, and the relationship between these uses and common ideals and industry standards for journalism excellence. This research defends that Right to Information (RTI) provides a practical approach for discussing metaphor's congruence with such ideals towards a more transparent and reliable financial journalism in times of market uncertainty. This work also argues that an RTI informed perspective on metaphor analysis enriches the central assumptions and commitments of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) involving power dynamics and justice in society through discourse: RTI informed uses of metaphor in crisis reporting is an offshoot of the central human right to information.

**Keywords:** crisis discourse, metaphor, Critical Discourse Analysis, framing, stock market, financial news reporting, ideology, Right to Information, journalism

In English “crisis,” which comes from the Greek *krisis* meaning “decision” and *krinein* meaning to judge or decide, from its very origin presents a moment of important change. It is the time when a given situation or reality is understood and when decisions are made. In today's English, there is a close association between the concept of “crisis” and economics, perhaps best exemplified by the Oxford Learner's Dictionary where “crisis” is defined as “a time of great danger, difficulty or confusion when problems must be solved or important decisions must be made, i.e., a political crisis, a financial crisis, the government's latest economic crisis”, and used in a more figurative sense in expressions like “the business is still in



crisis but it has survived the worst of the recession...<sup>1</sup> Nowhere, perhaps, is this more evident than in the stock market where the concepts of crisis, decision and change are interpreted metaphorically according to more familiar frames such as the human body, natural phenomena such as the weather, and an array of human experiences including both love and war.

The first part of this chapter focuses on metaphor from a Cognitive Linguistics perspective. It will focus on how metaphor subtly proposes specific interpretations of market events, suggesting apparently consistent ideologically informed “decisions,” or “solutions” in financial crisis scenarios through their ontological structures. In other words, based on how the essence of the market is constructed through metaphor, some solutions to a market crisis seem more “common sense” than others. To do this, an expanded concept of Crisis Marketing will be employed. In particular, this section focuses on how key media actors define (and redefine) the terms in which the identity and nature of a financial crisis is negotiated semantically, constructed in metaphorical patterns of reasoning and communicated in and through language to financial news consumers in pre-packed “decisions,” with possibly tangible consequences. In a stock market crash, the role financial news reporters play is central in how specific problems are constructed semantically. Metaphor ontology, or the “essence” or “nature” of the stock market is one of the primary means for embedding ideological interpretations of financial events towards specific ends. In particular, a stock market crash is capable of providing both media and governmental actors the space, time and means to (1) present events in specific ways by reframing previous metaphorical and metonymical value systems or create new ones altogether; and to (2) promote or set the stage for ideologically consistent policy “solutions” without overtly doing so.

Next, this research provides an exploration of some of the ethical questions and implications of using metaphor ontologies when reporting on stock market phenomena in crisis scenarios in relation to commonly accepted journalistic ideals and standards for excellence that are shared and publicly defended by relevant financial news media companies, namely, “truth,” “fairness” and “accuracy.” This chapter examines the extent to which these practical “decision” functions or logical schemes that pre-select policy responses to market scenarios along ideological lines carried out through metaphor in stock market reporting are consistent with the roles and responsibilities of news media organizations.

To do so, this research turns to Right to Information (RTI) as a source of inspiration to attempt to explore the question if these uses of metaphor and metonymy can be considered socially responsible in the context of a financial crisis. In particular, this research posits that Right to Information (RTI) provides a useful

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1. See [https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/us/definition/english/crisis\\_1](https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/us/definition/english/crisis_1)

and practical ethical underpinning, a more comprehensive understanding of the teleology, or telos – understood as the purpose or goal – of news media communication for exploring not only how particular uses of metaphor in stock market reporting might be more or less consistent with common ideals of journalism practice such as truthfulness, accuracy and fairness that relevant financial news media sources publicly defend in their value statements, but also the expectations that the public has with regard to the fulfillment of such ideals. Exploring the socially responsible uses of metaphor in financial news media discourse in times of crisis provides a unique opportunity to address some of the central concerns of CDA dealing with power and justice in society. This research takes the position that RTI provides an interdisciplinary and socially relevant means for exploring justice and power dynamics in society offering news media reporters and their editors valuable considerations for increasing the trustworthiness of their news products while also working to fulfill industry standards. This research argues for a central role of information for the exploration of power dynamics in society, and its fulfillment through its recognition as a human right. By extension, truthfulness, accuracy and fairness are supporting human rights that offshoot from the fundamental human right to dignity in a just society.

As no previous research has attempted to apply RTI sensibilities to the exercise of metaphor in the context of financial crisis reporting towards more transparency in the media, this chapter lays the theoretical groundwork for the benefit of future data driven research. These results are of interest for both scholars and practitioners whose work intersects with the practical effects and exercise of power through metaphor in media discourse in crisis communication. Students of Linguistics, Cognitive and Applied, Discourse Analysis, Media Studies, Journalism, and Ethics will find these results useful in their efforts to discover new means to bring communicative tools, and more specifically, metaphor, in different media discourses into more close conversation with the fulfillment of industry standards and ethical expectations.

## 1. Metaphor theory and Crisis Marketing in stock market reporting

Metaphor plays a central role in human cognition. In Cognitive Linguistics, metaphors provide analogical referential models our minds use to create knowledge – they facilitate understanding of abstract concepts by using more familiar ideas taken from daily life, such as understanding “good” in terms of “up,” and “bad” in terms of “down” (directionality). In Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1993), metaphor plays a central role in how we understand reality and give it expression in our lives as reflected in our discourse,

regardless of our level of awareness of their presence. According to this model, abstract ideas or domains are understood as target domains and more tangible ideas used to understand them are called source domains.

Historically, metaphor was related to the process of metonymy. Some approaches have interpreted metonymy as a part of metaphor (Genette 1980; Levin 1977). However, others (Dirven 1993; Croft 1993; Barcelona 2011) have explored the relationships amongst them. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 39), metonymy is “a process which allows us to conceptualize one thing by means of its relation to something else.” In other words, its connection. For example, when one says “the White House” to talk about the actions of the President of the United States, or “Detroit” when referencing the historical automobile industry in the United States. In financial news media discourse, perhaps the most common example is “Wall Street” itself for the New York Stock Exchange. Helpful in understanding the different types and degrees in sense relations, Dirven (2002) introduces the concept of “figurative continuum” to identify different degrees or grades of meaning. In this model, metonymic language is the middle ground found between the extremes of metaphorical and literal language. This research uses the term metaphor to refer to a wide range of semantic features and sense relations along such a spectrum.

In financial news media discourse, the deep conceptual pairings, or joining of domains that show themselves through the presence of textual linguistic metaphors in discourse are readily apparent. They also preview the central role that their ontology plays on influencing understanding. Consider the following two metaphors from headlines about the stock market: “Blue chips fought back after taking heavy blows” and “stocks snoozed”. Both of these metaphors share an important ontological, or essential, feature. In spite of the different action being represented, both metaphors construct the essential being of the stock market as a living creature. The same could be said of “Blue-chips flirt with 6,700” (Martin 2013) where the metaphor used is romance.

Now consider a different set of metaphors from headlines about the stock market, namely, “Faber, Soros forecast high winds for financial Titanic” (Cyceon 2016) or “10 Asian Stocks Offering Shelter from Brexit Storm” (Zhong 2016). In these examples, there is a completely different ontological structuring of the market under surface structure language. Knowledge of the stock market is constructed in terms of a non-living entity, and more specifically in terms of meteorological phenomena. This contrast in ontology is not without consequence: The ontology of a living creature contrasts fundamentally with that of meteorological phenomena because of the presence of life. From this basic difference, a number of possible corollary expectations can be implied for each understanding of the stock market. As living creatures typically act in ways to preserve life as a guiding

principle, so are the “actions” of a stock market; as higher levels of consciousness can be observed in living creatures, differing degrees of willpower are exercised: markets “fought back” or “rallied”. Sometimes, when bodies fall “ill”, intervention is necessary to “cure”—life as something that needs to be protected by others.

Where it can be generally said that living creatures make decisions based on a variety of motivations and needs and also based on their level of awareness, this does, however, contrast with ontological representations of the stock market that present no life, and thus the preservation of life as an important guiding principle is absent. When reporters use source domain concepts representing meteorological phenomena to represent the stock market, such as hurricanes, tornados and storms, they present entities governed by principles of natural science and physics. In a sense, there is no action motivated to preserve life because life is non-existent. There are only the physical laws of nature that do not exercise conscious will power that cannot be altered to our benefit. Similar sensibilities concerning metaphor and politics with regards to economic issues have been explored in Kelly (2001) and in reference to rhetorical positioning in Eubanks (2000) and rhetorical ideological potential in Boers (1997, 1999) and Goatly (2007).

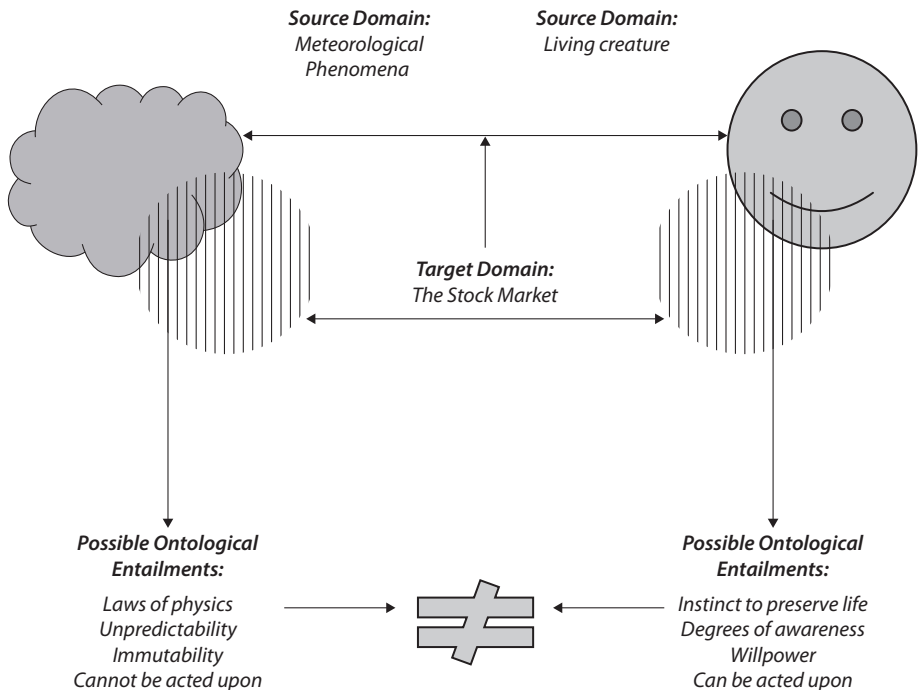
Whatever the ontology chosen by reporters to communicate and inform readers about the stock market, the fact remains that such headlines grab readers’ attention and contribute much to the way that readers perceive stock market realities. Depending on the conceptualization chosen, be it consciously or unconsciously, metaphor ontology has the capability of influencing how readers conceive the stock market in ways that can be consistent with the editorial positioning, or ideology, of the news media service that produces them. Once the essential characteristics of the market have been established in minds of readers by journalists and their editors through a particular frame, these very same metaphors present the parameters of a certain “solution” to a market crisis already through the way that the essence of the market has been established. This is Crisis Marketing.<sup>2</sup> While Marconi (1992) uses the term “Crisis Marketing” in specific managerial situations involving marketing, in this research “Crisis Marketing” is used to understand metaphor as a cognitive tool for influencing the understanding and behavior of news consumers in market crisis scenarios. Metaphors, depending on the ideological implications of their entailments, are capable of promoting more or less government action, for example, in the case of a stock market crash. Intervention by external bodies in the face of a crisis would seem like a congruent, “common sense” response if the market has already been established as (like) a living being in need of assistance to preserve life. Non-living metaphors that construct the essence of the stock market

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2. See O’Mara-Shimek (2015)

in terms of weather are effective in promoting a more “hands-off,” or *laissez faire* approach to dealing with market phenomena during a crisis.

Figure 1 represents the ontological construction of the stock market using meteorological vs. living being metaphors. The representation illustrates how these metaphors for the stock market are generated through target and source domain interaction and their ontological implications in financial discourse. In both cases, the target domain is the same, namely, the stock market. On the left, source domain concepts are taken from the idea of meteorological phenomena; on the right, the source domain is a living creature. In both cases, there is a process of meaning negotiation and transfer where the entailments, or related and applicable concepts from the source domains, are represented in both metaphors as the area where both visual concepts overlap. In other words, entailments are produced in the area in the middle where certain features of the source domain of, say, a living creature are transferred to the target domain of the stock market. Source domain concepts bestow these qualities upon the target domain without explicit reference. Through the associations that their entailments produce relating to their source domain concepts, these metaphors work to establish divergent paradigms of the stock market, and thus, potentially different values and plans of action for different market events.



**Figure 1.** Stock market metaphor ontology and their entailments

An important event in the stock market with far reaching economic consequences is a market “melt-down” or “crash”. Such metaphors carry ideological weight that can be used to influence the perception of a stock market crisis to favor particular response mechanisms over others to “re-solve” a market crisis. The entailments of the ontologically divergent metaphors for the stock market in Figure 1 illustrate how Crisis Marketing through metaphor ontology can be related to specific economic models for dealing with crisis scenarios. The contrast between non-living and living ontologies to describe the stock market during a crisis on “Wall Street” reflects a deeper conflict of values between contrasting though not always opposed economic models espousing varying degrees of exterior intervention. This contrast can be found in the opposition between *laissez faire* vs Keynesian approaches. The entailments from two divergent conceptual metaphors, namely, that the stock market is a living being, and the stock market is meteorological phenomena contribute ideologically competing and divergent entailments for effective responses. In this sense, both editors and news reporters exercise influence in how market crisis scenarios are understood by the public. More importantly is what should be done by investors who generally seek to preserve the integrity of their funds in the face of disaster. Considering the role that news media appear to play in influencing consumer response to market crises, such as in the Northern Rock example that will be discussed, both news reporters and editors would do well to consider the advantages of using metaphors that promote stability and trust in market conditions as opposed to conceptual frames that imply that investors should hastily withdraw their funds. They would also do well to consider the timeless adage that with power also comes responsibility.

The potential for manipulating cognitive construction along predictable paths is facilitated by the understanding of communication in Conceptual Metaphor Theory as imperfect. Part of the reason why metaphor is capable of shaping cognition in such varied ways is because metaphor is an inherently partial system of understanding. Lakoff and Johnson express this idea in the following way: “It is important to see that the metaphorical structuring involved here is partial, not total. If it were total, one concept would actually *be* the other, not merely be understood in terms of it” (1980: 13). And metaphors influence our perception of reality by acting through their capacity to *highlight* similar aspects between concepts, and *hide* those concepts that are not consistent (1980: 152). From this reality of approximate understanding and communication is thus born metaphor’s capability as a framing mechanism. Just as a frame influences how artwork on the inside is perceived and interpreted, frames not only influence the way people interpret reality, as mentioned before, but also *how they act*: Lakoff and Johnson state: “we define our reality in terms of metaphors and then proceed to act on the basis of metaphors” (1980: 158). Metaphors that have already entered into the

collective discursive consciousness surrounding the stock market, for example, exercise considerable influence because their entailments are not critically examined. In other words, they embody “common sense” value schemes that influence ways of interpreting the world around us. If not examined critically, they limit understanding to the semantic confines of the metaphor chosen according to how a particular reality is intended to be “marketed.” Similar sensibilities have been explored in Frame Analysis, where De Vreese talks about “a communication source presenting and defining an issue” (De Vreese 2005: 51). In later research, Lakoff (2004) explores how these frames are tied to specific words and finish by influencing our point of view, and more importantly, our values and behaviors: “You can't see or hear frames. They are part of what cognitive scientists call the “cognitive unconscious”--structures in our brains that we cannot consciously access, but know by the consequences: the way we reason and what counts as common sense ... All words are defined relative to conceptual frames. When you hear a word, its frame (or collection of frames) is activated in your brain” (XV) and thus “the goals we seek, the plans we make, the way we act, and what counts as a good or bad outcome of our actions” (xv).

In Media Studies, some of these concepts have been explored in Media Effects where knowledge creation is seen as akin to images that influence attitudes and behavior. Priming Theory (Iyengar, 1982) contemplates other relevant aspects of how media agendas provide the criteria that audiences then use to make their own judgments. Schnön (1993) touches upon similar sensibilities arguing that the words used in naming social challenges determine our responses. He emphasizes the need for “problem setting,” which can be related to power, through the exercise of inclusion and distribution in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

## 2. Journalism ethics and metaphor: Truth, fairness and accuracy?

Exploring the ethics of metaphor in financial news media reporting begins with considering the ethics of journalism as a whole. The public expects news media companies to fulfil basic criteria based on the purpose of news reporting that can be understood in terms of both rights that the media have and responsibilities they must assume. These ethical expectations are found in both canons and policy declarations in professional journalism organizations, but they are also published by the management of most news media providers, many in the form of commitments, and promises to sustain high levels of journalistic excellence. These declarations identify both general ideals and specific practices to achieve those goals. Regardless of the editorial positioning of news organizations, these documents recognize the presence of overlapping and similar core values such

as transparency, accuracy, balance, fairness, truthfulness and accountability to the public. In terms of specific practices in journalism, many delineate specific practices that help to safeguard journalistic excellence such as correct attribution, avoiding plagiarism, declaring sources, and mandatory referrals. This research will focus on the concepts of truth, fairness and accuracy, as they are found to be global ideals for excellence, identified by a range of some of the most recognized names in financial journalism today.

Delineating the rights and responsibilities of financial news media reporters is of particular concern during a crisis. The sampling provided in this research suggests that there is probably a relationship between how the stock market is reported upon – which includes many other aspects of language use, not only conceptual frameworks delineated through surface structure metaphors – and particular patterns in group thought that encourage short selling to cut losses. An example of the role that financial news media can play to exacerbate already difficult situations involves the collapse of Northern Rock Bank in September 2007 following the BBC's published reports concerning its precarious liquidity. In this case, the Bank of England provided emergency support in an attempt to correct the situation as depositors hastened to remove their funds. From Friday, September 14th to Monday, September 17th, 2007, £2 billion was removed from the bank until the government intervened on September 17th costing taxpayers approximately £20 billion, and a loss of approximately 2,500 jobs. The bank was ultimately nationalized in February, 2008. The relationship between BBC coverage and the events that followed are described in Liff (2018):

Before the BBC report, ordinary citizens and depositors were unaware that NR was trying to acquire funds from other banks or that it had contacted the Triparties about its lack of liquidity. The BBC report, which included interviews with queuing depositors, started the bank run (House of Commons, 2008). Press coverage of depositors standing outside branches served as a strong illustration of a bank in trouble, and retail depositors started to reclaim their money as worry turned to panic, with NR's blocked switchboards and broken website. The depositors had little power except to withdraw funds. (246–247)

In an article published on September 11, 2017, the BBC themselves recognized their own role in how the crisis ensued and appear to acknowledge they knew beforehand of the risks of communicating this information to the public:

The BBC revealed the Bank of England's support of the struggling North East bank on 13 September 2007. The following day thousands of Northern Rock customers led the first run on a British bank since 1866. Mervyn King, then governor of the Bank of England, said he advised the deal be kept secret to prevent panic.



He told BBC Inside Out, North East & Cumbria: “My advice was very clear– we should not reveal publicly the fact we were going to lend to Northern Rock”<sup>3</sup>

This does not mean that the BBC communicated information that was not accurate. It does, however, serve as an example of how the media can play an important role to promote group thought anxiety. Stock market reporting that is, to use three commonly occurring ideals, accurate, truthful, and fair is a product of the media’s capability to exercise their freedom to publish anything that is accurate, yet tempered by the prudence that comes as a result of their responsibilities to the common good: by providing the information people need to make informed decisions, permitting the public to react to circumstances as they develop without themselves influencing the state of the market.

### 2.1 Accuracy, truth and fairness<sup>4</sup>

“Accuracy” is one of the guiding principles of the BBC in Section 3.1 of their *Editorial Guidelines*<sup>5</sup> and is described as follows in an updated description as accessed in 2019:

The BBC is committed to achieving due **accuracy** in all its output. This commitment is fundamental to our reputation and the trust of audiences. The term ‘due’ means that the accuracy must be adequate and appropriate to the output, taking account of the subject and nature of the content, the likely audience expectation and any signposting that may influence that expectation...This means all BBC output, as appropriate to its subject and nature, must be well sourced, based on sound evidence, and corroborated. We should be honest and open about what we don’t know and avoid unfounded speculation. Claims, allegations, material facts and other content that cannot be corroborated should normally be attributed. The BBC must not knowingly and materially mislead its audiences. We should not distort known facts, present invented material as fact or otherwise undermine our audiences’ trust in our content.

In comparison to previous editions published on their website, this latest version of the BBC’s guidelines about accuracy qualifies “due accuracy” with “audience expectation”. This latest edition accessed in 2019 also eliminates the reference to the use of “clear, precise language”: “All BBC output, as appropriate to its subject and nature, must be well sourced, based on sound evidence, thoroughly tested and presented in clear, precise language” (BBC 2011 3.2.2.).

3. See <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-tyne-41172945> Accessed 21 September, 2019

4. Bold text in block quotes introduced by author for clarification purposes

5. <https://www.bbc.com/editorialguidelines/guidelines/accuracy/>. Accessed 21 September, 2019

The ideals of “truth” and “fairness” can be also found in the International Federation of Journalists’ (IFJ) “Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists”, otherwise known as the “Bordeaux Declaration”:

(1) Respect for **truth** and for the right of the public to truth is the first duty of the journalist; (2) In pursuance of this duty, the journalist shall at all times defend the principles of freedom in the honest collection and publication of news, and of the right of fair comment and criticism; (3) The journalist shall report only in accordance with facts of which he or she knows the origin. The journalist shall not suppress essential information or falsify documents; (4) The journalist shall use only **fair** methods to obtain news, photographs and documents...

Truth is also explicitly referenced in the BBC’s *Editorial Guidelines* discussion of accuracy in how material is to be gathered: “When necessary, all the relevant facts and information should be weighed to get at the truth” (BBC 2019: 3.3.1).

Fairness, as a guiding principle of ethical journalism, is also reflected in Section 6 of the BBC’s *Editorial Guidelines*:

We will be open, honest, straightforward and **fair** in our dealings with contributors and audiences unless there is a clear public interest in doing otherwise, or we need to consider important issues such as legal matters, safety, or confidentiality.

The Dow Jones Code of Conduct which regulates journalism practices of reporters for the *Wall Street Journal*, declares, as of 2019, that Dow Jones employees have “special responsibilities” because of the influence of their work. The code recognizes the concepts of “truth” and “fairness,” in addition to “accuracy,” and defends the relationship between trustworthy journalistic practices as business integrity and the common good because of the effects of their news reporting.

...it is an essential prerequisite for success in the news and information business that our customers believe us to be telling them the **truth**. If we are not telling them the truth – or even if they, for any valid reason, believe that we are not – then Dow Jones cannot prosper. Dow Jones will suffer, for example, if our customers cannot assume that: Our facts are **accurate** and **fairly** presented; Our analyses represent our best independent judgments rather than our preferences, or those of our sources, advertisers, or information providers; Our opinions represent only our own editorial philosophies; or there are no hidden agendas in any of our journalistic undertakings. All companies profess business integrity. But the impact of our work on the work of others, and on their lives and fortunes, places special responsibilities upon all Dow Jones employees.

The *New York Times* references both fairness and truth in their “Ethical Journalism” declaration (2019):<sup>6</sup>

The goal of The New York Times is to cover the news as impartially as possible – “without fear or favor,” in the words of Adolph Ochs, our patriarch – and to treat readers, news sources, advertisers and others fairly and openly, and to be seen to be doing so. The reputation of The Times rests upon such perceptions, and so do the professional reputations of its staff members. Thus The Times and members of its news department and editorial page staff share an interest in avoiding conflicts of interest or an appearance of a conflict...The Times treats its readers as fairly and openly as possible. In print and online, we tell our readers the complete, unvarnished truth as best we can learn it. It is our policy to correct our errors, large and small, as soon as we become aware of them.

It is not unusual to find “truth,” “accuracy” and “fairness” objectives and ideals in the policy declarations of many other news sources that we have not listed. However, the way these concepts are discussed contrasts sharply with conversations within Cognitive Linguistics and Cognitive Semantics. Lakoff perhaps summarizes this position best through the idea of embodiment (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Johnson 1987): “The mind is inherently embodied. Thought is mostly unconscious. Abstract concepts are largely metaphorical” (1999: 3) which he explains in greater detail with “...truth is not simply a relation between words and the world, as if there were no being with a brain and a body interposed. Indeed, the very idea that beings embodied in all these concept-shaping ways could arrive at a disembodied truth based on disembodied concepts is not merely arrogant, but utterly unrealistic” (102). In other words, it could be said that the concept of truth does not exist as a phenomenon outside of individual cognitive capabilities, where language means serve only to offer interpretations upon what are interpretations themselves. Truth, in this perspective, is a cultural concept, and always in the eye, so to speak, of the beholder. This is consistent with the understanding of metaphor as an indirect means of understanding and communication, or as Deignan (2005: 125) expresses it: “Metaphors do not directly reflect reality but filter it”.

At first glance, this would seem to indicate an epistemological disconnect between some central key ideals and objectives of Journalism practice and Cognitive Linguistics and Semantics. More specifically, it would appear that there is a lack of conversation between Ethics in Journalism practice and Cognitive Linguistics in ways that the perspectives and methodologies of both fields can be used to shed light on one another. In Journalism, and in particular financial news media reporting, “truth,” “accuracy” and “fairness” are concepts that exist, are publicly

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6. See <https://www.nytimes.com/editorial-standards/ethical-journalism.html#> Accessed 21 September, 2019

defended and are used for production output that justify behaviors and mold expectations. In other words, they guide mental models that reporters and editors employ in their discourse, and the expectations that news consumers come to have of the media.

While news media producers have the role of informing, their responsibility stems from the impact their work has on society as a whole. The Dow Jones declaration argues for the need for honesty and truth because it affects the larger community: “All companies profess business integrity. But the impact of our work on the work of others, and on their lives and fortunes, places special responsibilities upon all Dow Jones employees”. In this sense, ethical financial news reporting, or reporting that is as accurate, truthful and as fair as possible is necessary for the work of journalists to be socially responsible because it affects decisions investors make that impact the lives of others. Unethical, or untrustworthy news reporting – the reporting of information that is not accurate, or only partially accurate, or information that purposely does not contain all the facts making it biased in benefit of particular viewpoints – has negative practical consequences, such as when investors fear for the fiduciary integrity of their investments and withdraw their funds at the same time. There are consequences in the larger human community when incorrect or incomplete information is transmitted which leads to uninformed decisions which affects, as the Dow Jones declares, “the work of others, and on their lives and fortunes”. Indeed, financial news reporters have “special responsibilities” because of the power they have to influence how crisis scenarios will unfold.

However, for financial news media reporting in times of crisis, a more socially responsible and dependable conversation concerning the relationship between informative reality, and how metaphor fulfills these criteria, needs to be established for financial news reporting to fulfill its purpose of informing. Conversation about the teleology of financial news media communication that integrates the fulfillment of the human right to information would be helpful. It would provide a way to examine both the ends and the means of financial reporting from a social responsibility backdrop. A specific conversation is necessary – what differentiates the ethics of stock market reporting from the ethics of, for example, sports reporting, are in the end teleological reflections. It would be less acceptable for stock market reporting to employ some of the values from literary and gonzo journalism because a core component of the purpose of financial news reporting is to report data. Thus, it would be inappropriate for stock market news reporting, particularly in times of crisis, to value connection with the audience and expression over technical reliability; or using creative non-fiction sensibilities such as digression and stream of consciousness.

Whereas some currents in New Journalism take a more relative approach to the idea of informative reality, it would seem that stock market reporting in times of market instability stands as an example of the need for dependable frameworks. The advances of CMT and other cognitive approaches can be used to develop further correlations between media coverage, thought and consumer activity towards developing frameworks for (1) identifying key essential characteristics of newsworthy market phenomena, and (2) exploring how they are most effectively and efficiently given conceptual form (“in-form-ation”) using more customary and dependable conceptual frameworks whose entailments are more predictable. While a never-fail correspondence theory for informative truth is not possible, such conversation would prove beneficial. A key component would be examining the statistically most frequent conceptualizations of market crisis phenomenon in metaphors that reduce novel interpretations and increase predictable entailments. These forms offer more dependability in spite of their somewhat precarious relationship to already existing receptor mental models used in interpretation, an extension of the idea that metaphor plays a central role in creating a model of scientific thought (Lewis 1999).

José María Desantes-Guanter, the first *catedrático* in Right to Information in Spain, explored the dynamics (1988, 2003, 2004) of teleological importance of the informative message: “To forget or deny that the message should be the communication of the reality, which is done in many ways out of fear of the reality itself since the truth about it is difficult to obtain and, sometimes, harsh to communicate, is to negate the human possibility of communication, as its effects demonstrate” (2004: 57). CDA and RTI share a common desire for discursive justice that can be placed in conversation with CMT and journalistic ideals towards financial news media excellence in times of market crisis.

### 3. Right to Information and metaphor: Towards more ethical financial journalism

Right to Information found its way into international legal frameworks in the twentieth century. In article 59 (I) of the United Nations General Assembly of 1946: “Freedom of information is a fundamental human right and is the touchstone of all the freedoms to which the United Nations is consecrated ... It requires as a basic discipline the moral obligation to seek the facts without prejudice and to spread knowledge without malicious intent”; Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) identifies three principles for human rights, which include Freedom of Expression, Information and a Free Press. Freedom of information is also linked to Freedom of expression in the UN General Assembly’s International

Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Article 19(2), Resolution 2200A(XXI) of 1966 which affirms that “Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.” And in reference to the media it says that “The media ...have an essential role in the development of the Information Society and are recognized as an important contributor to freedom of expression and plurality of information.”

UNESCO’s 1978 Declaration on “Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War”, affirms the fundamental role of both journalists and news consuming citizens with regards to both objectivity and accuracy: “2. Access by the public to information should be guaranteed by the diversity of the sources and means of information available to it, thus enabling each individual to check the accuracy of facts and to appraise events objectively. To this end, journalists must have freedom to report and the fullest possible facilities of access to information. Similarly, it is important that the mass media be responsive to concerns of peoples and individuals, thus promoting the participation of the public in the elaboration of information”.

Right to Information, often in close relationship to Freedom of Information (FOI), Access to Information (ATI) and Right to Know (R2K) is based on the premise that information is a fundamental human right, the cornerstone of other rights such as to expression and development. Right to information is an offshoot of the fundamental human right to human dignity because of its impact on the intellectual formation of the individual, and the right to be able to relate, and be in relation with others, or in community.

Mendel (2003: 4) takes the position that freedom of expression is a facet of human dignity, related to a person’s right to truth, and an important part of democracy: “Freedom will be bereft of all effectiveness if the people have no access to information. Access to information is basic to the democratic way of life. The tendency to withhold information from the people at large is therefore to be strongly checked.” This same author also declares:

More important, however, is the centrality of freedom of information to the key underlying rationales for freedom of expression in the first place. The importance of freedom of expression has been explained in three key ways, as an aspect of human dignity, as the best means of ascertaining the truth and as a fundamental underpinning of democracy. Freedom of information plays an important role in all three but it is as an aspect of democracy that it is perhaps most crucial. (4)

Whereas Mendel and others have described freedom of expression as an aspect of human dignity, this research, on the other hand would suggest that human dignity is the *origin* of the right to information because it describes people's right to be informed and be in communication/relation with others precisely because they are human. Dignity is related to the fulfillment of Journalistic Ethics because it recognizes journalism ideals such as truth, fairness and accuracy no longer as mere ideals to strive towards, but as human rights in themselves that place the person at the center of the communicative and informative act. In other words, the media exist to be at the service of the person in community with others. Essentially, trustworthy constructs for truth, fairness and accuracy in metaphor framing of the stock market, conform to the interests and concerns of right to information because they provide the individual with the necessary data to make conscientious decisions that affect the larger human community. This is the origin of RTI's understanding of information as a right of the people – the media just give them what is already theirs. RTI understands information as a human right because language is an exercise of power as information is power; however, power needs justice for it to be legitimate in a moral sense. One of RTI's major tenets is that by providing information, both private and public institutions work towards the achievement of excellence, fulfill their objectives and serve the people and thus contribute to the just exercise of power. RTI laws consequently seek to guarantee the public's access to information when no significant reasons exist to permit otherwise.

RTI has developed an anthropological-philosophical base for purposeful communication that can be ultimately placed in conversation with cognitive theories of metaphor to improve the reliability of market reporting. An RTI perspective provides a telos, or purpose or goal to communication, namely one that humanizes all of those involved in the communication process. According to Desantes-Guanter, "human communication is a humane communication" (2004: 51). Fundamentally, this is because communication is understood as an act of justice, which provides the essence of the telos of journalism from an RTI perspective: "the duty to inform consists of providing individuals with information because it is theirs. Providing information, which is the characteristic action in the duty to inform is fundamentally, among other qualities, an act of justice" (1988: 12–13). This idea is ascribed to Aquinas in his commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* with "iustitia consistit in communicatione,"<sup>7</sup> and is further detailed in the *Summa Theologica*: "but it belongs to the essence of goodness to communicate itself to others."<sup>8</sup>

7. Aquinas, (1964) *Commentary on Nicomachean Ethics* (8, 9, n. 1658)

8. See Aquinas (2007) Q1, Art.2, pt. 111, page 2020.

Desantes defends that Right to Information is related to human dignity, or humanization, because truthful, accurate and fair information vitalizes both the individual and the community because of the relationship that it posits between action and being, as the author declares:

Communication is what helps to configure the personality of man, first from an individual perspective and after from a social perspective. Because communication in man corresponds – and it should correspond in practice – with the very being of the person. The golden rule in ethics is that good action is congruent with good being. People have the word to communicate with one another, not to distort communication, diverting it from one’s self, leaving one more isolated than he or she would be in silence. (2004: 52–53).

The exercise of justice, according to Desantes, puts people into communication with each other, creating a close relationship between community and communication: “Justice, like information, are relational values that put people in communication with each other, and each one of them with the community. And between communities there is a close relationship: there can be no communication without community, and no community without communication” (1988: 12). This idea he relates to Francisco de Vitoria’s concept of “*jus societatis et communicationis*,” understood as the right to live in community and communicate.

The idea of a “humanizing” communication that builds community through RTI overlaps with some of the objectives of Critical Discourse Analysis that will be examined in more detail. In particular, the expectations of human dignity as a primary right to fulfill in RTI through transparent media discursive strategies produces other positive fruits such as good governance which contributes to improving the standard of living for many people, reducing inequality, and the abuse of power. The Centre for Good Governance, in their publication, *The Right to Information Act, 2005: A Guide for Media* explores this connection through good governance:

Good governance is recognized as central to poverty eradication, and a free media is a necessary condition for good governance. As an information conduit between corporations, government, and the populace, the media acts as a watchdog against government malfeasance, while at the same time fostering greater transparency and accountability. The media monitors public service delivery and reports on key issues to the public at large, and in this process exerts pressure on public service providers. By highlighting institutional failings to guard against and institutional successes for replication, the media creates the right framework of incentives for good governance. A free press is integral to good governance. It lets people voice diverse opinions on governance and reform, expose corruption and malpractices and help build public consensus to bring about change. It monitors



basic public service delivery and promotes human development. Last but not the least, it educates the public and builds public awareness on key socio-economic issues. (47–48)

RTI has also been explored for its practical implication in implementing policies that promote effective governance in a number of institutions that provide information. This is similar to the Dakar Declaration on Media and Good Governance (2005): “independent and pluralistic media are essential for ensuring transparency, accountability and participation as fundamental elements of good governance and human rights-based development, Emphasizing the right freely to access information held by public bodies as a vital component of good governance...”

The practical consequences of a “humanizing communication” can be seen in the strengthening of community through democratic participation, allowing citizens access to information to insure higher levels of transparency. An RTI influenced perspective is capable of producing higher levels of transparency in media discourse because it means that ethics regulations are complied. For the media, and related to financial news reporting this has significant implications, as The Centre for Good Governance (2006) declares:

Free flow of information promotes accountability and transparency, prevents corruption, and strengthens the capacity of community groups and civil society organizations to participate in decision-making. The right to freedom of information is crucial not only in determining policy but also in checking the Government in its implementation of policy. (5)

According to Dokeniya (2012: 1), RTI has been characterized as fundamental to enhancing citizen participation in governance, improving citizens’ understanding of public policy choices and decision-making processes, and enabling them to assert claims on service entitlements, scrutinize public officials and public expenditures (Jenkins and Goetz 1999) and exercise a more direct form of social accountability”.

The connection between good governance, transparency, and development through examining the discursive strategies that make information free to all is of interest to Critical Discourse Analysis, which will be examined more in detail later in this research. Meanwhile, the relationship between RTI and Right to Development (RTD) is perhaps best illustrated by the declaration of the World Conference on Human Rights of 1993: “The right to seek, receive and impart information is not merely a corollary of freedom of opinion and expression; it is a right in and of itself. As such, it is one of the rights upon which free and democratic societies depend. It is also a right that gives meaning to the Right to Participate which has been acknowledged as fundamental to the realization of the

Right to Development.” This idea was also expanded upon by The Centre for Good Governance (2006) which sees information as key to “enlightened judgment”:

If development is to be realized, people need the freedom to participate in public life with full information as “informed” citizens, exercise their “right to say”, put forth their views, and demand, without fear of discrimination, that their Governments uphold their obligations and deliver. Knowledge is power and freedom of information is vital to the advancement of knowledge society. Enlightened judgment is possible only if one is provided with opportunity to consider all facts and ideas, from whatever source, and to test one’s conclusion against opposing views. (5)

The Centre for Good Governance (2006) recognizes the influential power dynamic of the media: it shapes public consciousness, and with free information, reduces social marginalization and inequality. Information, according to the center gives a “voice to the poor”:

The potential of mass media to be effectively employed to enhance social awareness is unquestionable. The media can be effective in not only preserving freedom but also extending it. The news media plays a decisive role in establishing a discursive space for public deliberations over social issues. The formative influence of the media on public attitudes, thoughts and perceptions is fundamental to the process of citizen engagement in public dialogue. Giving a voice to the poor also entails giving the poor people adequate opportunities to take initiatives for overcoming their problems. The media, through its role in shaping public awareness and action, can be a critical factor in facilitating sustainable development and poverty reduction. (47)

Such a teleological framework for “humane” communication, namely one that underlines the individual’s right to information, and the right to communicate and relate to others within a larger community in an informed fashion would be the backdrop in a dialogue with cognitive linguistics. The purpose of such a conversation would be to explore which ontological frameworks used to describe the stock market produce more trustworthy and predictable entailments about real time market realities to inform the decision process.

#### 4. Crisis, decision and change

The word “crisis” implies a time of great change, and in the convulsions of the world economy since the Great Recession of 2008, RTI offers a humanizing vision of metaphor in financial news media discourse in times of crisis. “Truth,” “fairness” and “accuracy” in the use of metaphor in financial news media as human rights related

to the fulfillment of the greater right of human dignity is a “decision” which CDA can both benefit from and contribute to by providing the means of analyzing how metaphor contributes to the just exercise of power. Understanding journalism ideals such as “truth,” “fairness” and “accuracy” as human rights through information leads inevitably to the examination of the communicative systems and procedures employed in the process of informing, of which metaphor is only one of many.

Aside from RTI's relationship to social awareness and action through discursive justice, the relevance of metaphor towards CDA's concern for social issues and problems can be appreciated in how metaphor ontology works as a framing mechanism. Using metaphor as a tool towards the fulfillment of the human right to information facilitates the fulfillment of journalism industry standards as the former are more exigent than the latter. An analysis of the discursive means of such an endeavor necessitates identifying some of CDA's basic theoretical commitments. Lin (2014) identifies the analytical focus of CDA along with a number of its assumptions about language:

The analytical focus should thus be on how language, as continuously changing systems of semiotic resources, among other semiotic systems of resources (e.g., multimodalities), are recruited and utilized for constructing racial, gender, social, sexual, and other cultural categories that legitimate and perpetuate inequalities (e.g., policies, institutions) in society. CDA maintains several assumptions about language: It sees language as social practice; language and discourse both shape/constitute and are shaped/constituted by social structures (e.g., gender, sexuality, class, ethnic identities); and language is intrinsically ideological and plays a key (albeit often invisible) role in naturalizing, normalizing, and thus masking, producing, and reproducing inequalities in society. (215)

One must only substitute the word “language” from Lin's description for the word “metaphor” to see the possible relationships that are created between metaphor, human rights, journalistic ideals for excellence, Right to Information and CDA. CDA, it can be said, provides the mechanism for examining the just exercise of power of metaphor in discourse because it has a teleological justification based on communication that is dignified because of the human connection, one that develops the individual and integrates them into a just society precisely because they are human. Lin (2014) summarizes the key commitments of CDA based on van Dijk (2009) and Reisigl and Wodak (2009) as being socially committed, problem oriented, interdisciplinary, and researcher reflexive, each worthy of discussion concerning how the analysis of metaphor from an RTI perspective in financial news media reporting through CDA is capable of furthering the goals of ethically compliant financial news media discourse. The first and last will be considered together:

1. CDA is socially committed research: It is committed to contributing to the understanding and tackling of social problems, especially those that are caused or exacerbated by public text and talk, such as various forms of social power abuse (e.g., racism, sexism, classism, homophobia) and their resulting social consequences...4. CDA takes into account the interests, expertise, and resistance of those groups that are subjected to discursive injustice. (Lin 2014: 214)

RTI and CDA are both socially committed research because they both identify the relationship between language and power, and that power must be exercised justly through information means, including metaphor. RTI, it can be said, dignifies the person both individually through accurate information and in relationship to others, in community making them an active democratic participant through more equitable access to power. RTI recognizes information as a human right that is related to other human rights such as development because it starts by recognizing the dignity and inherent worth of each individual, and thus, the dignity of the communicative act with both rights and responsibilities. Ultimately, trustworthy uses of metaphor in financial news media discourse are related to how problems in society are understood and dealt with because truthful, accurate and fair use of metaphor forms the basis of what investors understand as reality and how we relate to others through our financial decisions, particularly in crisis scenarios. Accurate data, particularly in stock market and other financial news media reporting leads to greater development through participation.

In the case of stock market reporting, it provides individuals with accurate data about significant market events that helps them to make informed decisions, which has social consequences. The Great Depression of the 20th century highlighted that those who suffer the consequences of market instability are ultimately the socially and economically disadvantaged, those whose interests are not represented in the channels of dominant economic discourse. In this sense, an RTI approach to metaphor through CDA in stock market reporting is an exercise of the practice of justice in using conceptual frames to represent market realities. It is just as concerned about the equity as CDA. A beneficial by-product is restoring trust in the media as dependable providers of accurate and dependable information.

The more accountable news reporters are to ethical standards of language use, the more transparent the process of data transfer is, which makes it more difficult for special interests to exercise influence in imposing specific visions of the market and particular interpretations of market events in addition to the ways that they would like the media to frame them to suit their own economic and ideological interests. Truthful, accurate and fair representations of market realities promote trust and confidence in the market, and trust and confidence reduce uninformed investor behavior to withdraw funds to preserve value. An RTI perspective on financial news media journalistic ethics believes that dependable constructs of

informational reality are necessary to increase transparency and accountability so that people can ultimately participate in policy making, and ensure that both public and private sectors are exercising and implementing market policy effectively and efficiently. In this, CDA can offer theoretical and methodological insight in examining applied uses of conceptual frameworks.

From an RTI perspective, “discursive injustice” is when wounds to individual dignity ultimately hurt the dignity of the community at large. This injustice is inflicted discursively through the media and the role of ideology in perpetuating interpretations of market news events that favor those who have exercised their influence over media actors, in spite of their profession of respect for “truth,” “accuracy” and “fairness”. The interests of those who are not represented by the powerful are best represented by a belief that each communicative informative act should in its essence be an act of justice, and that financial news media and news media in general should promote philosophical teleological conversation concerning the end purposes of their communication. Such a reflection will make them consider the cognitive and linguistic framework tools that they use in their communicative work, and will move them towards bringing their motivations and their uses of these tools more into congruence with the principles of journalism excellence that their organizations defend. In other words, CDA asks the important questions concerning how the dynamics of meaning transfer and negotiation through metaphor in financial news media reporting are met with in practical terms in the people whose interests are not always represented discursively in the politics of media representation of news events.

2. CDA is thus problem-oriented rather than theory or discipline-driven and emphasizes presenting its practical implications and applications in accessible language to the public or relevant parties. (Lin 2014: 214)

A RTI approach to metaphor ontology analysis in CDA for stock market reporting is ultimately practical and problem oriented because it seeks to improve the systems and procedures that financial news media reporters and their editors employ to fulfilling journalistic standards as human rights, and translating them into best practices policy statements and other documents that news media companies publish and publicly defend. While providing a philosophical justification and philosophical-historical-legal framework, an RTI approach to metaphor, when incorporated into a CDA methodological framework, proves itself to be more problem oriented and practical in its efforts to eliminate the causes of disinformation because it understands the fulfillment of the rights to information as an expression of human dignity.

3. CDA is interdisciplinary and calls for flexibility and diversity in its approaches and methods to tackle complex issues and problems. (Lin 2014: 214)

The advances in Cognitive Linguistics that describe the intricate complexity of human communication are tempered by needs for journalistic excellence in language use as reflected in policy statements examined in Journalism from well-known entities such as the BBC, the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times*. To this already interdisciplinary diverse conversation is added the philosophical justification of RTI, rooted in perhaps, an Anthropological-Philosophical perspective of human dignity stretching at least as far back as Aristotle. Such rich reflection from many perspectives is necessary today to restore trust and confidence in the media, achieved through examining concrete issues of language use. One of which is that few if any news media providers have declared ethical criteria for the use of metaphor<sup>9</sup> in spite of more than thirty years of research that provides strong correlations to perception and behavior. An RTI expounding truth, accuracy and fairness as human rights in metaphor provides theoretical and philosophical diversity and practical justification for why news media communicative methods should be brought into congruency with news media ideals. RTI in conjunction with CDA approaches to metaphor analysis in media ethics in financial news media reporting dignifies the communicative act because of its relationship to the individual and highlights the communal aspect of the identity of persons: it prepares people to make responsible decisions in relationship to others.

The last criteria “CDA stresses researcher reflexivity – the need to make the object under investigation and the analyst’s own position transparent and justify theoretically why certain interpretations and readings of discursive events seem more valid than others” (Lin 2014: 214–15) can be firstly carried out in the news rooms and among editorial teams of financial news reporters. They are the ones who give data form, form to “information”. While researcher reflexivity is a necessary component in the sharing of best practices based on the insights from both Cognitive Linguistics and Journalism practice, such conversations ultimately have to have practical resonance in the owners of news media companies who are responsible for the training of their employees and ethics compliance.

An RTI approach to the analysis of metaphor in CDA in financial news media reporting produces a teleology of communication that places the person at the center of the communicative act. Considering such a teleology for financial news media reporting, particularly in times of crisis, offers credence that such a broader perspective and motivation to the teleology of communication could be considered in CDA to strive to meet society’s expectations of financial news

9. See O’Mara-Shimek (2016)

media reporting as accurate, truthful and fair informers. Metaphor needs to work towards fulfilling the same ethical criteria as other communicative means at the disposal of reporters. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 132) remind us that “Metaphors create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action. Such actions will, of course, fit the metaphor. This will, in turn, reinforce the power of the metaphor to make experience coherent. In this sense metaphors can be self-fulfilling prophecies”. Such would bring considerations of metaphor technique more in line with the publicly defended ethical policies of journalism practice whose values most major news providers share and defend, particularly in times of economic uncertainty where it is most evident the need for efficient and effective communication of market realities. The need to bring into congruency the ideals expressed by financial news media purveyors and the communicative tools at their disposal can be assisted by a philosophical perspective, a teleological vision of purpose and finality of communication based on the human right to dignity. This research proposes Right to Information, where information is considered a human right supporting dignity, as a useful ethical framework that helps elucidate the ways in which metaphor works towards fulfilling such ideals or in what ways its use falls short. RTI lends a powerful assist because it gives journalistic ideals such as truth, fairness and accuracy not only a reason for being, but a larger purpose and justification – that of human rights in themselves in the context of how metaphors are constructed and used.

To explore metaphor's role in how structures of power and their interests are perpetuated through the internal logical systems in ontological conceptual frames chosen to represent financial events and influence the public's perception and how they should be dealt with policywise because of their metaphorical entailments is, essentially, a study of the justice of communication. As discourse is inextricably linked to power and thus metaphor, the marketing of crisis response mechanisms through metaphor in stock market reporting is a tactical means of exercising power by the individuals and interests groups who own and manage news media companies news media companies. The Centre for Good Governance (2006: 51) affirms:

It is important that the media plays the role of an honest broker of information for its readers without deliberate bias or favoritism. The media must consider its independence to be its most valuable commercial, editorial and moral asset. Maintaining its independence through professional behavior and a code of conduct that is subscribed to by all journalists, the media can be a powerful user of the RTI Act<sup>10</sup> and an agent for the empowerment of people through an Information Society. The objective of the Act to usher in a practical regime of right to information cannot be attained without a proactive role played by the media.

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10. Refers to the India's Right to Information Act of 2005

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# From economic crisis to austerity policies through conceptual metaphor

## A corpus-based comparison of metaphors of crisis and austerity in the Portuguese press

Augusto Soares da Silva

This chapter analyses the role of conceptual metaphors in the conceptualization and ideological exploitation of the global financial crisis and the subsequent austerity policies in the Portuguese press. The analysis relies on a corpus of news and opinion articles published between September 2008 and March 2009, when the financial breakdown that led to the global economic crisis took place, in June–July 2011, after the entry of the Troika in Portugal and the announcement of the first austerity measures, and May 2013, when protests against the austerity policies intensified. Assuming the general frameworks of Cognitive Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis and corpus-based and discourse-based approaches to conceptual metaphor, the study highlights how metaphor can be a powerful conceptual and discourse strategy to frame economic, political and social issues and to serve emotional and ideological purposes.

**Keywords:** conceptual metaphor, Cognitive Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, financial crisis, austerity policies, embodiment, persuasion, ideology

### 1. Introduction

This study analyses the metaphorical conceptualization of the global financial crisis and of austerity policies as its by-product in the Portuguese press, in the context of the impact of the global economic crisis and of the harsh austerity measures implemented by the Portuguese government in order to solve the serious economic crisis in Portugal. In 2008, the financial markets collapsed with devastating consequences worldwide. In April 2011, Portugal had to request external financial assistance, and the new Portuguese government, which came into power in June

of the same year, had to implement a series of harsh austerity measures that were recommended by the Troika (i.e. the European Commission, European Central Bank and International Monetary Fund). Three years later, the government opted to make a “clean exit” from the Troika’s program of financial assistance.

The analysis relies on a corpus of news and opinion articles published in Portuguese national and economic newspapers over two time periods corresponding to the 2008–2009 financial crisis and the 2011–2013 austerity measures. Specifically, the corpus analysis of the financial crisis includes most of the crisis-related articles published by the daily newspapers *Público* and *Diário Económico*, and by the weekly newspaper *Expresso*, between September 2008 and March 2009, during the financial breakdown that led to the global economic crisis. The corpus analysis of austerity policies includes all the austerity-related articles of the newspaper *Público* published between June 15 and July 15, 2011, after the entry of the Troika in Portugal, and the announcement of the first austerity measures by the new center-right coalition government, headed by Pedro Passos Coelho (who won the Portuguese elections following the resignation of former socialist Prime-Minister José Sócrates). It also includes all the austerity-related articles published by the same newspaper two years later, in May 2013, when protests against the government, the Troika, and the European Union intensified, and public perception that austerity policies were wrong started to spread. Also included in this study is a very brief analysis of more recent articles from the newspaper *Público* published after the so-called *clean exit* from the Troika’s program of financial assistance in 2014, and in 2016, during the new socialist government, also known as the post-austerity period.

The analysis follows the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Kövecses 2002, 2005, 2015), especially the current trend of corpus-based and discourse-based approaches to conceptual metaphor (Charteris-Black 2004; Stefanowitch and Gries 2006; Semino 2008; Musolff and Zinken 2009; Rojo López and Orts Llopis 2010; Steen 2011). More broadly, it follows the promising convergence between Cognitive Linguistics (Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007; Dabrowska and Divjak 2015), which Conceptual Metaphor Theory falls within, and Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1992; van Dijk 1997; Wodak and Meyer 2003). From this perspective, metaphor is seen as a powerful conceptual and discourse strategy to frame economic, political, and social issues, and also to serve emotional and ideological purposes. Through metaphor, the global financial crisis, and the political and economic debate about austerity measures and policies, both of which have been extensively mediatized, become effectively persuasive and manipulative (see also O’Mara, this volume, on the role of metaphor in Crisis Marketing in stock market reporting and Holmgreen, this volume, on the relevance of framing and metaphor in public evaluation of organizational crisis).

Indeed, we tend to conceptualize more abstract domains by highlighting their conceptual similarity with more immediate and concrete domains, a metaphorical mapping that is grounded in our individual, collective and cultural experience, in other words, in our socio-culturally situated embodiment. The experiential motivations of metaphor and its cognitive power make it a powerful strategy for persuasion, manipulation, and the transmission of ideologies. Conceptual metaphor is thus constitutive of the political and economic discourse constructed and disseminated by the media. Consequently, the global systemic financial crisis and austerity policies and measures are susceptible to metaphorical conceptualization and persuasion. Moreover, the variation in metaphor use may be correlated with the different times and aims of the political actors.

This study presents a description, both qualitative and quantitative, of the metaphors of the financial crisis and of austerity policies. It also offers an explanation of the function of these metaphors in the journalistic discourse about crisis and austerity. The theoretical and methodological aspects of the present study will be detailed in the following section, which highlights the advantages of a socio-cognitive view of language in the converging frameworks of Cognitive Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis, and of a corpus-based and critical discourse-based approach to conceptual metaphor. Next, we will analyze the conceptual metaphors relating to the financial crisis and austerity policies revealed by the corpus study. Finally, we will show that these metaphors behave identically, and we will discuss the persuasive and manipulative functions of metaphors related to the crisis and to the austerity measures that ensued, highlighting their embodiment, ideology, and morality. Soares da Silva (2013, 2016) has conducted separate and more exhaustive studies of the conceptual metaphors of the financial crisis and of austerity policies in the Portuguese press, respectively.

## 2. Theoretical and methodological background

The approach adopted in this research intends to profit from two general frameworks – namely, Cognitive Linguistics (Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007; Dabrowska and Dagmar 2015) and Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1992; van Dijk 1997; Wodak and Meyer 2003) –, and make them interact in the area of Conceptual Metaphor studies (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999).

Cognitive Linguistics is an approach to the analysis of natural language that originated in the early eighties and that focuses on language as an integrated part of cognition, as serving the function of expressing meanings, and as a reflection of general cognitive processes and of individual, social and cultural experience. Since the late seventies, the linguistic study of ideology and discourse has been the home

territory of Critical Discourse Analysis. There are strong reasons to explore the interaction between discourse, cognition and society and to promote the convergence between Cognitive Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Chilton 2004; Charteris-Black 2005; Dirven et al. 2007; Hart 2010, 2014, 2015; Koller 2014; Soares da Silva 2015). Cognitive Linguistics can explain the ways in which individual minds and cognitive processes are shaped by their discourse interaction with sociocultural structures and practices. Inversely, discourse can enhance Cognitive Linguistics as a maximally *contextualizing* approach to language (Geeraerts 2010).

Taking the conception of language as a product of *distributed cognition*, *synergic cognition*, *socio-culturally situated cognition*, a product of a socially-conditioned, activity-driven cognition (Bernárdez 2008; Frank et al. 2008; Zlatev et al. 2008; Pishwa 2009; Sharifian 2009, 2011) – a conception that is currently being explored by the “second generation” of cognitive sciences and cognitive linguistics –, there is a need for a *socio-cognitive* perspective of discourse and language in general. This socio-cognitive perspective of discourse or, more generically, of *language in use*, is characterized by the centralization of the three following aspects: (i) the cognitive processes of discursive interaction; (ii) the sociocultural interactions and the way they affect discourse; and (iii) the relationship between conceptual, interactional, and sociocultural dimensions of language in use.

People tend to conceptualize more abstract domains through conceptual similarity with more concrete and immediate domains, and they ground this metaphorical mapping in the individual, collective, and cultural experience; in other words, in their socio-culturally situated *embodiment*. Metaphor is not only a rhetorical strategy, but also a conceptual phenomenon by nature, a cognitive mechanism, a natural way of thinking, speaking and acting. Conceptual Metaphor Theory, which was developed within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999), and boasts an extensive bibliography, has shown that metaphor exists first and foremost in the human conceptual system, manifesting itself in verbal language, image, and other forms of communication. It has also shown that metaphorical thought is natural and ubiquitous. Therefore, it is important to distinguish *conceptual* metaphor and metaphorical expression. Conceptual metaphor is an abstract pattern of thought that manifests itself in many ways, language being one of them. Specifically, conceptual metaphor constitutes a conceptual pattern according to which X IS Y, as in LIFE IS A JOURNEY, instantiated in an open set of different (verbal or non-verbal) expressions, and involves a systematic set of ontological and epistemological correspondences between the respective conceptual domains source (Y) and target (X). We take a reality that we know (or that we think that we know) better as a reference point, as a model for understanding other (more complex) phenomena. This mapping is systematic, partial, unidirectional, and usually becomes automatic and unconscious.

Metaphor is a powerful conceptual and discourse strategy to frame economic, political and social issues and to serve emotional and ideological purposes. The study of metaphor in real discourse (such as political or economic discourse) shows how metaphor not only helps us understand the world but also how it functions as a strategy of emotional and ideological persuasion and manipulation. Understanding metaphor as a social and cultural product that is transmitted from one generation to another, which is cognitively integrated in the community in an unconscious way, and on which the principles and guidelines of a culture and community are built, brings the field straight into its most recent approaches as a product of *situated embodiment* or *social cognition*.

Economic and political metaphor, as the case under study, is a paradigmatic example of a socio-culturally, situated discursive strategy that emerges from the interactions between deeply entrenched cultural-ideological knowledge, the specific socio-historical situation and the more particular contextual factors such as discourse type, intentions of participants, etc. The persuasive and manipulative nature of economic and political metaphors thus requires a model that integrates the cognitive, social and discursive strategies in the explanation of both their production and interpretation in real communicative situations. Ideology is an essential dimension of political and economic metaphor, and so the synergy between Cognitive Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis is stimulating, giving rise to cognitive critical metaphor analysis and cognitive critical ideology analysis.

From a methodological point of view, a cognitive and discursive approach to metaphor implies the acceptance that interpretative explanations of metaphors are no longer enough for systematic, scientific studies. Experimental and data-driven, corpus-based analyses are mandatory to corroborate hypothesis and draw conclusions on the incidence and weight of the different conceptual metaphors. The corpus-based and discourse-based approach to conceptual metaphor (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2006; Semino 2008; Rojo López and Orts Llopis 2010; Steen 2011) gives empirical evidence to Conceptual Metaphor Theory. It is especially fruitful for the two main issues involved in metaphor analysis, i.e. the identification of the metaphors in a corpus and the interpretation of their specific function in discourse.

Assuming a usage-based and dynamic view of metaphor, we have developed a quantitative corpus-based analysis able to provide empirical evidence that helps identify financial crisis and austerity metaphors and explain their socio-cognitive and discursive functions. The method for metaphorical identification is based on Stefanowitsch's (2006) "metaphorical pattern analysis" of target domains. This method consists of searching for metaphorical expressions which contain words from their target domains. The metaphorical expressions to which the target concepts and lexical items belong are identified as metaphorical patterns. Based on the metaphors they instantiate, groups of conceptual mappings are established. The



identification of a *metaphorical pattern* is based on the syntactic/semantic frame in which the target lexeme occurs.

Searches were made for 20 key words from the target domains of economy, finance and politics directly associated with financial crisis (12 target words) and austerity policies (8 target words). The target words for financial crisis were *ação* ‘asset’, *banco* ‘bank’, *bolsa* ‘stock market’, *crédito* ‘credit’, *crise* ‘crisis’, *consumo* ‘consumption’, *dinheiro* ‘money’, *dívida* ‘debt’, *economia* ‘economy’, *finanças* ‘finance’, *fundo* ‘fund’, and *mercado* ‘market’; the target words for austerity policies were *austeridade* ‘austerity’, *corte* ‘cut’, *dívida* ‘debt’, *Estado* ‘state’, *orçamento* ‘budget’, *pobreza* ‘poverty’, *poupança* ‘saving’, and *Troika* ‘Troika’. The searches included all the derivatives of each target word; for instance, the stem *banc\**, from which lexemes *banco*, *banca*, *bancário*, *banqueiro* originated, and the stem *divid\**, based on lexemes *dívida*, *endividar*, *endividado*, *endividamento*.

Our corpus contains two subcorpora. The first contains financial crisis-related articles published by the daily newspapers *Público* and *Diário Económico* and the weekly newspaper *Expresso*, between September 2008 and March 2009 (during the financial breakdown). The 2008–2009 financial crisis subcorpus has 98,689 words. The second contains austerity-related news and opinion articles extracted from the daily newspaper *Público* and published in June–July 2011 (after the entry of the Troika and the announcement of the first austerity measures by the new government), May 2013 (when protests against the austerity policies intensified), and in 2014–2016 (post-austerity period), albeit in a smaller number. The 2011–2013 austerity subcorpus has 66,475 words.

The *Público* is one of the five main daily general newspapers in Portugal. Founded in 1990, it is the second most recent daily paper. The *Expresso* is the more important weekly newspaper in Portugal, and the *Diário Económico* was one of the most important economic newspapers and was discontinued in 2010. Unlike foreign newspapers, such as neighboring Spain’s, the editorial position of most daily and weekly papers in Portugal is not particularly marked ideologically. In general terms, we might say that the *Público* and the *Expresso* lean more to the left than to the right.

Our corpus data was analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. The corpus analysis was organized into two main stages. Firstly, all the occurrences of the 20 aforementioned target lexemes and their derivatives were identified. Then, the hits that constituted metaphorical expressions or, more precisely, *metaphorical patterns* (whose identification is based on the syntactic/semantic frame in which the target lexeme occurs, Stefanowitsch (2006)) related to financial crisis and austerity policies were selected. For instance, the metaphorical expressions *gorduras do Estado* ‘fat of the state’, *emagrecimento do Estado* ‘slimming-down of the state’ and *o Estado tem que fazer dieta* ‘the state must go on a diet’ are different instantiations

of the specific conceptual metaphor THE STATE IS A (OBESE) BODY, which, in turn, is an instantiation of the higher-level metaphor THE STATE IS A PERSON and THE ECONOMY IS A PERSON. These metaphors were grouped within the category of metaphors based on propositional schemas (see below).

The selection of the metaphorical uses not only excluded literal uses of the lexemes but also uses not related to financial crisis and austerity policies and, in the case of austerity policies, those referring to countries other than Portugal. We gathered a total of 1,782 metaphorical expressions associated with the 12 lexemes related to the financial crisis, and a total of 1,151 metaphorical expressions associated with the 8 lexemes related to the austerity policies (481 in 2011 corpus and 670 in 2013 corpus).

Secondly, every metaphorical pattern was individually analyzed, considering its context of use, the nature of the source domain, the type of motivation and the mappings established across the domains. The metaphorical contexts were classified in three general groups, namely, (i) *propositional schemas*, which act as models of thought and behavior (Holland and Quinn 1987; Lakoff 1987), (ii) *image schemas*, which provide structure for the concept under study and are based on physical-embodied experiences such as force and path (Johnson 1987; Hampe 2005; Soares da Silva 2006), and (iii) *event schemas*, which are abstractions from experiences of certain events such as war, mission and therapy (Shank and Abelson 1977; Lakoff and Turner 1989; Sharifian 2011).

As for austerity policies, we compared the metaphorical expressions of the two periods (2011 and 2013), in order to detect possible differences in the use of metaphorical language to conceptualize austerity policies or to serve a certain political, economic or social interest. Specifically, we analyzed which of these metaphors were used in a positive or negative sense, as well as possible changes in the positive/negative sense between the two time periods. Our hypothesis predicted that the articles written in 2011 when the new government was coming into power, and the first austerity measures were announced would have a higher number of positive metaphors, whereas the articles produced after two years of harsh austerity measures in 2013 would have more negative metaphors.

### 3. The metaphorical conceptualization of the financial crisis

Table 1 presents the number of hits found for the 12 financial crisis-related lexemes selected and their derivatives in the newspapers *Público*, *Diário Económico* and *Expresso* published between September 2008 and March 2009, and shows how many of these hits constitute a metaphorical expression.

**Table 1.** Lexemes, hits and metaphors

| Lexemes   | Hits | Metaphors   |
|-----------|------|-------------|
| ação      | 45   | 32          |
| banco     | 239  | 184         |
| bolsa     | 163  | 126         |
| crédito   | 57   | 34          |
| crise     | 872  | 721         |
| consumo   | 34   | 25          |
| dinheiro  | 65   | 43          |
| dívida    | 152  | 124         |
| economia  | 237  | 164         |
| finanças  | 103  | 76          |
| fundo     | 270  | 180         |
| mercado   | 102  | 73          |
| Total (%) | 2339 | 1782 (76.2) |

### 3.1 Propositional schemas

Propositional schemas allow the conceptualization of the financial crisis in terms of models of human behavior, living entities, natural and supernatural forces, and physical or immaterial objects. Most part of propositional schema-based metaphors of the crisis are related to people, to their body and their behavior, but mostly to the illnesses they might suffer from, as well as with destructive natural forces.

The economy, the market, banks, are all conceptualized as organic entities, as human bodies, as people who can be healthy and who can get sick and, consequently, need medical care. This is the general ontological metaphor of the economic discourse *ECONOMY IS ORGANISM*, more typically *ECONOMY IS PERSON*, and its conceptual implication *ECONOMY IS HEALTHY* or *ECONOMY IS SICK*. In fact, the cognitive model of *ILLNESS* is the most productive and effective to the conceptualization of the global financial crisis, the metaphor *FINANCIAL CRISIS IS ILLNESS* being the most frequent. Practically all the stages and components of the experiential domain, and many of the medical domains of illness are used in journalistic discourse to convey the impact of the global financial crisis.

Let us address the different stages of the financial illness domain, and the structural analogies and ontological and epistemic correspondences of this metaphorical mapping. First, we have the recognition and the identification of the illness through the observation and the analysis of its symptoms and of its causes. The financial and economic entities and systems are said to be *very ill* organisms

or even to be *terminally ill*, as in Example (1). The severity of the financial crisis is conveyed by expressions such as *cardiac arrest*, *heart attack*, *collapse*, *bleeding*, as in (2), and more generally as *heart disease*, as *cancer* or, euphemistically, *terminal illness*, that is, metaphors of the incurable diseases of modern society.

- (1) Todos os indicadores económicos e financeiros mostram que o mundo está com uma **doença terminal** (Expresso, 27.12.08)  
‘All the economic and financial indicators show that the world has a **terminal illness**’
- (2) Quando o crédito bloqueia é como se houvesse uma **paragem cardíaca** (Público, 06.03.09)  
‘When loans stop it feels like a **cardiac arrest**’
- (3) A crise começou no mercado de ações mas agora está a atingir em cheio o **coração** do sistema, que são os bancos – todos eles. (Público, 06.03.09)  
‘The crisis started in the stock market but now it is striking the very **heart** of the system, which are the banks – all of them.’

CRISIS IS CARDIAC COLLAPSE is one the most common metaphors for conceptualizing the worst drops in international stock markets during October 2008. It is based on the HEART and blood system metaphor: FINANCIAL SYSTEM IS HEART OF THE ECONOMY, as in (3); the crisis, which started off in the financial sector, affected precisely the most vital organs of the economic system, causing a cardiac arrest or another pathological malfunction of the cardiovascular system. At the same time, there is a metonymic dimension in this metaphor: the heart as metonymy of the person, and, consequently, the financial system as metonymy of the Economy. If the heart can represent a person, and if the financial system can represent the economic system, then a financial crisis can cause the death of the systems of wealth production. It is no wonder that the images of the cardiac collapse were chosen to conceptualize the severity and the impact of the financial crisis.

Another powerful metaphor is that of the VIRUS, as in (4), and that of the subsequent INFECTION. It is the infectious and lethal illiquid asset virus from North America that contaminates the whole financial system at global level. Accordingly, the metaphors CRISIS IS CONTAGIOUS ILLNESS and CRISIS IS EPIDEMIC EMERGE, as in (5), to conceptualize the global scope of the financial crisis and its systemic nature (*systemic crisis*, *systemic effects*, *systemic risks*). The viral contamination made possible via pathogens such as the liberalization of capital markets and inappropriate monetary policies.

- (4) **matar o vírus** que há muito enfraquece a economia (Expresso, 08.12.08)  
‘**kill the virus** that has been weakening the economy for too long’

- (5) Estamos em presença de uma verdadeira **epidemia** financeira

(*Diário Económico*, 04.10.08)

‘We are witnessing a true financial **epidemic**’

The diagnosis of the financial and economic illness includes, obviously, the observation of its symptoms and the identification of its causes and of the pathogens. Example (6) illustrates that. Economic slowdown, unproductivity, bankruptcy of enterprises and banks, and unemployment are ‘alarm’ symptoms. Among the causes, the following stand out: the *clots* in the financial system that *clog the arteries*, the economic *blisters* and *abscesses* that swell and burst, as in (7), the *bleedings* and the *intoxication*, but also the *flu*, *pneumonia*, etc. Moreover, the most infectious pathogens, the most destructive viruses are the notorious *toxic assets* or investment vehicles based on “subprimes” (high-risk loans) that become illiquid, as in (8). The well-known Paulson Plan to salvage the American economy, adopted in the beginning of October 2008, aimed at the elimination of these toxic assets.

- (6) A Economia Mundial, o ‘**paciente**’, encontra-se no **bloco operatório**, entregue aos **cirurgiões**. Feito o **diagnóstico**, sabe-se do que **padece**, embora não se conheça ainda a extensão das **lesões**. Já foi **medicada**.

(*Expresso*, 08.12.09)

‘The World Economy, the ‘**patient**’, is in the **operating room**, and its life is in the **surgeons’** hands. The **diagnosis** allows us to identify the **disease**, but not the extent of the **lesions**. It has already been **medicated**.’

- (7) fazendo temer que o **coágulo no sistema circulatório** da economia era maior e muito mais difícil de tratar  
(*Público*, 24.10.08)  
‘making us fear that the **clot in the circulatory system** of the economy was bigger and much more difficult to treat’

- (8) EUA poderão pagar caro pelos **activos “tóxicos”** dos bancos

(*Diário Económico*, 24.09.08)

‘The USA might pay dearly for the **“toxic” assets** of the banks’

Once the diagnostic is made, the prognosis of the financial and economic disease follows suit. Extremely pessimistic prognoses are made, predicting great falls in stocks and markets, death of companies, and massive and long-lasting economic recessions.

- (9) Uma em cada cinco empresas pode **sucumbir** com a crise (*Público*, 08.03.09)  
‘One in five companies may **succumb** to the crisis’

Finally, to try and *save* or *heal* the economy, a plan to fight the illness must be implemented. It includes a series of *medicinal packs* (e.g. Paulson Plan, Stability and Growth Pact) and of *therapeutic treatments*, as well as an accurate and effective

*medication regimen*, as in (10)–(11). All the programs and all the measures taken to solve the crisis are MEDICINE and are offered in *packages*. Among the metaphors of THERAPY-MEDICATION of the crisis, one finds *injections* of capital to *replenish the blood supply* (money, loan that has been lost), *stimulus package* and *cordials* (fiscal or of any other nature), *oxygen balloons*, *antibiotics*, *antidotes* and other medication to fight off infectious diseases, *morphine* and other *analgesics*, *blood transfusions*, *electric shocks* to *reanimate a heart that has stopped beating* and, as a last resort, *amputations*.

(10) A **terapia** actual não funciona! (Expresso, 09.01.09)  
‘The current **therapy** is not working!’

(11) A Administração norte-americana poderá avançar com um plano de **injecção** de 40 mil milhões de dólares no sistema bancário (Público, 24.10.08)  
‘The American administration might approve a plan to **inject** 40 billion dollars in the bank system’

Metaphors of body and illness are useful to conceptualize the performance, the complexity, but also the vulnerability of financial and economic systems, their utmost importance to policies, societies and individuals, the immediate, global, disastrous consequences of its malfunction, the urgency and concerted efforts to apply effective measures in order to repair the current financial and economic systems, and also the need to reform them.

A second propositional schema to conceptualize metaphorically the financial crisis is that of the abrupt and violent changes of the forces of NATURE, which cause destruction and serious human and material damages on a large scale, including calamities, cataclysms, catastrophes. The common metaphorical pattern is CRISIS IS DISTURBANCE IN NATURE with destructive consequences, the most prominent of them being CRISIS IS NATURAL CATASTROPHE. The natural catastrophe metaphors are particularly useful to conceptualize the great instability of financial stocks and markets, the destructive, large-scale effects of the crisis and its unpredictability, the misfortune and the disgrace, but also the vulnerability of the financial and economic systems. The authorities who evaluate the strength of the economy, namely the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, refer to the global systemic crisis as a *human catastrophe*, a *planetary natural disaster*.

Two metaphorical subpatterns, linked to two types of extremely damaging and violent natural phenomena, are present. First, atmospheric phenomena and the conceptualization of the crisis in terms of *turbulence*, *storm*, *tempest*, *hurricane* (“whose eye is in Wall Street”, *Público*, 09.10.08), *typhoon*, *tornado*, *cyclone*. These

atmospheric metaphors are mainly used during the first manifestations of the financial crisis. CRISIS IS STORM is one of the most common atmospheric metaphors.

- (12) Portugal já entrou na **tempestade** (*Expresso*, 22.11.08)  
 ‘Portugal has already entered the **storm**’
- (13) O **furacão** financeiro, como lhe chamaram, tem provocado elevadas desvalorizações das bolsas (*Público*, 19.10.08)  
 ‘The financial **hurricane**, as it was called, has triggered significant devaluation in stocks’

Secondly, geological and geophysical phenomena and the conceptualization of the crisis as a *volcanic eruption*, a *seism* and *seismic tremor*, an *earthquake*, *tectonic movements* and even a *tsunami* of devastating repercussions both to the financial sector and to the dynamics of the economy. These geophysical metaphors are mostly used to convey the spread of the crisis across the world, the generalized, disastrous blow to the financial sector, the devastating outcome of the financial crisis and its tragic consequences for the economy, for the society, and for politics. Example (15) shows that even renowned economists resort to the geophysical catastrophe metaphor.

- (14) O **terramoto** bancário que sacode os Estados Unidos (*Diário Económico*, 08.10.08)  
 ‘The bank **earthquake** that shakes the United States’
- (15) Crise é um “movimento **tectónico** e não uma simples **tempestade**” (...) Como alerta Dan O’Brien: “Isto não é uma **tempestade** como muitas pessoas falam, não é um fenómeno **meteorológico** mas **geológico**. A **paisagem** económica está a mudar e as movimentações **tectónicas** estão a ser maiores do que prevíamos.” (*Expresso*, 19.01.09)  
 ‘Crisis is a “**tectonic** movement and not a simple **storm**” (...) Dan O’Brien warns: “This is not a **storm** as many people like to say, it is not a **meteorological** but a **geological** phenomenon. The economic **landscape** is changing and the **tectonic** movements are stronger than we had predicted.”’

Storm and seismic metaphors have partial or more specific atmospheric and geophysical instantiations: *dark clouds*, *dark days*, *strong winds*, *storms*, *giant waves*, *fires*, *droughts*; *landslides* of economic structures; and aquatic and maritime metaphors of *drowning*, *sinking* and *submersion*.

Supernatural forces are also used for the metaphorical conceptualization of the financial crisis, especially to emphasize the fear it incites among the public. The most frequent metaphors are CRISIS IS GHOST and CRISIS IS ENIGMA, as in

(16), while expressions such as “mysteries of the crisis” (*Público*, 17.10.08) are also attested.

- (16) Um novo **fantasma** ensombra a crise (*Expresso*, 29.11.08)  
 ‘A new **ghost** brings a dark side to the crisis’

Other metaphors conceive economy– the or some of its factors, including shares or funds – as an object of exchange, as a physical entity that contracts, tightens, gets squeezed, and as a machine in particular. The mechanic metaphor of the breakdown, which refers to the broader metaphor ECONOMY IS MACHINE, is frequent in the corpus: CRISIS IS (SERIOUS) BREAKDOWN or collapse of the mechanic system (*engine breakdown*), hence the need for appropriate *tools* to try and repair it, as in (17).

- (17) Com o **motor a gripar** no Ocidente (*Expresso*, 22.12.08)  
 ‘With its **engine seizing** in the Western’

The specific propositional schema metaphors identified in the corpus and their frequency are summarized in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Metaphors based on propositional schemas

| Metaphors          | Hits        |
|--------------------|-------------|
| Illness            | 695         |
| Natural force      | 302         |
| Supernatural force | 27          |
| Object             | 18          |
| Machine            | 13          |
| Total (%)          | 1055 (59.2) |

### 3.2 Image schemas

Image schemas underpin many metaphors of the financial crisis. There are in the corpus four main image schemas to the conceptualization of the crisis. One of them is the image schema SOURCE-PATH-GOAL and its most prominent part, PATH, upon which the image schema JOURNEY is based. Financial operations are conceived as a series of activities carried out to achieve certain economic objectives, hence the metaphor FINANCIAL PROCESS IS A JOURNEY. Some of the expressions in our corpus, which were based on the structure of a journey, conceptualized the crisis as an undesired destination, and a force that acted adversely, slowing down the speed of economic matters. Other expressions conceptualize the crisis as



*halt, emergency braking, slippage* or more generically as *setback* or as *recession* and *recessive spiral*, as in (18)–(19).

- (18) A Europa em **marcha atrás** (Público, 01.03.09)  
‘Europe stuck in **reverse**’
- (19) Portugal vai acompanhar **travagem a fundo** da economia mundial (Público, 09.10.08)  
‘Portugal to follow suit on **emergency braking** of the World economy’

A second image schema is the orientation INSIDE-OUT and the gestaltic implication of the CONTAINER image schema. Financial and economic institutions, as well as politic and social institutions, the country itself and the whole world are physical containers. The crisis is a force that comes from the outside to the inside of the container and invades the delimited area. The conceptualization of the crisis, which is based on these image schemas, also underlies the metaphors of illness and of natural catastrophe that have been analyzed in the previous section.

A third image schema is the orientation UP-DOWN, thanks to which we build the image schema of VERTICALITY. A financial or economic system is understood as a network of subsystems and interdependent elements working together in a dynamic balance of forces in order to obtain certain results. Whenever, for some reason, the balance is lost, the system halts and crashes. Consequently, we understand the economic and financial crisis as a loss of balance of this system, and its effects as a thunderous fall and a *freefall* or *plummeting fall*. Furthermore, metaphorical expressions of *sinking*, as in (20), are also frequent.

- (20) Bolsas **afundam**, banca cai a pique e recessão aperta (Expresso, 22.11.08)  
‘Stock markets **sink**, the banking sector **plummets**, and recession tightens’

Finally, there is the image schema of FORCE, already present in the previous image schemas. Physical forces are everywhere, inside and outside our bodies: each one of our interactions are demonstrations of force; our survival or the survival of any organism implies an exchange of forces. An experience of force involves interaction, directionality, a path, sources and goals, intensity degrees, causal chains. Generally, it involves *force dynamics*, which constitutes, as demonstrated by Talmy (1988, 2000), a fundamental cognitive model. The crisis is an external force that comes from someplace but its precise origin is unknown; it is unpredictable: it makes a continuous movement towards the different nuclear areas of the system enclosed in the container and, once it gets there, it spreads in many directions; it has high and growing power and intensity, it is irresistible and destructive. Reacting to the crisis implies a counterforce of superior power and intensity, a mutual attraction or gravitation of all possible forces acting together and in concert against the

force of the crisis, the implementation of barriers that block or deviate the force of the crisis, the search for its causes in order to eliminate it.

The image schema metaphors identified in the corpus and their frequency are summarized in Table 3.

**Table 3.** Metaphors based on image schemas

| Metaphors        | Hits       |
|------------------|------------|
| Source-path-goal | 79         |
| Container        | 67         |
| Up-down          | 44         |
| Force            | 86         |
| Total (%)        | 276 (15.5) |

### 3.3 Event schemas

Event schemas allow us to conceptualize financial activities and related activities as certain events, namely war, competitive game, and show business. The most frequent and most efficient event schema to the conceptualization of the crisis in our corpus is WAR. The war metaphor, especially CRISIS IS ENEMY, provides not only a new, more specific way of thinking about the economic and financial crisis, but also and, above all, a specific way of acting against it. Particularly, it allows us to conceptualize the invading and domineering power of the crisis and the need for governments to take measures to eliminate it, as it is shown in Examples (21)–(23). The crisis is an enemy that attacks, injures and can kill, and this prompts governments and financial and economic institutions to take action, including declarations of war on crisis (*answers to the crisis*), plans and strategies of battle (*pack of measures*), changes of policies and leaderships, reformation of institutions, new financial structuring, calls for sacrifices, etc. Because the enemy targeted the biggest centers of economic and financial power worldwide, it is necessary for the governments and institutions of all the attacked countries to take joint, coordinate and efficient action to defeat the powerful enemy (*powerful answers*). The violent repercussion of the American financial crisis in the international economic activities demands a visible and extensive *militarization* of European governments, resorting to powerful *counterattack weapons*. Example (21) illustrates that.

The metaphor of the enemy inspires other war or battle metaphors. Some of them are ontological: ideas and measures are WEAPONS or BOMBS and plans are military TACTICS. Other metaphors are structural. As in a war or in a battle, the crisis and the retaliation to it can be divided in different stages. The first is the initial position of the opponents: the first manifestations of the crisis and the first

reaction plans by financial, economic and political institutions, the *usual positions* of banks and governments, the *confrontations* in the *battlefield*. Then, there are the stages of *attack*, *defense*, *retreat* and *counterattack*. In these stages, Plans are elaborated, strategies are used, efficient measures are implemented expected to act like *weapons* capable of defeating the enemy, *heavy artillery*, *nuclear weapons*, *nuclear bombs*, showing the *fire power* of the anticrisis agents. There is also the abandonment of plans, strategies and measures that eventually reveal themselves to be ineffective. Finally, comes the victory of one of the parts and obviously the defeat of the other, otherwise the rarer alternative of the armistice. Christian Harbulot, an expert in strategic consulting and the inventor of the expression *cognitive war*, proposes the concept of “economic intelligence” of enterprises as the deadliest weapon to fight the outside enemy (Harbulot and Delbecque 2012).

- (21) A solução para **combater** a crise, principalmente com uma política monetária sem grande poder de **fogo** devido à fraca cooperação da banca, é trazer para o **campo de batalha** todos os trunfos (...). É que a crise continua a agravar-se e não é tempo para deixar **armas** de política económica guardadas na gaveta (Expresso, 29.11.08)  
 ‘The solution to **fight** the crisis, especially considering the weak **firepower** of our monetary policies due to minimal cooperation from the banking sector, is to bring all our assets into the **battlefield** (...). It is just that the crisis is getting worse and now is not the time to keep the **weapons** of economic policy in the drawer’
- (22) **Artilharia pesada** anticrise (Expresso, 20.12.08)  
 ‘Heavy anticrisis artillery’
- (23) Ainda não foi esta semana que a ‘**bomba nuclear**’ dizimou a crise (Expresso, 31.01.09)  
 ‘This was not the week that the ‘**nuclear bomb**’ wiped out the crisis’

Other event metaphors resort to the source domains of GAME (games of competition or chance) and of SHOW BUSINESS to conceptualize the economic crisis, as in Examples (24)–(26). With regard to the game, the expression (*change*) *the rules of the game* is frequent, and sometimes game metaphors are mixed with war metaphors. As for show business, the global financial crisis is frequently conceptualized as a bad, or depressing, show, as a horror flick or a disaster movie. It is one of the main shows of the *society of spectacle* (society of appearances, of falsehood, of spectators’ alienation, and a society that turns social disgraces into spectacles), characteristic of our times and promoted by mass media, particularly television.

- (24) a gravidade da crise económica e financeira é tal que é preciso concentrar os esforços nos países que têm uma capacidade real para alterar as **regras do jogo** (*Público*, 20.03.09)  
 ‘the economic and financial crisis is so severe that we need to concentrate our efforts in the countries that have an actual capacity to change the **rules of the game**’
- (25) A primeira reacção do primeiro-ministro foi para Ferreira Leite  
 “exactamente aquilo que não se pode fazer: atribuir [a crise] ao **jogo** das bolsas como se fosse um **casino** (...)” (*Público*, 01.10.2008)  
 ‘The Prime Minister’s first answer was, to Ferreira Leite, “precisely what you cannot do: blame [the crisis] on the **game** of stocks as if it were a **casino** (...)”
- (26) A tragédia seria deixarmos o **espectáculo** da crise financeira global distrair-nos da nossa crise local (*Público*, 22.10.08)  
 ‘The real tragedy would be if we let the **spectacle** of the World financial crisis distract us from our own local crisis’

The event schema metaphors identified in the corpus and their frequency are summarized in Table 4.

**Table 4.** Metaphors based on event schemas

| Metaphors     | Hits       |
|---------------|------------|
| War           | 378        |
| Game          | 31         |
| Show business | 42         |
| Total (%)     | 451 (25.3) |

#### 4. The metaphorical conceptualization of austerity

Table 5 presents the number of hits found for the 8 target lexemes selected and their derivatives in Corpus A (2011), after the entry of the Troika in Portugal and the announcement of the first austerity measures, and Corpus B (2013), when protests against austerity policies intensified, and how many of these hits constitute a metaphorical expression.

Table 5. Lexemes, hits and metaphors

| Lexemes        | Corpus A (2011) |            | Corpus B (2013) |            |
|----------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|------------|
|                | Hits            | Met.       | Hits            | Met.       |
| austeridade    | 68              | 44         | 244             | 134        |
| corte          | 116             | 82         | 285             | 135        |
| dívida         | 96              | 77         | 124             | 72         |
| Estado         | 94              | 76         | 145             | 111        |
| orçamento      | 64              | 43         | 107             | 76         |
| empobrecimento | 11              | 3          | 37              | 33         |
| poupança       | 29              | 25         | 27              | 7          |
| Troika         | 195             | 131        | 203             | 102        |
| Total (%)      | 673             | 481 (71.5) | 1172            | 670 (57.2) |

#### 4.1 Propositional schemas

Propositional schemas allow the conceptualization of austerity and related concepts in terms of models of thought and human behaviour, natural and supernatural forces, and physical or immaterial objects, as we can see in Examples (27)–(32).

- (27) Adopção do pacote de austeridade mostra “uma **maturidade** incrível” dos portugueses *(Público, 10.07.11)*  
 ‘Adoption of the austerity package shows “an incredible **maturity**” from the Portuguese’
- (28) O Estado vai ficar como está, **obeso**, só que temporariamente não insuflado. Voltará a **inchar** na primeira oportunidade. *(Público, 06.05.13)*  
 ‘The State will stay as it is, **obese**, though it will be temporarily less bloated. It will **swell** again at the first opportunity.’
- (29) Gerir um país é como **gerir uma casa**? *(Público, 05.05.13)*  
 ‘Managing a country is like **running a household**?’
- (30) Depois de ter sido o **bom aluno europeu**, Portugal terá de ser o bom arrependido europeu *(Público, 25.06.11)*  
 ‘After being the **good student of Europe**, Portugal will have to be the good contrite European’
- (31) a derrapagem no défice, o “**monstro**”, que o novo Governo jura querer controlar. *(Público, 02.07.11)*  
 ‘deficit slippage, the “**monster**”, that the new government swears that it wants to control’

- (32) não nos livramos desta **praga** [Troika] tão cedo (Público, 20.05.13)  
 ‘We will not get rid off this **plague** [Troika] so soon’

The previous examples show how austerity policies and measures are metonymically associated with human attributes and qualities, both positive ones (such as responsibility, discipline, honesty, sacrifice, rigor, commitment and honor) and negative (irresponsibility, laxity, obesity, cruelty, despotism, slavery, humiliation, evil, obsession, madness and blindness). Accepting and implementing austerity measures means being responsible, disciplined, honorable, reliable, patriotic, courageous, a dedicated person with spirit of sacrifice, and a good student. Thus, Portuguese citizens are conceptualized as reliable, honorable, stoic, exemplary people and good students. Austerity is also associated with negative human behavior, such as cruelty, despotism, slavery, humiliation, evil, obsession, madness and blindness. To impose harsh austerity is to be severe, cruel, obsessive, authoritative and despotic.

Metaphorical mapping is also present here, in the sense that austerity policies and measures are understood in terms of human attributes and behaviour, psychological and moral attitudes, individual and national ideals. Economic austerity is therefore understood in terms of psychological and moral austerity. Thus, the very abstract idea of austerity policies is humanized or even divinized or demonized.

Also related to the domain of human behavior is the conceptualization of institutional agents of austerity measures. The State is metaphorically conceptualized as an obese and irresponsible person that is living above its means and indebted, and which must urgently go on a diet, slim down and save money through austerity measures, as in (28). It is also conceptualized as a household or enterprise, as in (29). The national economy is metaphorically conceptualized as a family economy, the State management as a household/enterprise management, the State budget as a family budget, national debts as family debts, the indebted State as an indebted family. The Government and the Troika are metaphorically conceptualized as good or bad people, and Portugal, through its Government as a good subservient student of the Troika and of the European Union, as in (30).

The remaining propositional schema metaphors present austerity as non-human entities, as in Examples (31)–(32). Austerity and, especially, debt are conceptualized as illness, just as the global financial crisis. Austerity is also seen as an inevitable natural force, purifying or destructive, like atmospheric and geological forces and, especially, fire. The concept of austerity is thus part of the natural catastrophe metaphor, which was very productive in the conceptualization of the financial crisis. It is usually conceptualized metaphorically as a supernatural force or creature, specifically as a divine blessing, miracle, angel, goddess, magic, and (often in the 2013 texts) as fatality, plague, demon, monster, draconian force or

another fearful mythological force. Some of these supernatural metaphors also serve to conceptualize the Government, the Troika and the European Union, and even the State debt. Other expressions in our corpus refer to austerity policies and measures as a remedy and a venom, as a cup (“beber o cálice da austeridade” ‘to drink the cup of austerity’), as a machine, and debt is sometimes even conceptualized as a ticking bomb (“A nossa bomba-relógio é a dívida externa” ‘Our time bomb is external debt’).

Table 6 presents the frequencies of specific propositional schema metaphors in our corpus and specifies the percentage of positive and negative uses of these metaphors. Two main results should be highlighted. First, metaphors based on the behavior of persons or families represent the greatest part of the propositional schema metaphors in both corpora: 61% in Corpus A and 57.5% in Corpus B. If we add other metaphors related to human beings, such as metaphors of disease, household and enterprise, this percentage rises to 80.2% in Corpus A and 72.4% in Corpus B. Secondly, there is a great increase of negative propositional schema metaphorical expressions from 2011 to 2013. Out of the 38.9% of propositional schema metaphors found in Corpus A (2011), 26.4% were used in a positive sense and 12.5% were negative. In Corpus B (2013) the inverse relation was found: 8.2% out of 37.9% were positive and 29.7% were negative.

**Table 6.** Metaphors based on propositional schemas

| Metaphors                      | Corpus A (2011) |           | Corpus B (2013) |            |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------------|------------|
|                                | +               | -         | +               | -          |
| Human behavior                 | 29              | 11        | 16              | 47         |
| Human behavior- obese body     | 35              | 4         | 11              | 18         |
| Human behavior- good student   | 8               | 1         | 1               | 13         |
| Family- family budget          | 23              | 3         | 5               | 35         |
| Building, house                | 7               | 1         | 0               | 3          |
| Enterprise                     | 11              | 5         | 9               | 7          |
| Illness                        | 3               | 9         | 1               | 18         |
| Living being (animal or plant) | 0               | 0         | 0               | 0          |
| Natural force                  | 0               | 4         | 0               | 11         |
| Supernatural force             | 2               | 4         | 0               | 24         |
| Object                         | 3               | 11        | 11              | 18         |
| Machine, functional object     | 6               | 7         | 1               | 5          |
| Total (%)                      | 127 (26.4)      | 60 (12.5) | 55 (8.2)        | 199 (29.7) |

## 4.2 Image schemas

Image schemas allow us to conceptualize austerity and related words in terms of embodied and dynamic patterns of movements in space, manipulation of objects, and perceptual interactions, as illustrated in Examples (33)–(36).

- (33) O antigo governador do Banco de Portugal não tem dúvidas de que há uma “longa e dolorosa **estrada**” de austeridade (Público, 05.07.11)  
 ‘The former governor of the Portuguese Bank has no doubt that there is a “long and painful **path**” of austerity.’
- (34) A Troika **não cede** e as ameaças não se cumprem. Entretanto, o povo geme e tudo indica que não aguenta. (Público, 11.05.13)  
 ‘The Troika **does not cede** and the threats do not apply. In the meantime, the people wail and everything shows they can’t take it anymore.’
- (35) O Governo tem de **recuar** nestas medidas de austeridade. (Público, 02.05.13)  
 ‘The government has to **go back** on these austerity measures.’
- (36) A **torneira** do crédito está a fechar. (Público, 08.07.11)  
 ‘The **tap** of credit is closing.’

The two most frequent image schemas are PATH, whose basic structure is the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, as in Example (33), and FORCE, as in (34), with its specifications such as compulsion, restraint, blockage, balance. Austerity is conceptualized as a “long and painful path” necessary for Portugal to reach the “targets for the reduction of deficit and debt” agreed with the Troika and as a restraining force that obliges one to “stop and reduce the State debt”. More emotionally, austerity is conceptualized as a “one-way street” that must be travelled in order to emerge from the crisis. Austerity is also conceptualized, especially in the most recent texts (Corpus B, 2013), as a trajectory that has to be “slowed, stopped, diverted” and “reversed”, as it has already “reached the limit” and even gone “beyond the targets” defined by the Troika; and as an “apocalyptic journey”, which has left millions of people unemployed and caused deep economic recession. Other force schema metaphors are manifested in expressions such as “the strong and terrible impact of austerity or of the Troika’s measures”, “burden of debt”, “new ‘constraints’ that the Troika’s program imposes”, “the Troika resists and forces the government”, “the Troika doesn’t yield”, “the government will insist that the Troika offers debt relief”.

Other image schemas include FRONT-BACK direction, as in (35) and “government puts forward new measures”, “recessive austerity”, UP-DOWN direction, as “debt has grown more than expected”, “austerity sinks the economy”, SPIRAL, as “spiral of debt”, LINK, as “conciliate budget consolidation with economic growth”, and CONTAINER, as in Examples (36) and “austerity packages” or “budget contention”.



The specific image schema metaphors identified in the corpus and their frequency are summarized in Table 7. Out of the 30.8% of image schema metaphors found in Corpus A, 12.9% were used in a positive sense, while 17.9% were negative. More negative uses were found in Corpus B with 28.4% in total, as opposed to 6.9% positive uses. Once again, there is a strong increase in the negative uses of austerity-related metaphors from 2011 to 2013.

**Table 7.** Metaphors based on image schemas

| Metaphors        | Corpus A (2011) |           | Corpus B (2013) |            |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------------|------------|
|                  | +               | -         | +               | -          |
| Source-path-goal | 12              | 17        | 13              | 74         |
| Front-back       | 10              | 14        | 0               | 16         |
| Up-down          | 4               | 9         | 0               | 41         |
| Link             | 7               | 0         | 5               | 3          |
| Force            | 20              | 28        | 18              | 34         |
| Spiral           | 2               | 3         | 0               | 8          |
| Container        | 7               | 15        | 10              | 14         |
| Total (%)        | 62 (12.9)       | 86 (17.9) | 46 (6.9)        | 190 (28.4) |

### 4.3 Event schemas

Event schemas allow us to conceptualize the implementation of austerity policies and related activities as certain events or even other actions, namely war, competitive game, show business, household management, mission, and medical practice, especially painful therapy or treatment, as shown in Examples (37)–(42).

- (37) no momento em que a Troika **ataca** direitos conquistados, é muito importante que todos os jovens e todos os cidadãos conheçam e **lutem por** estes direitos (Público, 17.05.13)  
 ‘the moment the Troika **attacks** rights that have been won, it is very important that all young people and all citizens know this and **fight for** these rights’
- (38) Portugal sabe por experiência própria que a embriaguez da dívida se limita a **encenar** um falso e curto bem-estar até ao dia em que chega a factura e o colapso. (Público, 22.06.11)  
 ‘Portugal knows from its own experience that the inebriation of debt merely **simulates** a false sense of well-being in the short term until the day the bill arrives and the collapse comes.’

- (39) O compromisso do Governo de impor uma *equidade social* na austeridade através da justa repartição dos **sacrifícios** (Público, 15.07.11)  
‘The government commitment to impose a policy of *social equity* in austerity by means of a fair distribution of **sacrifices**’
- (40) Num modelo de ajustamento que exige a **expição calvinista do sacrifício** como **redenção** de supostos **pecados**, os que sofrem a perda de rendimentos são **condenados a empobrecer** (Público, 12.05.13)  
‘Within an adjustment model that demands the **Calvinist expiation of sacrifice** as the **redemption** for supposed **sins**, those who suffer a wage loss are **condemned to impoverishment**’
- (41) Há duas mentiras que têm sido repetidas na sociedade portuguesa: que os portugueses andaram a gastar acima das suas possibilidades e que não há alternativa à austeridade para **expiarem os pecados** (que não cometeram) (Público, 03.05.13)  
‘There are two lies that have been repeated in Portuguese society: that the Portuguese have been spending above their means and that there is no alternative to austerity in order to **atone for their sins** (which they did not commit)’
- (42) Este percurso de **cura dolorosa** e rápida desejado pela *Troika* para Portugal e em que o Banco de Portugal acredita é a única solução, defende o relatório ontem publicado (Público, 12.07.11)  
‘This quick and **painful cure** demanded by the *Troika* for Portugal, and which the Portuguese Bank believes in, is the only solution, according to the report published yesterday’

The event schema metaphors share some features, such as conflict, aggressiveness, competitiveness, sacrifice and suffering capacity, and (im)morality. The event schema metaphors identified in the corpus and their frequency are summarized in Table 8.

Metaphors of war and mission are the most frequent in the corpus. Metaphors of WAR, such as in (37), are manifested in other expressions both with a positive connotation and with a negative connotation, such as “combating austerity”, “anti-austerity crusade”, “the Free Portugal from Austerity movement”, “austerity programs of an unparalleled violence”, “Portugal’s capitulation before the *Troika*”. Metaphors of MISSION and sacrifice, such as those in (39) and (40) are very persuasive and manipulative in the justification and implementation of the harsh austerity measures. In fact, these metaphors allow us to understand that the implementation of austerity is “a national imperative”, “a moral obligation”, “the only solution to save the country”; cuts are “necessary and inevitable” and

Table 8. Metaphors based on event schemas

| Metaphors             | Corpus A (2011) |          | Corpus B (2013) |            |
|-----------------------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|------------|
|                       | +               | -        | +               | -          |
| War                   | 6               | 17       | 5               | 48         |
| Competition game      | 0               | 3        | 6               | 5          |
| Show business         | 3               | 3        | 3               | 16         |
| Household management  | 6               | 0        | 0               | 4          |
| Enterprise management | 12              | 5        | 10              | 12         |
| Mission               | 64              | 10       | 0               | 35         |
| Therapy               | 13              | 4        | 0               | 36         |
| Total (%)             | 104 (21.6)      | 42 (8.7) | 24 (3.6)        | 156 (23.3) |

“patriotic sacrifices”; the government and the Troika have the “glorious mission” to implement the severe adjustments program, cuts and tax hikes; and the Portuguese people have “the duty to make necessary and inevitable sacrifices”. These moral metaphors have a strong positive connotation. In Corpus A (2011), 50.7% of event metaphors are metaphors of mission. In contrast, in Corpus B (2013) 19.4% of event metaphors are metaphors of immorality, connoting political and economic evil, useless suffering, blind austerity, destruction and misery or expressions such as “the end of the dogma of austerity orthodoxy”.

The household/enterprise management metaphor is manifested in the 2011 texts in expressions such as “it’s time to put their house in order”, while in the 2013 texts, there are interrogative uses with negative connotations, typically found in headlines such as “Is running a country like running a household?”, “Should the state be managed like a company?”. The game metaphor includes expressions such as “to play the argument of transparency to announce another austerity package”. There are also metaphors of painful treatment and therapy even with positive connotations, such as “profound cuts to public expenditure are the obvious cure”. In the 2013 texts, painful treatment and therapy metaphors have negative connotations (“the harsh austerity cure imposed by the *Troika*”, “the *Troika*’s bloodletting”, “osteoporosis of the welfare state, subject to imminent fracture but invisible to the naked eye”), as well as the AUSTERITY IS DEATH metaphor (“[austerity causes] agony and slow death in an extensive slice of the population”, “kill the patient with the cure”), associated with the popular saying that some remedies harm more than they heal.

When we examine the positive and negative uses of event metaphors, we again find a marked increase in negative metaphors from 2011 to 2013: from 8.7% of

negative metaphors and 21.6% of positive metaphors in Corpus A, we pass to 23.3% of negative metaphors and only 3.6% of positive metaphors in Corpus B.

Table 9 synthesizes the total number and relative frequency of the three types of metaphors of austerity found in Corpus A (2011) and Corpus B (2013), as well as the total number of positive and negative uses of these metaphors. The main results are: (i) a predominance of propositional schema metaphors in both subcorpora; (ii) a correlation between the time of the texts and the positive or negative value of the metaphors; and (iii) a clear increase in negative metaphors over time.

**Table 9.** The three types of metaphors in both corpora

| Metaphors                                | Corpus A (2011) |       | Corpus B (2013) |       |     |       |     |       |
|--|-----------------|-------|-----------------|-------|-----|-------|-----|-------|
|  | +               | -     | +               | -     |     |       |     |       |
| Metaphors based on propositional schemas | 127             | 26.4% | 60              | 12.5% | 55  | 8.2%  | 199 | 29.7% |
| Metaphors based on image schemas         | 62              | 12.9% | 86              | 17.9% | 46  | 6.9%  | 190 | 28.4% |
| Metaphors based on event schemas         | 104             | 21.6% | 42              | 8.7%  | 24  | 3.6%  | 156 | 23.3% |
| Total                                    | 293             | 60.9% | 188             | 39.1% | 125 | 18.7% | 545 | 81.3% |

#### 4.4 Metaphors of austerity after 2011–2013

In May 2014, the Portuguese government chooses to make a “clean exit” from the financial adjustment program, signaling the end of the Troika’s program of financial assistance. The center-right coalition having ended in 2015, elections take place in October 2015; the result is that the same center-right coalition wins but fails to assemble a majority in the Parliament. With a leftist majority in the Parliament, the center-left Socialist Party, the second most voted for in the elections, is able to form a government thanks to agreements with the left-wing parties, namely the Communist Party and the Left Block. The new government headed by socialist António Costa takes office at the end of November 2015 and soon announces the switch from the “austerity policy” of the previous government to a “policy of economic growth”. In Portugal, as in other European countries and in the United States, the inefficiency or even the “failure” of austerity policies is being recognized and anti-austerity discourse is gaining strength. At the same time, some still claim that without the harsh austerity measures of the previous government, Portugal would be in a worse financial, economic and social situation.

A quick and non-systematic analysis of news and opinion articles related to austerity policies published in the newspaper *Público* from May 2014 to mid-2016, in a much more inferior number compared to that of the previous period, allows us to ascertain that the same metaphors of austerity based in propositional schemas, image schemas and event schemas can be found, but strengthening the negative

connotations already present in the articles from 2013 and favoring the metaphors that accentuate the illusion, the immorality and the devastating consequences of austerity policies for the economy and society. Specifically, the 2014–2016 austerity-related metaphors typically frame the mystification and the deception of austerity policies (*illusion of the virtuous austerity*), the injustice and the immorality of the economic austerity (*excessive, sick and immoral austerity* affecting above all the middle and lower social classes), the irrationality of transversal cut policies, meant to fight the roots of the crisis, the extended economic recession and the subsequent impoverishment of the country and other destructive consequences for the Portuguese economy and society (high levels of unemployment, rise in emigration numbers, especially among qualified young people, growth in poverty, and a severe lack of basic economic and social needs), and the end, albeit illusory, of austerity (*death of austerity, finish off the damned austerity, turn the page of austerity, 2016: the year of anti-austerity*), as illustrated in Examples (43)–(46).

- (43) Austeridade: um **rasto de destruição** no país, que se traduz num retrocesso social sem precedentes, em níveis **dramáticos** (*Público*, 04.05.14)  
 ‘Austerity: a **trail of destruction** in the country, that translates into an unprecedented social setback of **dramatic** proportions’
- (44) doses maciças de austeridade (...) a **tortura** final é a pobreza (*Público*, 06.05.14)  
 ‘massive doses of austerity (...) the final **torture** is poverty’
- (45) A política de austeridade é a **política do falhanço** (*Público*, 30.09.14)  
 ‘The policy of austerity is the **policy of failure**’
- (46) Entre as esquerdas nacionais e muitos jornalistas, instalou-se uma “verdade absoluta”: com austeridade não há crescimento económico. Por isso, para a economia crescer é necessário **acabar com a maldita** “austeridade”. (*Público*, 14.08.16)  
 ‘Among national left-wing parties and many journalists, reigns an “absolute truth”: austerity hinders economic growth. Consequently, for the economy to grown, it is necessary to **put an end** to this **damned** “austerity”’

## 5. Embodiment, ideology and morality of the metaphors of crisis and austerity

The metaphors of financial crisis and austerity policies found in the Portuguese press are grounded in socio-culturally situated bodily experiences and serve important functions in economic and political discourse.

The crisis- and austerity-related metaphors link up with the way human beings experience reality, both physiologically and socio-culturally. These metaphors are based on bodily experiences of movement, force, gravity, containment, natural disaster, disease, diet, pain, illness, suffering and death; on social experiences such as conflict/war, household management, competition game, clinical cure and mission; and on cultural traditions such as the consumer/austerity society, culture of sacrifice and expiation, labor relations, welfare state, social rights and ethical and moral standards. Interestingly, aspects of Portuguese culture are present in these metaphors, such as the Portuguese tendency for passivity, pessimism and self-blame, which has led us to accept the harsh austerity measures with resignation in the belief that “there is no alternative”. All these human experiences, including bodily experiences, are shaped by the social and cultural context. This means that the embodied metaphors of crisis and austerity are necessarily located in the physical, social, cultural and historical environment in which the bodily experiences and other human experiences operate.

These socially-embodied metaphors can be used for persuasive and manipulative purposes. They perform an important *emotive* function, arousing fear and panic in public opinion – fear of national bankruptcy, fiscal cliff, collapse of the state, uncertainty about the future, job losses, i.e. a social fear or *liquid fear* in Bauman’s (2006) sense, induced through forecasts of catastrophic scenarios. The very fear legitimizes crisis and austerity narratives and de-legitimizes alternative readings of the austerity policies.

Crucially, the crisis- and austerity-related metaphors analyzed perform an important *ideological* function which is almost always implicit and disguised. It is essentially an ideology of *exonerating* financial and economic systems, of *blaming* the Portuguese’s way of life, and, consequently, of legitimizing harsh austerity policies. The embodied and unconscious nature the conceptual metaphors of crisis and austerity, and the implicit ideology that they transport, means that public opinion could be manipulated.

The crisis-related metaphors found in the 2008–2009 corpus, especially the metaphors of illness, of natural catastrophe and of the enemy, are used to convey the idea that nobody knows anything about the world financial crisis; not even the main architects and regulators of financial and economic systems (bankers, economists, politicians) know the true causes of the crisis and they do not know if they are ever going to overcome it. “What we know about the crisis is that we do not know anything” was the headline of the editorial of the newspaper *Público* published on 15th December 2008. But in our cognitive model of reality nothing exists without an origin or a cause, and we are only able to understand what exists when we know its causes. Thus, metaphors are what allow us to identify the causes of the crisis. Importantly, the metaphors of illness, of catastrophe and of

the enemy are used to blame external, unpredictable and uncontrollable causes, consequently exonerating Western policies and financial and economic systems. Moreover, they are used to highlight the negative aspects of free trade economies and to hide their advantages and, thus, they enable economic catharsis and fuel the promise of a radical change.

The austerity-related metaphors found in the 2011 and 2013 corpus serve the ideological agenda of austerity offered by the Troika as the only solution to be taken by the Portuguese government to save the country. More specifically, these metaphors aim to convince the Portuguese public with emotional and moral arguments (i) not to “live above its means”, and (ii) to accept the drastic cuts designed to address the social expenses of the State, wage reductions, fiscal sacrifices and poverty, on the grounds that “there is no alternative” that would prevent bankruptcy, state collapse, and a break-up of the euro. This ideological power of austerity metaphors is fed by economic and political myths, the so-called “myths of austerity” (Krugman 2010, 2011). These include the notions that governments caused the crisis through runaway public spending, that budget deficits are always a problem, or that deep cutbacks to expensive social programs are the only way to fix the deficit, calm the markets and revitalize the economy. Alternatively, they may embody the “expansionary fiscal adjustment or consolidation” strategy, suggesting that austerity measures help economies to revert to their long-term growth; or they may suggest that austerity is justifiable because there are no other alternatives.

Amongst the austerity-related metaphors found in the corpus, the metaphors of obesity/diet, indebted family, and good student are more ideological and more persuasive and manipulative in their justification and implementation of the harsh austerity measures. The diet and slimming metaphor conveys the idea that Portuguese people “have been living above their means” and that they “are in debt” because they are “irresponsible” and aspire to a consumerist lifestyle, expressed by patterns once restricted to the rich, such as changing car often and taking their holidays in exotic destinations. It also conveys the idea of a welfare state that has turned into a spendthrift/wastrel state, spending more than it can and has to. These ideas help spread the notion that the severe economic crisis in which we live is our responsibility, and therefore the time has come for everyone to pay the bill. The family metaphor equates the management of the state budget with family budget management. In both cases, we cannot spend more than what we have, because then we will have an increasing debt. Paul Krugman calls the *ECONOMY IS HOUSEHOLD* metaphor the “bad metaphor”, because the national budget is not like a family budget, nor is economics household management (Krugman 2010, 2011). The indebted family metaphor is used to justify budget control policies and all types of drastic cuts in public expenditure. Finally, the metaphor of the good student conveys the notion that Portugal must fulfill the Troika’s goals, meet its

budgetary goals, differentiate itself from Greece, honor its commitments and set an example with austerity measures. Even when it is ironically used, as in “the burdens of being the Troika’s good boy”, the good student metaphor legitimizes the fulfillment of austerity measures, budget goals, the Troika’s recommendations and EU austerity policies.

More subtly, metaphors of crisis and of austerity are *moral* metaphors of exonerating financial and economic systems and policies (in the case of the crisis) and blaming of the Portuguese for recklessly living above their means (in the case of austerity). They involve the same metaphorical moral models as the opposite family-based moral models that Lakoff (1996, 2004) identified in American politics, namely the STRICT FATHER morality of conservatives and the NURTURING PARENT morality of progressives or liberals.

On the one hand, economic austerity is the moral discipline that will punish the moral failures of individuals and society, such as “living beyond one’s means”, consumerist lifestyle, indebted family, joblessness, “government waste”, “dependency culture”, “spiraling welfare spending”, “benefit cheats”, “benefit scroungers”. Austerity is a necessary punishment, a form of cleansing (the “debt sinners” or “fiscal sinners” through the DEBT IS SIN metaphor), inevitable sacrifice, pain and expiation, individual and national moral imperative and moral mission to force Portugal to “not live above its financial means”. This *conservative* and religious morality of self-discipline, punishment and future reward gives austerity policies a positive moral connotation. As our corpus analysis has shown, the austerity-related metaphors with this positive sense are more frequent in articles written during the first months of implementation of harsh austerity measures and simultaneously during the “state of grace” of the new government.

On the other hand, economic austerity impedes people’s aspirations for a fulfilled and satisfying life and goes against democracy and the welfare state. Crucially, austerity is not a real economic policy but rather the politics of crime and punishment, sin and expiation. Therefore, economic austerity is seen as immoral. The *progressive* morality denounces the immorality of economic austerity. The negative sense of austerity-related metaphors has become more frequent in recent months, which has proved the failure of austerity measures, as we could confirm in our corpus analysis. Metaphors emphasizing the destructive and immoral features of austerity are today at the center of the discourse produced by the anti-austerity movement.

Comparing the two groups of metaphors, there are important differences that are correlated with the different times and aims of the political actors. Crisis-related metaphors all have a negative connotation, and they are alarmist and apocalyptic in order to wreak havoc on public opinion and exonerate economic and political agents. Austerity-related metaphors have a positive connotation at first in order



to legitimize the harsh austerity policies and convince the Portuguese people to accept them. Two years later, the same metaphors become considerably negative as a contestation strategy against austerity policies.

In order to highlight our findings about the role of metaphor in the conceptualization of the global financial crisis and the subsequent austerity policies in the Portuguese press, we will make a very brief comparison of the use of conceptual metaphors in Portugal and in other countries. As for the global financial crisis, the same economic reality is, to a certain extent, conceptualized differently in other countries such as Spain or the United Kingdom, on account of different socio-political factors and at different points in time. Rojo López and Orts Llopis (2010) also find metaphors based on propositional schemas (or the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING, which includes humans, animals, plants and complex and natural objects), on image schemas and on event schemas in a corpus of English and Spanish financial articles selected from those published during 2007 and the end of 2008 in the English journal *The Economist* and the Spanish newspaper *El Economista*. However, unlike what happens in the Portuguese press, the metaphors of ILLNESS are infrequent both in the Spanish and in the English press, where HUMAN BEHAVIOR and OBJECT metaphors are more frequent. In relation to the metaphors based on image schemas and on event schemas, both in the Spanish and in the English press, the metaphors based on the PATH schema and the metaphors of the COMPETITION GAME are more frequent, while the metaphors of FORCE and the metaphors of WAR are more frequent in the Portuguese press. The financial crisis metaphors in the Portuguese press are much more alarmist, than the metaphors in the Spanish and English press, arousing fear and panic in public opinion. Furthermore, the Portuguese metaphors are always negative, unlike the Spanish and English metaphors, that may be positive (especially in the pre-crisis period and more in the Spanish than in the English press, due to the elections that led the Spanish government to deny that Spain could be affected by the global economic crisis) and negative (more frequent when the crisis becomes global).

As to austerity policies, Soares da Silva, Cuenca and Romano (2017) conducted a comparative study of austerity metaphors used in the Portuguese, Spanish and Irish press between 2011 and 2012, and showed that there are cultural differences between the metaphors based on propositional schemas, image schemas and event schemas. As we have seen in this study, the Portuguese press is rich in metaphors of obesity, indebted family, good student and sacrifice, through which the political and economic elites aim to convince the Portuguese people that they must accept austerity measures. The Portuguese conceptualization of austerity echoes a conservative and religious morality of self-discipline, punishment and future reward. The Spanish press depicts a country fighting against the crisis and the austerity measures that it has brought about. In contrast with the Portuguese case, almost all

the metaphors in the Spanish press had a negative connotation, and conveyed the message that austerity is something to fight against. The Irish press conceptualizes austerity in terms of force-weight mappings in the main. Although the crisis was hitting Ireland in 2011, the message was that it was “not as serious as in other countries”. Different socio-historical and cultural conceptualizations result in the different types and rates of metaphors in the three cultures under analysis, i.e. a deep conservative morality of self-discipline and punishment, in the case of Portugal; a strong sense of outrage against austerity measures and their creditors, in Spain; and the idea that the crisis and its effects were hitting the country but not as seriously as it did others, in Ireland.

## 6. Conclusions

The economic and financial crisis, and the political response in the form of harsh austerity measures are abstract and elusive phenomena, but they are very present and have drastic effects on people’s lives. Conceptual metaphor gives meaning to these abstract phenomena, which makes it not only a tool to explain them, but also a constitutive factor of the respective economic and political concepts, making crisis and austerity worlds in their own right, rather than just representing them. Conceptual metaphor is not just a creative thought-structuring device but is also socioculturally situated varying with the different times and according to the political actors. Conceptual metaphor can be a powerful and successful strategy of persuasion and manipulation. This study shows how metaphor is a powerful conceptual and discourse strategy to frame economic, political and social crisis and austerity issues and to serve an ideological, emotional and moral agenda. Through metaphor, the strongly mediatized political and economic debate about financial crisis and austerity measures and policies becomes effectively persuasive and manipulative.

The corpus-based and discourse-based socio-cognitive analysis shows that Portuguese newspapers resort to the same general patterns of metaphor to frame the 2008 financial crisis and the 2011–2013 implementation and justification of harsh austerity policies, namely metaphors based on propositional schemas, image schemas, and event schemas, albeit with significant differences over time and according to the political actors. Specifically, crisis-related metaphors are typically related to human body (illness, heart failure, virus, contagious and epidemic disease, medication), destructive natural and supernatural forces (storm, hurricane, tornado, earthquake, tsunami, ghost, mystery), path, force and up-down image schemas, and events such as war, competition game, and show business. Austerity-related metaphors are typically related to human behavior (responsibility/

irresponsibility, discipline, sacrifice, cruelty, despotism, honor, and good student), human body (obesity, diet, slimming, illness), family budget and debts, natural and supernatural forces (atmospheric and geological forces, divine blessing, miracle, plague, monster), path and force image schemas, and events and actions such as war, competition game, show business, household management, therapy, and mission. As for austerity-related metaphors, there was a strong increase in the negative sense of these metaphors in the Portuguese press between 2011, when austerity measures were first implemented, and 2013, when protests against these austerity policies intensified.

The corpus-based and discourse-based socio-cognitive analysis reveals the persuasive and manipulative force of specific conceptual metaphors, especially metaphors of illness (cardiac collapse and virus), natural disaster (storm and earthquake) and enemy used to put the blame on external, unpredictable and uncontrollable causes of the 2008 global financial crisis, and metaphors of obesity/diet, indebted family, good student, and sacrifice used in the 2011–2013 implementation and justification of harsh austerity policies. These socially-embodied metaphors of crisis and austerity are grounded in moral cultural models and serve ideological, emotional and moral purposes. They can be used to take off the blame from Western policies, financial and economic systems that led to the global financial crisis. That is how the myth of the external responsibility and unpredictability of the financial crisis is born. They serve the ideological agenda of austerity, especially the so-called myths of austerity, namely the ideas that governments caused the crisis through runaway public spending, that budget deficits are always a problem, that austerity measures help economies to revert to their long-term growth, and that austerity is justifiable because there are no other alternatives. Importantly, they aim to punish the Portuguese for “living above their means”, which implies accepting the drastic cuts addressing the social expenses of the State, wage reductions, fiscal sacrifices and poverty, on the grounds that “there is no alternative”. Economic austerity is thus conceptualized as a moral discipline, a permanent moral imperative and necessary punishment. This *conservative* morality model, which gives austerity a positive moral connotation, is particularly prevalent in the 2011 corpus. Austerity metaphors in Portugal are thus culturally grounded in a deep conservative morality of self-discipline and punishment. Protests against austerity, on the other hand, which subscribe to a *progressive* morality model and explore the negative and immoral features of these metaphors, are more frequent in the 2013 corpus and in later press articles. Metaphors emphasizing the destructive and immoral features of austerity are today at the center of the discourse produced by the anti-austerity movement.

Finally, the corpus-based and discourse-based socio-cognitive analysis of conceptual metaphor that takes metaphor target domains as a starting-point provides

empirical evidence of the existence of crisis and austerity metaphors and their persuasive and manipulative effects for ideological, emotional and moral purposes. This approach has some advantages over the decontextualized and universalist perspective of “first-generation” cognitive linguistics. First, it offers more realistic and falsifiable hypotheses and results for identifying the metaphors in the corpus and interpreting their various effective functions in discourse. Second, the new empirical and socio-cognitive approach produces a shift in our understanding of conceptual metaphor from a physically and physiologically embodied, and universalist view to a socio-culturally embodied, fully contextualized and variational perspective. Finally, metaphor sheds light on the way that discourse, cognition and society intertwine, emphasizing the fundamental role of situatedness in discourse and cognition.

## Acknowledgments

This study has been carried out under the research project UID/FIL/00683/2019 (Center for Philosophical and Humanistic Studies), funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology.

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# Responding to organisational misbehaviour

## The influence of public frames in social media

Lise-Lotte Holmgreen

Over the past decades, the seriousness with which organisational crises have developed has, in part, been contingent on public access to social media platforms. Analysing two Danish organisational crises, the chapter explores whether the conceptual repertoires that underlie public evaluation of organisational behaviour are embedded in shared social and cultural practices that allow them to be expressed and shared easily and intuitively. The findings suggest that by drawing on well-established experiential domains in social and cultural life, users in public social media may instantiate frames that inspire other users to follow suit. This may create dominant interpretations across platforms and lay the foundation of crisis development.

**Keywords:** social media, public evaluation, conceptual grounding, crisis, framing, metaphor, case study

### 1. Introduction

Over the past decades, the seriousness with which organisational crises have developed has, in part, been contingent on public access to social media platforms. Thus, crises have developed from organisation-centred incidents controlled by an exclusive group of managers and communication experts to being equally carried and handled by voices and discourses in the community surrounding the organisation (Heath 2010; Schultz and Raupp 2010; Waymer and Heath 2007). The role played by social media in this development is significant. While the public has always campaigned against inappropriate or unethical organisational behaviour, the arrival of social media has ensured that criticism and negative evaluations spread rapidly as word-of-mouth (Schultz et al. 2011) across different platforms



and groups, making it easy for otherwise contained and seemingly harmless incidents to develop into full-blown crises within hours (Liu 2010; Liu et al. 2011).<sup>1</sup>

In recent years, investigations into crisis communication and public social media have focused on different fields of study, among them framing (Schultz and Raupp 2010; Van der Meer and Verhoeven 2013; Van der Meer et al. 2014), sensemaking (Schultz and Raupp 2010), response strategies (Schultz et al. 2011) and crisis communication management (Liu et al. 2011). Other related investigations into (public) social media use, interaction and content generation have, among other things, focused on empowerment (Li 2016), consumer behaviour (Li and Bernoff 2008), moral panic (Johnen et al. 2018; Rost 2016), and online involvement and dialogue (Kent and Taylor 2016; Li and Bernoff 2008; Muntinga et al. 2011; Shao 2009).

These studies provide insight into the increasing relevance of managing social media and understanding their use in the communication between organisations and publics. However, only few are concerned with the underlying cognitive and conceptual grounding of public (linguistic) behaviour on social media, and if they are, as in the case of e.g. framing and sensemaking studies, the attention to conceptual detail is limited. If we are to understand more deeply what drives the articulation and spreading of public evaluation and judgement across these media, potentially leading to the development of organisational crises, this is an area that must be further investigated. Therefore, this chapter will take the study of frames and their instantiation in organisational crises a step further to deal with cognition and culture as an underlying premise for the individual's knowledge and use of language (Romano and Porto 2016). The aim is to explore whether the conceptual repertoires that underlie public evaluation of organisational behaviour are embedded in shared social and cultural practices that allow them to be experienced, expressed and shared easily and intuitively, potentially leading to organisational crisis.

To accomplish this, the chapter will start by outlining the key features of framing (Entmann 1993; Fairhurst 2010; Hallahan 1999). In particular, the strand of semantic framing (Evans and Green 2006; Fillmore 1975, 1982; Ziem 2014) coupled with recent trends in cognitive linguistics (Romano and Porto 2016) will function as a background for discussing the conceptual grounding of public evaluation on social media. Secondly, the chapter will look into how conceptual metaphor, as a salient part of cognition and a means of framing, informs linguistic expression through the coherent structuring of abstract conceptualisation and

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1. As stated in the introductory chapter, this volume focuses among other things on how social agents experience and communicate a crisis. In this chapter, 'publics' is used to refer to social agents as a broad category of people in the human system.

reasoning. Focus will be on recent developments in cognitive linguistics, termed “the ‘new’ social turn” (Romano and Porto 2016), according to which metaphor is not only embodied, but *socially and culturally* so, affording creative social-cultural structuring (Kövecses 2015). The next section of the chapter will take a case-based approach to studying framing and metaphor in public social media. The focus will be on two Danish events, in which a bank and a steakhouse chain experienced a firestorm of negative public evaluation on social media, eventually causing severe and irreparable damage to their image. The aim of this part of the chapter will be to uncover the linguistic expressions, including metaphor, used to convey negative evaluation and frame the debate, and to ascertain their coherence and conceptual grounding across posts. This section of the chapter will also involve a discussion of whether the spreading of negative evaluation is in part the result of coherent conceptualisations grounded in shared cultural and social practices.

## 2. Framing and the relevance of metaphor to public social media action

Previous studies of public action on social media have among other things investigated the process of meaning construction through framing (Schultz and Raupp 2010; Van der Meer et al. 2014), arguing that framing is vital for a number of crisis-related organisational strategies, including the formation of organisational reputation, the prevention of crisis escalation, and the avoidance of public confusion or panic (Van der Meer et al. 2014). In these studies, alignment between public frames and news media frames is seen as vital to the successful outcome of organisational crises, as sentiment based social media constructions are mitigated by fact based news media constructions (see also O’Mara-Shimek (this volume) for a discussion on framing and metaphor in financial news media). However, sometimes this alignment does not take place or it takes place too late in the process to allow the prevention of a full-scale crisis. The speed with which constructions may spread across social media may in part explain this, but it may also have to do with the resilience of public frames to news media frames, among other things explained in their conceptual grounding (Holmgreen 2015)

The key component of framing is the understanding that cognitive processes structure our knowledge of and experience with the world, leading to the reduction of complexity (Entman 1993; Evans and Green 2006; Schultz and Raupp 2010). In other words, frames “are connected to the underlying psychological processes that people use to examine information, to make judgments, and to draw inferences about the world around them” (Hallahan 1999: 206). Thus, via framing actors may organise reality in a way that draws our attention to some aspects and not others, in this way also deciding what an event or incident means (Evans and Green

2006; Ziem 2014). This structuring capacity tells us that frames are not only ways of structuring understanding, but may also be used for strategic communicative purposes (Entman 1993; Hallahan 1999).

One strand of framing is orientated towards word meaning and how it evokes knowledge. This strand has its roots in frame semantics, or U-semantics, (Fillmore 1975, 1982; Ziem 2014), according to which word meaning can only be accessed by evoking the knowledge structure, or frame, the word is part of. Thus, in order to understand the meaning of a linguistic expression we draw on background knowledge stored in memory which allows us to construct contexts (including their elements and entities) that the expression typically occurs in. In other words, the understanding of linguistic expressions is contingent on our world experience and our knowledge of the conventions surrounding their use, i.e. the context in which they originate. Therefore, frames also span language communities but are diachronically variable, allowing considerable flexibility in the relative balance between convention and variability, or context dependence (Ziem 2014). Frames, in the sense of being schematic units, may be further specified through the filling out of slots, either by adding values through linguistic predicates or through inference, i.e. they may be added 'mentally' (Hellsten et al. 2010; Ziem 2014).

## 2.1 Metaphor as framing

Metaphor is often considered a primary means of framing, and as such it is dealt with from a conceptual point of view (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1993). In Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), metaphor is first and foremost regarded as a cognitive phenomenon that arises through the structured mapping of a source domain onto a target domain, and which is expressed in various linguistic forms (Kövecses 2010; Lakoff and Johnson 2003). Frequently, this mapping takes place between a more well-known physical domain and a lesser-known, abstract domain (Kövecses 2015). From this follows that our understanding of abstract concepts is conditioned by our experience and interaction with the surrounding world in terms of space, objects and substances.

In its early versions, proponents of CMT were primarily advancing claims to the universal nature of metaphor, which arises from the physical experience we have as humans with the surrounding world. This is known as embodied meaning (Johnson and Lakoff 2002). In this perspective, the same conceptual metaphors will exist across different cultures due to universal bodily experiences, i.e. due to the human mind, and language, being closely integrated with the human body (Johnson 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Ziem 2014). However, the fact that metaphors are universal does not necessarily mean that they will be expressed in the same way across languages, but will instead be instantiated through a number

of different expressions as a result of variability between the world's cultures and languages (Kövecses 2015).

In later versions, CMT has extended the grounding of metaphor to include context. In their more extreme variants, claims are made that metaphor interpretation takes place in the context only, and that no conceptual metaphor precedes the linguistic expression (Ritchie 2003). However, other scholars take a more moderate approach to the matter, arguing that although metaphor comprehension may take place in context only, context metaphors and conceptual metaphors arising from bodily experience will work together in many cases to facilitate interpretation. As such, body and context do not oppose one another, but work together to create meaning (Kövecses 2005; 2015).

The understanding that context is essential for the grounding and interpretation of metaphor is highly relevant for the analysis in this chapter. Social media present a new, and as of now, under-investigated context for the creation and spread of frames and metaphors, but previous studies (Holmgreen 2015; Van der Meer et al. 2014) indicate that framing on these platforms is highly contingent on the context and social relations established across forums and groups.

The view that metaphor is partially grounded in context encourages deeper investigations into what actually constitutes this phenomenon and how it influences metaphor. Context may be defined as what is considered “relevant in the social situation by the participants themselves” (Van Dijk 2009 in Kövecses 2015: 1) and includes a physical, social, cultural and situational dimension. Knowledge of these contexts is saved in memory and may be drawn upon to differing degrees and with a variety of purposes by groups or individuals when (inter)acting, depending on the situation at hand. This knowledge may be shared by the group, e.g. as narratives, or be particular to the individual, which influences the choice of metaphorical structuring and may explain conceptual metaphor variation across groups, and with that different frames (Kövecses 2015; Musolff and Zinken 2009).

Of particular interest to my discussion of context is discourse (as an element of the social context) and culture. The influence of discourse on metaphorical structuring derives from a number of sources, of which the two most important will be mentioned here. Thus, previous discourses on the topic may inspire extensions of the conceptual metaphors already introduced, in the form of related metaphorical source domains. These may either function as confirmation of an established viewpoint or as a challenge to this by slightly changing the focus, e.g. through the focus on different entailments (Chilton 1996; Semino 2008). Also, in discourse intertextuality is a commonly acknowledged mechanism for creating coherence across texts, ensuring the dominance of particular interpretations over others (Chilton 1996; Fairclough 2003; Kövecses 2015). Thus, the use of the same or similar metaphors across texts, genres and knowledge domains may ensure

dominance in subtle and powerful ways due to them being embedded in well-established domains of experience. O'Mara-Shimek (this volume) discusses the ideological implications of metaphor use in financial news media, supporting the view that the metaphorical framing of information may not only structure readers' understanding of a particular phenomenon, but may, in fact, also guide their associated actions. Topicality and intertextuality are relevant to the understanding of metaphor in social media, as these concepts seem to play a dominant role in the framing of crisis on these platforms.

As context, culture may explain variation in metaphor use, not only across cultures but also within cultures. The latter is of interest to this study, since I will be dealing with the language of crisis on Danish social media platforms. Culture as concept has been dealt with extensively in research and is possibly one of the concepts to have received most definitions; however, here I will follow Kövecses (2009: 12) definition of culture as "a set of shared understandings", and I will restrict my focus to its constitution and relevance to conceptual metaphor. According to CMT, conceptual metaphor constitutes culture, and as such culture is integrated into the embodied experience itself. This means that with values being given different priority in different (sub)cultures and being subject to change over time, the conventionality of metaphors will also vary (Lakoff and Johnson 2003). However, in this view, a great number of abstract concepts are metaphorically defined, and as such they are so entrenched in our conceptual systems that their definition is seen as literal by speakers, i.e. they are not recognized as metaphors. This also means that in terms of use, metaphorical expressions are not constitutive of the target concept in the specific situation, or even consciously instantiated, instead they are "based on a model of an already existing metaphorical understanding of a model of a target domain" (Kövecses 2009: 15).

Against this, the argument exists that metaphors are not pervasive tools for structuring our thoughts, but instead reflect the conceptual elements that together define an underlying cultural model. Thus, they may aid reasoning by reconceptualising target domains but only to the extent they are "selected by speakers, and are favored by the speakers ... because they proved satisfying mappings onto existing cultural understandings" (Quinn 1991: 65). This latter view favours a contextualised approach where metaphor becomes a cognitive response to what Ritchie (2003) terms a prototypical situation, i.e. a situation which is recognised by speakers on the basis of experience and which determines the metaphors to be instantiated.

It is now generally acknowledged (e.g. Kövecses 2009, 2015) that both views are valid as explanations of the relation between metaphor and culture, so when I talk about metaphor being embedded in culture (cf. the Introduction), this may be understood as a dual position of, on the one hand, metaphor constituting cultural

models and, on the other, metaphor reflecting cultural models. Speakers, in other words, may either consciously or unconsciously adjust their use of metaphors to the communicative situation, so that it reflects both views.

In the analysis of two Danish organisational crises, framing as emerging through a number of literal and metaphorical expressions will be studied to ascertain whether the ease with which different constructions are shared is connected to their grounding in common cultural and social practices.

### 3. Case studies and data retrieval

The two events that provide data for the analysis are each in their way highly profiled examples of organisational crises that emerged due to questionable moral conduct in the eyes of the public. One is the case of a large Danish steakhouse chain that entered a regular firestorm when its owner declared that he was vindicated in a legal fight with a smaller restaurant owner, and the other is the case of a large Danish bank that experienced a severe outbreak of public resentment, triggered by one of its image campaigns. The common feature of these events is the apparent lack of realisation by the two organisations that their actions could be questioned, and that these actions were strongly at odds with the general perception of proper moral conduct. In the following, I will briefly describe the two cases to provide a background for understanding the ensuing analysis.

The first case, that of the steakhouse chain, concerns behaviour that was considered morally questionable by the public. The case begins in 2014 when the owner of the steakhouse chain announced that he had won a Supreme Court case against the owner of a small seafood restaurant over the right to use the common name 'Jensen' in the restaurant names. The case was the result of a long-term dispute between the two owners, and which the owner of the much smaller seafood restaurant had originally won in one of the lower Danish courts. As a result, he had continued to use the name in three restaurants he had subsequently opened across Denmark. However, this was enough of a thorn in the side of the owner of the steakhouse to have him try his luck with the Supreme Court, which, incidentally, ruled in his favour. The ruling of the Supreme Court made it clear that since the name 'Jensen' had been part of the steakhouse name for a long period of time, not only in Denmark, but also in Germany and Norway, it had gained trademark status, meaning that any other uses of the name within the restaurant and food industry would be an infringement of that right. Therefore, the owner of the seafood restaurant could no longer use 'Jensen' in the name of his restaurants, and he was instructed to pay damages to his rival as well as the costs of the court case.

With Supreme Court cases having fundamental importance, the owner of the steakhouse chain saw the ruling as a vindication of his legal rights as well as an underlining of the wrongful behaviour of his opponent. Therefore, on the day of the ruling he decided to issue a press release in which he stated that he had won the right to the name Jensen, and that the Court had confirmed the trademark status of the name. This fact made him conclude that taking the case to court was fully justified; however, what he did not expect was the public resentment the ruling caused, placing him in a firestorm he had hardly foreseen. It is this part of the case that will form the basis of the first part of the analysis.

The second case, that of the bank, must be understood against the development of the financial sector after the financial crisis in 2008. The bank, Danske Bank, is the largest bank in Denmark and has always played a decisive role on the Danish financial market. Up until the financial crisis, the bank enjoyed an unrivalled position in the market, among other things due to its being considered a prudent actor known for its business acumen and its timely investments. In other words, the general perception was that of a bank that would have the interest of both business and private customers at heart. The financial crisis changed that. As the crisis swept across most of the Western world, it became clear that the bank had been involved in a number of risky investments, just as it had provided loans and credits to questionable business projects and acquired unprofitable financial institutions abroad. The consequences were devastating for the core business, and soon it emerged that a major reason for the downfall was poor management and lack of judgement. This the CEO refused adamantly in the press in the months following the onset of the crisis, but the impression stuck that the bank had been playing for high stakes with customers' money. Eventually, the bank and its CEO bowed to the pressure and substituted its running slogan 'Do What You're Best At- That Is What We Do' with a promotional strategy more appropriate for the situation. This largely indicated that the bank accepted responsibility for the outcome of its actions, recognising customers' fears that its losses would affect them financially (Holmgreen 2012).

However, despite efforts to address customer concerns and dissatisfaction, public memory was strong. So, when in 2012 the bank launched a new image campaign called 'A New Normal Demands New Standards' and issued a video on YouTube ([https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n-pZj\\_cPBvw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n-pZj_cPBvw)) featuring, among other things, protesters from the Occupy Wall Street movement, handicapped athletes running with leg prosthetics and lesbians kissing, the glaring mismatch between the bank as the epitome of greed and irresponsibility and the bank as a proponent of an alternative world (order) was unmistakable. And, as would be expected, the public response was instant and relentless, leading to another

image crisis. It is this part of the bank's promotional strategy and the social media responses to it that will form the basis of analysis.

### 3.1 Data and their retrieval

By their very nature, data on social media are elusive. This means that posts and entries in different forums and on different platforms may be difficult to retrieve once the event they formed part of has been discontinued. If comments have been made on organisations' Facebook pages, the very same organisations may for instance choose to delete or make the comments inaccessible to visitors to avoid further damage to their image. Other external forums, such as Facebook or Twitter pages, may also be deleted or have limited access. In the present study, this has resulted in different options for retrieving data in the two case studies.

In the case of the bank, many of the original posts and comments on the bank's Facebook page are still accessible (<https://www.facebook.com/DanskeBankDanmark/posts/299232766853843>), making it possible to follow the debate in the days following the launch of the image campaign. This allows for the identification and selection of expressions that resonate with large groups of users, e.g. through studying threads and identifying lexical chains and markers of intertextuality. Furthermore, comments are cited in articles in major Danish broadsheets and news channels at the time, which is helpful in establishing what were the most salient viewpoints and expressions to be found. The comments and articles were identified on the basis of a search in the Danish news media database, Infomedia,<sup>2</sup> in the month following the launch of the new image campaign in mid-November 2012. The search included the keywords *Danske Bank*, *new standards*, and *imagekampagne*.

The steakhouse is a different matter. The organisation was apparently extremely concerned with its future image already when the crisis was evolving, trying to contain the damage caused by the public outcry. One of the incidents to set the crisis in motion was the establishment of a Facebook page by a private Facebook user, who encouraged other users to publicly criticise the steakhouse chain by liking his page. However, the page was later acquired by an agent of the steakhouse chain and subsequently closed (the page had received more than 100,000 likes in two days), just as posts on the chain's own Facebook page disappeared. However, the owner's behaviour was heavily debated in the traditional media and on other platforms in the weeks following the Supreme Court ruling, and so it was possible

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2. Infomedia.dk is the leading Danish provider of full text electronic articles from all Danish newspapers. Also covered is a range of Danish electronic journals, broadcast media and online media.



to retrieve comments and posts from other forums than these two Facebook pages. These include tweets on Twitter, comments from Facebook and Twitter cited in articles in Danish broadsheets, tabloids and news channels as well as comments on news channel Facebook pages. The fact that entries are dispersed across different platforms and forums obviously makes it more difficult to identify salient themes and expressions. However, as with the bank, the decision made by news media to cite specific entries or allow related comments on their Facebook pages is a good indication of the salience of themes. Entries and articles were found in the Danish news media database, Infomedia, on the basis of a search including the keywords *Jensens Bøfhus*, *Jensens Fiskerestaurant*, *bojkot* and *højesteret*. The search was conducted in the month following the owner's press release on 19 September 2014.

#### 4. Framing the steakhouse

A number of frames emerged in the wake of the Supreme Court ruling. The most salient of these can be related to culturally embedded beliefs about right and wrong, which may in part explain their consistent instantiation across a number of different, and partly, disconnected entries. In crisis research, issues are often seen as uniting stakeholders in their responses towards organisational behaviour, cutting across their social identities and economic ties to the organisation (Coombs 2015). When responding, stakeholders may draw on 'symbolic predispositions', i.e. learned affective responses to symbols, that unite them within and across groups in their attitudes and priorities concerning specific issues (Sears and Funk 1991 in Wolfe and Putler 2002: 68). This suggests that stakeholders draw on values that are rooted in shared cultural backgrounds, which has a direct bearing on the study of framing and metaphor in the two cases.

In this case, the uniting issue is the behaviour of a steakhouse owner, who is using the size and market position of his restaurant chain to outmatch a much smaller rival. To many, this is clearly morally reproachful, and in response, publics choose to frame his actions in a number of distinct ways. In the following, I will discuss two of these frames, which I will call the 'David and Goliath' frame and the 'Quality' frame. The two frames are interrelated and serve the purpose of both discrediting the steakhouse owner and of strengthening the arguments against him.

##### 4.1 Two frames to discredit the steakhouse

Biblical metaphor is one dominant way of creating intertextual coherence across discourses and historical periods and to assign new values to later discourses (Kövecses 2015). As such, the 'David and Goliath' metaphor, which derives from

a story in the Old Testament, is often used in a Danish context when large and strong social actors try to outmanoeuvre smaller, less significant ones (Gladwell 2014). This is also the case here, when in the days following the issue of the press release the media would start describing the case as David's fight with Goliath where one combatant uses his size and power to beat his smaller opponent, cf. "This is a real David and Goliath story about the big person keeping down the smaller one. Many will side with the small person because, as you know, we are all 'the small ones'" (Politiken, September 22 2014).

In relation to the steakhouse case, however, it is only the part where Goliath is undefeated, challenging his opponents to fight with him, that is referred to (Holmgreen 2015). Thus, the analogy that emerges is that of the large powerful owner of the steakhouse chain (= Goliath) claiming his superiority and victory by crushing the much smaller owner (= David), who, incidentally, is considered no threat at all due to the small size of his business. The following two examples illustrate this point:<sup>3</sup>

- (1) It's unbelievable that a steakhouse, which 'makes' the most miserable food, can beat 'the little man' who takes pride in serving real well-prepared food (seafood, by the way) who can't possibly be a competitor to the steakhouse ... it's completely unacceptable!!!!  
(Facebook on TV2 Nyhederne, September 20 2014)
- (2) After which [the Supreme Court ruling] the population rises against the large Steak-Jensen, who keeps down the small Seafood-Jensen and – then takes the side of Seafood-Jensen  
(Comment in the online version of Berlingske Tidende, September 22 2014)

The 'David and Goliath' frame is invoked through a number of (metaphorical) expressions (the "little man", "the large Steak-Jensen", "the small Seafood-Jensen", "beat" and "keeps down") signalling a struggle between two unequal combatants (cf. Holmgreen 2015). However, unlike the original story where David eventually defeats and kills Goliath, the roles have been reversed in real life so that now it is the larger contestant/owner who defeats the smaller one. In other words, the 'David and Goliath' metaphor has been adjusted to fit the actual course of events, while it maintains the main point of the original story, i.e. the weaker and inferior part must stand up and fight for himself. This confirms the argument above that the instantiation of conceptual metaphors does not necessarily reflect the consistent mapping of sources and targets across social contexts, but that speakers will

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3. All examples have been translated from Danish following a semantic translation strategy, i.e. they have been translated verbatim.

choose the aspects of the metaphor that are relevant for the situation at hand and perhaps even adjust them.

In more explicit terms, the correspondences or mappings between the incident of the two restaurants and the original story are as follows (adapted from Kövecses 2015: 56):

| Source              |   | Target   |
|---------------------|---|--|
| Goliath             | → | The steakhouse owner   |
| David               | → | The owner of the seafood restaurant                              |
| David kills Goliath | → | The owner of the seafood restaurant defeats the steakhouse owner |
| Goliath kills David | → | The steakhouse owner defeats the owner of the seafood restaurant |

Studies (e.g. Hellsten et al. 2010) show that the partial mention of elements is a common strategy when frames are invoked, possibly since they are cognitive structures embedded in well-known domains of experience in culture. Thus, the partial mention of or allusion to a specific frame will trigger a whole set of inferences that users will readily invoke, making the spreading of particular interpretations easy and intuitive across social media platforms.

The contextualisation of the ‘David and Goliath’ frame also takes place along the broader lines of proper social conduct, which helps strengthen the implicit moral evaluation in the frame, and which may also explain the twist to it. In Denmark, an unwritten moral and social code exists, named the *Jantelov* (The Law of Jante), which is meant for upholding the underlying egalitarianism of Danish society through the correcting of those who boast about their accomplishments, especially at the expense of others. Correction typically takes the form of a (public) rebuke, through which the offender is advised, directly or indirectly, on how to behave. In the following example, this advice is expressed as a *fait accompli* where the steakhouse owner is given no alternative but to follow public sentiment (see also Example (2) above), cf.

- (3) What good does it do that the case stands up in the High Court when it doesn’t do so in the people’s court

(Twitter, #boefhusgate, September 20 2014)

The power of public sentiment over the ruling of legal institutions is made clear in (2) and (3) through metaphorical expressions such as “the population rises” and “people’s court”. Together, they suggest a public which is willing and able to fight against what is considered unfair practices, even if they have been confirmed as legal in a court of law. Such constructions draw on our, learned or actual, experiences

with historical events and discourses where popular uprisings have been the response to oppressive political systems and have led to effective, and sometimes rogue, public systems outside the established legal order. As such, they suggest that there are two kinds of ‘justice’, and that the justice exercised by the people is the stronger moral compass. Again, due to their reference to well-established historical events and discourses the metaphorical expressions resonate with users and are easily shared across platforms (see also Soares da Silva (this volume)), who makes similar observations in relation to the 2008 financial crisis and the subsequent introduction of austerity measures by the Portuguese government).

The problems of the steakhouse derive, however, not only from the debate on the court ruling. As demonstrated by Holmgreen (2015), the perceived moral flaws of the steakhouse owner are also seen to be closely connected to the food he serves in his restaurants. Thus, long before the event in late 2014, it was a general impression that the quality of the food was poor, which had resulted in the lowest score on Trustpilot in early 2013 (TV2 Finans, January 2013). In the debate following the ruling, this understanding forms part of a narrative which serves the purpose of discrediting the steakhouse owner, underscoring the perceived illegitimacy of his actions. Thus, we see the instantiation of what may be called a ‘Quality’ frame. In (1), we see this expressed as a contrast between the poor quality of the food served in the steakhouse (cf. “miserable food”) and the high quality of the food in the seafood restaurant (cf. “well-prepared food”). This impression of the steakhouse is confirmed by other comments, in which a comparison is made between the low quality of food and the perceived base behaviour of the steakhouse owner, as in (4) “pettiness” and in (5) “unacceptable” and “junk food”:

- (4) Here pettiness has triumphed, but pettiness is, in fact, also Jensen’s Bøfhus in a nutshell, in quality as well as portion sizes

(Comment in the online version of Saeby Avis, a local newspaper to the seafood restaurant, on September 19 2014)

- (5) I’m soo done with Jensen’s Bøfhus [steakhouse], I won’t set foot in the place anymore, their behaviour towards Jacob Jensen [the owner of the seafood restaurant] is completely unacceptable, if you ask me, [I] hope this will be a rod for their own backs at Jensen’s Bøfhus. And by the way, Jensen’s Bøfhus is nothing more than junk food in line with McDonalds!!

(Comment in the online version of Saeby Avis, a local newspaper to the seafood restaurant, on September 19 2014)

Altogether, the two frames support the overall argument that the steakhouse owner had no moral right to take the smaller restaurant owner to court and, in this way, restrict his business activities and opportunities. They do so by, among

other things, drawing on generally recognised and well-established experiential domains in cultural and social life. The fact that these domains are deeply entrenched in Danish culture may be part of the reason why the steakhouse owner was unable to prevent the issue from developing into a full-blown crisis. In crisis management, managing an issue “is a proactive attempt to have [it] decided in a way that is favourable to an organisation” (Coombs, 2015: 32) and involves influencing key actors’ conceptualisations. Surely, the owner could have foreseen the reaction when the ruling was made public, since he is member of the same cultural sphere and, at least in overall terms, shares the same experiential domains; however, it appears that he was so convinced of the moral and legal rights that the court ruling gave him that he overlooked this fact. Furthermore, changing deeply embedded values takes time, and when the owner continued to defend his actions in the days following the ruling, he was likely to be unsuccessful in influencing key actors’ conceptualisations.

## 5. Framing the bank

In the case of the bank, stakeholders use a number of frames that turn the image campaign into a crisis for the bank. These also emerge from fundamental cultural beliefs about right and wrong and pertain to what could be termed a two-faced strategy adopted by the bank in the attempt to strengthen its image and regain public trust and respect. Thus, the issue that unites stakeholders in this case is the belief that the bank pretends to be there for its customers, while it is actually just behaving as usual, i.e. running its business at the expense of (private) customers. This belief is closely connected to the bank’s behaviour and strategies before and after the financial crisis in 2008, and therefore the crisis evolving from the 2012 image campaign cannot be understood in isolation (Holmgreen 2012).

Among the frames that are used to construct the bank and its campaign is one that appears to be particularly salient, i.e. a frame which constructs the bank as generally unreliable and only pretending to be interested in pertinent societal issues. This frame I will call the ‘Fraud’ frame. The conceptualisation of the bank as a fraud is connected to its conduct in the years following the 2008 crisis, in which private customers witnessed the increasing deterioration of their relation to the bank, e.g. through frequent and severe interest rate hikes for small-time loaners as well as a downscaling of services for the same group of customers. This was constructed in the media as a way for the bank to cover heavy losses on risky business projects and non-profitable acquisitions of foreign banks, despite its continuous claim that this was not the case (Holmgreen 2012). So, despite endeavours to restore public trust in the bank by initiating a large-scale image campaign in

2009, in which the bank dedicated itself to acting on customers' complaints and criticism, these endeavours appear to have been largely unsuccessful with the reactions expressed towards the 'New Normal New Standards' campaign in 2012.

### 5.1 One frame to discredit the bank

The 'Fraud' frame derives from a number of points made by users on the bank's Facebook page and subsumes issues of a moral character. Thus, the bank is accused of deceiving people about its true nature and intentions, trying to exploit people's naivety for the sake of personal gain. Altogether, it is possible to assign these attributes to the bank through the combination of metonymy, where the bank is assigned human attributes by standing for the people that constitutes it, cf. INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE (Lakoff and Johnson 2003), with metaphor, where the transfer of specific human characteristics takes place, cf. THE BANK IS A FRAUD. This construction, where metaphor interacts with metonymy, is called metaphonymy (Evans and Green 2006).

The introduction of the frame on the bank's Facebook page (<https://www.facebook.com/DanskeBankDanmark/posts/299232766853843>) is made in the following post on November 20 2012, five days after the campaign was launched:

- (6) It's rare that a commercial makes my piss boil. But this new campaign from Danske Bank is like being kicked in the balls. "A new normal demands new standards" it preaches, with images that make it look more like a commercial for Amnesty International, accompanied by self-righteous images of windmills, homo love and, God help me, also Occupy Wall Street. Hello, bank characters, do you really want us to believe that now you intend to be some sort of altruistic institution instead of a business focused on making money? And do you think we've already forgotten that you, as part of the banking sector, are one of the prime villains of the situation the world is now in? (November 20 2012)

In (6), a number of terms and expressions are used to establish the impression of a bank (and its managers) which has deceived and is still trying to deceive its customers. The user draws our attention to the double standards of the bank by pointing out the glaring contrast between its ("self-righteous") image in the campaign and its core business, that of making money. Thus, he uses terms and expressions such as "altruistic" as opposed to "making money", adding his own disbelief at the behaviour of the bank (cf. "do you really want us to believe"). Furthermore, the double standards of the bank are underlined by the user's mocking reference to its leading role (cf. "prime villains") in sending the Danish financial markets on an unprecedented slide to the bottom in 2008 and the following years.

Altogether, the entry is a negative assessment of the image campaign and the bank's behaviour, not only because it metaphorically constructs the bank as a fraud (and by extension, as a villain), but also because it illustrates the user's anger and disbelief through metaphor. This metaphor highlights the emotional content of the assessment and imparts writer attitudes to the reader as well as other users (Holmgreen and Vestergaard 2009). Thus, to illustrate that he is angry he adopts, among other things, the metaphorical expression "makes my piss boil", which derives from the conceptual metaphor of *PRESSURIZED CONTAINER* (Kövecses 2005). In Conceptual Metaphor Theory, this metaphor is considered universal, cutting across cultures, as it emerges from actual physiological processes. However, as a conceptual metaphor it is only skeletal and will therefore contribute to the structure and content of prototypical cultural models of anger through a number of specified metaphors (Kövecses 2005). Thus, Danish culture will share the conceptual metaphor of *ANGER IS A HOT FLUID* with other cultures, which is a specification of the *PRESSURIZED CONTAINER* metaphor, but it will receive different expressions. To say that something makes 'your piss boil' is, in other words, particular to Danish culture as a conventional, colloquial expression, and as such its entailments are easily understood by other users on the Facebook page.

The entry in (6) epitomizes the situation as it is experienced by many users. In the days preceding the entry, other users make a number of remarks on the bank's treatment of its customers, voicing similar doubts about its intentions, such as it does not intend to treat its customers decently and that it is only interested in "ripping off customers" to the benefit of the CEO and the shareholders (<https://www.facebook.com/DanskeBankDanmark/posts/299232766853843>). However, it is the entry in (6) that sets the crisis in motion, as it receives more than 10,000 likes within a few days (Politiken, November 25 2012), possibly because it strikes a chord with users across Facebook based on their experience with the bank, in particular, and the Danish banking sector, in general.

In the days that follow, a number of entries take up the points mentioned in (6) establishing the 'Fraud' frame as one of the primary frames:

- (7) A business can't be both altruistic and strong on making money. You can't both be benevolent and ruthless at the same time without being bad at both.  
(November 20 2012)
- (8) Stop bullshitting me- you are and always will be a lousy bank for the customers. You are, as we all know, only interested in ripping off your customers as much as possible, for personal gain. [I] hope I'll soon get out of your clutches and get a decent bank.  
(November 23 2012)

- (9) Using the Occupy movement in a bank commercial ... REALLY?!?!? ... there ought to be limits to indecency, but at DB [Danske Bank] there appears to be no limits. And you don't have to answer that you "respond to a changing world and bla bla bla". Like many other Danes I'm not an idiot.  
(November 26 2012)
- (10) Ripping off an occupy image is as cynical, hypocritical, and offensive as it gets. Way to go Danske Bank– proving yourselves the clueless corporate assholes that everyone knows you to be. Seriously. Want to reinvent yourselves? DO RIGHT BY THE PEOPLE. PERIOD. (November 26 2012)

Across Examples (7) to (10), a number of terms and expressions create intertextual coherence with (6), invoking different aspects of the frame. All of these are entailments of the metaphor, *THE BANK IS A FRAUD*. Thus, we see expressions referring to and elaborating on the evaluation of the bank's double standards and behaviour in (7) and (10), cf. "benevolent" vs. "ruthless" and "hypocritical", referring to the bank as stripping customers of their money in (8), cf. "ripping off", and seeing the bank as indecent and immoral in (8), (9) and (10), cf. "decent", "indecency", "cynical" and "assholes". In these examples, we also see that the users take up the indignation expressed in (6) that the bank apparently takes people for fools, cf. (7) "Stop bullshitting me", (8) "as we all know", (9) "I'm not an idiot" and (10) "assholes everyone knows you to be".

As with the steakhouse case above, the framing of the bank seems to be rooted in basic values about right and wrong, most notably expressed through the negative assessment of its perceived double standards and its pretence to be a bank for the handicapped, the opposition, the environmentalists, etc. This construction is possible when we assign human attributes to it, first through metonymy and then through metaphor, to allow for a restricted (and negative) image of these attributes (Evans and Green 2006; Lakoff and Johnson 2003). The 'Fraud' frame is most likely not particular to Danish culture or Danske Bank, but may be found in discourses across many Western economies at the time; however, its instantiation is clearly inspired by the behaviour of the bank before the image campaign, making it resonate with Facebook users, as already mentioned.

## 6. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to explore whether the conceptual repertoires that underlie public evaluation of organisational behaviour are embedded in shared social and cultural practices that allow them to be expressed and shared easily and intuitively on social media, potentially leading to organisational crisis.



Previous studies of public behaviour show that the easy access to posting comments on social media platforms allows users to share and vent sentiments across their social identities and economic ties to organisations (Liu 2010; Liu et al. 2011). This is one reason why it is possible to establish a collective voice in a matter of hours that can turn a mere issue into a full-blown crisis. Another reason for the unanimity and the invocation of similar frames across platforms may well be the grounding of these in shared cultural and social practices. The analyses in this chapter suggest at least that by drawing on well-established experiential domains, it is possible not only to invoke relevant and recognisable frames by using a limited number of linguistic expressions, be they literal or metaphorical, but also to invoke a whole set of inferences that are intuitive to users of social media. Thus, it seems issues can become crises when more criteria are fulfilled, i.e. the possibility of sharing emotions easily and the drawing on shared social and cultural models.

Due to the different access to data, the study of the two cases rendered slightly different, and yet comparable, results. In both cases, the frames used to construct the perceived immoral behaviour of the two organisations are expressed in literal as well as metaphorical terms. As for the metaphors used to instantiate the frames, these appear to be both embodied and contextually derived. However, whereas the trajectory of the bank was the primary inspiration in the users' choice of frames and expressions, the cultural context of the steakhouse seems to have been the primary inspiration. In both cases, the metaphorical expressions, in particular, seem to strike a chord with other users on social media, who will follow suit either due to the reflection of collective experiences, or because they draw on basic values of right and wrong.

The knowledge that frames may, on the one hand, be the result of users' shared sentiments, and, on the other, may draw on basic social and cultural values is valuable for understanding the development of organisational crises and adopting appropriate ways to handle them. The coherent instantiation of comparable conceptualisations across posts, be it in one social media forum or across forums and platforms, contribute to the dominance of particular interpretations, creating the perfect conditions for crisis development, and hence firestorms. Consequently, to be able to contest dominant constructions and thus prevent a crisis from developing, organisations must continuously keep abreast of social and cultural factors that drive users' conceptualisations.

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PART II

# Understanding discourses of political conflicts



# Turning the heart into a neighbour

## (Re)framing Kosovo in Serbian political discourse

Katarina Rasulić

This chapter explores the role of conceptual metaphor and metonymy in the framing of Kosovo in the Serbian political discourse related to the EU-mediated negotiations on the normalization of Serbia–Kosovo relations. The analysis, set against the theoretical background of cognitive linguistics, shows that the Serbian political discourse under examination features conflicting metaphors for Kosovo and abounds in the toponymic CAPITAL FOR X metonymies in reference to the process participants. The findings concern the conceptual and evaluative nature of metaphors in political discourse, the discursive challenging of metaphor and metonymy appropriateness, the discursive emergence of alternative frames, the role of metaphor and metonymy in maintaining inequality in discourse, and the role of metonymy as an avoidance strategy in discourse.

**Keywords:** metaphor, metonymy, (re)framing, Kosovo, Serbia, Serbian political discourse

### 1. Introduction

On April 19, 2013, the media worldwide reported a breakthrough in a long-lasting political conflict in the Western Balkans, featuring headlines such as “Serbia, Kosovo reach historic agreement to settle relations” (*Reuters*, 2013) or “Serbia and Kosovo reach EU-brokered landmark accord” (*BBC*, 2013). The passages in (1)–(2) provide informative explanations from the pertinent news reports:

- (1) Serbia agreed to cede its last remaining foothold in the country’s former province of Kosovo on Friday, striking a historic accord to settle relations in exchange for talks on joining the European Union. The deal, brokered by the EU, capped six months of delicate negotiations and marks a milestone for the region’s recovery from the collapse of Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

(*Reuters*, 19/04/2013)



- (2) Serbia and its former province of Kosovo have reached an EU-brokered accord aimed at normalising relations between the Balkan neighbours. Under the new deal, Serbs in northern Kosovo will have their own police and appeal court. Both sides also agreed to not block each other's efforts to seek EU membership. Kosovo broke away in 2008. While many countries recognise it as an independent country, Serbia does not. (*BBC*, 19/04/2013)

The news was rightly optimistic, but the implementation of this agreement still remains a matter of dispute between Serbia and Kosovo. This should come as no surprise, given the complexity of the underlying political conflict, a significant aspect of which pertains to its socio-cognitive dimension. Particularly problematic in that regard is the fact that the Serbian government does not recognize Kosovo as an independent state, but at the same time it is committed to the European Union requirement of “establishing good neighbourly relations” with Kosovo, which inevitably evokes a conceptual clash.

The notion of “neighbourly relations” between countries derives from the general STATE-AS-PERSON conceptual metaphor, in terms of which international relations are commonly understood. By this metaphor, as described by Lakoff (1991: 26), “A state is conceptualized as a person, engaging in social relations within a world community. Its land-mass is its home. It lives in a neighborhood, and has neighbors, friends and enemies.”<sup>1</sup> With regard to the relations between Serbia and Kosovo, this raises the issue of whether establishing good neighbourly relations is possible without the accompanying reconceptualization of Kosovo in Serbian political/public discourse in line with the STATE-AS-PERSON/NEIGHBOUR metaphor.

In the present chapter, I focus on the metaphorical as well as metonymic conceptualization of Kosovo in the Serbian political discourse related to the EU-mediated process of “normalizing relations”. The aim is twofold: (1) to shed light on the metaphors and metonymies by means of which Kosovo is framed in the pertinent Serbian political discourse, and (2) to shed light on the conceptual import of such framing in the discursive management of the associated political conflict resolution. The study is case-specific, but it may have broader implications for both cognitive-linguistic and discourse studies insofar that it provides insight into the dynamics of metaphorical and metonymic conceptualization in search of appropriate discursive construction and representation of a new geopolitical reality. Beyond descriptive and theoretical considerations, the study may also bear social relevance insofar that it points to the need of fostering conceptual aware-

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1. For more details on the role of the STATE-AS-PERSON metaphor in understanding international relations, see Chilton and Lakoff (1995), Lakoff (1999).

ness-raising and critical thinking among both shapers and recipients of public discourse in the process of resolving political conflicts.

The chapter is structured as follows: Section 2 outlines the theoretical underpinnings of the analysis; Section 3 provides an informative contextual background of the problem of Serbia–Kosovo relations with regard to the pertinent discursive conceptualization issues; Section 4 describes the examined corpus of Serbian political discourse on Kosovo and the analytical procedure; Section 5 presents the descriptive findings and their critical interpretation; Section 6 highlights the conclusions and implications of the present research for further cognitive linguistic explorations of political discourse related to conflict resolution.

## 2. Theoretical underpinnings

The analysis is set against the background of cognitive linguistic theory of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1993; Kövecses 2002, 2005; Gibbs 2011) and conceptual metonymy (Kövecses and Radden 1998; Panther and Radden 1999; Panther and Thornburg 2003; Barcelona et al. 2011), with a view to elaborations and ramifications thereof in the field of discourse studies, including in particular (i) the study of metaphor and metaphorical framing in political discourse (Lakoff 1991, 1999, 2004; Chilton and Ilyin 1993; Chilton 1996; Santa Ana 2002; Musolff 2004, 2006; Semino 2008), (ii) the study of metaphor as part of Critical Discourse Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004; Koller 2004; Goatly 2007; Maalej 2007; Hart 2008; Musolff 2012), and (iii) discourse-dynamic approaches to the study of metaphor (Cameron and Deignan 2006; Müller 2008; Gibbs and Cameron 2008; Cameron et al. 2009) and metonymy (Biernacka 2013).

The point of departure is the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor and metonymy as conceptual phenomena. In this view, as initially expounded by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), “metaphor is principally a way of conceiving one thing in terms of another” (36), while “metonymic concepts allow us to conceptualize one thing by means of its relation to something else” (39), whereby “like metaphors, metonymic concepts structure not just our language but our thoughts, attitudes, and actions” (39). In the vast body of research inspired by Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) seminal insights, the focus has largely been on the notion of conceptual metaphor (for an overview of the development, elaborations and critical assessment of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, see e.g. Fusaroli and Morgagni 2013; Gibbs 2017), but over the past two decades there has also emerged a growing body of research on conceptual metonymy (for an overview of this development, see e.g. Barcelona et al. 2011; for a recent comprehensive account of

the complex functioning of metonymy in language, thought and communication, see Littlemore 2015).

Central to the cognitive linguistic approach to metaphor and metonymy is the notion of conceptual mapping.<sup>2</sup> Namely, metaphors are defined as mappings (or sets of correspondences) across conceptual domains, which provide understanding of one, usually abstract domain (target domain) in terms of another, typically concrete, more familiar and experientially grounded conceptual domain (source domain), as, for instance, when thinking and talking about ARGUMENT in terms of WAR, IMPORTANCE in terms of SIZE, STATES in terms of PERSONS, etc. (Lakoff 1993; Kövecses 2002). In metonymy, the mapping occurs between concepts within the same domain, enabling a conceptual and linguistic shortcut: one salient concept (vehicle or source) provides mental access to another concept (target) associated with it within a conceptual structure containing both of them, as, for instance, when AUTHOR stands for his/her WORK, PLACE for the EVENT that happened there, CAPITAL for GOVERNMENT etc. (Kövecses and Radden 1998; Panther and Radden 1999; Littlemore 2015).

In particular, the present study focuses on the functioning of metaphorical and metonymic mappings in a crisis-related political discourse and their role in the discursive construction of a geopolitical reality. To this end, instrumental in the analysis is also the notion of frames/framing – a theoretical construct that has been developed and applied, in varied but converging interpretations, in a range of different disciplines, including linguistics (Fillmore 1977, 1982, 1985), artificial intelligence (Minsky 1975), sociology (Goffman 1974), discourse studies (Tannen 1993), communication studies (Entmann 1993), etc.<sup>3</sup> As summed up by Semino, Demjén and Demmen (2016: 3), “in spite of inevitable differences between different fields, a ‘frame’ tends to be defined as a portion of background knowledge that (i) concerns a particular aspect of the world, (ii) generates expectations and inferences in communication and action, and (iii) tends to be associated with particular lexical and grammatical choices in language”. By and large, frames may be activated and exploited consciously or unconsciously in the course of communicative processes, significantly shaping the overall understanding of a given discursive issue in different ways (cf. also the application of the notion of frames/

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2. For a comprehensive account of the notion of conceptual mapping as a cognitive principle underlying not only metaphor and metonymy but also other figures of thought and speech, see Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2014).

3. For an informative overview of the notions of frames, scripts, and schemas in different disciplines, see Tannen (1993), who characterizes them as reflecting “structures of expectation”. For an overview of the nature and interrelation of the notions of frames, idealized cognitive models and domains in cognitive linguistics, see Cienki (2007).

framing in various types of crisis-related discourse in this volume's chapters by O'Mara-Shimek, Soares da Silva, Holmgreen, Huang and Knapton). Building on Lakoff's (1999) insights on the significance of strategic metaphorical framing and reframing with regard to foreign policy issues, the term framing is used here with reference to the background conceptual and attitudinal knowledge evoked by the specific metaphorical – as well as metonymic – linguistic expressions used in discourse.

Related to the notion of framing in discourse are also the notions of metaphorical highlighting and hiding, and of metaphorical entailments (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1993; Kövecses 2002). Metaphorical highlighting and hiding concerns the fact that the metaphorical structuring of a particular target domain in terms of a particular source domain is necessarily partial, foregrounding some while backgrounding other potentially relevant aspects thereof. Metaphorical entailments concern the inferences drawn from the source to the target domain. For instance, the metaphorical conceptualization of *Kosovo as the heart of Serbia* highlights the vital role of Kosovo for the existence and functioning of Serbia, while at the same time it hides the problematic aspects of Serbia–Kosovo relations, which get foregrounded in the alternative metaphorical conceptualization of *Kosovo as a burden around Serbia's neck*. Thereby, these alternative metaphorical conceptualizations involve different inferences about the target domain drawn from the selected source domain. As aptly formulated by Lakoff (1991: 32) in his early study of metaphors used in the US political discourse to justify the Gulf War, “what metaphor does is limit what we notice, highlight what we do see, and provide part of the inferential structure that we reason with”. In the ensuing discussion I will argue that metonymy also works along similar lines and thus, in addition to metaphor, it also plays an important role in the discursive framing of political issues.

Recent years have seen an increased interest in the interdisciplinary dialogue between cognitive linguistics and discourse studies, including the field of Critical Discourse Analysis, especially in the area of metaphor use in political discourse (e.g. Santa Ana 2002; Charteris-Black 2004; Goatly 2007; Maalej 2007; Hart 2008; Musolff 2004, 2012; see also: Ullmann, this volume; Kotzur, this volume). Thereby, discourse scholars appropriately emphasize the significance of empirically observable variation in actual metaphorical language use as well as the specifics of discursive in addition to conceptual aspects of metaphors, which, as they point out, have not received sufficient attention by the proponents of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Thus, Steen (2011: 54), in his discussion of the range, limitations and potential improvements of CMT, points out that “from a social perspective, the question becomes how a particularly interesting or important metaphor or set of metaphors is formulated, developed, shared, passed on, exploited, transformed,

and so on, between individual and groups of participants within and across discourse events". This development has, among other things, resulted in a growing tension between cognition-centered and discourse-centered approaches to metaphor (cf. Musolff and Zinken 2009; Steen 2011; Gibbs 2011; 2017; Rasulić 2017).

Endorsing Musolff's (2012: 305) observation that "rather than 'underlying' discourse, the mapping process is the product of discourse", in the ensuing discussion I will argue that the gap between cognition-centered and discourse-centered approaches is essentially not as deep as it appears to be and that it can be bridged by paying more systematic attention to the dynamics of the two-way traffic between metaphorical – as well as metonymic – conceptualization and language use in discourse. Instrumental in this regard is the discourse-dynamic perspective, which, as argued by Gibbs and Cameron (2008: 74) with regard to metaphor, "shows how various cognitive, linguistic, social and cultural forces simultaneously shape, along different time-scales, people's use and understanding of metaphoric discourse". Taking into account the functioning of both metaphor and metonymy in discourse, the ensuing discussion will further extend this perspective so as to provide insight into the dynamics of metaphorical and metonymic conceptualization in search of appropriate discursive framing of a new geopolitical reality.

More broadly, with regard to the fact that the political discourse under examination is related to a complex sociopolitical process aimed at resolving a deep and long-lasting conflict, the stance adopted for the critical interpretation of the findings is that a conceptual change in political discourse is an important constitutive factor in the process of conflict resolution. This stance builds on Ball et al.'s (1989: 1–2) view that "the social and political world is conceptually and communicatively constituted, or, more precisely, preconstituted", whereby conceptual change is "a species of political innovation", and on Hayward's (2011) account of "politics as discursive action" and "discourse as political action" (in relation to the role of political discourse in Northern Ireland's peace process), whereby the author emphasizes that "the significance of discourse in socio-political terms is that it may be used to *legitimise*, *accompany*, *disguise* or *substitute for* change in political values and activity" (3, italics in the original).

### 3. Contextual background

The complexity of Serbia–Kosovo relations, which is reflected in and perpetuated by the political discourse under examination, inevitably calls for an understanding of the broader historical, geopolitical and socio-cultural context. With a view to the oft-quoted observation that "the Balkans have the tendency to produce more history than they can consume" (attributed to Winston Churchill), and without

attempting to be exhaustive, this section provides but an informative background for the ensuing discussion.

Kosovo, commonly conceived of in the Serbian tradition as “the Serbian holy land”, was the political and religious centre of Serbian medieval state. The land was lost to the Ottoman Empire after the legendary Kosovo battle in 1389, an event which, as Kaufman (2001: 16) observes, is interpreted as symbolizing “the martyrdom of the Serbian nation in defense of Serbian honour and of Christendom against the Turks”. From the mid-15th century the whole territory of Serbia was under the Ottoman rule throughout the early modern period. After the national revolution in the early 19th century, Serbia gradually won its independence (with international recognition at the Congress of Berlin in 1878), and subsequently regained the territory of Kosovo in the First Balkan War against the Ottoman Empire in 1912. In the meantime, over the centuries, major demographic changes occurred in Kosovo, as a result of which the Serbian population decreased and the Albanian population became the dominant ethnic group.

During the turbulent 20th century history of the Balkans, Kosovo remained a province of Serbia within the state of Yugoslavia (which was established in 1918, after World War I, under the name of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, further evolving into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929 and then into the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia after the World War II). In the 1990s, the federal state of Yugoslavia broke up in a series of ethnically-based civil wars, whereby the resulting disintegration followed the lines of the six constituent republics (with the secession of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia leading to the reduced federation of Serbia and Montenegro, which lasted until 2006, when it dissolved as a result of the Montenegrin independence referendum).

During this process, Kosovo also claimed independence, but this issue was additionally problematic since Kosovo was a province of Serbia, not a constituent republic of Yugoslavia. The armed conflict between Kosovo Albanian secessionists and Serbian state forces escalated in 1998 and led to the NATO military intervention against Serbia (commonly referred to as “the Kosovo war”; cf. Lakoff (1999)) in spring 1999. After 78 days of NATO air strikes, Serbia withdrew its troops from Kosovo, which became a UN protectorate, administered through international civil and military mission (United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244, 10 June 1999). Predictably, it did not take long before Kosovo formally declared independence from Serbia in 2008.

In 2010, the International Court of Justice issued its advisory opinion that “the declaration of independence of Kosovo adopted on 17 February 2008 did not violate international law” (I.C.J. Reports 2010: 403). Kosovo’s status still remains disputed, primarily due to the concerns that support for its unilaterally declared independence might fuel secessionism in other countries. By November 2019,

Kosovo was recognized as an independent state by 98 out of 193 UN member countries (notable exceptions being Russia and China), among which 23 out of 28 were EU member countries (excluding Spain, Greece, Cyprus, Romania and Slovakia).

Unsurprisingly, Serbia does not recognize Kosovo as an independent state. The current Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, adopted in 2006, contains a preamble that explicitly refers to the “Province of Kosovo and Metohija” as “an integral part of the territory of Serbia”, with “the status of a substantial autonomy within the sovereign state of Serbia”, from which follow “constitutional obligations of all state bodies to uphold and protect the state interests of Serbia in Kosovo and Metohija in all internal and foreign political relations”.<sup>4</sup>

However, over the past years there have been noticeable changes in Serbia’s Kosovo policy, as a result of both Serbia’s and Kosovo’s application for membership in the European Union, for which the normalization of Serbia–Kosovo relations is one of the crucial conditions. After the initial technical negotiations in 2011, the EU-mediated dialogue at the highest political level, involving prime ministers of Serbia and Kosovo, started in October 2012. The first concrete result was achieved in April 2013, in the form of “The First Agreement on Principles Governing the Normalization of Relations”, the document which was mentioned in the introductory section and which is commonly referred to as “The Brussels Agreement” in Serbian political discourse. This document tends to be interpreted as Serbia’s *de facto* recognition of Kosovo’s independence, as can be seen in the following quote from a pertinent International Crisis Group analysis:

- (3) This is the first high level agreement between the two states, and shows that Serbia can deal with Kosovo as an equal. It is a kind of *de facto* recognition of Kosovo and that may be its greatest long-term significance. Whatever else happens, it is easier today to imagine that Serbia may one day formally recognise the independence of its former province. (Prelec 2013).

Such interpretation has continually been explicitly denied by the Serbian government, which sticks to its non-recognition policy. At the same time, the EU-mediated highest-level political dialogue between Serbia’s and Kosovo’s officials continues towards the normalization of relations, which makes the Serbian insistence on formal non-recognition of Kosovo more and more problematic.

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4. Устав Републике Србије. “Службени гласник Републике Србије” 98/2006 [Constitution of the Republic of Serbia. “Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia”, 98/2006]. The administrative two-part name *Kosovo and Metohija*, which is officially used in Serbia, reflects the geographical composition of the territory that is commonly referred to simply as *Kosovo*. By Kosovo’s declaration of independence, its administrative name is *Republic of Kosovo*.

Clearly, coming to terms with a new geopolitical reality is always far from an easy task – not only politically, but also conceptually. All the more so in the case in point, in view of the entrenched Serbian conception of Kosovo as a vital constitutive element of Serbian national, religious and cultural identity. An illustrative summary of this conception can be found in the following characterization by a renowned Serbian historian:

- (4) Kosovo and Metohija are as much the home and promised land of the Serbs as Jerusalem is of the Jews. In the Serbian people's thousand year-long history, Kosovo and Metohija were the state center and the main religious stronghold, the heartland of their culture and springwell of their historical traditions. [...] To say that without Kosovo there can be no Serbia or Serbian nation, implies more than just the territory of its promised land, covered with telling monuments to its culture and civilization, more than just the feeling of hard-won national and state independence: Kosovo and Metohija are the key to the existence and survival of the Serbian nation. [...] The Kosovo pledge – to choose freedom in the kingdom of heaven rather than humiliation and slavery in the kingdom on earth – is the one permanent connecting tissue that gives the Serbian nation its feeling of being a national entity and that lends meaning to its common strivings. (Bataković 1992: 11)

This passage also illustrates the long-dominant metaphorical framing of Kosovo as “the heart of Serbia” in the Serbian public discourse. Such framing has all too often been used and abused to stir Serbian national feelings for ideological purposes (including ethnic conflicts in former Yugoslavia).<sup>5</sup>

In an analysis of the Serbian political discourse related to Kosovo's 2008 declaration of independence, Kuzmanović Jovanović (2011) shows that this discourse was laden with metaphors aimed at “preserving the integrity of national identity”, with Kosovo being metaphorically construed as *the heart/soul of Serbia*, *the cradle of the Serbian nation*, *the Serbian Jerusalem* etc. Such metaphors, the author rightly argues, shape the discursive construction of Kosovo as Serbia's “ethnoscape” (Smith 1999), i.e. the sacred territory of a nation, with powerful ethnoscape-generated myths playing a particularly important role in times of national crisis (Kuzmanović Jovanović 2011: 38).

In view of recent changes in Serbia's Kosovo policy, the question arises whether/how the discursive construction of Kosovo in the associated Serbian political discourse reflects and affects the current political process aimed at the normalization of relations (and, ultimately, establishing “good neighbourly relations”), an

5. For more details on the role of Kosovo as “myth-symbol complex” in the ethnic conflicts in former Yugoslavia, see Kaufman 2001.



important corollary of which is that Kosovo should effectively be conceived of as a neighbouring country, rather than a (vital) part of Serbia.

#### 4. Data and analysis

The data for the analysis were collected in a self-compiled corpus of the Serbian political discourse on Kosovo in the period October 2012 – September 2013, i.e. from the beginning of the EU-brokered Serbia–Kosovo talks at the highest political level to the dissolution of Serbian state-run parallel political institutions in North Kosovo as the crucial first step in the implementation of the milestone “First Agreement on Principles Governing the Normalization of Relations”. In line with Van Dijk’s (1997) observations on the interactional aspects of political discourse, the corpus comprises two datasets: (i) the core dataset, labelled “constitutive corpus” (henceforth abbreviated as CC), which consists of the Kosovo-related speeches, statements and interviews by key political figures from the Serbian government and opposition parties (15,108 words), and (ii) an additional dataset, labelled “interpretive corpus” (henceforth abbreviated as IC), which consists of public reactions to the pertinent Kosovo-related political issues, including statements by non-government organizations, the Serbian Orthodox Church, political analysts, public intellectuals, as well as individual online comments (19,072 words).

The corpus was manually checked for linguistic manifestations of metaphors and metonymies pertaining to Kosovo, Serbia and their relations as target concepts. The metaphor and metonymy identification procedure in the analysis was based on establishing the contextual meaning of expressions syntagmatically related to the toponyms *Kosovo*, *Serbia* and *Priština*, *Belgrade* (the respective capitals), taking into account the relevant methodological guidelines proposed by Pragglejaz (2007) for metaphor identification and Biernacka (2013) for metonymy identification, as well as by Deignan (2005) and Stefanowitch (2006) for corpus-based investigation of metaphor and metonymy.

Building on my previous research on the dynamics and interaction of metaphor and metonymy in different types of discourse (Rasulić 2008, 2015), the analysis was conducted in three stages (comparable to the levels of metaphor analysis proposed by Charteris-Black (2004) or Maalej (2007); cf. also Ullmann, this volume), involving (i) identification of the relevant metaphorical and metonymic expressions, (ii) interpretation of the related cross-domain and intra-domain conceptual mappings, and (iii) explanation of their functioning in the discursive framing.

The metaphor analysis highlights different source domains exploited in metaphorical mappings and the corresponding entailments and evaluations relevant to the framing of Kosovo in relation to Serbia. The metonymy analysis highlights

the prominence of toponymic CAPITAL FOR X metonymies with underspecified target concepts and their effect on the framing of Kosovo in relation to Serbia. The analysis is primarily qualitative, but it also includes informative quantitative insights. The descriptive findings are critically interpreted and discussed in view of their conceptual impact and their role in the discursive management of the political process under study.

## 5. Results and discussion

### 5.1 Conflicting metaphors for *Kosovo*

Metaphors for Kosovo found in the examined Serbian political discourse corpus (a total of 186 instances in both datasets) involve a variety of source domains, as shown in the overview in Table 1.

Predictably, prevailing in the corpus are the metaphors in which Kosovo is likened to something essential to the very existence of Serbia (i.e. those that Kuzmanović Jovanović (2011) characterized as “preserving the integrity of national identity”). In such metaphors, Kosovo is conceptualized (i) as a vital body part of Serbia – specifically, *the heart*, but also *the soul/jugular/pupil of the eye*, or (ii) as the origin or source of life of Serbia/Serbian nation – usually *the cradle*, but also *the DNA/genome/wellspring/root/seed*. Furthermore, Kosovo is also viewed as something precious by being likened to a valuable possession of Serbia, i.e. something that should be guarded from being *stolen/robbed/confiscated* from Serbia (either by the Kosovo Albanians or by the European Union/international community). On the other hand, though considerably less frequent, there are also metaphors in which Kosovo is likened to something detrimental to the functioning or existence of Serbia – (i) a burden (*millstone around the neck/unnecessary baggage*) or (ii) a sick body part/illness (*the gangrenous leg/cancer/tumor*). Finally, there also occur, though only sporadically, metaphors in which Kosovo is likened to a neighbour of Serbia.

An important aspect of the discursive power of metaphors for Kosovo is their evaluative dimension. As can be seen from the above overview, the vast majority of these metaphors are highly evaluative (the neutral ones being only the rare NEIGHBOUR metaphors). Expectedly, the metaphorical mappings that carry over positive evaluation from the respective source domains (VITAL BODY PART, ORIGIN, VALUABLE POSSESSION) are far more common than those where the transferred evaluation is negative (BURDEN, SICK BODY PART), as summarized in Table 2.

**Table 1.** Source domains in metaphors for Kosovo in Serbian political discourse<sup>a</sup>

| Source domains for KOSOVO | Example  | Number of instances | % of the total number |
|---------------------------|--|---------------------|-----------------------|
| VITAL BODY PART           | <i>Kosovo je uvek bilo i uvek će biti srce i duša Srbije.</i><br>'Kosovo has always been and will always be the heart and soul of Serbia.' (IC, 17/02/13)  | 73                  | 39.25%                |
| ORIGIN                    | <i>Hvala gospodinu Melceru što je podsetio Evropu da je Kosovo koevka srpskog naroda.</i><br>'Thanks to Mr Meltzer for reminding Europe that Kosovo is the cradle of the Serbian nation.' (IC, 09/04/13) | 41                  | 22.04%                |
| VALUABLE POSSESSION       | <i>Evropska unija čini sve da ukrade Kosovo od Srbije.</i><br>'The European Union is doing everything to steal Kosovo from Serbia.' (CC, 22/10/12)   | 36                  | 19.35%                |
| BURDEN                    | <i>Građani Srbije ne žele da im Kosovo bude kamen oko vrata.</i><br>'The citizens of Serbia don't want Kosovo to be a millstone around their neck.' (CC, 12/05/13)                                       | 23                  | 12.37%                |
| SICK BODY PART            | <i>Kosovo, ta gangrenozna noga koju treba amputirati što je pre moguće...</i><br>'Kosovo, that gangrenous leg that should be amputated as soon as possible...' (IC, 01/12/12)                            | 9                   | 4.84%                 |
| NEIGHBOUR                 | <i>Na Kosovo treba da gledamo kao na specijalnog suseda.</i><br>'We should view Kosovo as our special neighbour.' (CC, 20/10/12)   | 4                   | 2.15%                 |
| Total:                    |  | 186                 | 100%                  |

a. In the presentation of results in Table 1 and throughout Section 5, the provided translation of the illustrative Serbian examples into English preserves the figurative lexis from the original examples. The quantitative data are provided with the aim of highlighting the dynamics of discursive metaphorical and metonymic (re)framing under (primarily qualitative) examination, and are thus, in line with the focus of this paper, informative in cognitive-linguistic/discourse-analytic terms rather than conclusive in corpus-linguistic terms. In cases where the qualitative findings concern the entire self-compiled political discourse corpus examined (regardless of the internal differences between the two sub-corpus datasets), the pertinent quantitative data include raw and relative frequencies (i.e. the number of instances and the corresponding percentage of the total number of instances under examination), and in cases where the qualitative findings concern asymmetries between the two sub-corpus datasets, the quantitative data further include pertinent normalized frequencies (per 1000 words) for each dataset. It should also be noted that (i) the counted instances of metaphors and metonymies under examination are identified beyond the level of individual words, i.e. taking into account the syntagmatic linking and the overall utterance meaning, and (ii) the quantitative data provided concern target-specific metaphors and metonymies, and thus do not pertain to overall metaphor/metonymy density in the examined discourse (which could be the subject matter of additional research).

**Table 2.** Evaluative dimension of metaphors for Kosovo in Serbian political discourse

| Source domains for kosovo | Evaluation | Number of instances | % of the total number |
|---------------------------|------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| VITAL BODY PART           | Positive   | 150                 | 80.65%                |
| ORIGIN                    |            |                     |                       |
| VALUABLE POSSESSION       | Negative   | 32                  | 17.20%                |
| BURDEN                    |            |                     |                       |
| SICK BODY PART            |            |                     |                       |
| NEIGHBOUR                 | Neutral    | 4                   | 2.15%                 |
|                           |            |                     |                       |
|                           | Total:     | 186                 | 100%                  |

Thereby, the ways in which these metaphors are used suggest that the actors of Serbian political discourse actually manifest a considerable degree of metaphor awareness. For one thing, the distribution of metaphors in the two corpus datasets is uneven, with only 14 instances in the constitutive corpus (0.93 per 1000 words) and 172 instances in the interpretive corpus (9.02 per 1000 words, i.e. almost ten times more). Furthermore, apart from being affirmed, in both datasets all metaphors are also challenged by being questioned or denied, depending on the political view. The illustrative examples are provided in (5) and (6). These two aspects of the distributional dynamics of metaphors for Kosovo in Serbian political discourse are summarized in the overview in Table 3.

- (5) *Zapitajmo se da li je Kosovo stvarno srce Srbije? Hoće li Srbija umreti bez Kosova?*  
 ‘Let’s ask ourselves whether Kosovo really is the heart of Serbia? Will Serbia die without Kosovo?’ (online comment, IC, 25/04/2013)
- (6) *Kosovo nije i ne može biti balast Srbije.*  
 ‘Kosovo is not and cannot be a burden to Serbia.’  
 (Spokesman of an opposition party /Democratic Party of Serbia/, CC, 22/10/2012)

It is also interesting to observe that among the few instances of metaphor use in the constitutive corpus, the emerging pattern appears to be that the government representatives (i.e. the protagonists of the contentious EU-mediated dialogue between political representatives of Serbia and Kosovo) largely avoid metaphors altogether, while the opposition representatives affirm, question or deny the evaluatively laden metaphors, depending on their political view. When it comes to the metaphors “preserving the integrity of national identity” (i.e. those with VITAL BODY PART or ORIGIN as source domains), they manifest significant presence in the interpretive corpus (with 112 instances /5.88 per 1000 words; 60.22% of the total number of instances examined/, 94 of which are affirmative, while 18 are

**Table 3.** Distributional dynamics of metaphors for Kosovo in Serbian political discourse

| Source domains for<br>KOSOVO | Constitutive corpus   |                         | Interpretive corpus   |                         |
|------------------------------|---|-------------------------|---|-------------------------|
|                              | Affirming   | Questioning/<br>Denying | Affirming   | Questioning/<br>Denying |
| VITAL BODY PART              | 0   | 1                       | 58  | 14                      |
| ORIGIN                       | 1   | 0                       | 36  | 4                       |
| VALUABLE POSSES-<br>SION     | 4   | 0                       | 29  | 3                       |
| BURDEN                       | 1   | 3                       | 14  | 5                       |
| SICK BODY PART               | 0   | 2                       | 5   | 2                       |
| NEIGHBOUR                    | 2   | 0                       | 1   | 1                       |
| Total per subcorpus          | 14 instances/0.93 per 1000 words/<br>7.53% of the total number of<br>instances examined |                         | 172 instances/9.02 per 1000 words/<br>92.47% of the total number of<br>instances examined |                         |

questioned or denied), while they are strikingly rare in the constitutive corpus (with only 2 instances /0.13 per 1000 words; 1.08% of the total number of instances examined/, one of which is affirmative and one negative). Notably, the only instance of the entrenched KOSOVO IS THE HEART OF SERBIA metaphor in the constitutive corpus occurs in the form of denial (by an opposition politician), as shown in (7):

- (7) *Srce Srbije nije Kosovo, bez obzira što je to formulacija koja se ponavljala u gebelsovskom smislu sto puta. Srce Srbije je da li će naša ekonomija biti u stanju da kreira novu vrednost, da to prodamo na svetskim tržištima i da živimo bolje, pa na kraju da imamo i ekonomski potencijal da branimo naše interese na Kosovu.*

‘The heart of Serbia is not Kosovo, although that is a formulation that has been repeated in the Goebels sense a hundred times. The heart of Serbia is whether our economy will be able to create a new value, which we could sell in the world market and live better, so that ultimately we can have the economic potential to defend our interests in Kosovo.’

(Boris Tadić, former president of Serbia, Democratic Party, *Prva TV* talk show “Serbia’s Attitude”, CC, 12/05/13)

Admittedly, the offered replacement for “the heart of Serbia” in this statement (“whether our economy will be able to create a new value”) is much less persuasive than the target of the long-established KOSOVO IS THE HEART OF SERBIA mapping, but it bears witness to the changing tides in Serbia’s Kosovo policy.

However, regardless of whether the metaphors for Kosovo are affirmed, questioned or denied, what remains conceptually dominant in the corresponding metaphorical entailments (inferences drawn from the source to the target domains) is the inequality between Serbia and Kosovo. Namely, while Serbia is consistently conceptualized as a PERSON (and sporadically more generally as a LIVING BEING), in line with the general STATE-AS-PERSON metaphor which crucially shapes the understanding of international relations, Kosovo is still predominantly – with the rare exception of the NEIGHBOUR metaphors – conceptualized as being inferior/subordinate to Serbia/PERSON (LIVING BEING), either as its BODY PART or an OBJECT, as summarized in Table 4.

**Table 4.** Maintaining inequality between Serbia and Kosovo in metaphors for Kosovo in Serbian political discourse

| Source domains for KOSOVO  | Metaphorical entailments  | Number of instances | % of the total number |
|--|---|---------------------|-----------------------|
| VITAL BODY PART<br>ORIGIN<br>VALUABLE POSSESSION<br>BURDEN<br>SICK BODY PART | SERBIA IS A PERSON / LIVING BEING,<br>KOSOVO IS A BODY PART / AN OBJECT | 182                 | 97.85%                |
| NEIGHBOUR  | SERBIA IS A PERSON,<br>KOSOVO IS A PERSON                               | 4                   | 2.15%                 |
| Total:   |   | 186                 | 100%                  |

At this point it is worth recalling that one of the main principles of Critical Discourse Analysis concerns “the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance”, whereby dominance is defined as “the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality” (Van Dijk 1993: 249–250). The present analysis shows that the notion of the discursive (re)production of dominance/inequality also concerns the conceptual framing of topical issues, by way of metaphorical conceptualization, as manifest in the current section, as well as by way of metonymic conceptualization, as will be manifest in the next section.

## 5.2 *Kosovo* under metonymic disguise

A striking feature of the Serbian political discourse on the normalization of relations between Serbia and Kosovo is the overwhelming presence of metonymic reference to the participants in the process by means of the capital toponyms

*Belgrade* and *Priština* for the respective countries and their institutional representatives, as shown in the example in (8):

- (8) *Priština opstruiše dogovor. [...] Nije istina da Beograd ne prihvata dogovor.*  
 ‘Priština is obstructing the deal. [...] It is not true that Belgrade does not accept the deal.’

(Ivica Dačić, Serbian prime minister and participant in the talks, at a press conference in Brussels, CC, 17/04/13)

This is also clearly visible in the Serbian media reports reproducing the official political statements on the Brussels Agreement. For instance, while in the international media this landmark accord was consistently presented as an agreement between Serbia and Kosovo, i.e. by way of referring to the two countries, as described in the introductory section, the Serbian media consistently reported the news by way of metonymic reference via the capitals of Serbia and Kosovo, as in the pervasive headline in (9):

- (9) *Postignut sporazum Beograda i Prištine*<sup>6</sup>  
 ‘Agreement between Belgrade and Priština reached’  
 (*Tanjug/Mondo/Politika/ Novi magazin*, 19/04/2013)

At first glance, this kind of metonymic reference merely instantiates the standard CAPITAL FOR GOVERNMENT/COUNTRY metonymic mapping. However, in the case of Serbian political discourse related to the process of normalization of relations between Serbia and Kosovo, such metonymic reference to the participants in the process is strikingly abundant (with 172 occurrences /11.38 per 1000 words/ in the constitutive corpus and 167 occurrences /8.76 per 1000 words/ in the interpretive corpus).<sup>7</sup> Examples in (10)–(12) further illustrate the peculiar ways in which the toponyms *Belgrade* and *Priština* are metonymically used as personified entities,

6. It is also interesting to note that in this formulation the event of Serbia’s and Kosovo’s political representatives reaching the agreement is represented using the passive voice, which clearly serves the purpose of agency backgrounding. As will be discussed shortly, the toponymic metonyms serve the same purpose.

7. In an insightful cross-linguistic study of the use of CAPITAL-FOR-GOVERNMENT metonymy in international news in English, German, Croatian and Hungarian daily newspapers, Brdar-Szabó and Brdar (2003) show that the density of this type of metonymy is the highest in English texts, followed by German, while it is notably lower in Croatian and Hungarian texts, and rightly argue that such differences are “in part due to the typological givens of the language under study” (93). In view of the typological closeness between Serbian and Croatian, the proliferation of this type of metonymy with reference to Kosovo-Serbia relations in the Serbian political/public discourse is thus all the more conspicuous, whereby, as will be discussed, it turns out to be motivated by ideological factors and to serve the function of specific discursive framing.

whereby the target concepts (i.e. the actual political actors involved in the situations described) remain underspecified:

- (10) *Beograd je danas u Briselu povukao težak, ali jedini ispravani državnički potez.*  
 ‘Belgrade made a difficult move in Brussels today, but the only right and statesmanly move.’  
 (Suzana Grubješić, Serbian government deputy prime minister and participant in the talks, *Mondo*, CC, 19/04/13)
- (11) *Argumenti Prištine su bili mučni za slušanje.*  
 ‘The arguments of Priština were painful to listen to.’  
 (Aleksandar Vučić, Serbian government first deputy prime minister and participant in the talks, *RTS*, CC, 03/04/13)
- (12) *Činjenica da su Beograd i Priština parafirali sporazum u Briselu je dobra vest.*  
 ‘The fact that Belgrade and Priština initialled the agreement in Brussels is good news.’  
 (online comment, *IC*, 19/04/13)

A closer look at the data reveals that the toponyms *Belgrade* and *Priština* are in fact used as catchall metonymic vehicles with a special purpose. For one thing, the underspecification of target concepts involves agency backgrounding, which in the case of *Belgrade* is a convenient way for Serbian political representatives to downplay their responsibility for the decisions and actions that may meet with public disapproval as inevitably evoking the acknowledgement of the independence of Kosovo. Moreover, the toponym *Priština* in particular serves as what can be called “metonymic disguise” – it conveniently enables the avoidance of direct reference to *Kosovo* and its institutions (*Kosovo government / prime minister*), which would suggest that Kosovo is an independent country. By comparison, in the documents issued by the Serbian Government from 2013 onwards, the negotiation process between Serbia and Kosovo officials is referred to as “the process of negotiation with the provisional institutions of self-government in Priština (PISG)” and “the dialogue between Belgrade and Priština” (see, for instance, the *Progress Reports on the Dialogue between Belgrade and Priština* available at <http://kim.gov.rs/eng/izvestaji.php>).

In other words, in the Serbian political discourse on Kosovo, toponymic metonymization is used as an avoidance strategy. Interestingly, this has not gone unnoticed by the critics of the Serbian government Kosovo policy, who challenge the appropriateness of such metonymic reference, as illustrated by the examples in (13) and (14):



- (13) *U Briselu je parafiran tekst sporazuma „o principima normalizacije odnosa“ između „Beograda“ i „Prištine“, što je, svakako, eufemizam umesto „Srbije i Kosova“, odnosno između predsednika Vlade Srbije i „predsednika Vlade Kosova“.*

‘The text of the agreement initialed in Brussels is “about the principles of the normalization of relations” between “Belgrade” and “Priština”, which is, clearly, a euphemism instead of “Serbia and Kosovo”, i.e. between the Prime Minister of Serbia and “the Prime Minister of Kosovo”. [The scare quotes as in the original.] (Serbian Orthodox Church statement, IC, 22/04/13)

- (14) *Stalno govore “Priština” umesto “Kosovo”. Kao da nećemo primetiti da su u stvari priznali Kosovo. A nemaju petlje da to kažu. Je l’ misle da smo slepi? Oni su izdajnici i bruka za srpsku istoriju!*

‘They keep saying “Priština” instead of “Kosovo”. As though we won’t notice that they have actually recognized Kosovo. And they don’t have the guts to say it. Do they think we are blind? They are traitors and a disgrace for Serbian history!’ [The scare quotes as in the original.]

(online comment, IC, 27/04/13)

Thereby, there is also a noticeable asymmetry in the frequency of use of *Belgrade* and *Priština* as metonymic vehicles. While in reference to the participants in the process *Belgrade* commonly alternates with *Serbia*, there is no analogous alternation between *Priština* and *Kosovo*, i.e. *Kosovo* is consistently referred to by means of the metonym *Priština*. This imbalance can be seen in the Examples (15)–(17):

- (15) *Srbija ulaže maksimalne napore da postigne održivo rešenje u dijalogu s Prištinom.*

‘Serbia is putting in maximum effort to reach a sustainable solution in the dialogue with Priština.’

(Ivica Dačić, Serbian Prime minister, *Večernje novosti*, CC, 01/03/13)

- (16) *Srbija mora da pokuša da dobije datum početka pregovora sa Evropskom unijom i sporazum sa Prištinom, a da pritom ne dozvoli sopstveno ukidanje.*

‘Serbia must try to get the European Union accession talks date and the agreement with Priština, without allowing its own abolition.’

(Aleksandar Vučić, Serbian government first deputy PM, *RTS*, CC, 03/04/13)

- (17) *Činjenica je da je u ovom dijalogu Priština sve dobila, a Srbija sve izgubila.*

‘The fact is that in this dialogue Priština has gained everything, while Serbia has lost everything.’

(Spokesman of an opposition party /Democratic Party of Serbia/, *Fonet*, CC, 22/10/12)

In other words, in the Serbian political discourse on the normalization of relations with Kosovo, there is clear preference for keeping Kosovo under metonymic disguise, with the metonymic pattern *PRIŠTINA FOR KOSOVO* functioning rather as *PRIŠTINA INSTEAD OF KOSOVO*. Thus the toponymic metonymization additionally maintains the inequality between Serbia and Kosovo manifest in the metaphorical conceptualization of Kosovo in Serbian political discourse discussed in the previous section.

### 5.3 (Re)framing Kosovo in Serbian political discourse?

Both metaphorical and metonymic conceptualization of Kosovo in the Serbian political discourse on the normalization of relations with Kosovo bears witness to an ongoing search for the appropriate conceptual and discursive framing of a new geopolitical reality – Kosovo as an independent state, which the Serbian political establishment is unwilling to recognize officially, but gradually accepts as such without calling a spade a spade.

Crucially, there is a conceptual clash between the long-dominant framing of *KOSOVO AS THE HEART OF SERBIA* and the emergent framing of *KOSOVO AS A NEIGHBOUR OF SERBIA*. The entrenched *HEART* frame (along with other “national identity preserving” metaphors which involve *VITAL BODY PART OR ORIGIN* as source domains), though still prevalent in the interpretive political discourse, has clearly been marginalized in the constitutive mainstream political discourse, and it further gets challenged by the presence of negatively evaluative metaphors (which involve *BURDEN OR SICK BODY PART* as source domains). The *NEIGHBOUR* frame, which would be a conceptual indicator of the normalization of relations between Serbia and Kosovo, is gradually emerging, implicitly by the very nature of the political process in question, evoked by the notion of “good neighbourly relations”, but also explicitly, though still sporadically, in Serbian political discourse. However, the *NEIGHBOUR* frame is undermined by both metaphorical and metonymic maintenance of inequality between the two political entities. This is evident in the fact that most metaphors for Kosovo in Serbian political discourse, regardless of their evaluative dimension, entail that *SERBIA IS A PERSON (LIVING BEING)* while *KOSOVO IS A BODY PART/AN OBJECT*, as well as in the profusion of *PRIŠTINA FOR (INSTEAD OF) KOSOVO* metonymic avoidance of direct reference to Kosovo and its political institutions.

At this point, it is worth recalling the oft-quoted Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980: 156) warning observation: “Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action. Such actions will, of course, fit the metaphor. This will, in turn, reinforce the power of the metaphor to make experience coherent. In this sense, metaphors can be self-fulfilling

prophecies.” The present analysis suggests that this kind of two-way traffic also applies to metonymy (and, consequently, to both metaphorical and metonymic framing). At the same time, it calls for attention to the ways in which the dynamics of metaphorical and metonymic framing under examination bears to the sociopolitical reality.

The marginalization of the “national identity preserving” metaphors in the constitutive mainstream political discourse and the metonymic disguise of Kosovo may be instrumental in the transition from the emotionally laden conceptualization of Kosovo as the vital part or origin of Serbia to a new view of Kosovo as Serbia’s neighbour. But in the long run this may turn out to be counterproductive if the alternative conceptual framing is not substantiated in the political and general public discourse. In other words, if turning *the heart* into *a neighbour* (as a conceptual change constitutive of the political process of normalizing the relations between Serbia and Kosovo) really is the intention of the Serbian political establishment, such an endeavour would certainly require more proactive and systematic discursive reframing (along with the corresponding actions in the sociopolitical reality).<sup>8</sup>

## 6. Conclusion

The findings on the metaphorical and metonymic conceptualization of Kosovo in the Serbian political discourse on the normalization of relations, as presented and discussed in Section 5, provide insight into a particular case of the conceptual-discursive management of a geopolitical crisis resolution. With regard to this particular case, it would be illuminating to examine the counterpart metaphorical and metonymic framing of Serbia-Kosovo relations in the pertinent Kosovar

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8. A cursory follow-up examination of the Serbian political discourse related to the EU-mediated talks on the implementation of the Brussels agreement aimed at normalizing relations between Serbia in Kosovo which were conducted in October-November 2016 (in relation to the contentious issue of international telephone code for Kosovo) shows that such discursive reframing remains only sporadic and fragmentary. Moreover, it appears to be further marginalized in view of the developments in the year 2017, where the relations between Serbia and Kosovo turn out to be far from “good neighbourly relations” – as can be seen in the infamous “Kosovo is Serbia” train incident from January 2017 (cf. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-38630152>), or in the rising tensions in the Western Balkans in the spring 2017 over the issue of “a greater Albania” revived in the political discourse in the region (cf. <http://www.globalresearch.ca/greater-albania-and-the-balkans/5588758>). Such a trend, bearing witness to the oscillating nature of the pertinent conflict resolution process, is also noticeable in the discourse accompanying the subsequent course of events, with the EU-mediated Serbia-Kosovo talks breaking down in November 2018.

political discourse. Furthermore, the findings presented in this study may also have broader implications for the study of the dynamics of metaphor and metonymy in political/public discourses, especially those related to territorial dispute crises worldwide. In this respect, a noteworthy analogue is the Ukrainian crisis. Namely, in view of the fact that Crimea's secession from Ukraine in 2014 is explicitly interpreted by Crimean and Russian political actors as analogous to Kosovo's secession from Serbia (cf. The Declaration of Independence of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and Sevastopol, 11 March 2014, available at [https://www.rada.crimea.ua/news/11\\_03\\_2014\\_1](https://www.rada.crimea.ua/news/11_03_2014_1); see also RT 2014), it is possible to envisage a comparative study on the metaphorical and metonymic framing of Crimea in Ukrainian and Russian political discourses.

Also, beyond the specifics of the Serbian political discourse on Kosovo, the research presented in this chapter points to the following issues that may be useful in further cognitive linguistic explorations of political discourse related to conflict resolution: (i) the dynamics of conceptual and evaluative aspects of metaphors in political discourse; (ii) the discursive challenging (questioning or denying) of metaphor and metonymy appropriateness; (iii) the emergence of alternative frames and the role of proactive reframing in discourse; (iv) the role of metaphor and metonymy in maintaining inequality in discourse; and (v) the role of metonymy (in particular, toponymic metonymization) as an avoidance strategy in discourse.

With a view to recent theoretical tensions between discourse-centered and cognition-centered approaches to metaphor (cf. Musolff and Zinken 2009; Steen 2011; Gibbs 2011, 2017), the findings presented above suggest that there is no principled reason to insist on the gap between discourse metaphors and conceptual metaphors. Rather, discourse metaphors inevitably involve conceptual mappings, whereby they may draw on the entrenched conceptual links or establish new conceptual links that may or may not become discursively/linguistically entrenched. Moreover, the same applies to metonymy, which has been insufficiently attended to in discourse studies so far. Accordingly, the research presented in this chapter may also contribute to the scholarly dialogue between cognitive linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis (cf. Hart and Lukeš 2007; Hart 2008; 2011a, 2011b; Maalej 2007; Musolff 2012), especially in terms of highlighting the discursive significance of metonymy as an avoidance strategy.

On a more general level, with regard to sociopolitical cognition and action, the present research also indicates that raising cognitive linguistic awareness among both shapers and recipients of political discourse may contribute to the process of conflict resolution. As pointed out by Hayward (2011: 3), "one of the few impeachable principles of conflict resolution is that it must incorporate all society, not just those with political influence or acumen", whereby the role of political discourse is fundamental, since "just as it can exacerbate conflict, so political discourse can

play a crucial role in facilitating peace.” In order for political discourse to facilitate conflict resolution, it needs to affirm a conceptual change, and such a change needs to be endorsed throughout society. To that effect, an important step concerns recognizing the conceptual impact of the pertinent metaphorical and metonymic framing imposed by the mainstream political discourse, along with critical public rethinking of the appropriateness and implications of such framing.

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## “Today, the long Arab winter has begun to thaw”

### A corpus-assisted discourse study of conceptual metaphors in political speeches about the Arab revolutions

Stefanie Ullmann

The so-called ‘Arab Spring’ represents one of the most significant socio-political crises in the Middle East and North Africa in recent years and its ramifications continue to affect not only local but global policy. This chapter investigates how the Arab revolutions have been conceptualised metaphorically in international political discourse by applying cognitive-linguistic theory (Lakoff and Johnson 2003[1980]; Fauconnier and Turner 2002) and adopting a triangulatory approach combining corpus-linguistic methods with critical metaphor analysis (Charteris-Black 2004). A wide range of metaphors could be identified with the most pervasive source domains ranging from SEASON, BIRTH-PREGNANCY-FAMILY and JOURNEY to CONTAGIOUS DISEASES and NATURAL FORCES AND DISASTERS. Findings also show that, while using the same mappings, political representatives tend to focus on different entailments reflecting their distinct political backgrounds and attitudes.

**Keywords:** cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphor theory, conceptual blending theory, corpus linguistics, critical metaphor analysis, political discourse, political revolution

#### 1. Introduction

In a speech delivered in London on 4 May 2011, Great Britain’s former First Secretary of State William Hague said in reference to the ‘Arab Spring’:

The **eruption** of democracy movements across the Middle East and North Africa is, even in its early stages, the most important development of the early 21st century, with potential long term consequences greater than either 9/11 or the global financial crisis in 2008. (Hague 04/05/2011)

The Arab Spring represents one of the most significant socio-political crises in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA hereafter) in recent years. It is said to have been triggered by the tragic suicide of Mohamed Bouazizi in Tunisia in December 2010, which eventually brought uprisings and civil unrest to large parts of the Arab world (Dabashi 2012: 4). In a number of countries such as Tunisia and Egypt, the protests resulted in the ousting of totalitarian leaders as well as first attempts at public elections. In others, like Libya and Syria, the events caused civil wars of unprecedented violence.

While this crisis has been studied extensively in social, political, and geographical contexts, its linguistic conceptualisation in various types of relevant discourse has received relatively little academic attention, despite the fact that it has been extensively discussed in both media and politics. It has also been noticeably metaphorised as can be seen in the quotation by Hague, who applies the conceptual metaphor A SOCIO-POLITICAL REVOLUTION IS A VOLCANO. Studying the metaphorical conceptualisations of this conflict offers intriguing insights into our perception and understanding of those significant events. It also sheds light on politicians' framing of the protests. Thus, the present paper focuses on the use (and possibly abuse) of metaphors to define the Arab Spring in political discourse. Cognitive-linguistic theory as represented by Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 2003[1980]) and Conceptual Integration or Blending (Fauconnier and Turner 2002) was applied in order to identify metaphorical conceptualisations in political language surrounding the Arab Spring and, furthermore, to set these conceptualisations into perspective and discuss potential intentions and ideological characteristics as well as possible effects of these constructions on perceptions of the events in the general public.

## 2. Metaphor, political language and persuasion

Metaphors provide some of the strongest and most substantial clues to the connection between language and thought. This is not only evident from Lakoff and Johnson's 1980 publication *Metaphors We Live By* and their well-known assertion that “[o]ur ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (2003[1980]:3). Other researchers like Gibbs (2008: 3) have also pointed out how metaphor affects conceptualisation:

"Metaphor is not simply an ornamental aspect of language, but a fundamental scheme by which people conceptualize the world and their own activities". Metaphors represent an effective way of investigating how we conceptualise and mentally process our experiences, as they are thought to reflect conceptual structure rooted in long-term memory (Handl and Schmid 2011). Using the example of the Arab Spring, a socio-political revolution is talked about in terms of seasonal spring. Above that, different characteristics associated with spring, such as the blooming of flowers, rising temperatures, awakening and the idea of coming to life again are referenced as well. Thus, a whole set of attributes is mapped. This indicates that the metaphorical language we use cannot simply be discounted as arbitrary and random. Moreover, the different mappings seem to be highly systematic. Certain structures from our conceptualisation of a political uprising may thus be systematically linked to the way we conceptualise spring, which is then reflected by language (Lakoff and Johnson 2003[1980]: 7). It could, however, also be the case that it is the mapping itself that causes the relation or similarity (Underhill 2011: 27). Either way, metaphors are pervasive and potent devices.

A further necessary consideration is the distinction between linguistic and conceptual metaphor (Kövecses 2010: 4–6). Linguistic metaphors are solely expressions indicative of underlying conceptual knowledge structures that help us make sense of something in terms of something else (e.g., *It's been a long and bumpy road* linguistically reflects the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY). One conceptual domain – the more concrete, so-called source domain (SD) – is mapped onto another, i.e. the more abstract, so-called target domain (TD), which eventually helps render the latter more tangible (Lakoff 2006: 192). This is also one of the chief features that make metaphor such a popular device in political discourse. Complex and abstract political concepts can be expressed in more concrete, relatable terms and thus have stronger effects on people and their emotions. If, as Lakoff and Johnson claim, our conceptual system is, in fact, metaphorical in nature, this has important implications for not only thought, but action. The metaphors that are being used in public discourse surrounding the Arab Spring will most likely not only influence how we talk about the events, but might essentially lastingly shape the way we think about them and the actions we take accordingly. Moreover, they can be seen as indicators of a speaker's stand on the events and whether political action or intervention is likely.

The political sphere appears to be a perfect environment for metaphor. Not just is political discourse full of metaphors, in some cases, they have also been used to justify controversial political decisions and even wars. The RAPE OF KUWAIT metaphor represents such an example. In American political discourse, Kuwait was portrayed as weak and said to have been raped by Iraq, which was later taken as justification to invade Iraq and save the victim Kuwait, which led to Gulf War I

(see Kövecses 2010: 69; Lakoff 2009: 36–37). Regarding the purpose of metaphors in political contexts, Charteris-Black remarks that:

Metaphors are valuable in satisfying the discourse goals of political speeches for a number of reasons. They engage the emotions that are appropriate for the expression of political aspirations. They facilitate the exploration of possibilities while not committing the speaker to their realisation. (Charteris-Black 2004: 4)

Similarly, Goatly (2007: 35) points out that most metaphors have a persuasive character. In his publication *Washing the Brain: Metaphor and Hidden Ideology*, he adopts a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach to the history of conceptual metaphors and how they have come to shape our worldviews in terms of morality and politics. In general, the issue of metaphor in political discourse has generated a large amount of intriguing studies in the field of CDA (Underhill 2011: 45). Additional work by Charteris-Black (2005, 2006, 2017), Chilton (1996, 2004, 2005), Chilton and Lakoff (1995), Hart (2005, 2008, 2014), Lakoff (1991, 2002), Lakoff and Wehling (2009), Musolff (2004, 2010, 2011), and Semino (2008) has shown how pervasive as well as powerful metaphors are in political contexts (see also Rasulic and Kotzur in this volume). In the context of a critical investigation of language, however, more than just linguistic, specifically semantic, and conceptual aspects of metaphor need to be considered. More importantly, pragmatic and functional characteristics as well as subjective and evaluative notions of a metaphor need to be taken into account. Those aspects are explicitly addressed, amongst others, by Fauconnier and Turner's (2002) theory of Conceptual Integration/Blending Theory (CI) and Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). Fauconnier and Turner for instance, state that:

[...] metaphors involve more than mappings or bindings between two spaces. They involve many spaces, and they involve emergent structure in the network. The apparently unproblematic mapping by itself will not account for the complex emergent structure of the network and the data that express it.

(Fauconnier and Turner 2008: 54–55)

Especially in political discourse, metaphors often tend to have an evaluative character, i.e. they express subjective notions, be they positive or negative, in regard to a specific topic. This evaluation is not initially inherent in source and target domain. According to CI, an additional domain (or *space* as Fauconnier and Turner call it), the blend, is created into which subjective experiences and evaluations are projected in addition to semantic information from source and target domain (i.e. input spaces) (Fauconnier and Turner 2008: 55; see also Kok and Bublitz 2011: 299). The blend comprises both structure integrated from the input spaces as well as new structure not present in the other spaces, i.e. emergent structure

(Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 42–44). Taking the metaphor *TIME IS SPACE*, for instance, only in the blend is it possible that time can either slowly creep by or speed up (Fauconnier and Turner 2008: 56). Once the blend is mentally simulated and conceptual structures are fully integrated, however, the whole scenario becomes conceptually real and plausible. Importantly, Kok and Bublitz note that:

The effects of an evaluative projection may range from being only momentary [...] to more permanent in nature, i.e. when the projected negative meaning becomes integrated as a long-term element in a particular knowledge domain in either of the input spaces [...]. Importantly, evaluative projection occurs independently of each hearer's attitudes [...]

(Kok and Bublitz 2011: 300)

Metaphors may eventually lead to cognitive entrenchment of emergent structure (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 49; see also Hart 2008: 94). During the process of conceptualisation they influence which aspects of an event or an experience are foregrounded. In the context of the Arab Spring for instance, when the revolution is conceptualised as spring, positive notions are being foregrounded, which get pushed into the background when comparing the revolution to a disease (Langacker 2013: 51).

Finally, CMA seeks “to reveal the covert (and possibly unconscious) intentions of language users” by considering both cognitive as well as pragmatic features and discursive functions of a metaphor (Charteris-Black 2004: 34–39; quote on p. 34). Charteris-Black's inclusion of pragmatic aspects in the interpretation and explanation of metaphor is essential for a critical approach. Analysing the semantic meaning of lexical items in isolation is of little help when investigating metaphorical expressions, in which case meaning in context is of utmost necessity for the identification of a metaphor in the first place. Most notably, Charteris-Black states the following:

[...] metaphor is a prime example of how pragmatics – context-specific linguistic choices by speakers – impinges on semantics – the linguistic system for the realisation of meaning. [...] Metaphor can only be explained by considering the interdependency of its semantic, pragmatic and cognitive dimensions. It is a gateway through which persuasive and emotive ways of thinking about the world mould the language that we use and through which our thoughts about the world are moulded by language use.

(Charteris-Black 2004: 1–2)

Similarly, Cap (2007) also stresses the importance of pragmatic aspects in the use and functions of metaphor and explicitly credits them with an illocutionary force, which triggers emotional responses in the addressee. He remarks that, due to the shift in the conceptual system (from a literal to a metaphorical domain), “metaphors might drift the addressee's attention away from the literal meaning of

the metaphorized notion(s)” (Cap 2007: 70). Thus, the metaphorical use of lexical items may force the reader or hearer to focus solely on the metaphoric meaning, and thereby on any evaluative and persuasive entailments, and eventually perceive an event or concept only in this context.

### 3. Corpus

The corpus consists of a total of 161 (565,355 tokens) speeches, official statements and interviews given by political representatives of the USA, the UK and the MENA region between December 2010 and September 2013. The three-part-corpus represents different political and geographic affiliations: the West with the US at its centre, Europe with special focus on the UK and, of course, the MENA region reflecting those nations directly affected by the events. The corpus was compiled especially for the purpose of this study.<sup>1</sup> The most important criterion for selecting the texts was that the content had to primarily cover the protests in the Arab world. Table 1 below offers an overview of the distribution of the corpus as well as further details on numbers and speakers.

Finally, the discourse type represented in this corpus characterises a special kind of not just public discourse, but political language, in particular. Political speeches, although spoken, differ from regular spoken language in that they are hardly ever of a spontaneous nature. Speeches are carefully prepared and written by experts and political advisors, i.e. they are “written to be spoken” (Crystal 1994: 35). More than half of the texts by Syrian President Assad form an exception in the corpus in that they are transcripts of interviews with media representatives. Fetzer and Johansson (2008) define political interviews as a “hybridization of discourse genres”, where media and politics merge together. Still, it is unlikely that the interviews given by Assad on these politically charged issues and events were not prepared in advance. Hence, both content and form or style can be taken as conscious and intentional choices in all cases. Similarly, Charteris-Black (2004: 87) writes that “[p]olitical speeches are a very distinct type of political discourse because their purpose is to offer an idealised ‘vision’ of the social world; therefore, metaphor choice is likely to be *overt* and conscious as the chosen metaphors are intended to communicate this vision” (emphasis in original).

Finally, English translations were used for 62.5% of speeches by MENA politicians as the originals were delivered in Arabic. These speeches can still be

1. The corpus is part of a larger, 11-million-word corpus, which, additionally, includes mass media reports and was the main subject of investigation of my doctoral thesis (Ullmann forthcoming).

**Table 1.** Overview of speakers and nos. of texts (i.e. speeches and interviews)

|      | Speaker                 | Role of Speaker (at time of the events)   | No. of Texts           |
|------|-------------------------|---|------------------------|
| USA  | Barack Obama            | President (2008–2016)   | 18                     |
|      | John Kerry              | Secretary of State (2013–2016)  | 17                     |
|      | Hillary Clinton         | Secretary of State (2009–2013)  | 28                     |
|      | Joe Biden               | Vice President (2008–2016)  | 1                      |
|      | Mitt Romney             | Presidential Candidate (2012)   | 1                      |
|      |                         |   | 65<br>(162,499 tokens) |
| UK   | David Cameron           | Prime Minister (2010–2016)  | 14                     |
|      | William Hague           | First Secretary of State (2010–2015)  | 33                     |
|      | Nick Clegg              | Deputy Prime Minister (2010–2015)   | 4                      |
|      | Alistair Burt           | Parliamentary Under Secretary of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (2010–2013) | 5                      |
|      | Theresa May             | Home Secretary (2010–2016)  | 2                      |
|      | Douglas Alexander       | Shadow Foreign Secretary (2011–2015)  | 1                      |
|      | George Osborne          | Chancellor of the Exchequer (2010–2016)   | 1                      |
|      |                         |   | 60<br>(154,509 tokens) |
| MENA | Bashar Al-Assad         | President of Syria (since 2000)   | 22 (10 transl.)        |
|      | Zine El Abidine Ben Ali | President of Tunisia (1987–2011)  | 3 (all transl.)        |
|      | Hosni Mubarak           | President of Egypt (1981–2011)  | 3 (all transl.)        |
|      | Muammar Gaddafi         | Libyan Leader (1979–2011)   | 4 (all transl.)        |
|      | Moncef Marzouki         | President of Tunisia (2011–2014)  | 3 (1 transl.)          |
|      | Mohamed Morsi           | President of Egypt (2012–2013)  | 4 (all transl.)        |
|      | King Abdullah II        | King of Jordan (since 1999)   | 1 (orig. English)      |
|      |                         |   | 40<br>(248,347 tokens) |

considered highly important data to analyse even in translated form, since they represent the words and expressions by which large parts of the international community have followed and experienced the events. All non-original texts were taken from official sources such as the government news agencies.<sup>2</sup>

2. The sources are *al-bab*, *Syrian Arab News Agency* and *Voltaire Network*.



## 4. Method

Charteris-Black (2004: 34) states that in order to conduct research on metaphor “[b]oth quantitative and qualitative approaches are necessary”. Similarly, a two-part methodology was applied in the present study, which includes an initial corpus-assisted approach to metaphor identification followed by a more qualitative interpretation and explanation of the metaphors previously identified. For quite some time now, researchers in CDA have been using corpus-linguistic tools and methods in a variety of different ways to supplement their qualitative analyses (Baker 2014: 213). While corpus linguistics (CL) centres on the use of computer programmes to analyse larger amounts of electronic texts and, if desired, enable frequency-based, statistical evaluations of the data, CDA has always made the qualitative, context-based interpretation of language and its (socio-political) functions its prime focus. Thus, at first glance, the two seem like an unlikely match. Upon closer inspection, however, the advantages of a combined approach begin to surface. Mautner (2009: 42), who has done seminal work merging the two fields, notes that “[...] with corpus linguistic support, the account is less speculative”. Reducing researcher bias and the danger of subjectivity is certainly one of the strongest arguments in favour of a corpus-assisted approach of CDA (see also Baker 2006: 12; Baker and Levon 2015: 233). While quantitative methods have hardly any limits regarding size of data and thus allow for more representative generalisations, qualitative analysis enables a more nuanced and fine-grained contextualisation and interpretation of patterns as well as the discovery of implicit representations and meanings in texts. Therefore, complementing a qualitative, subtle investigation of actual language in context with generalised information on the basis of larger data sets makes CL and CDA a fruitful fit (see also Egbert and Baker 2019; Baker and McEnery 2015).

Different approaches and combinations have been suggested and tested. One of the earliest developments is Partington’s (2003; 2004; 2013) Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS), which he himself has defined as a “subset of corpus linguistics” (2013: 10). He advocates the inclusion of corpus-linguistic tools in whatever way they may enrich the contextualised analysis done by discourse analysts. What distinguishes CADS from CDA, however, is that it does not take on any specific political stance, thus not pursuing a broader socio-political goal. In contrast, Baker et al. (2008) proposed a nine-stage model of corpus-assisted CDA that is strongly connected to the discourse-historical approach (DHA) pioneered by Reisigl and Wodak (2009) and strictly follows the chief agenda of CDA, i.e. to uncover and bring awareness to the power of language and its abuse in public discourse. Furthermore, Baker and Levon (2005) have exemplified the benefits of synonymous triangulatory approaches facilitating the collaboration of different

researchers focusing either on CL or CDA methods, thus allowing for a merging of separate results.

For the purpose of the present study a combined approach of corpus-based concordance analysis, including the application of *metaphorical pattern analysis* and the *metaphor identification procedure*, and contextualised CMA was applied. As a first step, the corpus was searched using a variety of key words, i.e. TD search terms including "Arab Spring", "revolution", "protest", "uprising", "crisis" and "events". An additional search using the thesaurus function in *Sketch Engine* led to the addition of "demonstration", "resistance", "conflict" and "situation" as key terms. Lexemes such as "events" and "situation" tend to be much more frequent in political discourse due to their neutral nature. In contrast, expressions like "revolt" or "rebellion", which are quite frequent in mass media discourse, for instance, cannot be found at all. This initial step is analogous to Stefanowitsch's (2006) *metaphorical pattern analysis* (MPA), which begins with choosing a lexical item referring to a TD and extracting all occurrences for further investigation.

Based on these search terms, concordance lines were created using the *KWIC* view in *AntConc* (Anthony 2014), which were then copied and inserted into an *Excel* spreadsheet. As a next step, each line was analysed and metaphorical uses of TD lexical items were identified applying the *metaphor identification procedure* (MIP or MIPVU; Pragglejaz Group 2007, Steen et al. 2010). In order to decide whether a lexical unit is used literally or metaphorically, it is necessary to, first of all, identify the contextual meaning of the lexical item in question. Then, by consulting reference books (*Oxford English Dictionary*; *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* and *Macmillan Dictionary*) and corpora (*Amsterdam Metaphor Corpus* (Steen et al. 2010); *British National Corpus*), it needs to be investigated if this lexical item has a more basic (i.e. more concrete, bodily-based, more precise, historically older) meaning in different contexts. Should this be the case, it needs to be established, whether this basic meaning conflicts with the contextual meaning of the lexical unit identified in the corpus or, in other words, if there is semantic tension between the item and its context. If yes, the item can be considered metaphorical (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 6; Charteris-Black 2004: 37; see also Güldenring 2017 for an application of MIPVU and MPA on emotion metaphors). Highly conventional cases of metaphorical uses, such as primarily prepositional instances (e.g., *in* the revolution), were excluded from the study since they are not considered to yield any significant insights into politically-motivated conceptualisations of the events. Generally, prepositions are greatly polysemous and almost always carry metaphorical notions.

A further slight adjustment to MIP was that, instead of considering the entire text, the immediate context was primarily studied. If this did not lead to clear and unambiguous results, the context was expanded (a similar modification can

be observed in Johansson Falck and Gibbs 2013: 91). In one particular case, it was indeed necessary to consult the overall text or even discourse of a speaker in order to reach a conclusion as unambiguous as possible. In this case, the adjectives “strong” and “weak” could be assigned to different SDs: DISEASE OR HEALTHY AND UNHEALTHY BODIES OR BUILDING OR FORTRESS. In most cases, the immediate context already led to clear results. In other cases, however, a broader context or even the entire speech needed to be consulted to see whether other SD lexis would indicate a clear preference. Syrian President Assad, for instance, makes use of a distinct number of references to health and sickness in his speeches. Thus, categorising the two above-mentioned adjectives as representing bodily health or illness seems plausible. Hillary Clinton, on the other hand, talks more often about strong or stable buildings and foundations, thus making a health/disease reference rather unlikely.

Based on the initial analysis, a first list of potential SDs was generated, i.e. coherent metaphorical occurrences were grouped together (Stefanowitsch 2006: 64). Then, another more comprehensive search was conducted for linguistic expressions already found in the corpus that were identified as metaphorical and representative of a certain SD. Following this step, the list of expressions and lexical items was expanded to include other possible terms and lexemes that might be used in connection with a specific SD. Findings were then quantified in order to determine the relevance and importance of a given metaphor.

Moving on to the qualitative part of the study, findings were then evaluated on the basis of Charteris-Black’s (2004: 88–89) five steps or questions for metaphor interpretation, which I adapted and expanded as follows:

1. What linguistic metaphors can be identified in international political discourse about the Arab Revolutions?
2. What are potential conceptual metaphors underlying the ones identified in (1) and what evidence is there to suggest the existence of said metaphors?
3. How can the use of the metaphors identified in (1) and (2) be explained given the political context?
4. What similarities and differences can be observed when comparing the use of metaphors in British, American and MENA discourse?
5. What are possible explanations for those similarities and differences?
6. Can differences be identified in Western discourse in reference to the different Arab nations, i.e. are important political partners such as Egypt treated differently than, for instance, Syria?

Moreover, in order to identify conceptual metaphors, it is necessary that further lexical units in the wider context suggest a relation to a given SD (Charteris-Black 2004: 38). For instance, collocations of the keyword *journey* (see Examples (1) and

(2); keyword in bold, collocations in italics) indicate a semantic similarity to the SD JOURNEY and thus support the presumed existence of the conceptual metaphor A REVOLUTION IS A JOURNEY (OR DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION IS A JOURNEY).

- (1) I met with leaders from Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, and Yemen, I expressed to each of them America's unwavering support for their country's *continued journey along the democratic path*. But making good on the promise of  
(Clinton 26/09/2012)
- (2) I will always be the first supporter of the revolution, so it should *continue everywhere in the farthest corners* of the homeland. I want these voices to continue be heard announcing that we are always free, revolutionaries, and *we're going to continue the march*, complete the **journey**. (Morsi 29/06/2012)

For the explanation of metaphors it is then important to recognise specific discourse functions of the metaphor, i.e. the potential purpose given the context of the speech (Charteris-Black 2004: 39). When Assad, for example, speaks of the protesters in Syria in terms of terrorists whose ideas are spreading amongst people like a disease and, furthermore, refers to their intentions and motives as "conspiracies that are like germs" (20/06/2011), this conceptualisation justifies the use of force against those people. Germs and diseases are a threat to (the nation's) health and therefore need to be extinguished. The ideological or persuasive function of this metaphor is to convince the general population that the protests are dangerous and to defend and justify violent actions against demonstrators.

## 5. Findings and discussion

The metaphorical mappings that could be identified are diverse and cover a wide range of SDs (see Table 2). Also, the following conceptualisations do not exclusively refer to the revolutions and protests, but include metaphorical notions of democracy, the state and its citizens and further matters of foreign policy. Furthermore, the SDs and conceptual metaphors do not aim at claiming to be complete or absolute (for a discussion on the difficulties of defining conceptual metaphors see Steen and Gibbs 1999: 2–5). The mappings discussed below may best be described as plausibility offerings and represent examples of possible conceptualisations since they are likely to vary amongst individual speakers. Still, results will be grouped together under the labels of different SDs and mappings, because categorising metaphors into plausible conceptual systems may at least uncover larger networks of how certain concepts and experiences are understood by different speakers. Moreover, Charteris-Black (2004: 39) points out that

establishing conceptual metaphors is essential in order to make judgements in regard to potential ideological meanings and functions of said metaphor. Due to constraints on space, I will not go into detail on each mapping, but will focus on the most pervasive metaphors.

**Table 2.** Overview of SDs (absolute and relative frequencies)

| Source Domains of Mappings                          | USA        | UK         | MENA       | Total       |
|---|------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| SEASON  | 18   3.5   | 106   20.0 | 33   4.2   | 157   8.5   |
| PLANTS AND FRUIT                                    | 11   2.1   | 12   2.3   | 29   3.7   | 52   2.8    |
| BIRTH AND PREGNANCY                                 | 11   2.1   | 3   0.6    | 14   1.8   | 28   1.5    |
| FAMILY  | 3   0.6    | –          | 17   2.1   | 20   1.1    |
| NATURAL FORCES AND DISASTERS                        | 25   4.8   | 24   4.5   | 42   5.3   | 91   4.9    |
| CONTAGIOUS DISEASES OR HEALTHY AND UNHEALTHY BODIES | 16   3.1   | 18   3.4   | 125   15.8 | 159   8.6   |
| JOURNEY   | 256   49.1 | 216   40.7 | 233   29.5 | 705   38.3  |
| BUILDING OR FORTRESS                                | 69   13.2  | 61   11.5  | 58   7.3   | 188   10.2  |
| MORALITY AND IMMORALITY                             | 17   3.3   | 11   2.1   | 27   3.4   | 55   3.0    |
| POSSESSION  | 22   4.2   | 18   3.4   | 56   7.1   | 96   5.2    |
| LIQUID / CONTAINER                                  | 22   4.2   | 7   1.3    | 34   4.3   | 63   3.4    |
| PERSONIFICATION                                     | 24   4.6   | 34   6.4   | 91   11.5  | 149   8.1   |
| MISCELLANEOUS                                       | 27   5.2   | 21   4.0   | 32   4.0   | 80   4.3    |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>521</b> | <b>531</b> | <b>791</b> | <b>1843</b> |

## 5.1 Season metaphors

The SPRING metaphor is the most obvious mapping to be found in any discourse surrounding the revolutions. The label ‘Arab Spring’ was coined by Western public discourse in early 2011 and the SPRING metaphor has continuously been deployed to frame the events as positive and to express enthusiasm. This metaphor seems particularly popular and frequent in British political discourse (see Table 3).

At first glance, it may also come as a surprise to see the SPRING metaphor make up such a large part (72.7%) of the MENA corpus. However, upon closer inspection, it turns out that the term is applied differently, i.e. it is almost exclusively either negated or rejected. The term appears most frequently in speeches by Assad. Nevertheless, while using it, he also expresses his strong aversion to it and, thus, speaks of a “fake”, “so-called” or “falsely dubbed” Arab Spring. Example (3) represents Assad’s perception of the spring-titled events.

**Table 3.** Detailed overview of SEASON (absolute and relative frequencies)<sup>a</sup>

| SEASON      | USA       | UK         | MENA      |
|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| SEASON(S)   | 5   27.8  | 1   0.9    | 3   9.1   |
| SPRING      | 5   27.8  | 99   93.4  | 24   72.7 |
| SUMMER      | –         | –          | 1   3.0   |
| AUTUMN/FALL | –         | 1   0.9    | 1   3.0   |
| WINTER      | 2   11.1  | 3   2.8    | –         |
| AWAKEN(ING) | 2   11.1  | –          | –         |
| RISE*       | 4   22.2  | 2   1.9    | 4   12.1  |
|             | <b>18</b> | <b>106</b> | <b>33</b> |

a. The asterisk indicates further forms of the lexeme (e.g., rise, rose, rising).

- (3) Some were honored with martyrdom, and their blood had punctured the **fake 'Spring'** and shielded the people from deceit that was about to bear fruit in the beginning. Their blood has punctured what **the West falsely dubbed Spring**, but was a vindictive fire that sought to torch whatever came its way through an abominable sectarianism, blind hatred and loathsome partitioning. **It was a Spring only for those who planned it** and tried to make it a reality, which is now collapsing. (Assad 06/01/2013)

To Assad, the term 'Arab Spring' represents deception by the West, i.e. an illusion covering the true events that occurred in the country. A concept like this can only be perceived and understood as such by those who want and support it. It is unlikely to appeal to the disputed leaders and dictators it opposes. Only the former presidents of Tunisia and Egypt, Moncef Marzouki and Mohamed Morsi, respectively, use the reference similar to how the West applies it. The use of this Western metaphor ought to suggest support for these democratic movements, as much to their people as to the West. Taking over as leaders of their countries after the ousting of their much-despised predecessors, they had to keep in with the people and outside supporters, relying on ensuring the continued existence of relations with the West.

Much like other important political movements before, such as the Prague Spring (1968), the Beirut Spring (2005) or the Spring of Nations (1868), the Arab revolutions are purposefully labelled a spring instead of just referring to them as revolutions or protests. In his 2009 Cairo speech, former U.S. president Barack Obama referred to spring as being a "season of hope" (*New York Times* 04/06/2009). Spring is associated with hope and prospect and evokes the frames and images of new life. As a season, spring stands for light, animals awakening from hibernation, plants coming back to life and eventually growth and blossoming. The Arab people's sudden taking to the streets, making themselves heard and protesting

against their repressive regimes can, therefore, be seen in some way as a kind of awakening from a long sleep, a period of being in a frozen state of accepting and enduring the ongoing oppression. Every spring is, after all, preceded by winter, an image also applied by Hillary Clinton (12/04/2011), who, during the early stages of the events, said that “the long Arab winter has begun to thaw”. This metaphor is a way of interpreting the situation as it was before the public started to “rise”. Expressions like “Egypt rises” or “the people have risen up” as used by Obama (19/05/2011), for instance, have also spread across the world, creating a reference to a phoenix rising from the ashes, which go along with the idea of spring and new life. Still, the use of RISE is not identical in all parts of the corpus. While the West mostly uses it in context with the people rising or having risen against their authoritarian regimes, in Syrian discourse, for instance, it is primarily applied to the nation itself that has to rise against terrorism. It has to be noted, though, that when Assad speaks of terrorism he does not refer to what the US and the UK – and large parts of the (Western) world – would most likely identify as terrorism. This specifically concerns the early stages of the Syrian uprising, before terrorist groups like ISIL became involved in the conflict. In Assad’s rhetoric it is the opposition (and thus the protesters and revolutionaries) that pose as terrorists. However, it is at times difficult to follow whom exactly he is referring to and at what point the average protester or opposition leader becomes a despised terrorist in his eyes. He seems oblivious to the fact that average citizens protested against him.

Furthermore, the SEASON metaphor is an apt example of how some aspects of the Arab Spring tend to be highlighted while others are kept hidden (for more details on the systematicity of conceptual metaphors see Lakoff and Johnson 2003[1980]: 10–13). Whereas the spring reference proved to be quite popular especially in the West, the notion of summer was largely disregarded, thus, exemplifying that some entailments of a concept tend to remain inapplicable. The SEASON metaphor was eventually only partially applied in Western political discourse and almost exclusively to highlight positive aspects of the events.<sup>3</sup> By selecting spring elements only, focus is clearly set on celebratory elements of the protests. Western governments largely attempted to frame the events as peaceful movements for democracy, which do not require international assistance or intervention, thereby reducing the pressure on US and UK governments to act (see also Rane et al. 2014: 126). This partial conceptualisation, however, fails to cover the true reality and complexity of the Arab Spring and the fact that originally peaceful demonstrations soon transformed into violent conflicts.

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3. The reverse is true for mass media, where notions of summer, autumn and winter have been more extensively addressed and applied (see Ullmann forthcoming).

## 5.2 Birth, pregnancy and family metaphors

Table 4 shows that while American discourse – numbers in the British data are comparatively low – tends to focus on positive aspects of BIRTH and PREGNANCY, discourse in the MENA region favours rather negative elements such as ABORTION, STILLBIRTH and INCUBATOR. The use of BIRTH metaphors in Western discourse mostly portrays the revolution as giving birth to new futures and democracies in the respective countries. Even Morsi speaks of a “rebirth of Egypt” (Morsi 29/06/2012). When Marzouki, talks about the events in Tunisia, he applies the BIRTH/CHILD metaphor to stress that “it was not *born* out of the spur of the moment, but it’s the *child*, the fruit of our experience of despotism” (21/03/2013).

The images of abortion, stillbirth and incubators can primarily be found in the speeches by Morsi and Assad. Morsi uses the abortion reference, for instance, in a pro-protest sense by criticising attempts “to *abort* all these attempts to continue all the phases of the revolution that we had agreed upon previously.” (04/07/2013) As before, one needs to understand the expectations Morsi had to fulfil when he became president of Egypt after Mubarak had fled the country. In contrast, Assad uses the concept of abortion with reference to terrorism, i.e. “terrorist attacks must be *aborted*” (Assad 06/01/2013). Moreover, Assad uses the concept of stillbirth in relation to any external interference:

- (4) This is how these problems should be solved, in that the solutions are internally manufactured and not externally administered, as the latter would produce a distorted or **stillborn** solution. (Assad 17/06/ 2013)

The extreme rhetoric insinuates the measures Assad is willing to take against alleged terrorism. A further characteristic of Assad’s rhetoric is his use of *incubator*. Again, this concept occurs mainly in reference to terrorism (i.e. terrorists have their incubators abroad, but they have no incubator or roots in Syria), but also with reference to “any form of resistance” (Assad 10/01/2012).

Furthermore, conceptualisations of the STATE as a PARENT and CITIZENS as CHILDREN are most notable in MENA discourse. Moreover, the state is not only presented as a parent, but specifically a mother. Both Gaddafi and Assad repeatedly deploy the MOTHER-CHILD concept to describe the relationship between their governments and the people. Syria and Libya are defined as mothers while the nations’ citizens are the children. Assad also expands the THE NATION IS A MOTHER metaphor by assigning the nation the educational tasks of leading *her* children to the right path and providing them with prospects and opportunities: “the *state is like the mother* who opens the way for *her children* to be the best [... and] knows how to bring its children back to [the] right path” (Assad 10/01/2012). Gaddafi shares this conceptualisation as much as the CITIZENS ARE CHILDREN metaphor.



**Table 4.** Detailed overview of BIRTH, PREGNANCY AND FAMILY (absolute and relative frequencies)

| BIRTH, PREGNANCY, FAMILY                             | USA       | UK       | MENA      |
|--|-----------|----------|-----------|
| (RE)BIRTH/BIRTHPLACE                                 | 3   21.4  | –        | 1   3.2   |
| (RE)BORN   | 6   42.9  | 2   66.7 | 1   3.2   |
| WOMB   | –         | –        | 1   3.2   |
| ABORT*   | –         | –        | 2   6.5   |
| STILLBORN  | 1   7.1   | –        | 2   6.5   |
| INCUBATOR  | –         | –        | 6   19.3  |
| CRADLE   | 1   7.1   | –        | –         |
| CHILD/NEWBORN  | –         | 1   33.3 | –         |
| ADOPTING A CHILD                                     | –         | –        | 1   3.2   |
| THE STATE IS A PARENT                                | –         | –        | 4   12.9  |
| CITIZENS ARE CHILDREN                                | –         | –        | 9   29.0  |
| THE REVOLUTION IS A PARENT                           | –         | –        | 1   3.2   |
| THE REVOLUTION IS A CHILD                            | 1   7.1   | –        | 1   3.2   |
| THE STATE/DEMOCRACY IS A CHILD THAT NEEDS A GUARDIAN | 2   14.3  | –        | 2   6.5   |
|  | <b>14</b> | <b>3</b> | <b>31</b> |

In his speeches and statements, he tends to particularly emphasise his hatred for the protesters who, according to him, continue killing his citizens, i.e. his children.

Moreover, in the translations of Ben Ali's final speech, the references to the state as female stand out: "We love Tunisia and all of *her* people love *her*. We must protect *her*. Let the will of *her* people remain [...]". Similarly, he has talked about Tunisia in terms of "*her* future is in our hands" and that "each one of us is responsible [...] for healing *her* wounds". Figure 1 shows the concordance lines for "her" in Ben Ali's last speech delivered on 13 January 2011.

It appears to be a prevalent conceptualisation in the Arab world to view their countries not only as persons, but specifically as females and mothers. Moreover, in Ben Ali's rhetoric one can observe how Tunisia as a country is perceived as a female body that has been wounded and needs protection. The question is: Why is that so? Why is the state conceptualised as a female especially in countries in which women have significantly restricted rights?

Tunisia is certainly the most liberal of all Arab nations, where women have equal rights and play a full role in society. Moreover, in no other country have women obtained a role as crucial and important in the Arab Spring as in Tunisia (Khalil 2015). However, the same is not quite true for the other nations. Different factors and arguments may be considered at this point. On the one hand, the role

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|  |      |  |
|--|------|--|
| country of all Tunisians. We love Tunisia and all of                 | her  | people love her. We must protect her. Let the will           |
| Tunisians. We love Tunisia and all of her people love                | her. | We must protect her. Let the will of her people              |
| and all of her people love her. We must protect                      | her. | Let the will of her people remain in its hands               |
| love her. We must protect her. Let the will of                       | her  | people remain in its hands and in the faithful hands         |
| elections. Tunisia belongs to us all. Let us all preserve            | her. | Her future is in our hands. Let us all safeguard             |
| . Tunisia belongs to us all. Let us all preserve                     | her. | Her future is in our hands. Let us all safeguard it.         |
| one of us is responsible, from their position, for restoring         | her  | security, her stability, and for healing her wounds, and for |
| us is responsible, from their position, for restoring her security,  | her  | stability, and for healing her wounds, and for ushering her  |
| position, for restoring her security, her stability, and for healing | her  | wounds, and for ushering her into a new era that             |
| , her stability, and for healing her wounds, and for ushering        | her  | into a new era that would better enable her to               |
| usher her into a new era that would better enable                    | her  | to have a brigher future. Long live Tunisia. Long live       |
| to have a brighter future. Long live Tunisia. Long live              | her  | people. Long live the republic. May peace and God!x92        |

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**Figure 1.** Excerpt of KWIC view concordance lines in *AntConc*

of a mother is certainly of crucial importance. Even in a country like Libya, a woman is likely to at least be valued for her ability to bear and nurture children. A mother has qualities that a father simply cannot provide. On the other hand, Lakoff (2009: 230) notes that strong states are usually seen as male, weak ones as female. Thus, another possible explanation might be that this conceptualisation of the state as female is particularly prominent in a moment of crisis, i.e. when a nation is perceived as severely weakened.

I am equally aware of the fact that the use of female pronouns such as “she” and “her” may just as easily be explained by grammatical gender in Arabic: Tunisia, Egypt, Syria and Libya all possess female gender, so does the concept *state*. The question of whether or not grammatical gender may also interact with and influence (or be influenced by) our thoughts and culture is one that is accompanied by much dispute and disagreement amongst scholars. However, studies do indicate that grammatical gender may at least have certain effects on which qualities get foregrounded, i.e. masculine or feminine ones (Boroditsky, Schmidt and Phillips 2003: 65). Similarly, whether a state is conceptualised as a mother or father also stresses different attributes and characteristics. This also becomes apparent in Lakoff’s (2002) famous metaphorical dichotomy of US politics, i.e. the STRICT FATHER versus the NURTURING PARENT model. Hence, even if grammatical gender may be entirely arbitrary, the concept of states as male/fathers or female/mothers is unlikely to be a sole coincidence.

### 5.3 Natural forces/disasters metaphors

While the NATURAL FORCES AND DISASTERS domain is equally represented in British and American political discourse, the number of occurrences is almost twice as high in Arab discourse (see Table 5).

**Table 5.** Detailed overview of NATURAL FORCES AND DISASTERS (absolute and relative frequencies)

| NATURAL FORCES AND DISASTERS | USA    | UK        | MENA      |
|------------------------------|--------|-----------|-----------|
| EARTHQUAKE                   | 3   12 | 1   4.7   | 11   26.2 |
| FIRE/EXPLOSION               | 9   36 | 10   41.7 | 6   14.3  |
| VOLCANO                      | –      | 3   12.5  | 1   2.4   |
| WATER/WAVE/TIDE/FLOOD        | 8   32 | 8   33.3  | 17   40.5 |
| WIND/STORM/HURRICANE         | 4   16 | 2   8.3   | 7   16.7  |
| WEATHER                      | 1   4  | –         | –         |
|                              | 25     | 24        | 42        |

So far, we have seen how SPRING and BIRTH metaphors were deployed in a positive and celebratory manner by Western politicians. Considering this and the destructive elements of natural disasters, it comes as no real surprise that this metaphor is altogether less frequent in Western discourse. Stark differences prevail for the NATURAL FORCES AND DISASTERS metaphor as may be observed, for instance, in regard to the FIRE/EXPLOSION domain. FIRE metaphors have a long-standing tradition of being associated with socio-political protest (see Charteris-Black 2017: 26). A fire is sparked – in the case of the Arab Spring via literal self-immolation of Tunisian street vendor Mohamed Bouazizi – and then either spreads, gets extinguished or even stoked further. In the present corpus, we can observe that US and UK representatives, again in a rather euphemistic manner, speak of protesters sparking or igniting the revolutions along with a feeling of change and hope. In contrast, Assad (06/01/2013) uses the metaphor as a threat to the outside world. He refers to the Middle East as a barrel of explosives, warning that any intervention will cause a “vindictive fire [...] torch[ing]” everything outside Syria.<sup>4</sup>

References to WATER, specifically waves or tides, can be found to a similar extent in all three discourses. However, again differences in application do occur. In Arab, primarily Syrian, discourse, the metaphor is used in rather negative contexts, i.e. as something inflicted by the West or the idea of protesters or the revolutions being portrayed as uncontrollable masses. This image also becomes evident in the

4. He also refers to a “fire of [...] grudge” and “hellfire” (Assad, Speech at Damascus Opera House, 06/01/2013).

mapping PROTESTERS OR PROTESTS ARE A LIQUID SPILLING OR POURING OUT OF A CONTAINER (INTO THE STREETS OR COUNTRIES). Consequently, the individual (with his/her intentions) gets lost and focus is shifted to the increasing and vast force of the mass (of water, i.e. people). With regard to Western discourse, it can be said that the protests and subsequent changes are being described as waves sweeping the MENA region. Collocates of 'wave' also suggest positive concepts such as *wave of openness*, *wave of change*, *wave of revolution*, *democratic wave* or *tide* and *rising tide of liberty*. The perception of the wave does not appear to be negative or of a destructive kind. Rather, it is perceived as having a cleansing effect. Again, while positive aspects are selected and emphasised by supporters of the protests, negative elements are focused on by opponents of the movements.

Finally, in Western discourse, challenges in the MENA are perceived as STORMS that have to be faced with calm and determination. When holding on to Western principles and morals, braving those storms will not pose a problem. Only with regard to Syria does Kerry (30/08/2013) find more serious words when speaking of a "stiff breeze" coming from Damascus. In contrast, the Egyptian people are conceptualised as a "powerful wind at the back of this change" (Obama 11/02/2011).

All in all, the NATURAL FORCES AND DISASTERS domain appears to resonate more strongly with experiences in the Arab world. British and American politicians focus on a few positive aspects, such as sparking hope and the cleansing element of water, while Arab leaders resort to the full range of destructive elements. The selected entailments of the metaphor represent not just the countries' different experiences, but equally the chosen representations, particularly the positive picture the West sought to construe.

#### 5.4 Contagious diseases or healthy and unhealthy bodies

As Table 6 illustrates, the DISEASE metaphor can be found in all three sub-corpora. What stands out in Western discourse is that both Americans and the British tend to talk about strong and healthy states with reference to the future of the affected MENA countries, i.e. currently these nations are weak, ill and fractured, but the goal is that they become strong again. The two Western nations already focus on the future recovery process (see Example (5)).

- (5) Together, we must help [Tunisia and Egypt] **recover from** the disruptions of their democratic upheaval, and support the governments that will be elected later this year. (Obama 19/05/2011)

Still, the metaphor is most significantly applied in MENA discourse, especially in the speeches by Assad. Characteristic of his rhetoric is the representation of Syria as physically strong and immune. In this context, the protests and revolts as well as

the people behind them are “germs” (Gaddafi talks of an “infection”) that “befell” the country and keep spreading (20/06/2011; 03/06/2012). Gaddafi extends the INFECTIOUS DISEASE metaphor by denoting protesters in Libya as “greasy rats” that need to be taken out (22/02/2011).

**Table 6.** Detailed overview of DISEASES AND HEALTHY/UNHEALTHY BODIES (absolute and relative frequencies)

| CONTAGIOUS DISEASES OR HEALTHY AND UNHEALTHY BODIES | USA       | UK        | MENA       |
|---|-----------|-----------|------------|
| OUTBREAK  | –         | 2   11.1  | 1   0.8    |
| SPREAD*   | –         | 7   38.9  | 28   22.4  |
| VIRUS   | –         | 1   5.6   | –          |
| GERMS   | –         | –         | 1   0.8    |
| INFECTION(S)  | 1   6.25  | –         | 2   1.6    |
| CONVULSION(S)                                       | 2   12.5  | 1   5.6   | –          |
| IMMUNITY  | 2   12.5  | 2   11.1  | 10   8.0   |
| HEALTHY/STRONG                                      | 2   12.5  | –         | 26   20.8  |
| ILL/WEAK  | 6   37.5  | 1   5.6   | 18   14.4  |
| ACUTE/CHRONIC/BAD CONDITION                         | –         | 1   5.6   | 8   6.4    |
| SYMPTOM(S)  | –         | –         | 1   0.8    |
| BLEED*  | –         | –         | 4   3.2    |
| WOUND(S)  | –         | –         | 6   4.8    |
| PAIN  | 1   6.25  | 1   5.6   | 2   1.6    |
| DEFORM*   | –         | –         | 1   0.8    |
| RECOVERY  | 2   12.5  | 2   11.1  | –          |
| DEATH   | –         | –         | 6   4.8    |
| PROTESTERS ARE RATS                                 | –         | –         | 11   8.8   |
|   | <b>16</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>125</b> |

Furthermore, Assad frames the events as attempts by terrorists and the West to weaken Syria. His overall conceptualisation of Syria as a body is striking and brings with it a number of graphic images: Syria is bleeding, suffering from wounds that have been inflicted and need to heal. Still, despite all attempts at hurting or weakening Syria, he perceives the state as in “good shape” and considers Syria to be the “throbbing heart of Arabism” (03/06/2012). Assad hereby employs one of the oldest and most fundamental metaphors recognised in political discourse, i.e. the BODY POLITIC, which identifies “the whole of a nation state or society” as a body (Musolff 2016: 60; see also Musolff 2010).

DISEASE metaphors have a (historical) tendency to be used by political leaders whenever the nation is seemingly under threat (Musolff 2003: 328), which may explain the strong dominance in speeches by the Arab leaders. Thus, Assad's perception of the revolution as an infectious disease reflects his fear of losing control over his country and the social order being unhinged. At the same time, however, his optimism and positive portrayal of Syria as a strong and healthy body are just as plausible. Assad uses the HEALTHY-BODY metaphor as a way of framing the socio-political situation in Syria as stable, thus, seeking to secure his image and standing as a legitimate leader. Admitting any loss of control could be fatal. In her seminal work *Illness as Metaphor*, Susan Sontag states that:

- (6) Illness comes from imbalance. Treatment is aimed at restoring the right balance – in political terms, the right hierarchy. The prognosis is always, in principle, optimistic. Society, by definition, never catches a fatal disease. (Sontag 1978: 80)

In the context of the DISEASE metaphor, I wish to discuss the following example in more detail:

- (7) But **the current convulsions arising out of the Arab Spring** remind us that a just and lasting peace cannot be measured only by agreements between nations. (Obama 24/09/2013)

This example illustrates perfectly how, in actual rather than idealised language, mappings and projections are not always as unidirectional and clear as may be desired. Using Fauconnier and Turner's terminology, a number of input spaces are being merged or blended together creating new meaning. The input spaces we discover here include that of the REVOLUTION, SPRING, A CONTAINER, or, more specifically, a BOUNDED SPACE schema, a BODY/PERSON OR SUBSTANCE space, and a DISEASE space. First of all, the revolutions are, again, conceptually understood in the form of a seasonal spring. In addition, the revolutions are being conceptualised here in terms of a BOUNDED SPACE or CONTAINER out of which something arises. Connected to this is another input space representing a person or, more specifically, a body. The revolution is thus also a body that is, at the beginning, still and at rest, but eventually is overcome by convulsions. The meaning of *to arise* is of importance here. When considering its oldest and most basic meaning, *to arise* can be understood as "to rise from inaction" (OED).<sup>5</sup> The real-life consequences of the Arab Spring are metaphorised here as bodily convulsions resulting, broadly speaking, from a disease. More specifically, the convulsions arising out of the Arab

5. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/10739?rskey=Xyi89E&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid>; last accessed 02 September 2019.

Spring can be understood to concretely represent a body that shows symptoms of nerve gas poisoning. Obama delivered his speech one month after the chemical weapons attacks in the Syrian town Ghouta.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, he refers to other tragic historical instances in which poisonous gas was used by leaders and governments against innocent people (i.e. World War I, the Nazis, Iran) all of which suggest that the concrete source of the convulsions is most likely nerve gas poisoning.

The inferences that arise due to the merging of these multiple spaces indicate that the atmosphere of the Arab Spring has become poisonous, the conditions have changed. Once a wonderful spring, it is now a bounded space in which people can become sick and die. From a political perspective, this implies that a changing situation may require different means.

## 5.5 Journey metaphors

The JOURNEY metaphor is the most complex and extensively applied mapping in the corpus, making up a total of 39% of the entire corpus (49% in US, 41% in UK and 31% in MENA discourse). It displays great diversity in the range of its entailments and linguistic realisations, raising the level of complexity compared to other metaphors. It is also one of the metaphors that most strongly illustrate the differences in usage of one and the same conceptual mapping in different discourses. In general, JOURNEY metaphors are credited with mostly positive effects in the context of the Arab Spring, although individual perceptions may diverge. The chief purpose of a journey is to reach a predetermined destination and this destination is usually perceived as being worth the sometimes long and tiring journey. Furthermore, the idea of a journey stresses the importance and value of patience and endurance (Charteris-Black 2004: 93).

When referring to most of the Arab Spring nations (with the exception of Syria), Western politicians tend to primarily resort to entailments of the JOURNEY metaphor that carry positive connotations. The revolutions are conceptualised as a *vehicle* mainly *driven by* young people and technology. Similarly, the more abstract concepts of progress, freedom and change are being understood as *vehicles*. Those *vehicles*, however, are in danger of being *hijacked* by extremists or other (external or internal) forces. The *starting point* of these revolutions is clearly situated within the respective countries (“the Arab revolutions come from within” (Clinton 26/09/2012)), while the *destination* is democracy for all nations. In this context, Clinton proclaims the following:

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6. See Ullmann 2019 for a study of international political responses to the chemical weapons attack.

Table 7. Detailed overview of JOURNEY (absolute and relative frequencies)

| JOURNEY                 | USA       | UK        | MENA      |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| (GO) ASTRAY             | –         | –         | 1   0.4   |
| (HIJACK/PASS) A VEHICLE | 7   2.7   | 7   3.2   | 1   0.4   |
| (TAKE A) TURN           | 2   0.8   | 3   1.4   | 4   1.7   |
| ACCELERATE              | 2   0.8   | –         | 2   0.9   |
| ADVANCE (v)             | 7   2.7   | 1   0.5   | 1   0.4   |
| AHEAD                   | 23   9.0  | 12   5.6  | 9   3.9   |
| AVENUE                  | –         | 1   0.5   | –         |
| BACK                    | 6   2.3   | 13   6.0  | 17   7.3  |
| BE AT A CROSSROADS      | –         | –         | 5   2.1   |
| BEND THE CURVE          | 1   0.4   | –         | –         |
| BEYOND                  | 23   9.0  | 4   1.9   | 7   3.0   |
| CEMENT                  | –         | 2   1.0   | –         |
| CHART (A WAY)           | 4   1.6   | 1   0.5   | –         |
| CONTINUE                | 26   10.2 | 5   2.3   | 12   5.2  |
| DEAD END                | –         | 1   0.5   | –         |
| DESTINATION             | 1   0.4   | 5   2.3   | 3   1.3   |
| DIRECTION               | 3   1.2   | 7   3.2   | 1   0.4   |
| DRIVE*                  | 11   4.3  | 17   7.9  | 3   1.3   |
| EMBARK                  | –         | –         | 1   0.4   |
| GUIDE/DIRECT            | 2   0.8   | –         | 4   1.7   |
| MOVE TOWARDS/FORWARD    | 17   6.6  | 8   3.7   | 19   8.2  |
| OBSTACLE(S)             | 2   0.8   | 4   1.9   | 22   9.4  |
| PASS THROUGH            | –         | –         | 3   1.3   |
| PAVE                    | 2   0.8   | 1   0.5   | 1   0.4   |
| PROGRESS                | 21   8.2  | 42   19.4 | 11   4.7  |
| PURSUE                  | –         | –         | 7   3.0   |
| QUEST                   | 2   0.8   | –         | 4   1.7   |
| RETURN                  | 3   1.2   | 2   1.0   | 26   11.2 |
| ROAD/PATH               | 47   18.4 | 36   16.7 | 29   12.4 |
| (ROAD)MAP               | 3   1.2   | 5   2.3   | 3   1.3   |
| ROUTE                   | –         | 1   0.5   | 2   0.9   |
| SET FORTH               | 1   0.4   | –         | –         |
| SET OUT                 | –         | 3   1.4   | –         |

*(continued)*



Table 7. (continued)

| JOURNEY                            | USA      | UK       | MENA    |
|------------------------------------|----------|----------|---------|
| SHIP                               | –        | 1   0.5  | 9   3.9 |
| SPEED*                             | 2   0.8  | 5   2.3  | 1   0.4 |
| STARTING POINT                     | 1   0.4  | –        | 3   1.3 |
| STEER (v)                          | 2   0.8  | –        | 1   0.4 |
| TAKE STEPS                         | 13   5.1 | 20   9.3 | 6   2.6 |
| TAKE/REVERSE/CHANGE/STAY ON COURSE | 7   2.7  | 4   1.9  | 8   3.4 |
| TRACKS                             | 1   0.4  | 1   0.5  | –       |
| TRAVEL/BE/GO ON A JOURNEY          | 11   4.3 | 3   1.4  | 6   2.6 |
| WALK*                              | 3   1.2  | 1   0.5  | 1   0.4 |
|                                    | 256      | 216      | 233     |

- (8) After a revolution, history shows it [democracy] can **go one of two ways**. It can **move in the direction** you are now **headed**, to build a strong democratic country, or it can **get derailed** and **detoured** to new autocracy, to new absolutism.  
(Clinton 25/02/2012)

What all speakers in the US data evidently agree on is that the Arab Spring movement cannot be *turned back*. When it comes to the different countries and their *paths*, however, views and, thus, realisations of the JOURNEY metaphor tend to diverge. For countries like Tunisia and Egypt (and to some degree Libya), the *path leads forward* to democracy and security. Representations are mostly positive and America is offering Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, and Yemen its support in their “continued *journey* along the democratic *path*” (Clinton 26/09/2012). Tunisia is clearly the country being portrayed in the most positive and hopeful light (see Example (8)).

- (9) The Tunisian people have bravely put themselves on **the road to** democracy [...] the Tunisian Government **takes steps** to strengthen security and protect the Tunisian people and economy from extremism and violent agendas  
(Clinton 21/09/2012)

Similar representations can be found in British discourse, according to which Tunisia “has the most straightforward *path* to a better future” (Alexander 10/10/2011) and its “hard *journey* is bearing fruit” (Burt 15/11/2011). Equally supportive are voices regarding the situation in Egypt even though former U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry also makes clear that “[v]iolence will not create a *roadmap* for Egypt’s future” (Kerry 14/08/2013).

Rhetoric tends to get more cautious with regard to Libya. Considering the West’s involvement and intervention in the North African country, the pressure

to find the right and proper words is clearly higher compared to the other nations. Given the grim reality Libya was facing at the time, statements appear inordinately euphemistic. While stating that “Libya will *travel a long and winding road* to full democracy” (Obama 20/10/2011), Kerry also asserts more positively that “[t]he Libyan people have begun to *chart the course* for their own future” (Kerry 13/03/2013). In UK discourse, with Gaddafi gone, the chief “obstacle to the peaceful development of Libya” (Hague 22/03/2011) was successfully removed and the country is depicted as already having *travelled* an “extraordinary *path*” (Cameron 05/11/2012). By not openly acknowledging the critical state Libya was in, the speakers abdicate their responsibility to act. Notably, the above remarks also all address a core message recurring in Western responses: the Arab Spring nations have to *chart* and *walk* their own *paths*. The West will not *walk away* from the new democracies, it will *walk alongside* those who are prepared to take the *journey to democracy* (Obama 25/09/2012), but the initiative has to come from those countries:

- (10) [...] we will look to them [Tunisia, Egypt and Libya] **to lay out a clear roadmap** and urge them to abide by it. (Clinton 7/11/2011)
- (11) [...] the people of Syria will have the chance **to chart their own destiny**. (Clinton 31/01/2012)

Thus, while the overall journey metaphor is used to express positive notions, specific instantiations also make clear that the West is not willing to get directly involved. Similarly, British politicians frequently stress the diversity of the different Arab Spring nations: “So each state had different *starting points*, different *paths* and different *paces*.” (Burt 21/03/2012); “different *paths*, different *timetables*, different *tracks*” (Cameron 05/11/2012). Each country has its unique background and must thus, as in US discourse, each “find its own *path*” (Cameron 22/02/2011).

Voices turn more critical when turning to Syria. Former UK Secretary of State William Hague describes Syria as in need of finding “a path out of conflict and misery” (Hague 30/01/2012). Obama states that “the Syrian regime has chosen the *path* of murder and the mass arrests of its citizens” (Obama 19/05/2011). Assad is evidently expected to “change” or “reverse” his course (Clinton 31/01/2012; 01/04/2012). The political message is clear: Assad chose this path, he is responsible and urged to redirect his approach. Further, unlike representations of Libya, Syrian citizens are framed as more passive. This direct assignment of guilt to the Syrian government sets the tone for potential future interference or attack. Obama’s recurring use of the red line metaphor brought the US close to military intervention several times and eventually the Trump administration decided upon

military attack against the Syrian government in 2017 (Ferrari and O’Loughlin 2018; Abdulrahim 2017).

Naturally, conceptualisations in the Arab world differ, particularly in Syrian discourse. Assad uses different entailments of the JOURNEY metaphor to express his perspective on the events. One characteristic is that he repeatedly talks about certain people in Syria (i.e. what could objectively be identified as protesters) as having *started on* a “mistaken *course*” (03/06/2012; 10/01/2012). These citizens have *gone astray* and must *be led back to the right path*. In general, he tends to speak of events in the country as *having taken* a wrong *course* (26/08/2013). Moreover, Assad assumes that Syrian citizens have not just *strayed from* the right *path* by themselves, but that there are other people coming from the outside and trying to make Syrians “*stray from the road* of truth and righteousness” (03/06/2012). Thus, the revolutions are perceived and represented as a *path* that eventually *led* to distress, confusion and frustration. Overall, Assad does not see the revolution as an internal issue, but is convinced that Syria is under attack and that Syrians must fight against it in order to “*progress towards overcoming* what the homeland is *going through*”, otherwise Syria will be taken *backwards* (06/01/2013). Additionally, when Assad talks about people *getting back on* the right *path*, he often refers to “normal life” and Syria as it was before the revolution. Still, the only possible and acceptable *destination* for Syria and its people is the one Assad wants to take it to and nowhere else (03/06/2012). He states clearly that Syria will *move forward* with confidence and according to *their* reality. In fact, he announces with absolute determinacy that Syria will *continue to move in the same direction* and will *continue to take the same course*.

Even though Assad admits that Syria is *passing through* difficult circumstances and that certain challenges and *obstacles* lie *ahead*, he refuses to see any real obstacles regarding internal or domestic politics. Rather, he accuses external forces such as the US and the UK of laying obstacles in his way and attempting to *drive* Syria *away from/out of* the international community. In an interview with the *Sunday Times*, for example, he explicitly talks of “death tolls and human casualties hav[ing] been manipulated [by the British and the Americans] in the past to *pave the way* for humanitarian intervention” (03/03/2013). Assad also accuses the West of boycotting Syria and blaming him and the regime “for not *taking steps towards* a solution”. In this context, he expresses his complete lack of understanding as to what Western politicians expect of him. *Taking steps towards* revising the constitution, for instance, is perceived as unacceptable (17/06/2013).

Additionally, Assad makes use of the SHIP metaphor several times. In reference to the ongoing fighting in Syria, he talks of people having “*led the rudder of a ship* of blood, killing and mutilation” (06/01/2013). In most cases, however, Syria is presented as the *ship* while Assad is the *captain steering* it and in his words,

“Syria either *drowns* or Syria makes it” (29/08/2012). In case of the latter, however, it will not be due to his (in)action, for he will not escape the *ship* and he will “*walk* with his people and *lead* them” (30/03/2011). Grady, Oakley and Coulson (1999: 108–110) have discussed the NATION-AS-SHIP metaphor in regard to the process of conceptual integration. In line with the use of the examples identified in the present corpus, they define the metaphor as including the following projections between domains: the ship represents the nation, national policies and actions are the ship’s course, determining national policies and actions equals steering the ship (Assad represents this by steadily following through with his policies), national success and improvement is the ship moving forward (which Syria is according to Assad), national failures and problems are sailing mishaps and circumstances affecting the nation (in this case the protests) represent sea conditions. This metaphor is representative of Assad’s discourse as a whole in that he construes himself as being one with his people. He leads and guides his citizens through this crisis, which, according to his worldview, has been inflicted from the outside, i.e. the protesters are outsiders and not Syrian citizens. It follows that he stands with his people against any external forces and threats.

## 6. Conclusion

This chapter sought to investigate the different metaphorical mappings by which the events surrounding the Arab Spring have been conceptualised in international politics. A variety of metaphorical conceptualisations could be identified including, amongst many others, the REVOLUTION is a CHILD, a DISEASE, a POSSESSION, a VEHICLE, a NATURAL FORCE. A number of the conceptual metaphors identified are generally shared by American, British and MENA discourse, but do, however, display differences in the application of specific entailments of the mappings. While source domains such as SPRING, BIRTH and PREGNANCY or WATER, for instance, carry mostly positive connotations in the West, the opposite may be observed in speeches by Arab leaders, particularly Assad and Gaddafi. Images of the revolutions as a hopeful spring, a mother giving birth to a democratic future and a wave cleansing the region are contrasted by stillbirth, nations in danger of drowning and a complete rejection of the concept of spring. The pro-democracy movements were largely welcomed with euphoria by Western politicians. The more positive representations were, the less pressure and fewer calls for foreign intervention in the MENA region were directed at Western governments. Moreover, the JOURNEY metaphor, in particular, was able to show how nuanced differences can be in Western representations of the different Arab Spring nations. The language used by Western politicians is indicative of subsequent actions or lack thereof.

Protests in Tunisia and Egypt are met almost exclusively with optimism, thus, laying the ground for political inaction. Both the UK and the US express verbal and diplomatic support and euphoria, indicating that there will be no interference (as there is no need). With regard to Libya, Western political discourse tends to elude responsibility. American and British politicians offer their praise and ascribe all developments to the Libyan people. As Western military intervention did take place in Libya, but is not emphasised in this context by those responsible, the actual framing effect is that of evasion. Language turns most critical in relation to Syria. Most importantly, Western discourse tends to leave open the option of intervention.

All in all, a systematic analysis of the distinct selected metaphorical mappings chosen by political speakers allows us to get an insight into how an event is perceived politically and, to some extent, what responses political leaders see fit. The study also sought to show that both combining the use of larger corpora and corpus-linguistic methods with critical discourse analysis as well as taking a critical approach to the investigation of linguistic and cognitive metaphors holds great promise.

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## Metaphors for protest

### The persuasive power of cross-domain mappings on demonstration posters against Stuttgart 21

Gerrit Kotzur

Heated debates can inspire people to make use of creative linguistic means such as metaphor to express their point of view. In this chapter, I investigate the emotional appeal and persuasive power of metaphors on demonstration posters used by opponents of the railway modernization project *Stuttgart 21* in Germany. In this context, metaphors are used both to construct and fuel the crisis. Protesters often draw on quite drastic conceptual mappings to aggravate existing tensions, demonize their ‘enemies,’ and express strong negative emotions like anger or fear. An examination of resistant discourses cannot only shed light on people’s attitudes towards elites, but also enhance our understanding of political protest in general.

**Keywords:** Stuttgart 21, protest discourse, conceptual metaphor, Critical Discourse Studies, Critical Metaphor Theory, emotion, persuasion

#### 1. Introduction

##### 1.1 Contextual background

*Stuttgart 21* (S21) is the name of a controversial urban development and railway modernization project in the city of Stuttgart, county of Baden-Wuerttemberg, Germany. Plans to demolish the old overground terminus and replace it with an underground through station inspired a wave of protests, especially between 2009 and 2011. The protesters criticized several issues, including the project’s costs and the station’s supposedly minor and therefore disproportionate improvements in performance. Protesters also raised environmental concerns when it became apparent that part of the castle park and gardens surrounding the station would have to be dug over. Years of protest ensued which reached a violent climax in 2010. The

protest henceforth developed into a social movement, which received great support from middle classes and eventually required extensive mediation. On November 27, 2011, it was resolved with a referendum: 58 percent of the population voted for the project to be carried on as planned, although protests continued thereafter. The fierce conflict over S21 was also seen as a symbol of political crisis of Germany's democracy and as a symptom of the general public's alienation from the political establishment (Sueddeutsche Zeitung, Neue Feindbilder, October 2, 2010).

What later came to be known as the so-called *Black Thursday* turned out to be the most violent escalation of protest, not only against the project in particular, but also more widely in the region of Baden-Wuerttemberg in over 40 years. During the demonstration on September 30, 2010, at least 130 demonstrators, as well as six police officers, were injured. Thirty people reported offense of police actions, 29 protesters were arrested (Tagesspiegel, October 1, 2010). The event even received coverage on the BBC (Oct 1, 2010). In Section 4.4 I will draw comparisons to newspaper reports of this particular demonstration event (which is discussed in more detail in Kotzur 2019).

## 1.2 Research questions

As I will show through analyses of protest discourse, a political crisis encourages people to make use of metaphor to persuade recipients to take their side and achieve negative other-representation of the project's supporters. This chapter provides a contemporary perspective on cognitive approaches to Critical Discourse Studies insofar as the language use of less powerful and often neglected agents is analyzed. I will discuss the following research questions: what are the conceptual mappings that protesters draw on to express their opinions concerning the project, i.e. which source concepts are evoked and what are the metaphors targeted at? Which discourse-pragmatic and persuasion functions do these mappings and their entailments fulfill? What does this reveal about people's attitudes toward the criticized parties (politicians, police, the project managing board, etc.)?

This chapter is less about how crises can be handled effectively, but about how protesters try to fuel conflict and cast a political situation as a crisis in the first place, how they aim to raise awareness for the issue and provoke reactions from political elites and in the media reporting. A study of emotional attitudes revealed through protesters' language use is especially relevant when discussing whether the buzzword *Wutbürger* (meaning 'raging' or 'ranting' citizens), which was used to delegitimize protesters, is justified and how observers might have come up with this label in the first place. The theoretical background of my analysis is provided by Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson 2003 [1980], 1999), which is combined with a Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) approach, also

known as the Cognitive Linguistic Approach to CDS (Hart 2010, 2014), or Critical Metaphor Theory (Charteris-Black 2011; see also Ferrari 2007) – depending on which specific theoretical framework is adopted.

First, I will suggest three adjustments when applying CMT in this field of research. In Section 3, I will discuss my methodology before moving on to the main analysis of protest language, focusing on its communicative functions and how the crisis was linguistically constructed and fueled by political myths. Finally, I will demonstrate how the protest slogans express emotional attitudes by drawing on source concepts from a range of semantic fields.

## 2. Conceptual metaphor theory: Three adjustments

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) is the most widely used approach in Cognitive Linguistics when it comes to metaphor analysis. In this view, metaphor serves to express one mental concept (the target domain) in terms of another previously unrelated concept (the source domain), thereby suggesting they share certain features, so-called entailments: CONCEPT X *expressed through lexeme/phrase A* IS LIKE CONCEPT Y *expressed through lexeme/phrase B* IN REGARD TO ATTRIBUTE/S Z (e.g., LIFE IS A THEATRE PLAY; *we are all actors on a stage*). I will concentrate on three potential weak points in CMT's theoretical and methodological architecture and suggest some adjustments. These are related to terminology, the labeling of mappings and metaphor's discourse-pragmatic and context-dependent functions.

### 2.1 Terminological clarity

The terminology in CMT has not always been clear (McGlone 2007: 111; but see Tendahl & Gibbs 2008: 1835f. and Lakoff 1993: 203). Instead of using the terms *linguistic metaphor*, *conceptual metaphor* or *metaphorical concept* interchangeably, I will mainly use *conceptual* or *cross-domain mapping* to refer to the cognitive basis of metaphor. (*Linguistic*) *metaphor* and *metaphoric expression* on the other hand refer to the linguistic 'surface' phenomenon of a certain metaphor in text or discourse. This way, the mental level of cognition and the linguistic level of language use are clearly distinguished (Skirl & Schwarz-Friesel 2013) – although it is recognized that language and cognition are dependent on each other and complexly interwoven.

## 2.2 Labeling conceptual mappings

The distinction between novel and conventional metaphors is another case that requires some clarification (Goatly 2007: 20). CMT scholars were mostly interested in conventional metaphorical expressions as these are the ones we encounter on a day-to-day basis (i.e. the metaphors “we live by”), particularly during the early days of CMT-inspired work. Which metaphor counts as a novel one is highly dependent on the formulation of the conceptual mapping that it is supposedly based on, as well as the individual’s experience with language (Charteris-Black 2004: 17; Skirl 2009: 63). For example, the mapping underlying the sentence *My bank account has been frozen* can be broadly formulated as MONEY IS WATER or more narrowly as BANK ACCOUNT AS FROZEN SUBSTANCE/ICE. Analysts are faced with the issue of consistently labeling conceptual metaphors. At times, this procedure can become somewhat arbitrary (for a more detailed discussion see Croft & Cruse 2004: 198f.; see also Clausner & Croft 1997: 260; Grady 1997: 270ff.).

The problem with formulating such mappings inevitably arises from the procedure of relating the metaphorical expressions to more general mental mappings, which function as a conceptual mold for a multitude of instantiations. The researcher following this process formulates the conceptual metaphor at a broader categorical level (called “conceptual keys” by Charteris-Black 2004: 16, 22) for it to accommodate the different surface phenomena and their compositions regarding word class, entailments, idiomaticity, etc. Consequently, a certain “conceptual metaphor” will either be too broad to exclude cases that are not part of the mapping or too narrow to include all of the different but related instances of its mapping. There is no straightforward answer to the question of how to label a conceptual structure, no “single, proper level of abstraction to which the individual metaphor can be attributed” (Vervaeke & Kennedy 1996; Ritchie 2003, cited in Cameron et al. 2009: 75).

We might argue that the method of providing the conceptual mappings in the first place mainly serves to categorize different metaphors and does not assume any cognitive reality per se. This argument makes sense insofar as it can be doubted that our conceptual architecture makes use of those exact labels since their formulation is highly dependent on the language and data the researcher uses. Rather, the mappings could be the result of more abstract, experiential, imagistic, etc., processes, as is discussed in more recent work in Cognitive Linguistics and CMT. However, this claim would be contrary to one of CMT’s central tenets, which states that these conceptual mappings are psychologically real. As Goatly explains, “there is a tension between theoretical explanatory elegance and the psychological power and salience of images in language processing and memory” (2007: 270).

While I will formulate the systematic mappings within this particular discourse in a similar fashion following this conventional procedure, it has to be kept in mind that the labels serve as shortcuts to capture some part of the supposed conceptual network that language users have in their minds. A discourse-analytic approach as adopted in this chapter cannot, strictly speaking, reveal what speakers think, only what kind of language they produce and which potential functions it fulfills (see also Ferrari 2007; Cameron et al. 2009: 75). Molotch and Lester (1981: 133f.) aptly suggest “not to look for reality, but for purposes, which underlie the strategies of creating one reality instead of another.” Cameron et al. use the term *systematic* rather than *conceptual metaphor* to label discursive occurrences of metaphor (Cameron et al. 2009: 78). Context-dependence and ideological inferences are two factors that are highlighted in Critical Discourse Studies, which can contribute to a thorough analysis of metaphors in use, as I will expand on in the next section.

### 2.3 Context-dependent and discourse-pragmatic functions: Metaphor in cognitive linguistic approaches within critical discourse studies

Context-dependent factors and communicative or discourse-pragmatic functions of metaphor have been given little weight in cognitive research on figurative language (Cameron et al. 2009). Yet, CMT scholars have begun to recognize cultural and social aspects of metaphor use of late (Goatly 2007: 395; Kövecses 2010: 215–227). Metaphors carry social, emotional and aesthetic values that influence the interpretation of the utterance (Musolff 2012: 303). CMT therefore “needs to be complemented with an analysis of pragmatic factors as metaphors are always used within a specific communication context that governs their role” (Charteris-Black 2004: 9). Socio-political and discourse-pragmatic functions of metaphor and other linguistic phenomena have in fact been discussed in Critical Discourse Studies.

Critical Discourse Studies are generally concerned with “how discourse figures in social processes and how language is involved in building and maintaining power, domination and communicating ideology” (Fairclough 2010: 418). As I aim to demonstrate during the analysis, a Critical Metaphor approach combining CDS and CMT is suitable for providing insight into how a crisis emerges, unfolds and escalates, and how metaphors can serve to widen the gaps between opposing parties (see De Rycker & Mohd Don 2013 for CDS analyses of different fields of crises).

While cognitive linguists have mainly focused on the mind of the speaker or hearer that can be approximated through the analysis of individual utterances and their underlying conceptualizations, the communication aspect of language and social interaction have often been treated as a side issue (see Croft & Cruse

2004: 329; Steen 2008; Cameron et al. 2009). Vice versa, this point also holds true for CDS: cognitive science, and Cognitive Linguistics especially, have been neglected for some time in discourse studies (Chilton 2005: 21), although there have been attempts to rectify this issue more recently (see Chilton 2005; Cameron et al. 2009; Charteris-Black 2011; Hart 2014; *inter alia*). This gap can be bridged if we assume that CDS and Cognitive Linguistics talk about two sides of the same coin: the “relation between language, conceptualization and cognitive models described in Cognitive Linguistics mirrors the relationship described in CDA between text, discourse and discourses” (Hart 2010: 25).

Not only do metaphors function to categorize and refer to the concepts they describe, but they also express a text producer’s point of view and emotional attitude by encoding evaluation (Musolff 2004; Cameron & Deignan 2006; see also Rasulic, this volume). The “investigative perspective centred upon persuasion implies that the emotive component should be taken into consideration as a crucial aspect in the strategic use of metaphor” (Ferrari 2007: 610). The metaphor entailments suggest courses for actions and make the underlying political processes more tangible for recipients (Lakoff & Johnson 2003 [1980]: 156; Mio 1997; Robins & Mayer 2000). Charteris-Black (2004: 28) argues for metaphor to become an integral part of CDA “because metaphors are used persuasively to convey evaluations and therefore constitute part of the ideology of texts.”

Through metaphor analysis, we can explore not only people’s conceptualizations, but the inner subjectivity of speakers, their attitudes and underlying value systems (Charteris-Black 2004: 11; Cameron 2008: 197). Evaluation is “the expression of the speaker’s or writer’s attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that s/he is talking about” (Alba-Juez & Thompson 2014: 13). Metaphor expresses evaluation indirectly by drawing on source concepts that we conventionally associate with particular positive or negative evaluations (Skirl 2010: 39), such as HELL, DISASTER and ILLNESS as negatively associated concepts, or HEAVEN, LIGHT and GOOD HEALTH as positive ones (see Section 4.4).

At times, however, conventional metaphoric expressions can be understood independently of their motivating source domains (Steen 2011; Glucksberg 2008; Steen 2008 and his notion of shallow processing). Gibbs and Lonergan (2009: 260) state that for a basic understanding of a metaphor to occur it is not mandatory to arrive at specific entailments if an overall sense of coherence is recognized in conveying context-dependent social evaluations. It could be argued that this is true for cases such as the following, which aim to express a negative assessment of the project Stuttgart 21 more globally without requiring recipients to infer specific entailments associated with the source concepts SHIT/CRAP other than THE PROJECT IS HARMFUL/BAD/USELESS:

- (1) Stuttgart 21 is *shit* (Stuttgart 21 ist Scheiße; stuttgart-21-ist-doof.de, no date)
- (2) Stuttgart 21 is big *crap* because it can't be paid for  
(Stuttgart 21 ist großer Mist, weil's nicht zu bezahlen ist; Leben in Stuttgart, November 9, 2009)
- (3) *Shit21* resistance capital  
(ScheisS21 Widerstandshauptstadt; Badische Zeitung, June 14, 2011)
- (4) Just don't build *shit* now!  
(Baut jetzt bloß keinen Scheiß; welt.de, April 16, 2011)
- (5) You're building *shit*  
(Ihr baut Scheiße; de.dreamstime.com, November 20, 2010)

Correspondences between mappings do not have to pre-exist, but are dynamically constructed on-line during production in socially-situated language use and reconstructed during metaphor comprehension (Croft & Cruse 2004: 209; Gibbs 2011: 552), although this can vary on a case-by-case basis (Gibbs 2011: 553). The immediate and the wider context select which aspects of a source domain to map onto a given target domain (Barnden 2009: 92). In other words, the mapping process is a product of discourse rather than a prerequisite (Musolff 2012: 305).

While previous experience certainly plays a role in metaphor use, social, context-dependent evaluations can also overrule conventionalized meanings. To give an example, metaphors that dehumanize a person typically have the effect that they remove human characteristics from the subject to paint it as evil, dispassionate and so forth (see Section 4.5). In the following case, however, the metaphor and its mappings *PROTESTERS ARE SAND* and *THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A GEAR* serve to highlight the protesters' strength rather than dehumanizing them per se (consider how the meaning changes if the opposite side uttered this sentence). From the protesters' view, the evaluation is positive and the metaphor empowering rather than degrading.

- (6) We are *sand* in the *gear*  
(Wir sind Sand im Getriebe; Mahnwache Stuttgart, 2012)

Context-dependent factors become especially vital when emergent meanings are considered that do not arise directly from either the target or source domain. Salience, patterns of inference, expressive and attitudinal factors all come into play and provide specific context-dependent readings (Stern 2000). I found Steen's concept of deliberate metaphor useful when considering metaphor's communicative or pragmatic functions. Deliberate metaphor "is an overt invitation on the part of the sender for the addressee to step outside the dominant target domain



of the discourse and look at it from an alien source domain” (Steen 2011: 37).<sup>1</sup> The communicative aim of a deliberate metaphor is changing an addressee’s perspective on the discourse topic – in (6) that sand in the gear has a positive effect from the protesters’ perspective, as it hints at their strength to disrupt the political system and calls for solidarity among demonstrators. There is a range of rhetorical functions connected to deliberate metaphor; persuasion, criticism and expression of emotional attitude being the most important ones for the analysis of protest slogans. To conclude this section, conceptual, pragmatic and discursive aspects of metaphor need to be considered in relation to one another if we are to understand the persuasive power of figurative language (see Ullmann, this volume).

### 3. Data and methodology

In total, the data consist of 144 demonstration posters and short texts. The main data set (114 posters) was collected from material published online between November 2009 and May 2012. To give a more recent account of the protests, I carried out another search and found 30 more posters which were published between 2013 and 2016. The majority of the material was found on photographs as shown on websites, either maintained by regional and national newspapers or by the protesters themselves (e.g., their blogs). Slogans which are tagged with the source *Stuttgart steht auf, 2010* were taken from a DVD documentary produced by an organization of demonstrators in 2010 using recorded live material from protest sites. Similarly, examples labeled *Mahnwache Stuttgart* were gathered from posters, flyers and badges handed out by the solemn vigil in front of the main station when I visited the city in 2012.

One of the problems in data sampling of this kind of genre is that there is no collective database that can be searched in order to gather the material. I resorted to a Google picture search using the keywords *Stuttgart 21/S21* and *protest/demonstration*. We are therefore looking at an availability sample, which means that the findings cannot be generalized for the protest as a whole, although reoccurring patterns over several years and a range of different mappings across the data indicate good overall coverage. To warrant an exhaustive data set, a consistent documentation of the protest placards at the demonstration sites would have been necessary. Unfortunately, archives of this kind are not currently available. I will demonstrate that protest discourse is worth investigating in spite of this shortcoming, since we can at least identify tendencies and trends in the data.

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1. For a critical review of the concept of deliberate metaphor see Gibbs (2015).

I coded the data using the approach described by Charteris-Black (2011: 45), also drawing on Ferrari (2007) to develop a “metaphor-grounded microtextual analysis which is ultimately aimed at identifying macrotextual argumentational trends vis-à-vis the construction of a persuasive strategy” (2007: 612). Metaphors were identified on the basis that a word or phrase differs from a more common or more basic (often literal) sense. The second step involved coding the source and target concepts of the metaphors, at first more narrowly, and then proposing systematic semantic similarities (“conceptual keys”). For instance, BATTLE, WAR and CONFLICT metaphors were grouped together with metaphors drawing on the DESTRUCTION source concept, as they often appear together in text and because destruction is usually a consequence of warfare. Interpreting and explaining the metaphors, inferring appeals to emotion, suggesting possible entailments and ideological and rhetorical motivations, served to clarify the discourse functions in each case. The analysis is in accord with the narrative view of crises, according to which crises are discursively constructed by social actors (Hay 1996), in addition to having material consequences (such as the demolition of the old train station).

#### 4. The language of protest exemplified by Stuttgart 21 demonstration posters

##### 4.1 The role of resistant discourses in formulating (counter-)ideologies

In CDS, we are mostly concerned with rhetoric functions and the persuasive potential of particular structures, as well as coercion:

Political actors will also often act coercively through discourse in setting agendas, selecting topics in conversation, positioning the self and others in specific relationships, making assumptions about realities that hearers are obliged to at least temporarily accept in order to process the text or talk.

(Chilton & Schäffner 2011: 311)

So far, persuasion, domination and ideology in and through language were mostly explored from the perspective of powerful social actors like politicians and the mass media (for instance Hart 2010; Charteris-Black 2011). However, these are not the only actors in the discourse, and coercive intentions are not exclusive to politicians and journalists. Persuasive strategies can also be employed by ‘ordinary’ citizens who are positioning themselves and others in a discursive space with the aim to convince people of the legitimacy of their views. At times, private individuals are remarkably successful in shaping the public opinion, especially if they are able to develop a common narrative (see Holmgreen, this volume). If we

want to understand discourse properly, less powerful actors, their attitudes and resources to shape language, cannot be ignored. After all, only by the individuals' endorsing, conforming to and identifying with the dominant discourse can that discourse survive (Underhill 2011: 238). Resistant discourse thus needs to receive more attention in CDS.

Admittedly, researchers in media linguistics and related fields of study have started to address this gap since social media platforms, internet forums and other semi-public means of (mass) communication have proven to be such invaluable data sources to investigate the language use of individuals. However, on the whole, CDS has not shown a strong interest in the kinds of ideologies disseminated on these platforms, unless other social agents have previously mainstreamed them. Power over other groups, or, as in the case of protests, the resistance of those groups against the domination by others, is the major driving force for the development of ideologies (van Dijk 1998: 8). The kind of ideology articulated on demonstration posters of S21 opponents does not reside in a vacuum, rather, it should be seen as a direct reaction to the other side of the discourse and the (supposed) domination and exertion of power by others. While employing some of the same discursive mechanisms to disseminate their views, protesters openly resist the picture that is sometimes painted of them in mass media reporting – even though they also rely on the newswriters' attention (see below).

Protest events are acts of communication, and language plays a crucial role both for the protesters, i.e. how they communicate their claims, and in reactions of the political establishment toward the protesters' claims in the media, i.e. how journalists and politicians frame the movement. Protesters seek broad media coverage of their activities (Roth 2011: 118), but in order to achieve coverage they need to be recognized as having a voice by other groups. Journalists are gatekeepers in this affair and will decide whether and how to cover the protest events and who will be given a voice in the reporting. Since a story's newsworthiness increases with the inclusion of conflict and negative assessments, it is understandable that protesters will try to voice their claims in a way that works in support of these media mechanisms, for example by using hyperbolic and dehumanizing comparisons, which are reflected in metaphors drawing on source concepts such as DEATH, VIOLENCE, TERRORISM and ILLNESS. These underline the exceptional state of the object of criticism and can also function as a vent for protesters' anger.

Charteris-Black (2011: 14f.) suggests four main rhetorical strategies of metaphor in political communication: establishing the speaker's ethical integrity and moral credibility (protesters will often point out a supposed injustice, which can, in turn, make them appear just and rightful for pointing it out), heightening the emotional impact (expressing fear and anger; see also Ferrari 2007), communicating and explaining policies by developing political arguments and forming mental

representations that contribute to “telling the right story.” In particular, the first two strategies are relevant for the analysis of demonstration placards. The texts aim to ultimately change recipients’ behavior by changing their views and opinions of the project and how they perceive the situation. The texts bear some resemblance to political slogans on election posters, although the language use of protesters can be more daring, explicit and blunt than what politicians are expected to voice (Klein 2010: 13). Explaining policies plays a lesser role, as the slogans are often very short (the longest being 15 words in the German original, see Example (52)), but we would expect longer texts elsewhere, for instance, on the protesters’ weblogs or in speeches given during the demonstrations.

The chapter continues as follows: Section 4.2 deals with the construction of a wider political crisis by activists drawing on the target concept of democracy. In Section 4.3, we will see how the crisis was fueled by the political myth of corruptive politicians, which fulfills the communicative function of blame attribution. The expression of emotional attitude through violent metaphors is explored in Section 4.4, introducing the source concepts of destruction, religious motifs, mental illness, and darkness, doom and death, respectively. Finally, I will discuss dehumanizing and personifying aspects of metaphor, which support the construction of the Other, the *enemy*, or *bogeyman* (*Feindbild* in German).

#### 4.2 Constructing a political crisis: The target concept DEMOCRACY

Some protesters criticize democratic processes more generally, demand more transparency and participation and thereby widen the discursive scope: their claims go beyond the criticism of the railway project as such and suggest that people living in other parts of the country should also pay attention to the proposed nuisances. Simultaneously, this strategy hints at the fact that the protest has partly developed into a social movement pursuing alternative agendas and aiming to change socio-political processes. The primary rhetoric function of these slogans is generalization, which is evident in the construction of a national political crisis. More civic participation was eventually achieved, at least in part, with a referendum in November 2011, which could be an indicator of the strategy’s success. The referendum can also be seen as a material strategic response of managing the crisis and as an attempt to rebuild trust in the political system. But since protesters failed to gain the necessary majority, the protest continued in subsequent years.

(7) **Democracy** is not a *one-way street*

(Demokratie ist keine Einbahnstraße; static.zoonar.de, August 9, 2011)

- (8) You are not *removing* a bumper, but **democracy**  
 (Ihr baut keinen Prellbock ab, sondern die Demokratie;  
 Zeit Online, March 12, 2010)
- (9) Whoever *runs roughshod* over **democracy**, must step down  
 (Wer die Demokratie mit Füßen tritt, muß zurücktreten!  
 Leben in Stuttgart, December 14, 2009)

The slogans above characterize democracy (in its current form) in a particular way and categorize it as a one-way street and as an object that can be removed or run roughshod (in German *mit Füßen treten* – literally *to kick (with one's feet)* – here meaning ‘to neglect, to disparage’). These slogans can be read as a criticism of others (notably politicians) who are accused of behaving in a way that is contrary to democratic values, which would include listening to protesters’ concerns, strengthening political participation, etc. To conclude this section, while the protests ignited over the issue of the train station and a railway project, the actual cause (at least for some people) is of a more abstract nature: the protesters’ loss of trust in political elites. They supposedly felt that the project is carried out against their will and the perceived will of the majority of people. Other posters even go a step further and explicitly blame the project initiators of being corrupt liars, which serves to fuel the crisis.

#### 4.3 The political myth of corruptive politicians: Crime and immoral behavior

An essential component of a movement’s framing task is blame attribution (Benford & Snow 2000). Protest actions “are aimed at a target: an actor or institution responsible for, or capable of dealing with, the situation that the protesters want to address” (Wouters 2016: 577). The criticism is often directed at politicians, both the ones in support of the project and at political parties that have a more critical stance towards it. Further potential addressees of the posters are spectators following the protest live on site as well as through reports in the mass media or on websites and blogs. A single target is therefore not always easily identified – and often left implicit –, even if an individual person is mentioned. In other words, the slogans are multifunctional.

When protesters draw on source concepts connected to semantic fields of crime, lies, corruption and prostitution, they further contribute to the construction of a political myth: the ruling political parties at the time (CDU, FDP) and their politicians are portrayed (and possibly misrepresented) as untrustworthy, corrupt and greedy, being interested not in the wellbeing of the electorate but only in their own financial gain and political power. A political myth is an “ideologically

marked narrative which purports to give a true account of a set of past, present or predicted political events and which is accepted as valid in its essentials by a social group” (Flood 1996: 44). Furthermore, a myth is not verifiable, proposes a simple causality of political events and enjoys wide support (Geiss 1987: 29).

The sheer number of demonstrators and the length of the protests carrying on for years could be seen as a testimony to the fact that this myth enjoyed broad support (although not all protesters necessarily have to share it). Strictly speaking, the accusations are also not verifiable because they employ figurative language. The rhetoric strategy of these blame attributions is twofold: to criticize the corrupt and at the same time to cast protesters in a positive light, since pointing out a corrupted system can be seen as a good and honest deed. Supporters and initiators of the project are labeled *arsonists*, *criminals*, *perpetrators* and *slobs*:

- (10) *Arsonist Schuster* – Out of the city hall! (Brandstifter Schuster Raus aus dem Rathaus; focus.de, August 26, 2010)
- (11) Stupid *S-Bahn slobs* block good citizens  
(Blöd S-Bahn-Chaoten blockieren brave Bürger; sueddeutsche.com, August 26, 2010)
- (12) Who are the *criminals*?  
(Wer sind die Kriminellen?; schwaebische.de, November 21, 2011)
- (13) Punishment of the real *perpetrators*  
(Bestrafung der wahren Täter; rp-online.de, November 18, 2015)
- (14) On March 27 is *pay back day* Tears don't lie!  
(Am 27.3. ist Heimzahltag Tränen lügen nicht!; flickr.com, February 19, 2011)
- (15) Lies *have short legs*  
(Lügen haben kurze Beine; a German saying meaning 'lies don't pay off')  
(augsburger-allgemeine.de, October 9, 2010)

On March 27, 2011, the regional parliament in Baden-Wuerttemberg was elected (see Example (14)). Parties such as *Die Linke* (The Left) promised to stop the project if they were elected, and protesters threatened to reflect their contempt using their votes if they were not being taken seriously. Several protesters accuse politicians of lying when it comes to communicating the costs and background negotiations of the project. *Tears don't lie* in (14) probably refers to the Black Thursday demonstrations on September 30, 2010 when police used tear gas against protesters. Six years later, when constructions of the new station began and the foundation was laid, protesters still continued to accuse the project managers of lying, producing incorrect figures and distributing a distorted view of the facts:

- (16) *Cornerstone* for botch and lies  
(Grundstein für Murks & Lügen; dpa-video.com, September 16, 2016)

Other source concepts associated with corruption and immoral behavior are *MAFIA*, *BANANA REPUBLIC*, *BROTHEL* and *TO SCRAWL*. Again, these focus on the project's costs and on deceptive and greedy politicians and construction companies. Many placards use wordplay to give their demands a humorous touch and to communicate two concepts simultaneously, such as (17) where German *Kostenpuffer* means 'expense buffer' and *Puff* is a colloquial word for 'brothel', or *Bahnanenrepublik* in (19), a blend of *Bahn* ('train', or train company) and *Banane* ('banana') that implicitly criticizes the managing board of the German railway company *Deutsche Bahn* for being corrupt.

- (17) News from the expense *buffel*  
(Neues aus dem Kostenpuffer?; focus.de, March 23, 2012)
- (18) It's still working like it's *scrawled*  
(Läuft doch wie geschmiert; stern.de, July 20, 2011)
- (19) *Bahnana* republic? (Bahnanenrepublik; stern.de, July 20, 2011)
- (20) Stuttgart 21 is *Mafia* (Stuttgart 21 ist Mafia; stuttgart-21-ist-doof.de, no date)
- (21) Stuttgart *dies* of cowardliness, greed and corruption  
(Stuttgart stirbt an Feigheit, Gier und Korruption; de.dreamstime.com, no date)

Blame attributions such as these can be a cause of anger in other people if they believe the accusations brought forth by the protesters to be true. This view can be enforced by drawing on semantic fields such as violence, terror, destruction and death, as shown in the next sections.

#### 4.4 Expression of emotional attitude through violent metaphors

Metaphors are bearers of affective meaning (Charteris-Black 2011: 31). The primary factor in metaphor choice on S21 posters is the expression of emotional attitude with the underlying purpose of persuading potential fellow protesters to share the views being propagated – which can be expressed by evaluation (Schwarz-Friesel 2013).<sup>2</sup> Although anger is probably the most mobilizing emotion in this context, some slogans could also inspire fear in recipients. Both emotion

2. The application of a more refined analytical framework of evaluation such as Martin and White's (2005) appraisal theory was discarded on the grounds that the majority of protest texts does not directly express evaluation. Instead, this is done via metaphors, their source concepts,

scenarios can serve as a way of affecting people's feelings and judgment (Lakoff 1987; Kövecses 1990). Since some expressions offer both a metaphorical and a metonymic reading, it is crucial to consider the interplay between metaphor and other rhetorical devices.

Steen (2008: 220) ascertains that only 13.5 percent of all lexical items in his corpora can be classified as relating to metaphor, and only one percent of metaphors in that kind of discourse are novel. In comparison, metaphor plays a much greater role in the protest discourse about S21: over sixty percent of the slogans in my corpus make use of metaphorical categorizations. This circumstance can be explained with metaphor's persuasive purposes (see Sopory & Dillard 2002) and its perspectivizing function as well as the expression of emotional attitude. There is evidence that metaphor influences the way we conceptualize and reason about the world. For instance, Fainsilber and Ortony (1987) found that intense emotions led to greater metaphor use. Bosman (1987) also concludes that people's ideas and attitudes were systematically influenced by metaphorical descriptions, although some aspects of the source concept were more easily transferred to the target than others, and different targets favored various aspects of the source domain.

Violent metaphors that draw on source concepts like destruction and death are ubiquitous in language, especially in political contexts (see Ferrari 2007). These kinds of metaphors have become conventional means to describe abstract phenomena in tangible ways and endorse particular viewpoints of events. Violent metaphors "provide a convenient means for political elites and ordinary citizens to render the complexities of politics in comprehensible narratives of conflict and aggression" (Kalmoe 2014: 547). Kalmoe found that exposure to violent metaphors also increased support for physical political violence (Kalmoe 2014: 553). This correlation applies even to less extreme metaphors drawing on concepts from semantic fields associated with violence and aggression. The effect, however, is stronger in people with aggressive personality traits (Kalmoe 2014: 556). Overall, research in this area indicates that violent metaphors can have serious implications and influence people's attitude and behavior.

#### 4.4.1 *DESTRUCTION, WAR and TERROR as source concepts*

In the following examples, the project Stuttgart 21 and the new train station are categorized as a battleground (*Waterloo*), politicians and project supporters are dubbed *Rambo*, implying violent and ruthless actions, and the railway company is accused of engaging in *state terror*.

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and entailments. Additionally, the implied evaluative assessment is often simply something along the lines of THIS IS NEGATIVE/BAD/HARMFUL/SHOULD BE STOPPED.



- (22) Stuttgart 21 *Waterloo* station (sueddeutsche.de, August 15, 2010)
- (23) *Rambo* shows his face  
(Rambo zeigt sein Gesicht; manager-magazin.de, October 6, 2010)
- (24) *State terror* of the German *TaliBahn*  
(Staatsterror der Deutschen TaliBahn; merkur-online.de, October 1, 2010)
- (25) We keep on *fighting*  
(Wir kämpfen weiter; blog.strand-paradies.de, August 28, 2010)

As is often the case with short slogans such as these, the comparisons allow more than one reading. (22) probably draws on the expression *to meet one's Waterloo*, meaning 'to face crushing defeat.' This can be understood as a prediction for the political parties in the upcoming election. Another possible reading is a critique of police action during demonstration events such as the Black Thursday, accusing officers of being disproportionately violent, or, in metaphorical terms, showing behavior typical for warfare. Drawing on the source concept of DESTRUCTION, activists describe all of Stuttgart as being torn apart:

- (26) Everything *destroyed*, nothing gained: total failure, Ramsauer & co  
(Alles zerstört, nichts gewonnen: Total versagt, Ramsauer & Co;  
welt.de, March 12, 2012)
- (27) *Kaputtgart* (Mahnwache Stuttgart, 2012)
- (28) Stuttgart *Schuttgart* 21 ('rubblegart'; Mahnwache Stuttgart, 2012)
- (29) Tunnel drill *destroys* Stuttgart – Stuttgart 21 ruins the land Principle S21  
(Tunnelbohrer zerstört Stuttgart – Stuttgart 21 ruiniert das Land Prinzip  
S21; gniluek.de, May 24, 2014)

Some journalists share this view. Exemplary searches of metaphors and similes used in media reports about the protest events indicate that the conceptual mappings of protesters and journalists sometimes converge, although the demonstrators' language was overall more radical. In the mass media, the Black Thursday in particular was called an "outbreak of violence," a riot, a scandal and in one paper even characterized as "resembling civil war" (Tagesspiegel, citing Der Spiegel, October 1, 2010). The socialist left newspaper Neues Deutschland (October 2, 2010) spoke of "police in their armored uniforms reminiscent of 'Star Wars.'" Stefan Mappus, Stuttgart's mayor at the time, is labeled a "feared Rambo" and "law and order man," emphasizing his relentlessness, or even ruthlessness, and political strength. Cem Özdemir, president of the Green party, metaphorically referred to Mappus' political actions as "brutal bulldozer politics" (Stuttgarter Zeitung, October 1, 2010), which can also be read as mindless and overly violent. He further said Mappus

“wanted to see blood,” an allegation he later revoked. Klaus Ernst, vice chairman of *Die Linke*, said we are witnessing the nursing of a “dangerous tank mentality” in Stuttgart city hall (Stuttgarter Zeitung, October 2, 2010). All of these metaphorical comparisons highlight the exceptional nature of the situation, the potential for further escalations, and they reveal the tense atmosphere and political rifts dividing the opponents and supporters of the project.

#### 4.4.2 *Religious source domains: HELL and DEVIL*

The motivating feeling for the most drastic of metaphorical descriptions is probably anger. We typically feel anger when we encounter obstacles that are deemed unjustified (Weber 1994). While “pure” anger provokes retaliation, wrath is characterized by moral indignation in the face of violations of some norm (Ulich & Mayring 2003: 161), in this case, the supposed immoral and corruptive behavior and destructive intent ascribed to politicians and project initiators. The person being seen as responsible for the obstacle is attributed with hostile intent (Ulich & Mayring 2003: 162). Anger emotions have a mobilizing function: the rejection that causes anger appears as a challenge that mobilizes all creative forces (Haubl 2007: 10). In terms of their persuasion function, anger emotions initiate a conflict frame, while contempt perpetuates a negative identity of the enemy (Ferrari 2007: 615).

Emotions related to fear, on the other hand, result from seeing something as a threat, danger, or disaster, together with the uncertainty of how to avert the critical situation (Ulich & Mayring 2003: 163f.). Both anger and fear can explain the use of these kinds of violent metaphors, although a textual analysis cannot definitively clarify which emotion primarily drove protesters, or which one is more likely to be activated in recipients. One way to conventionally express anger is by drawing on source concepts from religious or biblical domains, especially *HELL* and *DEVIL*, as in the following examples that entail strong negative evaluations of the new railway station and the decision-makers involved in its conception. Such characterizations also make evident the offensive, face-threatening potential of metaphors and framing strategies, which can escalate the crisis further.

- (30) *Heaven above, hell below!*  
(Oben Himmel, unten Hölle; Stuttgarter Nachrichten, September 7, 2010)
- (31) Anyone who lies like the *devil* must come from *hell*  
(Wer wie der Teufel lügt muss aus der Hölle kommen;  
Badische Zeitung, June 17, 2010)
- (32) S21 go to *hell!* (S21 Fahr zur Hölle!; deutschlandfunk.de, January 14 2016)
- (33) Mappus go to *hell* (Mappus fahr zur Hölle; Stuttgart steht auf, 2010)

(34) *Sin 21* (Sünde 21; merkur-online.de, September 20, 2010)

While the old overground station is attributed as *heaven*, the new project and its designers are metaphorically sent to hell. To categorize them as devils also has a demonizing function, but this strategy will be discussed further in Section 4.5.

#### 4.4.3 *Mental illness domains: DELUSION and INSANITY*

Another indicator of the protesters' feelings being fueled by wrath and anger is the neologism *Wutbürger*, which they were assigned by the media, meaning 'raging' or 'ranting' citizens. As is sometimes the case with initially demeaning names, the protesters have since tried to reclaim the label by arguing that *Wutbürger* refers to the people's indignation about the fact that political decisions are being made without their involvement (Wutbürger, 2010, Facebook group page). Buzzwords such as *Wutbürger* serve to delegitimize the protest movement by shedding doubt on the protesters' rationality and ability to weigh off facts. It is virtually impossible to negotiate with someone who is unable to control their rage. However, we might accept that strong emotions such as anger are constitutive of protests and, to a degree, indispensable. Before there is at least a small level of discontent, we would not expect someone to take up civic action in order to eliminate the source of their displeasure. Strong emotions often necessitate mobilization (Jasper 1998: 414). Interestingly, protesters will also try to present project supporters as being guided by a severely disordered state of mind, attesting them madness, delusion and insanity as reasons for the decisions in the project's conception:

(35) *Täuschungswahn* Deutsche Bahn!  
(Manic deception Deutsche Bahn; sueddeutsche.com, July 15, 2011)

(36) Poo – Shame on you!!! Us young people have to pay for this Stop *MadnesS21*  
(Pfui – Schämt Euch!!! Wir Jungen müssen dafür bezahlen Stop IrrSinn21;  
youtube.com, September 30, 2010)

(37) Stuttgart 21 not with our money Stop this *madness*  
(Stuttgart 21 nicht mit unserem Geld Stopp diesen Wahnsinn;  
wissen.dradio.de, April 21, 2011)

(38) Gute Bahn – statt *Tunnelwahn*  
(‘Good railway – instead of tunnel *madness*’; cams21.de, November 2, 2015)

Negative other-representation is therefore used on both sides of the debate. While protesters are labeled “raging citizens”, politicians and personnel responsible for the project are referred to as delusional and immoral, and serious doubt is cast on their underlying motivations. The railway modernization plans are presented as lacking the potential for improving overall mobility in the region as claimed,

or even hindering any such improvements if the plans are realized. In fact, demonstrators seem to suggest that the planning was only able to advance as far as it did because the parties involved in the process continuously lied and deceived the public about the costs as well as the true extent of the construction works. The allegations receive some argumentative strength when we consider the costs of the project, which rose with every new estimate being published since the building phase began.

#### 4.4.4 DARKNESS, DOOM and DEATH as source domains

Darkness and death metaphors have been discussed in a number of studies on figurative language use. It is not surprising that we find examples of them in the protest discourse and critique brought forth by Stuttgart 21 opponents. These metaphors are especially suited to represent the project as a disaster, crisis and a historic mistake, which could trigger emotions of fear and anxiety in recipients. A conventional way of talking about a project's costs being wasted in relation to its outcome is the use of the expression *grave of billions* (*Milliardengrab*) in German. In this context, it is especially apt since the construction of the new underground through station involves digging up a considerable area in central Stuttgart and building tunnels to connect new railways with the existing network. (*Bottomless*) *pit* and *to bury* can be regarded as creative extensions of this conventional mapping.

- (39) Stop the *grave of billions* and environmental crime Stuttgart 21 – Fine dust alarm (Stoppt das Milliardengrab und Umweltverbrechen Stuttgart 21 – Feinstaubalarm; stuttgarter-zeitung.de, July 17, 2016)
- (40) No to the *grave of billions* Stuttgart 21 (Nein zum Milliardengrab Stuttgart 21; demonstrare.de, October 4, 2010)
- (41) „Out of the *pit!*“ Change 21 („Raus aus der Grube!“ Umstieg 21; bei-abriss-aufstand.de, July 18, 2016)
- (42) *Burying* 10,000,000,000 €? (10.000.000.000 € vergraben? wiwo.de, July 5, 2016)
- (43) Stuttgart 21: The *bottomless pit* ... (Stuttgart 21: Das Fass ohne Boden ...; bei-abriss-aufstand.de, April 10, 2013)

The language use of protesters is in stark contrast to some of the characterizations we find in newspaper articles, especially when politicians and other supporters of the project are being cited. The project itself is often dubbed a “centennial project” or a “project of the future.” Criticism of the project itself is usually achieved through the use of more neutral terms such as “controversial multi-billion project.” Clearly

evaluative phrases like *grave of billions* can be attested far less often and are mostly restricted to news columns.

Metaphors employing the source concept DEATH are quite drastic means to cast the project in a bad light and serve to express strong negative evaluations. While (44) is certainly conventional and simply suggests that the project has failed, (45) is a more extreme way of characterizing the area around the station as a “death zone”, perhaps reminiscent of the trenches in the former German Democratic Republic:

- (44) Open your eyes, Mister Ramsauer! S21 is already *dead* anyway!  
 (Augen auf, Herr Ramsauer! S21 ist eh schon tot!; handelsblatt.com, June 3, 2011)
- (45) Castle park *death zone* S21  
 (Schlossgarten Todeszone S21; Stuttgart steht auf, 2010)

Example (45) can also hyperbolically refer to the Black Thursday demonstrations when numerous people were injured (though nobody was killed), while police tried to clear the castle park surrounding the old station in preparation for construction works. Another reading concludes that trees, which had to be removed in the process, are the *victims* of this supposed death operation. The example below uses creative means to express a similar conceptual mapping: while *in die Grube fahren* (‘to go down to the pit’) conventionally means ‘to die,’ here, the project S21 itself is blamed for eliminating or *killing* some part of the old railway network called *Gäubahn*. The text also allows for a metonymic reading if we remember that the new railway connections will be relocated underground, i.e. ‘in the pit.’

- (46) Stuttgart 21 is *driving* our Gäubahn *down to the pit!*  
 (Stuttgart 21 fährt unsere Gäubahn in die Grube!;  
 lbu-tuttlingen.meinsbh.de, September 18, 2010)

Metaphor is most effective when combined with other figures of speech, such as irony, hyperbole and metonymy (Charteris-Black 2011: 312). I suggest that many of the examples of violent metaphor can be considered cases of hyperbole in addition to the metaphorical expressions they employ. Hyperbole as a linguistic tool of exaggeration and intensification can make the referential object seem alienated (consider the source concepts DEATH, DESTRUCTION and TERROR above) and push its qualities beyond what is credible or physically possible (Lausberg 1967: 75). Because of structural similarities between metaphor and hyperbole, the two rhetoric figures can be combined rather well. In tandem, they heighten the persuasion potential of the utterances. The following posters support this assumption. Here, the project is deemed a DISASTER, causing an “age of darkness” (again, allowing the

metonymic reading of driving through tunnels), and politicians are labeled *unholy* or referred to as an *alliance of doom*:

- (47) Against a *mining accident* in Stuttgart  
(Gegen ein Grubenunglück in Stuttgart; mz-web.de, October 24, 2010)
- (48) Hosts of the *alliance of doom*  
(Showmaster der Unheil-Allianz; handelsblatt.com, July 9, 2011)
- (49) Mappus on the *dark side* of the force  
(Mappus auf der dunklen Seite der Macht; fr-online.de, October 4, 2010)
- (50) PeSt 21 a *dark age* is coming  
(PeSt 21 es droht eine dunkle Zeit; Welt Online, no date)

These placards also present the Other as the ultimate evil with the worst of intentions, a suggestion which is further taken up in slogans that serve to dehumanize the protesters' 'enemies,' which I will discuss below.

#### 4.5 Demonization and personification through metaphor

To enforce their demands in the face of resistance by opponents and indecisive parties, protesters will construct *Feindbilder*, 'images of the enemy,' or a bogeyman. Supporters of the project, mostly politicians and the Deutsche Bahn managing board, are depicted as a hostile out-group that threatens to harm the in-group of protesters and the German people in general. By doing so, protesters can present someone who is responsible for the situation that is deemed unacceptable and harmful. The enemy is attributed with malice and immoral behavior. *Feindbilder* are often connected to a threat scenario and serve to internally stabilize the group of protesters, creating and strengthening collective identities, while at the same time aiming to influence views and attitudes of third parties in order to recruit new supporters (Pörksen 2005: 50–59).

- (51) Stuttgart 21: fat prey for *real estate sharks*  
(Stuttgart 21: fette Beute für Immobilienhaie; Stuttgart steht auf, 2010)
- (52) †(30.9.10) The *water cannon beasts* from the Castle Park (Mappus, Rech, Stumpf, Schuster, Grube) refuse a democratic referendum Nazi coward!  
(Die Wasserwerferbestien vom Schlossgarten (Mappus, Rech, Stumpf, Schuster, Grube) lehnen eine demokratische Bürgerbefragung ab  
Nazifeige!; buntgrau.de, November 20, 2010)

- (53) Mappus-*Schnappus* (i.e. ‘snatch’), don’t *devour* billions!  
 (Mappus-Schnappus, keine Milliarden verschlingen!;  
 nerd6.fr33bas3.net, October 6, 2010)

Demonization of the Other is a fundamental factor in this process of blame attribution: it “fuels powerful emotions for social movements, such as hatred, fear, anger, suspicion and indignation” (Jasper 1998: 412). On the other hand, this demonization process can only go so far if the protesters hope to be taken seriously with their concerns. After all, the ultimate aim of a protest is the recognition (and implementation) of the demonstrators’ interests. Creating bogeymen and fueling emotions are a means to an end: to criticize, mobilize and raise awareness. Because of the bipolar structure of ‘us versus them’, most metaphors can also be suspected to inspire pride and solidarity among protesters (see Ferrari 2007: 615) when coming together in the fight against the ‘ultimate evil.’ It is also possible that the more drastic devaluations are the protesters’ reactions to how politicians in support of the project have sometimes tried to delegitimize demonstrators by presenting them as *Wutbürger*, rioters and violent extremists in the news media (see Kotzur 2019).

Personification, on the other hand, generally serves to heighten the emotional arousal and provide space for closer identification with complex policies and inanimate objects (Charteris-Black 2011: 320f.). In this context, it has two primary functions: one is to assign typically human characteristics like malevolent intent and brutality to inanimate machines, as in the following examples:

- (54) Caution, *biting* excavator!  
 (Vorsicht, bissiger Bagger; buntgrau.de, October 13, 2010)
- (55) Until the excavators *bite down*...we will have *eaten* (i.e. ‘finished with’)  
 Stuttgart 21  
 (Bis die Bagger zubeissen...haben wir Stuttgart 21 gefressen;  
 leben-in-stuttgart.de, December 14, 2009)

The other function is to provide a means of identification with the old overground terminus (or the city as a whole, see Example (21)), to assign positive character traits and to invite recipients to empathize with it because of the grave state the place or building was claimed to be in at the height of the protest. Regarding word class, many of these examples use adjectives and verbs as metaphors rather than nouns, another aspect that has not been the focus of attention in the majority of Conceptual Metaphor studies.

- (56) Our station has what Schuster, Mappus, Drexler & Co are lacking –  
*CHARACTER*  
 (Unser Bahnhof hat, was Schuster, Mappus, Drexler & Co fehlt –  
 CHARAKTER; blog.strand-paradies.de, 28 August 2010)

- (57) *Rescue* our city rail from Stuttgart 21!  
 (Rettet unsere Stadtbahn vor Stuttgart 21!; focus.de, 5 August 2014)

Finally, we find several corporeal metaphors that exploit these ideas further. The demolition is categorized as an *AMPUTATION* and a shutdown of the region's metaphorical lungs. The underlying mapping in (58) is *BUILDINGS AS PERSONS/ ANIMATE BEINGS*. While conventional amputations are usually medically necessary, this example prompts recipients to infer that the process is unnecessary, painful, or results in dysfunction of the station.

- (58) No *amputation* (Keine Amputation; Stuttgart steht auf, 2010)

- (59) Who wants the *heart* of Europe, does not shut down its *lungs*!  
 (Wer das Herz Europas will, legt nicht seine Lunge still!; kurzreporter.de,  
 October 1, 2010)

- (60) *Head* stays up (Kopf bleibt oben; cloudfront.net, no date)

- (61) Stuttgart is *bleeding* (Stuttgart blutet; monogo.net, October 9, 2010)

In German, *terminus station* is expressed through the conventional metaphor *Kopfbahnhof* (literally 'head station'). This example allows both for a metonymic reading (*HEAD FOR STATION*, 'to stay above ground') and for a metaphorical interpretation of the activists' will and persistence to keep up protest against the project and not be *ducked under*. Similarly, *bleed* in (61) can be understood in a more literal sense: it might call attention to brutal police actions (via the metonymy *PLACE FOR PEOPLE*), which led to protesters fleeing demonstration sites bleeding. It can also be understood metaphorically through the mapping *PLACE AS A PERSON* in the sense that Stuttgart is bleeding financially, culturally, morally, etc. as a result of the reconstruction, rather than being physically harmed.

## 5. Concluding remarks

As I have demonstrated, different slogans can fulfill different pragmatic functions. While all of them support persuasion strategies of blame attribution and attempted attitude change in bystanders, some of them work to create a political crisis in the first place, others fuel the crisis through violent metaphors expressing strong emotions, or help to construct bogeymen and spread political myths of



corrupt politicians. The significant conceptual mappings we encountered in the protest discourse of Stuttgart 21, which give rise to its systematicity, often draw on very radical source concepts such as CORRUPTION, VIOLENCE, DESTRUCTION, WAR, TERROR, HELL, DEVIL, INSANITY and DEATH. The target concepts are the project itself, people involved in its conception and realization, the city of Stuttgart, police and the train station building. The rhetoric functions encompass overgeneralization, simplification, maximally negative evaluation, hyperbole, firm rejection and demonization of the Other: politicians and police, who are presented as corrupt, evil, ruthless and brutal. If recipients are exposed to those slogans over several years, as in this case, and if they come to accept and share the views and evaluations of the protesters, a change in emotional attitude is within reach of possibility. The attempt at persuasion would then be taken as successful. One indicator of the success is the sheer number of protests against S21 over the last ten years and the vehemence of their supporters. It is possible that the extensive use of violent, demonizing metaphors, hyperbolic blame attributions and the repetition of political myths have contributed to an ever-widening gap between the elites and the citizens, which eventually required mediation by third parties. This might also explain why demonstrations have continued to this day in much the same manner.

I would like to emphasize once more that these discursive practices serve strategic protest functions, whether or not we agree with the way these Others are portrayed (for instance, we can criticize the way that protesters try to achieve this communicative goal, and we might want to evaluate their discursive practices as being destructive rather than constructive – if we wish to adopt a classic CDS perspective of normative critique). Emotionalization is one of these macro-level strategies and can be viewed as an attempt at persuasion. However, it is not always clear from a textual analysis alone which emotion, anger or fear, the slogans are aimed to trigger. A conceptualization of the Deutsche Bahn managing board as terrorists, for instance, could inspire anger because of their supposed brutality, as well as fear of a future threat.

For further study, interactions between metaphor, metonymy, hyperbole and other rhetorical devices could be investigated. For the sake of a clear focus, I have not discussed how visual imagery on the protest signs complements or contradicts the linguistic messages. More systematic research of the language of protest in general would be desirable (see for example Hart & Kelsey 2019). We could take into account other movements and a greater variety of genres as well. Importantly, and to conclude, the analysis of emotional attitudes conveyed by metaphor is not only scientifically relevant but also has societal significance as it can help us understand the dynamics and communication practices of protest movements in times of crises.

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PART III

# Studying personal crisis in psychotherapy and narrative



# The ‘transformative’ power of metaphor

## Assessing its unexplored potential at the crossroads between static and dynamic instances

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Given the centrality of bodily and emotional experience to the notion of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 2003 [1980]; Lakoff 1993; Gibbs 2006a and b; Kövecses 2000), this chapter investigates the ‘transformative power’ of metaphor in ‘talking cure’ practices, to face personal crisis and to produce strategic change.

Starting from the centrality of metaphor in the (-re)structuring of experience (Burns 2005; Loue 2008; Roffman 2008), its power as a ‘transformative’ tool is fostered on the basis of its language/thought and embodiment theoretical foundations to implement its application potential. An experimental method emerges, which adapts textual identification procedures (Steen 1999, 2010; Ferrari 2007, 2018; Pragglez 2007) to an integrated psychological approach (Rogers 2003[1951]; Perls, Hefferline and Goodman 1951). A psychometric test is presented to evaluate the transformative power of ‘integrated metaphor’ in counselling.

**Keywords:** conceptual metaphor, embodiment, integration, transformation, personal development, awareness

### 1. Introduction: Metaphor and practice, an overview

Despite being a typically linguistic item, metaphor has long been object of interest for many other scientific domains due to its application promise. Its (unexplored) ‘transformative’ potential is here investigated in ‘talking cures’ (or ‘psycho-practice’: counselling and psychotherapy<sup>1</sup>) starting from a cognitive linguistic perspective (Lakoff and Johnson 2003 [1980], 1999; Lakoff 1993). Bridging the gap between

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1. The specific focus on counselling given, a keen distinction among the various approaches in psychotherapy is beyond the scope of this contribution.



talking cure and cognitive linguistics literatures, this study aims to cast light on an experimental perspective on metaphor as a ‘transformative’ tool in the practice, with a particular reference to counselling.

By counselling we mean an interactive process of psychological consultancy (vs. psychotherapy), contracted between counsellor and client, which approaches in a holistic way social, cultural, economic and/or emotional issues. More specifically, counselling is a focussed work aimed to face specific personal crisis<sup>2</sup> with a problem-solving approach, in contrast with the deeper personality exploration and reconstruction work which is envisaged by psychotherapy. From this perspective, of much importance is the notion of the contract – set goal of the counselling exploration, defined according to client’s needs, and mutually negotiated between client and counsellor. The contract also interests the provisional number of sessions for each counselling cycle, to be defined according to client’s specific needs and in consideration of counselling general abovementioned criteria: each cycle of sessions in counselling tends to be shorter with respect to a psychotherapeutic process. Additionally, the session is conducted presupposing the client is sane, which is also in contrast with the notion of the patient in psychotherapy. Therefore, the change happening in the client is not imposed, but built together with the counsellor and thanks to the auto-determination of the client. This means that at least in theory the client is supposed to be free to decide whether to begin or not the process, free to choose which change to make, and this change is supposed to ameliorate his/her well-being.

A certain theoretical focus is devoted to our specific contribution to the advancement of theories and frameworks in discourse analysis/practice and cognitive linguistics. More specifically, in line with Tay’s contribution in this section, this chapter addresses the relationship between metaphor and change at the crossroads between static and dynamic instances in the practice. As Tay underlines, in reference to psychotherapy, “there could be metaphors that do not seem interesting in isolation, but gradually build up into usage patterns over time” (this volume: 233): “the underexplored effects of time were found to influence different aspects of metaphor use.” (this volume: 250). As regards the change factor specifically, this chapter fosters the “transformational power” of the metaphor as regards both its definition and application. This can be connected with Huang’s argument on metaphor in relation to “narrative modulation” and “transition” in the practice: metaphor contributes to “narrative modulation” which in turn can foster the “transition” towards a better life phase. Insisting on OCD “illness narratives”, Knapton demonstrates how image schemas can in some cases contribute to understand the

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2. For a contextualization of the definitions of crisis in general and of personal crisis in particular, also with reference to the cases in which “individual’s health and wellbeing are under threat”, see Huang contribution in this volume introduction, pp. 2, 6 and 15 respectively.

origins of the disorder, and their analysis can lead to conclusions for both psychotherapy and cognitive linguistics advancements (this volume: 299–301).

The literature on metaphor and the 'talking cure' practice is wide and varied. Metaphors have extensively been used to describe mind disorders (Schoeneman et al. 2012), consistently exploited in counselling and psychotherapy alike (Barker 1985), and the centrality of metaphor in the (re-)structuring of experience has been extensively acknowledged (Burns 2005; Loue 2008; Roffman 2008). "[T]he use of metaphorical communication has been widely cited as an effective intervention (e.g., Bandler and Grinder, 1975; Fine, Pollio, and Simpkinson, 1973; Gore, 1977; Haley, 1987; Martin, Cummings, and Hallberg, 1992; T. Strong, 1989)". (Young and Borders 1998: 238).

With respect to counselling (Tay 2012), the improvement given by metaphor used as a 'tool' is a crucial theme of investigation, specifically regarding the client's change (Strong 1989). Metaphors can offer clients "new perspectives" on their concerns by "associations amongst previously unrelated cognitive structures", so in order to help clients "identify new possibilities for behaving and effective change in a problem area (Fine et al., 1973; Martin et al., 1992; T. Strong, 1989)" (Young and Borders 1998: 238).

In this respect, Roberts (1987) provides an exhaustive account of the development of metaphor, in such as "therapeutic" (Gordon 1978), as an "effective counselling technique" (Cameron-Bandler 1985; Gordon 1978; Zeig 1980; Roberts 1987).<sup>3</sup> Therapeutic metaphors are fostered as "gateways to understanding" in Boone and Bowman (1997: 313). Moreover, Pernicano underlines how "metaphorical interventions" on the part of the counsellor/therapist can "reduce client defensiveness" (2010: from the cover).

Notwithstanding the extended literature on metaphor and practice, its transformational power might have been overlooked.

Starting from an overview of existing theoretical perspectives and methodological proposals, this chapter develops a potential method to implement the transformative power of metaphor in counselling and psychotherapy and move clients towards alternative ways of thinking of, feeling about and (re)acting to their condition. More specifically, an implemented version of integrated metaphor is presented and a four-step integrated method to detect and work with metaphor

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3. The status of "therapeutic metaphor" emerging here is that of a 'narrative instance'. However dynamic metaphor in such as narrative might be, a solely discursive level may question whether its transformative potential is fully accomplished, due to the rather static feature of the working mechanism here suggested: "the fundamental feature of a therapeutic metaphor is the parallelism of "isomorphism" (Gordon, 1978) between the persons and incidents which occur in a story and those individuals and events which characterize the client's problem (Cameron-Bandler, 1985; Gordon, 1978; Lankton, 1980; Zeig, 1980)" (Roberts, 1987: 63).

in counselling/therapeutic settings is offered and discussed in its theoretical foundations, in order to provide a significant contribution to the development of theories and methods in cognitive linguistics and applications. The method is also referred to as “metaphor-based and -driven” counselling and varied according to those metaphors primarily activated at mind, emotional, or body level (Ferrari, forthcoming). Notwithstanding the level or primary activation, the transformative power of the metaphor is measurable at all levels in a holistic perspective.

### *Existing Methodological Proposals using metaphor in the ‘psycho-practice’*

The path of metaphor as a tool in the psycho-practice is sketched here starting from its Eriksonian departure, going then through the application opportunities offered by cognitive-behavioural and constructivist perspectives to the existing

**Grid 1.** Some existing methodological proposals – using metaphors in the practice<sup>a</sup>

| Ericksonian   | Cognitive/Constructivist/<br>CBT   | Gestalt-integrated<br>perspective &<br>Counselling   | Psychoanalytic perspec-<br>tive   |
|---|--|--|---|
| Erickson –<br><u>utilization</u><br><u>principle</u><br>(1952/1980a)<br>and metaphor<br>as a bridge<br>(Roffman<br>2008)                              | Gonçalves & Craine (1990)<br>Two phases methodological<br>approach (1) “ <u>Identifying</u><br><u>client’s metaphors</u> ” and (2)<br>“ <u>Imploding new metaphors</u> ”<br>to use therapeutic metaphor<br>to redirect and restructure<br>the client’s metaphor.   | Hayes (2011) and<br>Reynolds (1996):<br>embodiment and<br>moving of metaphor;<br><b>Strong</b> “ <u>model of</u><br><u>counsellor response</u><br><u>to client’s</u><br><u>metaphors</u> ” (1989)<br>Cf. Gordon’s<br>(1978) connecting<br>strategy Cf. <b>Rogers</b> :<br>“client- centered<br>therapy” (2003<br>[1951]) and <b>Perls</b> :<br>“Gestalt Therapy”<br>(Perls, Hefferline<br>and Goodman, 1951) | <b>Spence</b> (1993): metaphor<br>as the core of the<br>psychoanalytic process<br><b>Voth</b> (1970) metaphor’s<br>identification attributed<br>to the “fine ear” of the<br>analyst<br><b>Reider</b> : metaphor<br>as “condensation of<br>understanding of many<br>levels of experience”<br>(Reider, 1972: 469)<br>[Descriptive perspective:<br><b>Mathieson &amp; Hosjins</b><br>(2005): metaphors of<br>change; <b>Rasmussen &amp;</b><br><b>Angus</b> (1996): qualitative<br>analysis of Borderline and<br>non-Borderline clients<br>and therapist experience<br>of metaphoric expres-<br>sions; <b>Thompson</b> (2012);<br><b>Long &amp; Lepper</b> (2008)] |
| <b>Lankton &amp;<br/>Lankton</b> –<br>“ <u>matching</u><br><u>metaphor</u> ”,<br>“ <u>multiple-</u><br><u>embedded</u><br><u>metaphor</u> ”<br>(1983) | The 2) <u>phase further</u><br><u>consists in a five-stage</u><br><u>intervention strategy</u><br><b>Kopp &amp; Craw’s</b> “ <u>step-by-</u><br><u>step interview protocol</u> ”<br>(1998)<br>Cf. <b>Kopp</b> (1995) attempt at<br>systematizing a cognitive<br>protocol of <u>metaphor-based</u><br><u>therapy</u><br>CBT descriptive and<br>explanatory overview of<br>metaphor types (Stott et al.,<br>2010 and Fothergill, 2012) |  |   |

a. For further discussion on existing methodological proposals and an extended discussion see also Torneke (2017: 2)

counselling application, not dismissing passing by the crucial suggestions offered by psychoanalytic approaches. See Grid 1 for a synthetic evidence.

The '(re)discovery' of their use in therapy might be brought back to Erickson (1935, 1944) and Kopp (1972), who "made significant contributions to the acceptance of this therapeutic technique" (Witztum, Van Der Hart and Friedman 1988: 270). According to Erickson, metaphor would therefore function as a "bridge" between contextual domains of experience, which is further developed by Lankton and Lankton who introduce the term "matching metaphor" (1983: 98). Lankton and Lankton also introduce the "multiple- embedded metaphor" (1983: 6), a therapeutic strategy "consisting of the successive presentation of stories and metaphors, subtly linked and coordinated with one another in order to trigger cognitive restructuring and behavior modification" (Gonçalves and Craine 1990: 141).

In their paper on "the use of metaphors in cognitive therapy"<sup>4</sup> Gonçalves and Craine suggest the use of the same strategy "as a useful tool to introduce change at the deep/tacit/unconscious level of cognitive representations". More specifically, "[c]lients motorically construct reality through their tacit metaphors" (1990: 138). In line with our perspective, which will be developed in the following sections, Gonçalves and Craine make reference to the cognitive linguistic account of Lakoff and Johnson (2003 [1980]), who conceive of metaphor as "pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action". More specifically "*the therapist uses the therapeutic metaphor in order to redirect and restructure the client's metaphors*. (1990: 139). The protocol and therapeutic attitude which preside over it nevertheless remain rather directive and the use of the conceptual metaphor of Lakoffian derivation could be further implemented, as we will see in our proposal.

In this respect, to be acknowledged is also Kopp and Craw's "step-by-step interview protocol", in contrast with "Ericksonian interventions using embedded metaphors" (1998: 306). With respect to Gonçalves and Craine, Kopp and Craw implement the role of the metaphor and the responsibility of the client: "client-generated metaphors are *a priori* metaphors" (1998: 310). Additionally, though maintaining a systematic organization, their proposal strengthens the interactive feature between therapist and client: "The therapist guides the process but does not introduce new content. Thus, the therapist is relatively non directive compared to traditional cognitive interventions" (1998: 309).

Moving on to the gestalt-integrated perspective, methodologically of interest is also Hayes contribution with respect to the process of embodiment and motion of metaphor (2011) and Reynolds (1996) proposal of working with movement as metaphor from a Gestalt perspective. Among the various approaches, Strong's

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4. A descriptive and explanatory overview of metaphor types and how to use them in the practice, particularly with respect to CBT, is provided by Stott et al., 2010 and Fothergill, 2012.

“model of counsellor response to client’s metaphors” (1989) represents one among the main practical and most systematic references for metaphor’s potential for change promotion in counselling (Bayne and Thompson 2000: 37).

By conceiving of metaphor as an “indirect form of expression” (1989: 203), Strong suggests an operative framework for counsellors, starting from “‘Listening’ for client [non intentional] metaphors” through which the client “unconsciously and implicitly” may represent his problems. “For example, a client may describe a physical symptom such as a ‘pain in the neck’ which may be an elegant metaphorical and somatic response to a stressful interpersonal relationship” (1989: 205). Then, after promoting self-disclosure and fostering patient/client’s awareness using “the Rogerian method of reflecting back to clients, in their language, what has been heard” (1989: 206), his/her metaphors can be utilized for promoting “change”, starting from “explicating what is implicit” (1989: 206), then “therapeutically extending or modifying the metaphor” (1989: 207); as well as “creating and delivering therapeutic metaphors” (1989: 208), with specific reference to Gordon’s ‘connecting strategy’ (1978: 46) or “solution-in-metaphor to the client’s problem” (1978: 7-8), both quoted in Strong (1989: 208). In line with our perspective, Strong frames his proposal within the same general integrated framework we make reference to, revolving around Rogers’ client-centered therapy and Perls’ Gestalt Therapy (1989: 206–207). More specifically, following “Bandler and Grinder’s (1975) proposition that people favour certain sensory representation system in representing their experience”, “different forms of guided imagery” (1989: 207) are suggested. To help the guided change process “the uniqueness of each client” promoted (1989: 207).

Metaphor use is openly promoted as client customized: “it is suggested that counsellors purposefully create therapeutic metaphors that contain non-specific language. Such non-specific language allows clients greater latitude to create their own meaning without getting caught up in (or resisting) the specificity of the counsellor’s ‘instructive language’” (1989: 209).

Strong’s model, following Gonçalves and Craine (1990) and Kopp (1995), certainly represents a pivotal departure point to start discussing our theoretical and methodological proposal, without dismissing some of the insightful perspectives on metaphor offered by the psychodynamic approach.

From a psychoanalytic perspective, metaphor has often been considered as the core of the psychoanalytic process. In this respect, Donald Spence writes:

What does it mean to speak of the Freudian metaphor? (1993: 103). [T]he Freudian metaphor tempts us to believe in the idea of a dynamic unconscious which is actively and continuously influencing the contents of consciousness. (1993: 104).

Harold Voth highlights that “[t]he use of metaphor is not new”, but comes back to “Sharpe’s paper (1940)”, though “how she used metaphors in her therapeutic work is not clear (Voth 1970: 620). Combining them with “free associations”, Harold Voth advises to “direct the patient’s attention to [...] metaphorical expressions and ask him to associate them as much as one might with a dream” (Voth 1970: 600). The identification of metaphors is mainly attributed here to the analyst’s “fine ear” (Freud 1926, as quoted in Voth 1970: 600) or to the “third ear” of Reik (1948) (also quoted in Voth 1970: 600), notwithstanding whether “the disguised and hidden meanings” are “grasped by the analyst immediately, or he may simply sense there are meanings to be found” (Id.: 601). Once the metaphor has been discovered, it may lead to unexpected discoveries, thus presenting a transformative potential with respect to analysis evolution and final interpretation:

In either case the patient should always be asked to associate to his metaphor, and frequently the ultimate meanings which are discovered are different from those suspected to be there, thus illustrating the danger of relying on one’s intuition.  
(Voth 1970: 601)

Moreover, this approach to metaphor favours “focused analytic work” (Voth 1970: 601). Examples provided range from slip’s analysis to metaphorical expression’s analysis, also accounting for bodily symptoms, cf. our “integrated” account on metaphor and metaphorical work (see next sections, this chapter).

While in Voth’s methodology it is the client to create his/her own metaphors and the analyst to identify them and/or direct attention to them to push the analytic work, Norman Reider rather suggests the use of metaphor as interpretation (1972). Metaphor as interpretation is transformative in the sense that it provides the analytic work with further levels of understanding and can contribute to the raising of new insights:

Metaphor, seen in this light, is the most economic condensation of understanding of many levels of experience, several fixations, symbolic connotations, and an aesthetic ambiguity, all in a phrase. Moreover, this case confirms in a different way that metaphor is based on an unconscious fantasy (Arlow, 1969), and that it has its roots in concern about the body image. (Lewin, 1971) (Reider 1972: 469)

The imaging feature of the metaphor is at the basis of its creative potential. In this sense, Ullman (1969) “extends the concept of metaphor to include the visual mode” and explores its “applicability to dream phenomena” (1969: 696). More in general, metaphor as a form of creative expression sympathises with any creative expressions of the human mind. In reference to Langer (1948: 121), Ullman underlines how metaphor can function as “an instrument of abstraction”. And how “it comes into play in situations where an idea is genuinely new. It has no name

and there is no word to express it". More specifically, "where the gap exists in situations of this sort it is through the use of metaphor that we can take a conceptual leap forward and establish an initial abstract position in relation to a new element in experience". In reference to Langer (1957: 104), Ullman underlines how "the use of metaphor implies that abstract thinking is going on in a paradoxical sense" (Ullman 1969: 697). Therefore, in Ullman the power of metaphor emerges as a "conceptualizing process but one that uses concrete imagery as the instrument for arriving at the abstraction" (Ullman 1969: 697). And its power in the psycho-practice would therefore rely on its capability of comprehending new creative expressions as well as paradoxical expressions.

In a descriptive perspective, some contributions go in so far as to foster a metaphor-based analytical approach to specific phases or attitudes within the therapeutic process, as well as to investigate special kinds of uneasiness/diseases through metaphorical evidence (Levitt and Korman 2000; Mathieson and Hosjins 2005; Rasmussen and Angus 1996; Thompson 2012). Metaphors are also used descriptively to "explore the process of ending in psychotherapy" (Rabu, Haavind and Binder 2013: 71). Van Parys and Rober explore the therapist metaphorical language and how this "evolves in dialogue with a client over the course of a therapeutic session" (2013: 89). Other psychoanalytic contributions instead interpret psychoanalysis in terms of a metaphor or address psycho-practice from a linguistic point of view (Long and Lepper 2008; Holmes 1985). Finally, the importance of metaphor in/for therapy has also been acknowledged in a cultural perspective in Liu, Zhao and Miller (2014).

Our journey along the use of metaphor in the practice from the Ericksonian tradition, through the cognitive-behavioural and constructivist perspectives, counselling and psychoanalysis, does not have the pretence to be exhaustive and does not exclude further existing methodological proposals along different theoretical perspectives, as discussed in Torneke (2017: 2). It could nevertheless have served the objective of organizing a panorama from which to start picking up metaphor use and potential in the practice and to present our experimental proposal.

Whether with a more operational (Erickson 1952/1980) or interpretative (Reider, 1972) focus, client-generated (Kopp, 1995; Voth, 1970), therapist suggested (Gonçalves and Craine 1990), client customized (Strong 1989) or interactively negotiated (Kopp 1995), with a mainly linguistic (Voth 1970; Long and Lepper, 2008) or integrated (Strong 1989) conception, whether central (Spence 1993) or marginal in the therapeutic direction, metaphor is certainly a crucial tool along a variety of therapeutic perspectives, which respectively strengthen different metaphorical features – such as interactivity, creativity and potential transformativity. All these features maintained, in line with the Ericksonian utilization principle (1952/1980a), our proposal will try to further implement the transformative

potential of metaphor as a tool in the practice starting from a Lakoffian definition of metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 2003 [1980]; Lakoff 1993), as already suggested by Gonçalves and Craine (1990) despite the directive feature of their protocol. More specifically, metaphor integration will be fostered, thus bordering out of a strictly linguistic definition of the metaphor. The automatic features of the metaphor, already anticipated in Kopp and Craw (1998: 309), will be highlighted into what we also call 'self-propulsion', together with the interactive direction of the therapy, also present in Strong's proposal (1989). Finally the creative perspective coming out of the psychoanalytic perspective (Ullman 1969) together with the dialogue between conscious and (sub-in)conscious operating of the metaphor as a mode of thought will be further developed.

In general, a dynamic and instrumental feature seems to emerge as a crucial prerogative of metaphor in/for the 'talking cure' practice (counselling/psychotherapy). And yet, all this pre-existing production given, some of its potential may still need to be faced and can be faced by reevaluating the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor in the practice. We are trying to implement the potential of metaphor to DO something, possibly useful, possibly pleasant, possibly something you could not achieve without it.

### *Unexplored Potential? Towards an implemented definition of conceptual metaphor as 'integrated'*

The need for further attention on the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor within psychotherapy has already been highlighted by Eynon (2001). Conversely, the attempts which Contemporary Metaphor Theory has made towards an application for the 'exploration/cure of the mind' (see, for instance, Lakoff 1997) seem not to have exhausted their potential in this direction. In fact, the empirical studies addressing counselling/psychotherapy issues from a linguistic perspective, or those looking for linguistic evidence, remain on a strictly descriptive perspective. There seem to be further opportunities coming from a cognitive linguistic perspective on metaphor which retains a psycho-practice interest. Crucial inspiration in this sense is offered by new advances in applied cognitive linguistics, fostering "the importance of metaphor in explaining the processes" a person "went through in arriving at a cure" (Charteris-Black 2012b: 215). Focussing on the pragmatic effects of the metaphor rather than on its procedural ones, Charteris-Black (2012a, 2016) introduces the term "purposeful metaphor" as opposed to "deliberate metaphor" (Steen 2008). More specifically, he suggests "that the complex use of metaphor in interviews [...] may contribute purposefully to an embodied simulation of the experience and even evoke an empathetic response (Barsalou 2008; Gibbs 2006a



and b, Semino 2010)” (Charteris-Black 2016: 157). Such purposefulness may be further stretched into transformativity.

Therefore, by filling the theoretical gap between the psycho-practice literature and the new advances in cognitive linguistics, metaphor could be implemented as a tool and its effectiveness strengthened in the practice itself. Reconsidering the definitional underpinnings and theoretical foundations introduced by the Contemporary Metaphor Theory in light of their implications in the psycho-practice may be crucial for fulfilling the ‘transformative’ potential of metaphor.

Metaphor will be further developed here as a client customized proactive means, a tool which can be used to produce creative answers to problems. Re-opening up its language/thought and embodied theoretical foundations, we will disclose metaphors and craft them as self-propelled means to promote better awareness and change.

## 2. Redefining metaphor, for the sake of practice

As a contribution to theories and frameworks in cognitive linguistics, it is exactly from the cognitive definition of metaphor that we start, to exploit its theoretical and practical implications and transcend its potential.

Lakoff and Johnson’s work *Metaphors we live by* inaugurated a path of studies which provocatively enters the philosophical and linguistic debate of the last twenty years. Many are the practical cues, and in diverse fields of application. And yet not a few are the theoretical and methodological issues to be faced and developed. According to Lakoff and Johnson:

The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another (2003 [1980]: 5)

From here a cognitive (“understanding”), experiential (“experiencing”) and interactive (“one kind of thing in terms of another”) conception of metaphor emerges. Metaphor as a process has then to do with understanding and experience, it involves both reasoning and emotion, thought and action, mind and body. Metaphor is “embodied experience” (Lakoff 1987, 1993, 2003) and is ‘transpositional’ in nature: it involves a shift, a movement in its functioning. More technically, metaphor consists in a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system (Lakoff 1993), between a source domain, and a target domain, characterized by a precise series of “ontological correspondences” and referred to with mnemonics in the form of “TARGET DOMAIN – [IS/AS] – SOURCE DOMAIN” (1993: 207).

The scope which metaphor comes to acquire in the Lakoffian perspective transcends by far the borders which had been attributed for centuries by the

philosophical and literary tradition. Metaphor does not coincide with a mere figure of speech, but would constitute the fundamental processor of language, hereby concerning our conceptual system itself:

Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. (2003 [1980]: 3)

From this, the Lakoffian metaphor comes to be defined as 'conceptual'. And this 'conceptual' connotation is here meant to be 'integrated'. So, what do we mean by metaphor? Metaphor is "three-dimensional", that is having to do with mind/emotions/body,<sup>5</sup> therefore presiding over thought, experience and action. Metaphor is the way through which we think, feel and act.

More in detail, metaphors are central to our cognitive and emotional system alike and, what is most crucial, they are experiential (Lakoff and Johnson 2003 [1980]; Kövecses 2000). This becomes even more crucial given the centrality of bodily experience to the notion of conceptual metaphor in cognitive theory (Lakoff and Johnson 2003 [1980]; Lakoff 1993; Gibbs 2006a and b), all the more after the discovery of mirror neurons in neuroscience and their importance for the notion of "empathy" (Lakoff 2009: xiii; Gallese and Lakoff 2005). They "occur in fiber bundles connecting pre-motor/SMA cortex (which choreographs actions) with the parietal cortex (which integrates perceptions)" (Lakoff 2009R: xx). What is crucial is: "[t]he same mirror neurons fire when you perform an action or you see someone else performing an action", such as that of "grasping" (Lakoff 2009R: xx). As a matter of fact, "mirror neurons" are also "multimodal", as they are "active" both "when acting or perceiving the same action" and "when imaging that you are perceiving or performing an action" (Lakoff 2009R: xx). In such as multimodal, the functioning of "mirror neurons" is metaphorical in nature, as "the firing of a single neuron may correlate with both *seeing* and *performing* grasping" (Gallese and Lakoff 2005: 457–458).

This means that our commanding experiential system functions on a metaphorical basis, with no actual distinction between the actual and the imaginary experience at the activation level of our physical stimuli. This can be used as a powerful— as well as dangerous— source to work on at the reaction level: experiential reception/perception and behavioural response. The neural evidence offered by mirror neurons and their metaphorical functioning offers another absolutely powerful proof of the experiential basis of metaphor and explains how crucial metaphor can be as a tool to direct and eventually re-direct our experience. It is on this experiential feature we would like to concentrate on, to suggest that given

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5. For a more exhaustive account on "integration" among these different human dimensions also see Ferendo (2007: 105–112): "Integral Medicine: body, mind & emotions".

their embodied essence (experiential basis), metaphors can be used proactively to build new strands of experience. And what is more, metaphor as a cross-domain mapping, thanks to its ‘transpositional,’ or ‘transferential’ structure (‘mapping’ between a source domain and a target domain, mnemonic TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN) can also be used as a “transformative” device to creatively (re)-structure strands of experience in strategic communication settings like psychotherapy and counselling.<sup>6</sup>

Metaphor as a language feature is bidimensional and interactive, which presides over other two instances of it such as creativity and self-propulsion. Though conceptual in nature, metaphor is evidently linguistic in its manifestation, which allows it to be expressed as well as detected in language, meant here as ‘integrated’ (any kind of expressive manifestation – not only verbal – be it at the level of thought/emotion/body). More specifically, Lakoff states that “since communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting, language is an important source of evidence for what that system is like” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 3). According to Lakoff, it is the “neural theory of language” that allows us “to understand better why language is so powerful” (2008: 34). In our view, the relationship is reciprocal, or of mutual interchange: it is the very interaction between language and thought to foster the dynamicity of metaphorical systems (creativity, novel metaphors, thoughts evolution), essential for promoting psychological processes and any change in strategic communication settings.

The bi-univocal relation between language and thought implies that “language is thought-based” and “thought is language-driven”, the two instances are “mutually interdependent” though only the first is “observable”. This means that it is possible to work on language [...] not only to observe how thought works, but also to work on thoughts, to produce change for strategic purposes” (Ferrari, 2018: 30–31), i.e. in the direction of more well-being for the client. In this sense, the ‘integrated’ view influences not only the three-dimensional nature of metaphor (mind/emotion/body), as far as its conceptual basis of metaphor is concerned, but also its bidimensional nature as a language instance, which derives from the mutual and interdependent interaction of its linguistic and conceptual facets. The creative<sup>7</sup> feature of the relationship between language (meant as integrated) and thought is thus at the core of metaphor in as much as it is ‘transformational’. This becomes even more fascinating as well as complex in an interactive dimension and presides over metaphorical creativity as a transformative potential. Moreover,

6. Strategic are those communication settings where the persuasive intent is declared within the purpose of the discourse and a relation between discourse and action (to produce change in opinions, attitudes, and behaviour) is particularly evident as a desired need.

7. In a “blending” perspective, see also Turner and Fauconnier (1999) account on “creativity”.

metaphorical processes are automatic and inevitable, therefore they can operate autonomously at a deep level, offering an enormous potential for change, if conveniently conducted. This is what we mean by self-propulsion.

Thanks to its linguistic manifestation and conceptual basis, metaphor would therefore not only offer a way to allow and/or help facing delicate issues such as mood disorders, or a bridge leading the client to work on his/her own unease and elaborate it. Metaphor would also become an incredibly powerful 'transformative' device. Once it has been generated, more or less consciously and in the interaction with the counsellor or therapist, and once the client has got in touch with it, then, in the course of the personal exploration the metaphor can get transformed into new domains of experience. These in turn can translate into new projections of the client's self in his/her own present and future perception. It is at this stage that the metaphor can even transcend its own three-dimensional nature by eventually encompassing a 'transdimensional', or synthetic further level of activation, functioning as a trigger for the client to develop the therapy or to stabilize his/her own personality. This may also be related to what Zohar and Marshall call "spiritual intelligence" (2001), which may also intervene in the therapeutic process and crucially foster change as "the intelligence which we can place our actions and lives in a wider, richer, meaning-giving context" (2001: 4), also characterized by a "transformative power" (2001: 5).

Besides, from the multidimensional nature of metaphor in such as 'integrated' and the creative dynamism implied by its language/thought interaction, it follows that any expressive manifestation of the client, be it at thought/emotional/bodily level can be possibly seized as a creative and exquisitely individual expression of his/her own being and positioning also with respect to discomfort, and become a potential field of metaphorical development to be explored as a viable path of awareness and change.

A metaphor-based and driven counselling exploration may constitute a specific approach to counselling and favour aid relationship on individual clients as well as constitute an alternative for effective action in a network perspective.

A set of procedural perspectives to detect and work on metaphors through their linguistic/embodyed manifestation in the 'talking cure' practices is here proposed.

### **3. Metaphor-based and -driven counselling: Sketching a methodological framework**

The conceptual nature of metaphor calls for a number of challenging attempts at constructing consistent ways to extrapolate it from the text, for conceptual

metaphor identification, and textual analysis alike (Steen 1999; Pragglejaz 2007) eventually with a focus on persuasion detection (Ferrari 2007, 2012, 2018). Starting from these linguistic approaches to extrapolate metaphors from the text, and accounting for the existing methodological proposals to use metaphors in the practice, an experimental integrated method is presented, by adapting textual metaphor identification procedures (Steen 1999; Pragglejaz 2007; Ferrari 2007, 2013, 2018 see Table 1) to the counselling (and psychotherapy) interview as a multimodal text, to further develop metaphor transformation guidelines for the client's personal development.

**Table 1.** Our procedure for the identification of metaphor in text (Ferrari, 2007, 2012, 2018)

| Steen procedure – 5 steps              | Our procedure   |
|--|---|
| 1 Metaphorical focus identification    | 1 =1 Metaphorical (focus) identification  |
| 2 Metaphorical idea identification     | } 2~ (2 & 3) Conceptual implications  |
| 3 Nonliteral comparison identification |   |
| 4 Nonliteral analogy identification    | 3 Appeals to emotions   |
| 5 Nonliteral mapping identification    | 4 Perspectives with respect to ideological structure and strategy of persuasion at a macrotextual level |

This procedure is further developed in our adapted procedure for detecting metaphor in talking cure practices (see Table 2), where the 'text under analysis' comes to be a complex and mixed manifestation of verbal embodied and relational messages/processes alike. See the procedure for detecting metaphor in talking cure practices, with a specific focus on counselling [Table 2 near here]:

**Table 2.** Procedure for detecting metaphor in talking cure practices

| Our procedure for persuasion detection in text  | Our procedure adapted for talking cure practices  |
|---|---|
| 1 Metaphorical focus identification   | } integration {<br>1 Metaphor (focus) identification in language & body<br>2 Conceptual implications<br>3 Appeals to emotions |
| 2 Conceptual implications   |   |
| 3 Appeals to emotions   |   |
| 4 Perspectives with respect to ideological structure and strategy of persuasion at a macrotextual level | 4 Perspectives for psychological exploration in/for personal development at a macrotextual level (talking cure practice)      |

Although the verbal component certainly turns out to be the most recordable and therefore observable in our records, a clarification has to be made with respect to the focus. As for metaphor identification in the psycho-practice, a wider definition is to be given to the “focus”, which is not just “the linguistic expression used non-literally”, within a “linguistic metaphor [...] as a whole” (Steen 1999: 60–61), but any kind of language instance signalling a potential metaphorical shifting, or clash: something at though/emotional/body level, verbally or non verbally expressed and potentially standing, signifying, manifesting something else, in accordance with our integrated view of language.

Back to metaphor identification, it is also crucial to underline that notwithstanding the different kinds of identifiable metaphors, according to their primary activation (metaphors activated at thought, body, or emotional level, see Ferrari, forthcoming), the metaphorical work can be promoted by the counsellor at all language levels i.e. on verbal expressions, body and emotional language in addition to behavioural expressions. There you can loom for metaphorical ‘foci’, which we can here more informally refer to as ‘clues’ of the metaphor. The dialogical mutual negotiation of metaphorical construction is also to be taken into account, given the interactional nature of psycho-practice.

This procedure has to be inserted within a more general integrated counselling model of reference (as promoted by A.S.P.I.C.<sup>8</sup>) – which also motivates major reference to “counsellor” and “client” in this chapter – though it is extensible to psychotherapy practice, where it can be inserted and adapted according to the choice orientation.

Our methodological framework of reference integrates Rogers’ person-centered therapy into a gestaltic management of the session. Particular reference is made to Rogerian principles and active listening far as the attitude or orientation of the counsellor is concerned (Rogers 2003), the basic counselling skills (active listening, paraphrasing, echoing, open questions) the goal oriented nature of the sessions and the Gestalt cycle for opening and closing sessions (Perls 1947/1969a), variously called “the ‘disturbance cycle’, or the ‘cycle of interdependency of organism and environment’ and the ‘cycle of organism/world metabolism’” (1947, 1969a: 44). The six-“links” cycle originally proposed by Perls has been developed into a more practicable version by Perls, Hafferline and Goodman (1951/1973) who called it “‘the process of contact’ or ‘a continuous sequence of grounds and figures’ (p. 459) [and] identified four phases in the process (or cycle) of contact– fore contact,

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8. A.S.P.I.C. is an Italian Association promoting the development of the individual and the community, which provides integrated counselling masters and related services. It is a founding member of E.A.C. (European Association for Counselling), and is related to B.A.C. / B.A.C.P. (British Association for Counselling & Psychotherapy).

contact, final contact, and post contact”. Additionally, they “emphasized that these different phases are not separate from each other but represent different foci in the process of gestalt formation and destruction” (Clarkson and Mackewn 1993: 50).

More specifically, our method of integrated counselling refers to Rogerian principles as far as the kind of relationship is concerned: (1) genuineness, authenticity, transparency, (2) positive regard and (3) empathy. This also takes into account the prossemic patterns and positions of counsellor vs. client (cf. “client-centered therapy”, Rogers 2003[1951]) and conforms to Gestalt’s contact cycle for how to open and close the sessions: precontact, contact, full contact and withdrawal (Perls et al. 1973).

Taking into consideration the basic principle for integrated counselling – with specific reference to the contact cycle – our adapted procedure for detecting metaphor in talking cure practices gives rise to the following more consistent framework for detecting and working with metaphor. As it is evident from Table 3, below, the discursual structure of the session reflects the Gestalt cycle.

**Table 3.** Framework for detecting and working with metaphor in talking cure practices

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <u>Fore contact</u> (condition for/beginning of the session)<br>The client’s need: <b>Sensation, awareness</b> , emerging of need<br>With the counsellor: beginning of the session | Opening the session:<br>Welcoming the client and his/her need (Rogers principles of active listening, empathy, unconditional acceptance)                                     |
| <u>Contact</u><br><b>Mobilisation</b> and excitement<br>-phase of contact  | 1 Metaphor identification<br>integration {<br>a Metaphor (focus) identification in language & body<br>b Conceptual implications<br>c Appeals to emotions                     |
| Choice of and implementation of appropriate <b>action</b><br>-phase of contact   | 1bis Perspectives for psychological exploration in/for personal development at a macrotextual level (talking cure practice)<br>2 Working with metaphor – metaphor processing |
| <u>Full or final contact</u>   | 3 Metaphor transformation  |
| <u>Post contact</u><br><b>Satisfaction</b> or post-contact gestalt completion  | 4 Metaphor elaboration: awareness stage  |
| <u>Withdrawal</u><br>Or organism at rest (end of the session)  | 5 Closing the session: perspectives for personal development   |

Going into further practical details as far as how to operate in the practical interaction between client and counsellor, what does working with metaphor in a counselling session mean?

It means that the counsellor, while conducting the client in his/her exploration thanks to the standard procedures, techniques and expertises (opening and closing, Rogers principles, basic counselling skills), as long as the contact stage of the session begins will try to focus specifically on metaphor, where that is a feasible and desired option for the client, then operating as follows.

The client starts expressing his/her unease/problem/state in a given way.

The counsellor, in turn, working as he/she is used with active listening, paraphrasing, echoing, open questions, will be open to pick up and welcome any metaphorical clues, or foci (verbal, body language, other...) in order to help the client identify a possible primary source of how he/she expresses his/her own unease – which has normally been previously anticipated in the contract. Instead of addressing directly such uneasiness as an 'obstacle', the counsellor can guide the client to work together on this source and see whether and how there are ways to transform it proactively.

At first, this may remind of the "identifying client's metaphors" phase of Gonçalves and Craine (1990: 140), as more extensively reported in § "Existing Metaphorical Proposals". As a matter of fact though, differently from Gonçalves and Craine, the change is preferably foreseen, and eventually obtained, by working and relying on the client's metaphors, not by substituting them with the therapeutic metaphors introduced, or induced, by the therapist by the therapist. To be recalled here is the directiveness limit identified in Gonçalves and Craine work, which despite being more interactive, is also present in Kopp (1998), who suggests to "change" the client's metaphor (1998: 308). Even in Strong, the change is promoted starting from "explicitating what is implicit" (1998: 26, also quoted here in previous §), but then therapeutically extending or modifying the metaphor. At least though in Strong we have the "solution-in-metaphor to the client's problem" (1989: 208, quoting Gordon 1978: 7-8), which leaves some space open for the 'auto-transformative power' of the metaphor.

From our perspective, working on his/her own metaphor's source might be an easier way for the client to address his/her problems, also promoting further awareness, and more effective from a pragmatic point of view, as the source is the mode through which the client conceptualizes, embodies, experiences and ultimately builds his/her emotive experience around such uneasiness.<sup>9</sup> This corresponds for the counsellor to what is indicated in Table 3 as (1) metaphor identification

9. The counsellor, in turn will take score of the metaphor(s) used and the way they have been developed and mutually negotiated. Possibly he/she might have to record the change that oc-



in language, integrating concept, emotion and body; and 1bis (perspectives for psychological exploration in/for personal development at a macrotextual level), defined within the established borders of the help relationship for the specific case.

As for metaphor identification, it is important to underline that here the metaphor the counsellor glimpses or catches in the client's language – be it verbal, emotional, bodily or behavioural, and be the client more or less aware of it – has to be negotiated in the interaction with the client. Even when metaphor arousal is 'helped' by the counsellor, the metaphor will be 'belonging' to the client's own process. Metaphor identification has then to be considered as a hypothetical, possible way the counsellor might suggest in the dialogic practice, through focussed work (see 2 in Table 3 above), and not 'imposed' as an interpretation. The very production and development of further explorative work on the part of the client and/or development of the same metaphor in further subsequent forms, within the same session or between one and the other, may be considered as a positive answer, and acceptance of the 'proposed' metaphorical work.

Setting perspectives for psychological exploration in/for personal development at a macrotextual level (1bis), i.e. within the established borders of the counselling contract, allows the counsellor to assess whether/how to further work on the metaphor (on the basis of criteria of opportunity, utility and well-being of the client). More specifically it is then possible to evaluate whether the identified metaphor might lead to further steps within the personal exploration process and towards the agreed goal(s) of the session/sessions cycle, in which case it can be promoted through focussed work.

In this sense, it is important that the counsellor attempts at closing the explorative process (2 metaphor processing – 3 metaphor transformation) with a question aimed at focalizing the metaphor (4 metaphor elaboration, awareness phase, post contact and 5 closure). For instance, in the case of a metaphor type (1) bodily symptoms as metaphors – (see Ferrari, forthcoming for evidence on the variation within the framework), the counsellor may ask: "What is your headache for you?," or "What does this headache mean to you?." This framework can be applied in slightly different ways according to the kind of metaphor which has been/is being produced: metaphors activated at (1)THOUGHT/(2)BODY/(3)EMOTIONAL level (Ferrari, forthcoming).

To measure the transformative power of metaphor, the client will be provided with a psychometric test (4), where he/she will possibly express his/her feedback about the change happened in the counselling process.

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currred in the client's attitude (moreover, the session can be recorded when the client agrees), who will then be tested before and after the session.

#### 4. Feedback on the transformative power of metaphor

To evaluate the validity of the proposed framework and observe the transformational power of metaphor in the practice, a 'measuring' tool has been created and tested on experimental data.

The 'M' psychometric test for evaluating the transformative power of metaphor, which follows (see Appendix 1 and 2 below and Ferrari, forthcoming for its application) is a 'metric' to prove the validity of our methodological proposal in a diachronic perspective and centred upon the 'feedback' of the client. The test provides both qualitative and quantitative data. Notwithstanding which level the metaphorical transposition is operating in the client (thought/emotion/body), the test is designed with the intention to 'measure' the metaphor's transformative power at all the levels. In other words, be the client's metaphor primarily pertaining to thought, emotional or body level, the test systematically accounts for all the levels of transformation of the given metaphor as emerging from the counselling exploration and reflected in the client's feedback. The test has been produced in English and Italian and shared with the A.S.P.I.C. centre, so as to promote consistent analyses (and scientific validation) also in the interest of the client's personal development. It is divided into two parts, to be given before and after the session, for cycles of minimum 5 sessions. For pragmatic reasons, transformations levels are asked in the following order: (1) mind/thought ("*What are you thinking right now?*"), (2) emotion ("*What are you feeling right now?*") and (3) body ("*What are you feeling in your body right now?*") and lists of states are suggested for each level.

The test corresponding to the final session has to be signalled with concluding remarks and comments on the part of the counsellor. Subjective satisfaction is also to be considered fundamental in measuring the effectiveness of psycho-practice. Moreover, data interpretation may offer further insights and operational guidelines to the counsellor (Ferrari, forthcoming).

Following a public presentation of the project at the centre, initial clients were recruited, to experience such brief metaphor-based and -driven counselling explorations, according to their 'contract' (set goal of the counselling exploration, according to client's needs, mutually negotiated between client and counsellor) and tested before and after each session.

Four preliminary cases, corresponding to four different Italian clients (our own translation from Italian to English is provided, and their respective metaphors ('the frog', 'eating', 'the hare', 'the desolate land'), were selected, as examples of application and potential for change. The transformational power of metaphor is then translated into a transformational score.

The change, translated into a “Transformational score” (Ferrari, forthcoming) is evaluated by comparing the client’s reported state after vs before the session and over the entire cycle of sessions.

A vignette follows, providing some evidence<sup>10</sup> on the operation of a thought level metaphor as an exemplar case among the other four cases. More specifically, a case of brief metaphor-driven counselling (6 sessions) is presented here with evidence of each session’s results and metaphor’s transformational score. The vignette provides the transformational score calculated for each psychometric test, and the counsellor’s notes on each session. These cannot of course reflect the whole therapeutic work of the metaphor but provide some linguistic evidence of it and operative considerations at an integrated level (thought, emotion, body), together with meta-therapeutic perspectives (how to promote further awareness in the client and how to interpret emotional reactions according to the exploration’s stage). More insights on the application of the method and how to translate the psychometric test data into scores is following in a work-in-progress article (Ferrari, forthcoming).

### Vignette 1

A case in point: ‘the desolate land’ – Total Transformational Score= 68<sup>a</sup>

**Client and contract:** a lady in her 40s, particularly resistant to emotional disclosure

**contract:** to work on a problematic relationship with her son

**In the background:** her mother recent death and previous separation from her husband

**Metaphor:** ‘The desolate land’ has been conjured up and emerged as a visual metaphor and projection space for the client to start and make contact with her own emotional state of desperation, loneliness and anxiety, in order to start exploring and working on her inner conflicts and declared needs (cf. contract).

**Transformation:** conjuring up ‘the desolate land’ as a visual metaphor, allowed this particularly resistant client to get in touch with emotions she would not have dared to face otherwise, and suggested new lines of intervention.

**Sessions’ results:**

- **I session:** T. score:  $3+ 6 +2 +0 -1 = 10 -1 = 11^*$  (1 well-being shift\*– negative)
- **Counselor’s notes:** (1) the client expresses in her own thoughts and words the metaphor which has been created (the client reporting: “*I think of the desolate and I visualize the image*”); (2) some doubts emerged on the reliability of this score in this session [...]; (3) physical well-being shift:  $7(\text{before}) - 6(\text{after}) = -1$  (bodily shift in negative!). A negative shift in the well-being is not to be necessarily considered as negative data if it happens in the course of a series of sessions. On the contrary, it may accompany an awareness stage and function as a fostering tool to further development (high dynamic instance).



10. Our own translation from Italian into English is provided here.

- **Client's feedback:** "*positive and powerful*".
- **II session: T. score:**  $2+ 10 +1 +0 +0= 13$  (0 well-being shift)
- **Counsellor's notes:** any transformation, even negative, is to be seen as positive in the course of an exploration (e.g.  $+2^*$  (negative) for thoughts. Transformations are interrelated amongst thoughts/emotions/body, and also relate to the metaphor. Sometimes they may even affect test compiling: e.g. the client's emotions are confused and the test presents some issues in the emotional level section. Not by chance she signals "*confusion*" in the qualitative comments. Moreover, in correspondence with a negative shift in her thoughts and confusion in her emotions, the client feels colder, which is also associated to her choice metaphor: the desolate land (**static instance** to pin down the metaphor and identify the trauma, the metaphor may turn out to interest the 'spiritual' level too). Additionally, the client expresses "*frustration and anger*" as key elements emerged in the interview (cf. awareness stage).
- **Client's feedback:** "*I feel confused and I am tired of being me, tired of being always willing to do everything and do it bad*"
- **III session - T. score:**  $3+7+2 +0 +0= 12$  (0 well-being shift)
- This session has been generally positive in the sense of the acquisition of a better well being state cf. in particular the indication of "*comfort*" and the change in the body, which tends to be the more immediate mirror of general state: nb. positive change, in the sense of a better well-being (**dynamic instance**), and not by chance the client feels *warmer*, (+), in consideration of the season and choice metaphor and indicate "*comfort*" in the awareness stage.
- **Client's feedback:** no answer
- **IV session - T. score:**  $1+ 8 +1 +0+0= 10$  (0 well-being shift)
- **Counsellor's notes:** though without well-being amelioration, the session has been productive for the client's personal development as long as it has allowed her to change her thoughts: "*of course they have changed: I think of responsibilities*", her emotions: "*I am a little bit upset*", also reflecting it in her body: "*my hands and feet turned cold*". Focus on the element of the cold which comes out as a bodily metaphor correlated to the main one: the desolate land. In the end, as a final key point of the session the client expresses: "*yes everyone acts according to their own free will*", also adding as a free feedback on the experience: "*I realized I never asked anything...for a change*" (strong **dynamic instance**, the metaphor may interest the spiritual level too, as it comes out as a powerful **insight** and suggests a change in the client's vision).
- **Client's feedback:** "*I realized I never asked anything...for a change*"
- **V session - T. score:**  $2+ 3 +3 +1 +1= 10$  (2 well-being shift)

- Counsellor’s notes: in this session the client reaches an important and unexpected insight: expectations with respect to her son. Not only she writes “*I am thinking of my expectations*” in reference to her thoughts after the session, but she even specifies it as a transformation in her thoughts: “*Yes, I did not know I had expectations on my son, instead I have them and many*” (**insight!** Again, the metaphor turns out to touch the spiritual level). This also reflects in her emotions: “*surprise: I surprise myself having expectations*”. This allows her to make a further step in her awareness, accompanied by a double well-being shift. Particularly important to this shift has been a previous metaphorical reflection (previous session) having to do with a bodily expression (the client had her fists clenched) which had allowed her to see her closeness with her son, despite the misunderstanding and apparent distance with him. Following this bodily metaphorical evidence and realization, it is a direct question (spiritual intelligence working on the part of the counsellor?) to allow her to disclose her own metaphor and reach a new stage of awareness. The counsellor provocatively asks her “how many expectations did she have with respect to her son” – which is followed by silence and then the insight. Expectation turns out to be the key element of the session for the client, who also writes it in the free feedback space, which follows:
  - **Client’s feedback:** “*I am happy I realized I have expectations on my son, maybe I will be able to correct myself now*” (strong **dynamic instance**).
  - **VI session – T. score:**  $3+4+4+0+1=12$  (**1 well-being shift**)
  - **Counsellor’s notes:** an extra session has been agreed with the client to allow her to close her contact cycle. The result is a very positive session in which the client could confirm the changes happened previously (“*yes I feel more serene*”; thought level: “*my thoughts are more serene*” emotion level: “*I am more serene*”; body: “*wormer, stronger, more energetic, more rested*”, corresponding to a general sense of getting wormer, signalled as new emotion). Regarding the metaphor of the temperature, which has emerged as a corollary of the desolate land (cold/worm) it has to be underlined that the season of this exploration was autumn/winter, therefore the higher temperature corresponds to more well-being. The client signals serenity as a key element in the session, adding as a free feedback:
    - **Client’s feedback:** “*I feel more relaxed and more serene, practically more cuddled*” (**static instance** for closing the cycle)

**Total transformational score – ‘the desolate land’ = 68 (\*6 sessions) Transformational**

**power of metaphor:** the desolate land has operated systematically and partially automatically, allowing the client to develop her emotional conflicts and get to new stages of awareness, promoting new alternative for action, well-being and personal development.

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a. For a more exhaustive account on what is the Transformative score and how it is calculated, see Ferrari, forthcoming.

The ‘desolate land’ case (Vignette 1) shows how metaphor can allow particularly resistant clients to get in touch with emotions they would not have dared to face otherwise. Therefore it can be crucial for promoting awareness even and particularly when the immediate well-being shift is negative. Additionally, a certain criticality of the psycho-test reliability has emerged, specifically in correspondence with the emotional section, which will be further discussed in Ferrari, forthcoming.

In addition to the test, our data have accounted for the anonymous recording of the sessions, with the consent of the clients, to provide real material for further evidence and analysis of the metaphors identified. Given the interactive process, diachronic observation of metaphorical transformation within the cycles of the sessions would also allow further exploration of the bi-univocal relationship between language and thought, which is also responsible for the creative process of metaphorical change.

The evidence initially gathered, although not systematically reported here, shows how an implemented use of metaphor may help deal with resistant cases, foster personal development and change, and improve personal well-being, awareness, integration as well as open new, experimental perspectives of intervention. Moreover, beyond offering a means to explore the transformational power of metaphor eventually proving the validity of the approach, test interpretation may also offer the counsellor further indication and operative guidelines on how to proceed with metaphor application according to each case specificities.

We therefore conclude our investigation here by preparing the ground for a further, more empirical step of the research, focussing on the evaluation and measure of the 'transformative' power of metaphor in action (Ferrari, forthcoming).

## 5. Discussion

By bridging the gap between the cognitive linguistics discoveries on metaphor and its use in the psycho-practice, this chapter has explored the transformational power of metaphor in counselling/therapy to face personal crisis and produce change. Further perspectives for implementing its potential have also emerged. Starting from existing theories and methodological proposals in the practice, organized along various approaches – Ericksonian, cognitive-constructivist, gestalt/integrated and counselling, psychoanalytic – we have selected and compared the most promising approaches, then added our theoretical perspective on metaphor initially inspired by Lakoff to come out with a new experimental proposal of metaphor-based and -driven counselling. More specifically, among the existing methodological proposals, Strong's model, following Gonçalves and Craine (1990) and Kopp (1995), and with Craw (1998), have represented pivotal departure points to start and discuss our theoretical and methodological proposal. The first (Gonçalves and Craine) have brought some attention in bridging the gap between the work-in-progress metaphor theme in the practice and the client's further development and application of it into his/her own reality; an interactive feature is certainly to be acknowledged. Their protocol remains directive as for the role of the therapist. Additionally, they make open reference to the same metaphor theory accounted

in our approach. The second (Kopp 1995, and with Craw 1998), insisting on the application of metaphor in the practice, have implemented the interactive feature of the method by leaving more responsibility to the client and strengthening the linguistic features of the metaphor even in the therapist's suggested questions. The third (Strong 1989) applies metaphor theory to counselling and insert it within the same frame of reference we are using also introducing a sensorial dimension by making reference to neuro-linguistic programming (NLP). And yet, the import of the Lakoffian conceptual metaphor in the practice can be further explored and implemented in combination with the integrated framework of reference above. Our proposal has tried to further investigate the two dimensions of conceptual metaphor and integrated counselling/therapy on the basis of a new integrated definition of metaphor working at (1) thought, (2) emotional and (3) bodily levels and a practical proposal to be applied in counselling and therapeutic settings alike.

The potential of metaphor as a client customized proactive tool which can be used to produce change has been further developed in our proposal to disclose metaphor and craft it as a self-propelled means to promote better awareness and change. Subsequently, a consistent experimental framework to work with integrated metaphor in the practice has been presented, starting from a procedure to detect metaphor in talking cure practices, which is in turn inspired by textual procedures and adapted to an integrated counselling model. Variations within the framework are possible according to the kind of metaphor at work, whether activated at though, emotional or bodily level (Ferrari, forthcoming). Finally, a psychometric test to measure the transformative power of metaphor has been offered, which systematically accounts for all the levels of transformation of the given metaphor as emerging from the counselling exploration and reflected in the client's feedback. Although the focus of the present chapter remains that of a theoretical and methodological proposal, some evidence of the application has also been offered in a small vignette, to provide some results from the point of view of the client's feedback and metaphor's potential for change - Transformational score - as well as operative indication on the part of the counsellor. Further investigation on the transformative score's calculation and case studies evidence are to be found in Ferrari, forthcoming.

The transformative power of metaphor goes beyond initial expectations. The feedback offered by the test has also emerged as an effective tool for the counsellor to evaluate time by time the action of the metaphor at the various levels (Thought, Emotion, Body) and their relationship one another, so as to affect his/her subsequent interventions to better accompany the client in his/her own exploration (Ferrari, forthcoming). In other words, static and dynamic instances may interact productively in metaphor-based and -driven counselling so as to foster foster personal well-being, awareness, integration.

All the more, what might have seemed to be weakening the account on language at the beginning has proved to be instead empowering the importance of language and metaphor studies into clinical perspectives. Every symptom can be treated here in terms of a potential metaphor, as a communicative way of expression and language instance. And treating it metaphorically, getting a metaphorical understanding of it, and then working it out metaphorically, is the first step towards awareness, change, healing. The principle is: when a state, albeit dysfunctional, loses its communicative function, it will tend to downsize itself and change towards more awareness and well-being for the client.

In practice: why can metaphor help? Because (a) it offers alternatives, when other, more traditional approaches do not function, in integration or as choice method. Moreover, (b) it promotes understanding/awareness: when a state, albeit dysfunctional, loses its communicative function, it will automatically tend to downsize itself and change towards more awareness and well-being for the client. Therefore, thanks to its transformative power, it fosters change.

These short operative conclusions draw wider perspectives for application and further research as regards the advancements of theories and methods in cognitive linguistics and discourse analysis. Further empowerment is in progress and the work is open to professional and scientific collaboration and welcome any feedback or proposal. Of course this research project might improve if other experts and expertises (counsellors, psychotherapists, conversational analysts, neuroscientists...) are involved in an integrated interdisciplinary perspective.

Despite the limited scope and evident limits of the present contribution, we hope we have at least draw some suggestions on how metaphor could be further worked out clinically and of course we can expect more research on their method in the future.

To conclude the present contribution: metaphor functions because as a communicative device which is able to sympathise and cope with any symptoms in a creative way. As already anticipated, metaphor power relies first and foremost in being a conceptual tool which is able to conceptualize beyond the limits of pre-existing concepts, comprehending new creative expressions as well as paradoxes, thus providing an understanding to the un-known and the otherwise un-understandable. Metaphor is a conceptual tool that is able to sympathise with the folly of our minds, and, for that reason, to some extent the only one which is able to work with it.



# Appendix

(session nr.:..... date:.....)



**Psychometric Test – evaluating the transformative power of metaphor**

*Metaphor is "a cross-domain mapping in our conceptual system" (Lakoff, 1993: 207). It is at the basis of our thoughts, emotions and everyday action (Lakoff, 1980: 3-5, my synthesis).*

**Before the session:**

Balance exercise (aimed to gain awareness of our own 'being' at cognitive, emotional and body level, with a view to integration, cf. three-dimensional nature of metaphor: MIND/EMOTION/BODY-ACTION):

1) (THOUGHT) What are you thinking right now?

Free expression: .....

2) (EMOTION) What are you feeling right now ?

Free expression: .....

| Emotion         | T | F |
|-----------------|---|---|
| 'Butterflies'?  |   |   |
| Curiosity?      |   |   |
| Indifference?   |   |   |
| Joy?            |   |   |
| Anger?          |   |   |
| Disappointment? |   |   |
| Satisfaction?   |   |   |
| Frustration?    |   |   |
| Sadness?        |   |   |
| Confidence?     |   |   |
| Fear?           |   |   |
| Other?          |   |   |

1

(session nr.:..... date:.....)



**After the session:**

1) (THOUGHT) What are you thinking right now? Has anything changed in your thoughts?

Free expression: .....

What are your thoughts like right now?

|             | T | F |
|-------------|---|---|
| brighter?   |   |   |
| darker?     |   |   |
| more fluid? |   |   |
| more still? |   |   |
| clearer?    |   |   |
| moddier?    |   |   |

Has there been any evolution or transformation in your thoughts?

.....

2) (EMOTION) What are you feeling right now? Has anything changed in your emotions?

- if, before the session, you chose one/more emotions in particular, say whether
  - it has remained the same (s) → T
  - it has transformed, (t) → F, indicate whether it has increased (+), diminished / disappeared (-), 'transformed' into another emotion
  - with respect to your wellbeing: more wellbeing? T/F

| Emotion             | The same (s) |   | Transformed (into) |     | More well-being? |   |
|---------------------|--------------|---|--------------------|-----|------------------|---|
|                     | T            | F | (+)                | (-) | T                | F |
| 'Butterflies'.....  |              |   |                    |     |                  |   |
| Curiosity.....      |              |   |                    |     |                  |   |
| Indifference.....   |              |   |                    |     |                  |   |
| Joy.....            |              |   |                    |     |                  |   |
| Anger.....          |              |   |                    |     |                  |   |
| Disappointment..... |              |   |                    |     |                  |   |
| Satisfaction.....   |              |   |                    |     |                  |   |
| Frustration.....    |              |   |                    |     |                  |   |
| Sadness.....        |              |   |                    |     |                  |   |
| Confidence.....     |              |   |                    |     |                  |   |
| Fear.....           |              |   |                    |     |                  |   |
| Other.....          |              |   |                    |     |                  |   |

Are you feeling any new emotion(s)?

.....

3

(session nr.:..... date:.....)



3) (BODY/ACTION) What are you feeling in your body right now?

Free expression: .....

| Sensation      | T | F |
|----------------|---|---|
| Warm.....      |   |   |
| Cold.....      |   |   |
| Strong.....    |   |   |
| Weak.....      |   |   |
| Energetic..... |   |   |
| Lethargic..... |   |   |
| Tired.....     |   |   |
| Rested.....    |   |   |

Are you feeling physically well overall?.....

How well do you feel physically on a scale from 1 to 10:

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Free expression:

.....

2

(session nr.:..... date:.....)



3) (BODY/ACTION) What are you feeling in your body right now?

If you chose some of the following sensations, indicate *if/how* it has changed, as suggested in the table:

| Sensation            | T | F |
|----------------------|---|---|
| Warmer?.....         |   |   |
| Colder?.....         |   |   |
| Stronger?.....       |   |   |
| Weaker?.....         |   |   |
| More energetic?..... |   |   |
| More lethargic?..... |   |   |
| More tired?.....     |   |   |
| More rested?.....    |   |   |

Has any particular, new sensation come up, right now?

.....

Right now, are you feeling physically well, overall?

|   |   |
|---|---|
| T | F |
|---|---|

How well do you feel physically, on a scale from 1 to 10:

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Awareness stage:

Have you noticed a specific element (or metaphor) which has been particularly significant during the session?

Free feedback on the experience:

.....

.....

.....

4

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# Co-constructing 'crisis' with metaphor

## A quantitative approach to metaphor use in psychotherapy talk

Dennis Tay

Mental health professionals and their patients often use figurative language like metaphors to depict complex cognitions and emotions that lie at the heart of personal crises during psychotherapy. While qualitative analysis of these metaphors is crucial, understanding usage patterns that develop over time requires complementary quantitative techniques. This chapter illustrates an exploratory log-linear analytic approach to the relationships between speakers, functions, targets, and phase of occurrence of metaphor vehicle terms over 29.5 hours of Chinese psychotherapy talk. The use of factor maps as a data visualization tool is also discussed. Variable associations are interpreted as usage patterns highlighting the nature of metaphor co-construction in psychotherapy. Key discussion points include interactions between time, institutional roles of speakers, and prevailing discussion topics.

**Keywords:** metaphor, psychotherapy, counseling, Chinese context

### 1. Crisis, psychotherapy, and metaphor

From a psychological perspective, a crisis does not necessarily involve some tangible threat, but may result from subjective perceptions that give individuals a sense of intolerable difficulty (James and Gilliland 2001). A person experiencing an existential crisis may for example feel that he has 'lost all meaning in life' even though things seem objectively well. Mental health professionals like therapists and counselors are therefore inclined to work with their patients' thoughts, behaviors, and feelings about the situation at hand, rather than the situation itself. The following popular definition of psychotherapy captures this collaborative process of co-constructing therapy talk.



...the informed and intentional application of clinical methods and interpersonal stances derived from established psychological principles for the purpose of assisting people to modify their behaviors, cognitions, emotions, and/or other personal characteristics in directions that the participants deem desirable.

(Norcross 1990: 218)

Unsurprisingly, therapists and patients often use figurative language to describe the complex cognitions and emotions that lie at the heart of personal crises (McMullen 1996). Anxiety is vividly communicated when a patient describes his HIV as “a large dark cloud hanging over me” (Kopp and Craw 1998: 308), and the apparent folly of refusing to eat is made clear when a therapist advises that anorexia is like trying to drive a car without petrol (Stott, Mansell, Salkovskis, Lavender, and Cartwright-Hatton 2010). Many therapists see metaphor, the act of describing and potentially thinking about something in terms of something else (Semino 2008), as useful in various ways. An appropriate metaphor can help access emotions, introduce new frames of reference, and even enhance therapist-patient relations (Cirillo and Crider 1995; Lyddon, Clay, and Sparks 2001; Stott et al. 2010). Therapists have step-by-step guides to co-construct and negotiate metaphorical meanings with patients, leading them to discover alternative or transformative understandings of situations (Kopp and Craw 1998; Sims 2003; Ferrari this volume). Many observational studies report that aspects of metaphor use are linked to positive outcomes such as insight occurrence (Barlow, Pollio, and Fine 1977) and depth of experiencing (Gelo 2008; Hill and Regan 1991).

This chapter presents a quantitative case study of metaphor in personal crisis talk, focusing on usage patterns over multiple therapy sessions and the insights they offer. I begin by outlining the technique of log-linear analysis used in the study and its application to metaphor in discourse. The basic idea is to treat each metaphorical expression as a data unit described by a set of interacting and contextually determined variables. In the case of psychotherapy, they include things like SPEAKER (therapist or client), TARGET (topic of the metaphor), PHASE (when it occurs along the treatment span), and so on. After detailing the methodology, I then interpret these variable interactions for the insights they offer into the nature of metaphor co-construction in crisis talk. I will also introduce factor plots as a basic data visualization tool to help make the results easier and more intuitive to grasp.

How metaphors construct, communicate, and address crisis is of interest not only to mental health professionals, but also metaphor theorists who emphasize their real world applicability (Low, Todd, Deignan, and Cameron 2010). A sizeable portion of contemporary metaphor research is discourse analytic in nature – its avowed strength being able to study “naturalistically occurring sequences of

metaphor use" (McMullen 1996: 250) in specific (therapeutic) settings, as opposed to purely conceptual or anecdotal accounts sometimes seen in the mental health literature. Discourse and narrative analysis cannot predict if metaphors 'work,' but can highlight their emergence and development in context (Ferrara 1994; McMullen 2008; Huang this volume; Knapton this volume) and offer practical insights (Tay 2012, 2017b). The question arises as to whether quantitative analysis could also offer contextually grounded insights. Since therapy often requires multiple sessions, there could be metaphors that do not seem interesting in isolation, but gradually build up into usage patterns over time. Quantitative methods which characterize these patterns with considerable precision can thus enrich the contextual description of metaphors in psychotherapy and other discourse domains. The dataset, examples, and findings are similar to Tay (2017a) but with some major differences – the number of variables is reduced to facilitate clearer understanding, the interpretation is revised for the present volume, and there is a greater emphasis on methodological exposition.

## 2. A brief introduction to log-linear analysis

Log-linear analysis has been used in diverse research areas across the sciences and humanities (Hui, Slemenda, and Johnston 1988; Li 2002; Stacey, Batstone, Bell, and Murcott 1975). Each data unit is assigned a certain value under categorical variables that describe the dataset. In Li's (2002) language acquisition study, the data units are verbs produced by Chinese speaking children, and the variables are the children's age category, verb type, and aspect marker type. Analogously, in Stacey et al.'s (1975) sociological study the data units are survey responses and the variables are occupational class, tenancy, and voting preferences of respondents. In the present study, the data units are the identified metaphor vehicle terms and the variables are their contextual aspects as described later. Log-linear analysis reveals statistically significant associations or 'effects' between variables— where the observed frequency of a certain category deviates from the frequency to be expected by chance. These associations are then interpreted according to theoretical ideas underpinning the research. Since there is no need to stipulate which are the (in)dependent variables in order to make sense of the data, the approach is useful for exploratory data-driven research.

We can think of log-linear analysis as the multivariate extension of  $\chi^2$  tests of independence for higher-order associations between more than two variables.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Associations involving more than two variables are also called 'interactions'. The term 'associations' will be consistently used here regardless of the number of variables involved.

I will briefly illustrate the concept of higher-order associations. Suppose we are interested in how gender (G), weight (W), and heart disease (H) are linked among a sample of patients. Each patient is a data unit cross-classified under these three categorical variables (G=male/female, W=under/over/normal weight, H=with/without disease). Table 1 shows all possible associations (or relationships) in the data and what they mean.

**Table 1.** Possible associations and their meaning in a study with three variables

| Associations  | Meaning   |
|---|---|
| 1-way (aka 'main effects')<br>– Gender (G)<br>– Weight (W)<br>– Heart disease (H)                   | – There are significantly more males than females (or vice versa)<br>– There are significantly more over or under or normal weights<br>– There are significantly more patients with heart disease than without (or vice versa)            |
| 2-way associations<br>– between G and W (G*W)<br>– between G and H (G*H)<br>– between W and H (W*H) | – Males/females are significantly more likely to be under/over/at normal weight<br>– Males/females are significantly more likely to have heart disease<br>– Under/over/normal weights are significantly more likely to have heart disease |
| 3-way association<br>– between all three variables (G*W*H)  | – The association between any two variables varies across levels of the third variable (e.g. Overweight patients are more likely to have heart disease, but more so among males than females)   |

After the patients are cross-classified, associations are checked for by comparing the observed frequency of each variable permutation (e.g. male and overweight and no heart disease) with the frequency to be expected by chance alone. A process of backward elimination starts from the highest order association (G\*W\*H) and eliminates in stepwise fashion those not attested in the data. This results in a final list of surviving associations necessary and sufficient to describe the relationships in the data. This list of associations is known as the 'best model' and can then be interpreted. If for instance the best model from Table 1 is (only) G\*H, this means that gender is a good predictor of heart disease, but weight is not. Log-linear analysis can be implemented in most statistical software programs including open-source options like JASP (JASP Team 2018), jamovi (the jamovi project 2019), and programming languages like R and Python. By applying it to discourse phenomena like metaphors, we thus assume them to be "multifactorial communicative acts" (Nicaise 2010: 65) where each (metaphor) unit is describable along interacting contextual variables of form, function, and/or setting. Log-linear

analysis can complement rich qualitative descriptions of variables and examples in several ways. Firstly, larger and representative sample sizes can support generalizations about the nature of metaphor that are a mandatory criterion for applicability in contexts like healthcare. Secondly, although we can articulate how each contextual factor shapes metaphor use and management, it is difficult to do so for combined effects of factors with qualitative analysis alone. The present approach reveals which (and how strongly) different factors interact, and 'higher-order associations' with more than two factors often provide interesting interpretative angles as will be shown in this study. One potential criticism, however, is that these associations are defined purely in terms of frequencies of occurrence, bringing us to the perennial debate of statistical versus thematic significance. Interested readers can refer to Gilbert (1993) and Field (2013) for further technical details and arguments regarding utility that are beyond the present scope.

### 3. Data and metaphor identification

Psychotherapy sessions with two patients seeing the same therapist at a Chinese university counseling centre, totaling 29.5 hours of talk, were recorded with informed consent. The metaphor identification process on this Mandarin Chinese dataset has been replicated in other related work (Tay 2017b, 2017a). It involves two phases by two native Mandarin speakers with postgraduate training. In the first phase, the discourse dynamics approach (Cameron & Maslen 2010) was applied to identify metaphor vehicle terms based on contrast and transfer between basic and contextual senses. This approach was chosen over others like the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) (Pragglejaz Group 2007) and Metaphor Identification Procedure VU University (MIPVU) (Steen et al. 2010) since spontaneous metaphor production in a context like psychotherapy does not occur exclusively at lexical unit level (Cameron and Maslen 2010: 105). Consider Examples (1) to (3).

- (1) 现在都能感受到自己心里有好几个洞就是他们射的 'I can now feel the many holes that are in my heart were shot by them'
- (2) 我好像给自己宣布了死刑 'I seem to have sentenced myself to death'
- (3) 有一些怕的东西, 怕的感觉 'there are some frightening things, frightening feelings'

In Example (1), the underlined expressions 心里 ('in my heart'), 好几个洞 ('many holes'), and 射 ('shot') all involve meaning contrast and transfer between a basic sense and a more abstract contextual sense related to the speaker's emotions.

Example (2) is a metaphorical simile where 好像 ('seem to') explicitly signals the metaphorical comparison between the basic sense of a death sentence and the contextual sense of an undesirable emotional state. Example (3) illustrates a caveat for metaphor identification in Mandarin, where lexical compounding is pervasive and there are many examples where individual character meanings contribute to the overall meaning of compounds in ways which seem opaque even to native speakers (Ceccagno and Basciano 2007). In Example (3), the compound 东西, which means a general 'thing', comprises two characters with respective basic meanings of 'east' and 'west'. Another example is the compound 紧张, meaning 'anxiety', which has two characters with respective basic meanings of 'tightening' and 'expanding'. While metaphor (and metonymy) is clearly involved in the derivation of such compound meanings, Mandarin speakers are unlikely to consider the conventional senses of these compounds as involving metaphorical meaning transfer. In addition, the widely used *Xinhua Zidian* (New Chinese Dictionary) lists the conventional meanings of these compounds but not the underlying figurative processes. Such examples are therefore not considered metaphorical.

The next phase involved an analytical decision to filter out metaphor vehicle terms which may present technical problems yet "not be of much relevance in answering the research questions" at hand (Cameron and Maslen 2010: 111). These are the numerous instances of highly conventional metaphors in Mandarin, often very common nouns, verbs, and prepositions, many of which do not seem to serve therapeutic functions and for which no literal alternatives are even possible. This decision is supported by evidence that therapeutic processes such as restructuring of cognitive schemas and problem-solving are associated with use of unconventional rather than conventional metaphors (Gelo and Mergenthaler 2003; Pollio and Barlow 1975). While it is true that highly conventional metaphors may have therapeutic value if explicitly engaged (Witztum, van der Hart, and Friedman 1988), clear examples were absent from the dataset. The Metaphor Analysis in Psychotherapy (MAP) model (Gelo 2008) was applied to filter out conventional metaphors from all metaphor vehicle terms, resulting in a final sample of 2,893. MAP states that novel metaphors involve meanings which are not fixed, require effort to understand, and may be derived from conventional metaphors by 'extending', 'elaboration', 'questioning', 'combining', and 'image formation'. Returning to Example (1) above, 心里 ('in my heart') is considered conventional since it has a fixed meaning and does not require any interpretative effort. 好几个洞 ('many holes'), 射 ('shot'), and Example (2) would then be novel metaphors.

## 4. Variables

There needs to be balance between wanting to include more variables and avoiding practical problems with having too many. For example, while many metaphor studies would have some account of source domains, it is not easy to capture them under a manageable number of categories without sacrificing meaningfulness. One should be mindful about the number of categories in view of sample size requirements – a recommended minimum number of data units is the total number of variable categories multiplied by five (Tabachnick, B. and Fidell 2007), so things can quickly become impractical with too many variables and/or categories. Furthermore, if a metaphor has multiple sources (Kimmel 2012), the requirement that data units cannot fall under more than one category within each variable would also be violated. The four eventual variables are described below: TARGET, SPEAKER, PHASE OF THERAPY, and FUNCTION.

### 4.1 Target

The target of a metaphor is its subject matter. In “HIV is a large dark cloud hanging over me”, the target is ‘HIV’. Therapists (Kopp 1995; Kopp and Eckstein 2004) have usefully summarized targets into key “dimensions of the metaphoric structure of individual reality” (Kopp 1995: 104). These are ‘self’, ‘others’, ‘situation’, and ‘relations’ that combine any of the three (Table 2). The patient is always ‘self’ so if a therapist uses a metaphor to describe the patient, it is still classified under ‘self’ instead of ‘others’.

Table 2. Target categories

| Target category   | Example   |
|---|---|
| Self  | 我是射箭的人  |
| Metaphors for one's image of self   | I am the <u>bowman</u>  |
| Others  | 他才是真正的被告  |
| Metaphors for one's image of others   | He is the real <u>defendant</u>   |
| Situation   | 把那些肮脏的东西还给你   |
| Metaphors for one's image of situations (e.g. event/circumstance)   | Return those <u>dirty things</u> to you   |
| Relations   | 我在用锤子锤自己  |
| Metaphors for one's understanding of the relationship between self-and-self, self-and-other, and self-and-situation | I am using a <u>hammer to hammer myself</u> (self-and-self)<br>我把他从我的世界中赶出去<br>I <u>chased him out</u> of my world (self-and-other)<br>我没有力量拉勾射箭<br>I don't have the strength to <u>pull the bow and shoot the arrow</u> (self-and-situation) |

## 4.2 Speaker

This variable indicates whether the metaphor was uttered by the therapist or patient. There is a clear interest in comparing therapist-generated and patient-generated metaphors in the therapy literature. Some value therapist authorship as a form of intervention (Stott et al. 2010) while others see patient authorship as indicating participation and agency (Kopp 1995).

## 4.3 Phase

This variable indicates the phase of therapy in which the metaphor was used. It is significant in view of studies which suggest that evolving patterns of metaphor use may provide insight into patients' corresponding change (Levitt, Korman, and Angus 2000; Angus and Korman 2002). Similar to Pollio and Barlow (1975), the sessions were divided into three equally timed blocks reflecting the initial, middle, and final phases of therapy. The limitations of this arbitrary partition will be discussed later.

## 4.4 Function

This variable indicates which of three therapeutically relevant functions the metaphor performs. They cover major aspects of metaphor use documented in the psychotherapy literature as exemplified in Table 3. The assumption is that metaphors are not multifunctional – or at least can be reliably determined as performing a most salient function in context.

**Table 3.** Key therapeutic functions of metaphor

| Function   | Example  |
|--|--|
| Explaining information and concepts<br>(Blenkiron 2010; Stott et al. 2010) | 凡是在他们身上看到的，其实都是你自己的东西，就跟镜子是一样的<br>Whatever you see on them is actually also yours, just like a <u>mirror</u>   |
| Exploring attitudes, beliefs and emotions<br>(Lyddon et al. 2001)          | 它好像在我脸上烙了个印<br>It felt like it <u>branded a mark on my face</u>  |
| Displaying interpersonal alignment, empathy etc. (Ferrara 1994)            | P: 我要 <u>拿回</u> 我的男性的信心<br>T: 对， <u>拿回</u> 我自己男性的信心<br>P: I want to <u>take back</u> my confidence as a man<br>T: Right, <u>take back</u> my confidence as a man<br>(note: the patient's initial metaphor is an instance of exploring attitudes/beliefs/emotions but the therapist's echoing response is a display of interpersonal alignment) |

## 5. Inter-rater reliability

The two raters first met to discuss the discourse dynamics approach and variables. They then independently identified metaphor vehicle terms from the first session transcript of each patient, using the *Xinhua Zidian* as a guide for basic meanings. Following Cameron and Maslen (2010), they discussed and resolved problematic examples afterwards. The process was repeated for the remaining transcripts with one round of discussion after every two transcripts.

The subsequent steps of applying MAP and coding also followed this process of independent work and discussion. Since these steps now involve categorical decisions on a fixed number of units, Cohen's Kappa was calculated to measure pre-discussion agreement. Kappa for *MAP* = 0.729, *TARGET* = 0.73, *FUNCTION* = 0.636, suggesting a good level of agreement (Altman 1991). No checks were needed for the self-evident *PHASE* and *SPEAKER*.

## 6. Results

Table 4 is the four-way contingency table showing the cross-classified frequencies of all metaphor vehicle terms ( $N = 2893$ ) under the four variables. Expected frequencies, percentages, and sub-totals are omitted.

The backward elimination process involves multiple statistics that will not be tabled here. In brief, it begins by tentatively deleting the highest order association (the 4-way association between all four variables) and assessing the fit between the data and remaining effects. The non-significant  $p = 0.164$  suggests that deleting the 4-way association does not significantly affect the fit between the observed frequencies and the remaining effects. It can thus be permanently deleted, and we move on to the next step, where the next highest ordered associations (i.e. all possible 3-way associations) are considered. With each step, the effect with the largest p-value, or the least impact on overall fit, is deleted provided it is above the threshold of 0.05. The process repeats until no further effects can be deleted, at which point the surviving effects constitute the best model. The likelihood ratio which indicates the final fit of this model is  $\chi^2(18) = 21.435, p = 0.258$ .



Table 4. 4-way contingency table

| Phase | Speaker   | Function      | Others | Target    |      |           |
|-------|-----------|---------------|--------|-----------|------|-----------|
|       |           |               |        | Relations | Self | Situation |
| 1     | Patient   | Explain       | 12     | 40        | 13   | 84        |
|       |           | Explore       | 12     | 42        | 14   | 89        |
|       |           | Interpersonal | 10     | 13        | 11   | 14        |
|       | Therapist | Explain       | 15     | 35        | 17   | 108       |
|       |           | Explore       | 14     | 76        | 14   | 113       |
|       |           | Interpersonal | 12     | 40        | 15   | 50        |
| 2     | Patient   | Explain       | 14     | 32        | 13   | 83        |
|       |           | Explore       | 15     | 87        | 14   | 201       |
|       |           | Interpersonal | 12     | 30        | 12   | 23        |
|       | Therapist | Explain       | 14     | 73        | 13   | 169       |
|       |           | Explore       | 13     | 59        | 15   | 165       |
|       |           | Interpersonal | 14     | 24        | 14   | 50        |
| 3     | Patient   | Explain       | 21     | 22        | 12   | 42        |
|       |           | Explore       | 10     | 85        | 11   | 147       |
|       |           | Interpersonal | 12     | 13        | 13   | 13        |
|       | Therapist | Explain       | 34     | 38        | 13   | 105       |
|       |           | Explore       | 11     | 48        | 13   | 121       |
|       |           | Interpersonal | 14     | 17        | 14   | 42        |

## 7. Discussion

Three 3-way interactions/effects survived the backward elimination and constitute the model that best represents the data. They are FUNCTION\*SPEAKER\*PHASE, FUNCTION\*TARGET\*PHASE, and FUNCTION\*SPEAKER\*TARGET. Recall from Table 1 that a 3-way interaction means the relationship between any two variables is modulated along the levels of the third variable. This reflects the exploratory nature of log-linear analysis as it is now up to the analyst to choose which two variables to spotlight. Elliott (1988) recommends distinguishing between 'focus' and 'contingency' variables. Focus variables are of major theoretical interest while contingency variables elaborate the interaction patterns involving the focus variables. Therefore, bivariate  $\chi^2$  statistics should be examined for the two focus variables across the different levels of the third contingency variable. We apply this strategy by designating PHASE as the contingency variable in the

first two effects, and TARGET as the contingency variable in the last effect. This allows us to focus the narrative on how the functional distribution (FUNCTION) of metaphors between therapists and patients (SPEAKER) is modulated both by sessional progress (PHASE) and the prevailing topic of discussion (TARGET). In particular, it concretizes the argument that 'co-construction' and its strong connotations of equivalence, or predictable ways of collaboration, should be critically revisited (cf. Tay 2016).

Table 6 is the contingency table and  $\chi^2$  statistics of SPEAKER and FUNCTION. For all following tables, the expected frequency of each variable category is indicated in brackets next to the observed frequency (count). Categories with a significantly higher frequency than expected by chance have Std. Residual (standardized residuals) higher than 1.95, and those with significantly lower frequency than expected by chance are lower than  $-1.95$ . Gradations of significance ( $*p < 0.05$  vs.  $**p < 0.01$ ) are differentiated by asterisks. Some readers may find it difficult to intuitively grasp these number-heavy tables, which suggests the usefulness of complementary data visualization tools. Factor plots generated by the related technique of Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) will be presented and discussed later as one such tool.

Table 5. Cross-tabulation of FUNCTION and SPEAKER

| FUNCTION      |               | SPEAKER     |             | Statistics   |
|---------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|--|
|               |               | Patient     | Therapist   |  |
| Explain       | Count         | 388 (456.1) | 634 (565.9) | $\chi^2(2, N = 2893) = 64.63$<br>$p < 0.001$ Cramer's<br>$V = 0.149$ |
|               | Std. Residual | $-3.2^{**}$ | $2.9^{**}$  |  |
| Explore       | Count         | 727 (619.8) | 662 (769.2) |  |
|               | Std. Residual | $4.3^{**}$  | $-3.9^{**}$ |  |
| Interpersonal | Count         | 176 (215.1) | 117 (97.3)  |  |
|               | Std. Residual | $-2.7^*$    | $2.4^*$     |  |

\* =significant at  $p < 0.05$ ,

\*\* =significant at  $p < 0.01$

The relationship between FUNCTION and SPEAKER is significant overall ( $\chi^2(2) = 64.63$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , Cramer's  $V = 0.149$ ). This means that therapists and patients tend to use metaphors for different purposes, and supports the programmatic idea that they have distinct discourse objectives even though therapy talk often resembles 'ordinary' conversation (Ferrara, 1994). It is evident from the standardized residuals that patients tend to use metaphors to explore subjective conceptualizations of crises while therapists are more likely to use metaphors for explanatory and interpersonal purposes. Examples (4) to (6) are illustrative.

- (4) Patient: 我想他讲这个话，虽然讲可能是狂的点，但是他没有一定的东西，他也不会这么狂 ‘I think although what he said was a little crazy, he wouldn’t have been crazy without a clear reason’

Therapist: 这是因为他内心的一些回避导致他很难完整的吸收知识。

就是那个水在灌的时候，有些地方可以灌溉到的，没灌溉到。所以那些知识没有办法滋养到他真正需要的那个部分 ‘That’s because

his inner avoidance is preventing him from absorbing knowledge. That is, when the field is irrigated, some places get the water and some don’t. So the knowledge is unable to nourish him where he needs it most’

The patient in Example (4) is struggling to understand her son’s behavior. The therapist offers a metaphor of an irrigation system, comparing knowledge to water and the psychological state of her son to crops on a field, to explain the situation in a more concrete way.

- (5) Therapist: 就是别人干着急的时候，妈妈着急，他一点都不体会孩子的妈妈在着急。他也不意识到他是孩子的父亲 ‘So when others are getting worried, when mother is getting worried, he doesn’t appreciate this at all. He doesn’t recognize that he is the child’s father’

Patient: 那我觉得他是无血无肉的人。还对他好？ ‘So I think he is without blood and flesh. Why should I treat him well?’

Therapist: 无血无肉 ‘Without blood and flesh’

In Example (5), the therapist summarizes the patient’s prior accusation that her ex-husband is not showing concern for their son. The patient responds with an exploratory metaphor as she proposes a justification for not treating him well in return, describing him as ‘without blood and flesh’. The therapist chooses to echo this novel conceptualization to acknowledge and affirm her take on the damaged relationship – an interpersonally oriented function that Ferrara (1994: 137) calls “ratification”.

- (6) Patient: 有那个怨恨，有那个害怕，还有那种被侵犯的那个感觉，就好像是你在一个角落里面，一个很黑很黑的屋子里面，周围全部都是黑的，没有星星，没有月光，没有什么绿草，还有那个地面都是黑的，那个天上也是黑的 ‘There is this resentment, there is this fear, there is a sense of being violated. It’s like you are in a corner, in a very dark house. The surroundings are dark, there are no stars, no moonlight, no green grass. The floor is dark and the sky is dark’

Example (6) is another instance where a fairly novel metaphor is used by the patient for exploratory purposes. This time, a ‘dark house’ metaphor conveys resentment and fear of a relative’s sexual abuse. In contrast with explanatory metaphors (Example (4)) that communicate some knowledge or concept relevant to the crisis

at hand, exploratory metaphors are used when there is no clear existing understanding and are therefore more likely to come from patients.

Up to now, we see that co-construction of metaphors appears to be characterized by a stable and predictable functional distribution between speakers. This is cast in a new light when we now include PHASE as a contingency variable – essentially examining this distribution one temporal phase at a time. Table 6 is the updated table, now split across the three levels of PHASE.

**Table 6.** Cross-tabulation of FUNCTION and SPEAKER across levels of PHASE

| PHASE | FUNCTION      |            | SPEAKER            |                    | Statistics   |
|-------|---------------|------------|--------------------|--------------------|--|
|       |               |            | Patient            | Therapist          |  |
| 1     | Explain       | Count Std. | 149 (132.9) 1.4    | 175 (191.1) -1.2   | $\chi^2(2,$<br>$N = 863) = 13.15$<br>$p = 0.001$<br>Cramer's<br>$V = 0.123$  |
|       |               | Residual   |                    |                    |  |
|       | Explore       | Count Std. | 157 (153.4) 0.3    | 217 (220.6) -0.2   |  |
|       |               | Residual   |                    |                    |  |
|       | Interpersonal | Count Std. | 48 (67.7) -2.4*    | 117 (97.3) 2.0*    |  |
|       |               | Residual   |                    |                    |  |
| 2     | Explain       | Count Std. | 142 (190.1) -3.5** | 269 (220.9) 3.2**  | $\chi^2(2,$<br>$N = 1159) = 43.88$<br>$p < 0.001$<br>Cramer's<br>$V = 0.195$ |
|       |               | Residual   |                    |                    |  |
|       | Explore       | Count Std. | 317 (263.1) 3.3**  | 252 (305.9) -3.1** |  |
|       |               | Residual   |                    |                    |  |
|       | Interpersonal | Count Std. | 77 (82.8) -0.6     | 102 (96.2) 0.6     |  |
|       |               | Residual   |                    |                    |  |
| 3     | Explain       | Count Std. | 97 (132.1) -3.1**  | 190 (154.9) 2.8**  | $\chi^2(2,$<br>$N = 871) = 64.63$<br>$p < 0.001$<br>Cramer's $V = 0.22$      |
|       |               | Residual   |                    |                    |  |
|       | Explore       | Count Std. | 253 (205.3) 3.3**  | 193 (240.7) -3.1** |  |
|       |               | Residual   |                    |                    |  |
|       | Interpersonal | Count Std. | 51 (63.5) -1.6     | 87 (74.5) 1.5      |  |
|       |               | Residual   |                    |                    |  |

\* =significant at  $p < 0.05$ ,

\*\* =significant at  $p < 0.01$

The Cramer's  $V$  coefficients show that the strength of the FUNCTION-SPEAKER association grows from low (0.123) to moderate (0.22) (Cohen 1988) as therapy progresses from the initial to final phase. This gives us the new insight that therapists and patients take time to 'settle into' and strengthen their functionally distributed roles, which we previously characterized as enduring throughout the sessions. We can further examine the standardized residuals for the exact nature of this so-called growth. Firstly, while therapists are more likely to use metaphors to display alignment and empathy (interpersonal function) across all three phases,

this difference is far less pronounced in the middle phase ( $-0.6$  vs.  $0.6$ ) than in phases 1 ( $-2.4$  vs.  $2.0$ ) and 3 ( $-1.6$  vs.  $1.5$ ). This suggests that the middle phase is when patients display a higher level of engagement towards metaphors initiated by therapists, acknowledging and affirming them in reciprocal fashion. Example (7) illustrates this process. The therapist describes forgetting past hurts and regaining confidence as ‘returning’ and ‘taking back’ things, and the patient enthusiastically affirms and repeats these metaphors. Both speakers arrive at a common conceptualization of crisis just as in previous examples, but in this case the conceptualization is evidenced by a stronger display of mutual affirmation.

- (7) Therapist: 我指的是他偷偷摸摸, 这个都要还给他 ‘I meant his secretive actions. All these must be returned to him’  
 Patient: 对。我要还给你 ‘Yes. I want to return these to you’  
 Therapist: 好 ‘Good’  
 Patient: 我要还 ‘I want to return these’  
 Therapist: 拿回什么? ‘What will you take back?’  
 Patient: 拿回我的性满足和性能量。拿回我的性吸引力, 性自信 ‘Take back my sexual fulfillment and energy. Take back my attractiveness and confidence’

The next observation is a good example of how contingency variables can be insightful. We previously inferred from Table 5 the common-sensical point that therapists are more likely to use explanatory metaphors than patients. However, the PHASE variable now shows us that there is no substantial functional difference in Phase 1 ( $1.4$  vs.  $-1.2$ ). A sharp reversal of this tendency occurred in the middle and final phases as therapists ‘take over’ the explanatory role and use metaphors to communicate information and advice. Example (4) above already illustrated the therapist assuming the explanatory role in the middle phase of therapy. Example (8) below, on the other hand, illustrates patients using metaphor to explain background information in the initial phase. The same can be said for exploratory metaphors as the absence of difference in Phase 1 was sharply reversed as therapy progressed.

Having discussed time as a modulating factor in the predictable functional distribution of metaphors between therapists and patients, we now see how it also influences the FUNCTION-TARGET association. Again, we start from the bivariate analysis in Table 7.

Table 7. Cross-tabulation of FUNCTION and TARGET

| FUNCTION      |          | TARGET      |            |            |             | Statistics   |
|---------------|----------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|--|
|               |          | Situation   | Others     | Self       | Relations   |  |
| Explain       | Count    | 591 (571.9) | 110 (91.5) | 81 (85.1)  | 591 (571.9) | $\chi^2(6,$<br>$N = 2893) = 127.37$<br>$p < 0.001$ Cramer's<br>$V = 0.148$ |
|               | Std.     | 0.8         | 1.9        | -0.4       | 0.8         |  |
|               | Residual |             |            |            |             |  |
| Explore       | Count    | 836 (777.3) | 75 (124.4) | 81 (115.7) | 397 (371.6) |  |
|               | Std.     | 2.1*        | -4.4**     | -3.2**     | 1.3         |  |
|               | Residual |             |            |            |             |  |
| Interpersonal | Count    | 192 (269.7) | 74 (43.2)  | 79 (40.2)  | 137 (129.0) |  |
|               | Std.     | -4.7**      | 4.7**      | 6.1**      | 0.7         |  |
|               | Residual |             |            |            |             |  |

The significant FUNCTION-TARGET association suggests that metaphors that perform certain functions also tend to be about certain target topics of crisis ( $\chi^2(6) = 127.37$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , Cramer's  $V = 0.148$ ). Specifically, when the patient's self and relevant others are metaphorically described, they tend to be less exploratory and more directed at empathy and alignment. On the other hand, when the therapeutic situation itself is discussed, metaphors are more likely explanatory. Examples (4) to (6) above are illustrative. Examples (4) and (6) are about situations and are respectively explanatory and exploratory. Example (5), which is about the patient's ex-husband, instead performs an interpersonal function. To investigate how this relationship is likewise modulated over time, we turn to Table 8.

Once again, the relationship between FUNCTION and TARGET strengthens (from Cramer's  $V = 0.126$  to Cramer's  $V = 0.211$ ) as therapy progresses. We also observe that the overall pattern in Table 7 is a 'composite' that is spread over the three phases. Exploratory-situation metaphors are more likely overall but not so in any particular phase. Interpersonal-situation metaphors, on the other hand, are consistently less likely. Most metaphors 'responsible' for the relationships involving the categories of others and self seem to be concentrated in the later phases, especially Phase 3. Lastly, relation-metaphors are consistently not functionally distributed. There is no space to probe each of these puzzle pieces in detail, but the take-home message about the analytic approach is clear – the dynamic nature of crisis conceptualization in psychotherapy is significantly influenced by temporal progression, in ways that require more than qualitative analysis to uncover.

The final effect in our best model is the 3-way association between TARGET, SPEAKER, and FUNCTION. I choose to develop the narrative of functional distribution between therapists and patients, this time by selecting SPEAKER and FUNCTION as focus and TARGET as the contingency variable (Table 9).

Table 8. Cross-tabulation of TARGET and FUNCTION across levels of PHASE

| PHASE | FUNCTION      |                        | TARGET            |                  |                 |                  | Statistics  |
|-------|---------------|------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|---|
|       |               |                        | Situation         | Others           | Self            | Relations        |   |
| 1     | Explain       | Count Std.<br>Residual | 192 (171.9) 1.5   | 27 (28.2) -0.2   | 30 (31.5) -0.3  | 75 (92.4) -1.8   | $\chi^2(6, N = 863) = 27.59$<br>$p < 0.001$ Cramer's $V = 0.126$  |
|       | Explore       | Count Std.<br>Residual | 202 (198.5) 0.2   | 26 (32.5) -1.1   | 28 (36.4) -1.4  | 118 (106.6) 1.1  |   |
|       | Interpersonal | Count Std.<br>Residual | 64 (87.6) -2.5**  | 22 (14.3) 2.0*   | 26 (16.1) 2.5** | 53 (47.0) 0.9    |   |
| 2     | Explain       | Count Std.<br>Residual | 252 (245.0) 0.4   | 28 (29.1) -0.2   | 26 (28.7) -0.5  | 105 (108.2) -0.3 | $\chi^2(6, N = 1159) = 49.69$<br>$p < 0.001$ Cramer's $V = 0.146$ |
|       | Explore       | Count Std.<br>Residual | 366 (339.2) 1.5   | 28 (40.3) -1.9   | 29 (39.8) -1.7  | 146 (149.7) -0.3 |   |
|       | Interpersonal | Count Std.<br>Residual | 73 (106.7) -3.3** | 26 (12.7) 3.7**  | 27 (12.5) 3.8** | 54 (47.1) 1.0    |   |
| 3     | Explain       | Count Std.<br>Residual | 147 (154.9) -0.6  | 55 (33.6) 3.7**  | 25 (25.0) 0.0   | 60(73.5) -1.6    | $\chi^2(6, N = 871) = 77.55$<br>$p < 0.001$ Cramer's $V = 0.211$  |
|       | Explore       | Count Std.<br>Residual | 268 (240.7) 1.8   | 21 (52.2) -4.3** | 24 (38.9) -2.4* | 133 (114.2) 1.8  |   |
|       | Interpersonal | Count Std.<br>Residual | 55 (74.5) -2.3*   | 26 (16.2) 2.4*   | 27 (12.0) 4.3** | 30 (35.3) -0.9   |   |

\* =significant at  $p < 0.05$ ,\*\* =significant at  $p < 0.01$

**Table 9.** Cross-tabulation of FUNCTION and SPEAKER across levels of TARGET

| TARGET    | FUNCTION      | SPEAKER    |               |                | Statistics  |
|-----------|---------------|------------|---------------|----------------|---|
|           |               |            | Patient       | Therapist      |   |
| Situation | Explain       | Count Std. | 209 (254.1)   | 382 (336.9)    | $\chi^2(2, N = 1619) = 65.92$<br>$p < 0.001$ Cramer's<br>$V = 0.202$    |
|           |               | Residual   | -2.8**        | 2.5*           |   |
|           | Explore       | Count Std. | 437 (359.4)   | 399 (476.6)    |   |
|           |               | Residual   | 4.1**         | -3.6**         |   |
|           | Interpersonal | Count Std. | 50 (82.5)     | 142 (109.5)    |   |
|           |               | Residual   | -3.6**        | 3.1**          |   |
| Others    | Explain       | Count Std. | 47 (50.1)     | 63 (59.9) 0.4  | $\chi^2(2, N = 259) = 0.791$<br>$p = 0.67$ (ns) Cramer's<br>$V = 0.055$ |
|           |               | Residual   | -0.4          |                |   |
|           | Explore       | Count Std. | 37 (34.2) 0.5 | 38 (40.8) -0.4 |   |
|           |               | Residual   |               |                |   |
|           | Interpersonal | Count Std. | 34 (33.7) 0.0 | 40 (40.3) 0.0  |   |
|           |               | Residual   |               |                |   |
| Self      | Explain       | Count Std. | 38 (38.0) 0.0 | 43(43.0) 0.0   | $\chi^2(2, N = 241) = 0.107$<br>$p = 0.95$ (ns) Cramer's<br>$V = 0.021$ |
|           |               | Residual   |               |                |   |
|           | Explore       | Count Std. | 39 (38.0) 0.2 | 42 (43.0) -0.2 |   |
|           |               | Residual   |               |                |   |
|           | Interpersonal | Count Std. | 36 (37.0)     | 43 (42.0) 0.2  |   |
|           |               | Residual   | -0.2          |                |   |
| Relations | Explain       | Count Std. | 94 (112.9)    | 146 (127.1)    | $\chi^2(2, N = 774) = 64.63$<br>$p < 0.001$ Cramer's<br>$V = 0.142$     |
|           |               | Residual   | -1.8          | 1.7            |   |
|           | Explore       | Count Std. | 214 (186.7)   | 183 (210.3)    |   |
|           |               | Residual   | 2.0*          | -1.9           |   |
|           | Interpersonal | Count Std. | 56 (64.4)     | 81 (72.6) 1.0  |   |
|           |               | Residual   | -1.1          |                |   |

\* =significant at  $p < 0.05$ ,\*\* =significant at  $p < 0.01$ 

The most salient insight from Table 9 is the concentration of statistically significant relationships within situation-metaphors. The functional distribution between therapists and patients appears to hold (only) when metaphors describe situations, and not when describing people (self and others). This 'leveling out' suggests that patients may have greater agency to explain, make conclusions, and even play an affirmative role when describing themselves and other relevant people (i.e. direct or indirect experiencers of crisis). See Examples (8) to (10).



- (8) Patient: 我现在等于是一个人拉两头牛。那我也拉不动。如果他爸爸能改变的话，那他爸爸也能拉他一下子。那我对来讲要轻松一点。那我想我就是抱着这种期盼。'I am currently one person trying to pull two oxen. I can't pull them. If his father can change, he could pull him awhile. That would make things easier. This is what I'm hoping for'

In Example (8), the patient describes her ex-husband and son as oxen to be pulled. Her familiarity with the two men motivates her use of the metaphor to explain the situation to the therapist, who in such instances tend to be the recipient rather than provider of therapeutically relevant information.

- (9) Therapist: 我的内心就是柔和.....我的内心柔和，他就是源泉。'My innermost feelings are soft and gentle...it is my wellspring'  
Patient: 对，我的内心柔和，他就是源泉。'Correct, my innermost feelings are soft and gentle...it is my wellspring'

In Example (9), therapist and patient are exploring the conceptualization of the latter's innermost feelings as a wellspring, a source of hope and inspiration. The patient finds himself in an appropriate position to affirm the therapist's metaphor, which tend to be what therapists do instead in cases where the target is the therapeutic situation.

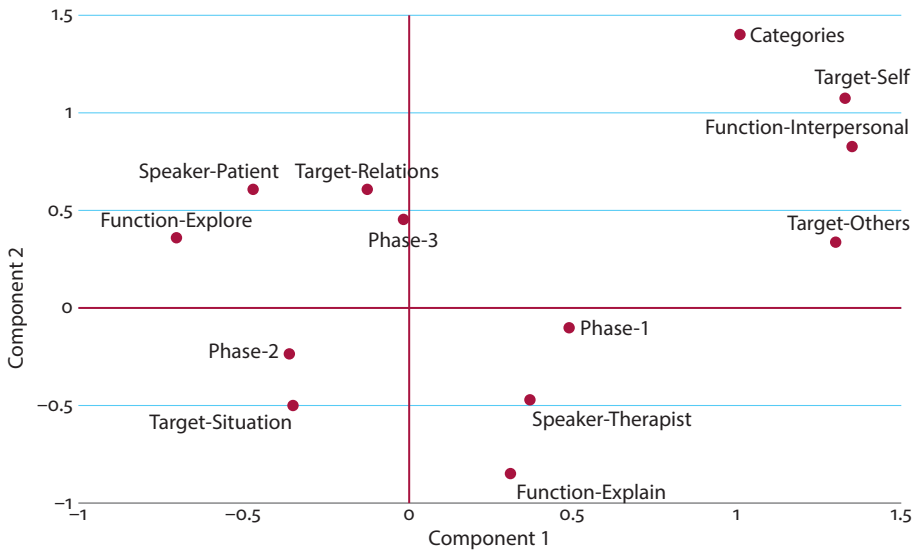
- (10) Therapist: 所以女儿有能力的时候，所以赶紧干吧！让她赶紧，推着快马加鞭。是不是一直像那个赶马车，使劲的甩鞭子，让她继续干，赶紧干？'So when the daughter is still able to, let her do more work! Whip the galloping horse. Is it like being on a wagon, whipping the horse, and letting her do as much work as possible?'  
Patient: 对。'Correct'  
Therapist: 你看所以她觉得这就像工具。她就觉得在你眼里面她就是工具。她产生这样的感觉。您可以理解了吗？'You see, so she thinks that in your eyes, she is just a tool. She has these feelings, can you understand?'

In Example (10), the therapist uses the metaphor of whipping a galloping horse to explore his understanding of the patient's situation. Since the target is the patient's mother, he finds it necessary to check whether his understanding is accurate, and only reverts to the characteristic explanatory use of metaphor in the final turn upon the patient's affirmation that it is.

When it comes to more factual or objective topics, however, the functional distribution of therapists as explainers/relaters and patients as explorers is strongly maintained. Summarizing the entire analysis, we see that time (PHASE) and the prevailing discussion topic (TARGET) are both important but critically overlooked contextual factors that interrogate the ideal notion of co-construction in therapy talk.

## 8. Factor plots as complementary data visualization

One of the deterrents of using a technique like log-linear analysis is that its presentation tends to be number-heavy as seen from the discussion above. Data visualization tools like scatterplots, barplots, heatmaps, and so on can often depict the same information and allow a quick intuitive grasp of key takeaways. Figure 1 shows a factor plot generated from a technique related to log-linear analysis known as Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) (Sourial et al. 2009). The details of MCA will not be discussed here.



**Figure 1.** A factor plot of variable categories

Briefly, MCA detects relationships between categorical variables (like in the present study) and visualizes them on a two-dimensional plot. Similar to Principal Components Analysis, the two axes represent the underlying dimensions that best capture the variance in the data. Variable categories are located as points on the plot and their positions from one another, as well as from the origin (intersection of the axes), can be interpreted. MCA and factor plots can likewise be implemented in most statistical programs.

Two basic interpretation guidelines are (i) the relative positions of the categories. Positively correlated categories cluster together while negatively correlated categories are on opposite sides of the origin; (ii) the distance of categories from the origin. The further the distance, the more discriminating these categories are, and the stronger their associations tend to be. I will not discuss more nuanced interpretation strategies or the possibility of also plotting individual observations

(in this case, metaphor vehicle terms) alongside the variables here (See Greenacre and Blasius 2006).

We see that many discussion points above are discernable at one glance by following these basic guidelines; (i) patient and therapist are in distinct quadrants and approximately equidistant from the origin, suggesting a clear contrast between their metaphor usage profiles, (ii) exploratory, explanatory, and interpersonal functions are in distinct quadrants, with interpersonal metaphors furthest and responsible for the biggest contrasts, (iii) all three phases are in distinct quadrants and reflect the salient discriminating effect of time, and so on. Highlighting these points in addition to, or even in lieu of contingency and other statistical tables is therefore conceivably useful in many situations

## 9. Conclusion

This study examined the co-construction of metaphors of crisis in psychotherapy talk. One of its main objectives was to demonstrate how an exploratory quantitative approach could be applied to help analysts construct a meaningful theoretical narrative supported by replicable results. In this regard, the underexplored effects of time were found to influence different aspects of metaphor use. The FUNCTION-SPEAKER and FUNCTION-TARGET associations grew stronger as the therapy sessions progressed. This suggests that therapists and patients need time to 'settle into' their institutionalized discursive roles even though the ideals of co-construction might be made explicit from the start. However, one limitation lies with the somewhat arbitrary segmentation of time into three PHASE categories, which may conceal more nuanced changes within (cf. Schiepek, Tominschek, and Heinzl 2014). I have discussed elsewhere the alternative time series analytic approach of using ARIMA models (Tay 2017c, 2019) – this lets us examine changes over more natural time intervals such as consecutive sessions with statistics like autocorrelational structure. In general, ARIMA models paint a more specific picture of (discourse) variables across time but are harder to interpret when multiple interacting variables are involved.

Secondly, the co-construction of crisis with metaphors could be described as a functional split between therapist and patient. However, the therapist is not always the one performing the role of an expert explainer/elater, and the patient an explorer. We saw that therapists and patients were more likely to perform their prototypical roles when the discussion centred on situations rather than people; i.e. when more technical expertise and less subjective construal is called for. Consideration of these contextual inflections is generally absent in the counseling

literature, which tends to cast therapists as information providers who guide patients to 'explore' their metaphors (Kopp and Craw 1998; Stott et al. 2010).

This study also demonstrated how basic data visualization tools can make quantitative findings more tractable. They make numbers-heavy information easier to understand, and help analysts and their audiences develop the kind of thematic intuitions that are crucial for humanities research.

## Funding

This work was supported by the HKSAR Research Grants Council (Project number: 15601019)

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# Narrative modulation in the storytelling of breast cancer survivors' transitional experiences

Mimi Huang

This chapter aims to investigate breast cancer survivors' diverse experiences and complex needs during the critical transitional periods between diagnosis, treatment and survivorship. The chapter proposes and develops an original concept of "narrative modulation" in storytelling, which is employed to analyse breast cancer survivors' written narratives. The study finds that narrative modulators that function by image schemas, metaphors, frames, as well as psychosocial coping and adjustment strategies are instrumental in configuring and navigating breast cancer survivors' journeys from health crisis to survivorship. The model of narrative modulation offers an original and useful analytical approach for researchers and healthcare practitioners to gain a nuanced and contextualised understanding of patients' continual adaptations during cancer survivorship within their own socio-cultural and personal environments.

**Keywords:** narrative modulation, storytelling, transitional experience, metaphor, social cognition

## 1. Introduction

Recent studies of people's lived experiences of breast cancer have drawn attention to the critical periods when individuals transition from health to illness and to survivorship (Rowland 2019; Fallowfield and Jenkins 2015; Allen, Savadatti, and Levy 2009). Such transition brings profound and far-reaching challenges and changes upon a person's life. Research has shown that people living through cancer can develop diverse and complex needs, many of which require better understanding and further exploration (Hack, Degner, and Parker 2005; Pauwels et al. 2013). Although it has been widely reported in existing research that breast cancer is perceived by many patients as a health crisis (Schmid-Büchia et al. 2011;



Brennan 2001), little is known about the detailed accounts of how individuals configure and incorporate such crises into their life stories during the transitional periods. Individuals' focuses on different attributes of the health crises, alongside different situations and social contexts where breast cancer takes place can give rise to diverse experiences. By understanding how and why individuals experience transitions in the ways they do, researchers, clinicians and policy makers can better support patients' individual needs when they journey through the breast cancer crisis.

This chapter aims to provide research evidence that reveals how individuals with breast cancer adopt specific approaches in order to embrace the critical period between diagnosis, treatment and survivorship. Using an exploratory study that consists of six narratives written by breast cancer survivors, this chapter discusses how the participants' transitional experiences are represented in the telling of their life stories through narrative and experiential devices that span across discursive, cognitive, affective and sociocultural domains. The interpretation and analysis of the narrative data are guided by an innovative notion of "narrative modulation", which is an integral process in storytelling that configures and constructs relevant storylines and themes in relation to people's lived experiences. The discussion of narrative modulation works alongside theories of metaphors, frames and social cognition in order to present a holistic, situated and culturally-sensitive account of breast cancer survivors' transitional experiences during health crises.

## **2. Using narrative analysis to understand cancer survivors' transitional experiences**

In medical social sciences, "transition" is understood as a passage from one life phase, condition or status to another. It includes both the process and the outcome of person-environment interactions (Chick and Meleis 1986; Thorne and Stajduhar 2012). In the context of cancer and other chronic illness, transition refers to the process an individual experiences while moving through disruptive or difficult events caused by and related to the illness. It also refers to the process of learning new ways to manage and live with the condition (Kralik, Visentin, and van Loon 2006). During the course of breast cancer, there is a timeframe of between 6 months and a year between diagnosis, treatment and the completion of treatment. This is a critical period when an individual transitions from health to illness and then to survivorship. Some individuals experience positive transitions from being cancer "patients" to cancer "survivors" with positive personal growth (Allen, Savadatti, and Levy 2009; McCann, Illingworth, and Wengström 2010). Some individuals, on the other hand, may suffer ongoing psychological

and emotional distress throughout the process, and in more serious cases develop depression and post-traumatic stress disorder (Brennan 2001; Knobf 2011). For the purpose of this study, the discussion of individuals' transitional experiences of breast cancer refers to the participants' lived experiences in the first 12 months following diagnosis.

In order to address the relevant physical, psychological and social conditions relevant to people with breast cancer, a rich body of approaches and methods have been developed within different research disciplines. One well-established and reliable research method for understanding people's experiences with breast cancer is narrative analysis. Originated within the qualitative research paradigm, narrative analysis has its strengths in capturing, interpreting and communicating people's lived experiences in personalised, situated and authentic environments (Riessman 2003; Langellier 2001; Bury 2001; Knapton, in this volume). Narrative data from verbal and written narratives have provided insightful evidence for individuals' experiences in living with breast cancer, going through transitions and cultivating senses of survivorship and post-traumatic growth (Thomas-Maclean 2004; Reeve et al. 2010; Ford and Christmon 2005; Morris et al. 2011).

In the analysis of narrative data, the majority of the studies on breast cancer survivors' experiences adopt the approach of thematic analysis. This approach focuses on the content of the stories, i.e., the "what" of the narratives. Thematic analysis of breast cancer stories have revealed important patterns and aspects in people's life stories, some of which include journeys of biographical disruption (McCann, Illingworth, and Wengström 2010), growth of identity (Deimling, Bowman, and Wagner 2007; Denford et al. 2011), and coping and adjustment strategies (Towsley, Beck, and Watkins 2007). Despite its strengths in identifying and theorising thematic elements across narrators and events (i.e. "what a story is about"), thematic analysis alone does not offer sufficient insight in how those themes and meanings emerge, unfold and are mediated in the process of storytelling (i.e. "how a story is being told"; see Riessman 2003). Despite the extensive use of thematic analysis in the literature of breast cancer stories and transitional experiences, little is known as how these stories are constructed conceptually, linguistically and situationally by the storytellers. It is the purpose of this chapter to explore both the "what" and "how" of the narrative data, with an emphasis on the meaning configuration process guided by narrative modulation (which is discussed in the next section). In addition, by examining narrative data by breast cancer survivors based in China, this chapter provides a culturally-enriched account of the participants' experiences from the perspective of their personal and communal contexts.

### 3. Narrative modulation in the storytelling of breast cancer survivors' transitional experiences

#### 3.1 Narrative modulation in storytelling

After a critical review of the narrative analytical approaches to people's transitional experiences of breast cancer, this section outlines a working concept of "modulation" in narrative practice, drawing theoretical support from narrative inquiry, cognitive linguistics and social cognition. In narrative inquiry, storytelling is understood as an ongoing process of composition, where meanings are artfully crafted, structured and communicated between the teller and the audience (Sparkes 2005; Riessman 2003). In this light, storytelling is a performative and constructive practice that involves both a substantive side (e.g. the meanings, structures and linkages that comprise a story), and an active side (e.g. activities that assemble the substantive components of a story) (Gubrium and Holstein 1998: 166). Narrative composition encompasses multifaceted aspects and functions, and analytical models have been proposed to address specific aspects of storytelling in health and illness narratives (for examples, see "coherence" by Gubrium and Holstein 1998, and "therapeutic emplotment" by DelVecchio Good et al. 1994). Taking the same theoretical stance of addressing both the substantive and the active sides of narrative composition, this chapter proposes an original concept of "narrative modulation" that plays an instrumental role in constructing both form and meaning in patients' storytelling.

The concept of "narrative modulation" can be defined as a dynamic and continuing process in storytelling that recruits and configures relevant narrative elements for the purpose of navigating and developing a storyline and its associated themes within a narrative. This chapter focuses on modulations in written narratives, although the modulation process can be observed and examined in other forms of narrative and communication. Due to its fluid and dynamic nature in narrative practice, narrative modulation can be performed by an array of processes that serve to unfold and advance storylines and themes, constructing the form and meaning of a narrative. These processes are referred to as "narrative modulators" in storytelling. A full survey of the types of modulators in varying genres of narratives is beyond the scope of this paper. Based on the narrative data presented in this study, this chapter mainly examines narrative modulators performed by social cognitive processes<sup>1</sup> including conceptual metaphors, frames,

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1. This chapter adopts the view that a social cognitive process "involves symbolic mental representations (e.g. social beliefs and goals) that are manipulated by individuals and agents in the process of social reasoning by means of the operations that agents perform upon them"

image schemas as well as adjustment and coping strategies in patients' storytelling. In an illness narrative, for example, the conceptual metaphor *ILLNESS IS A JOURNEY* can act as a modulator if it serves to navigate the trajectory of the storyline that indicates a social agent's transition from health to illness. In another example, the employment of positive attitudes as a coping strategy can be a modulator in a patient's story if the coping strategy contributes to sustain and strengthen the storyline of "recovery" and its associated themes in the narrative. It is discussed in the next section how research in cognitive linguistics and social cognition can inform the examination of the modulation process in narrative practice.

### 3.2 A cognitive-linguistic and socio-cognitive understanding of narrative modulation

Studying the relationship between language and the mind, cognitive linguistics provides powerful interpretations of how fundamental cognitive mechanisms – for example embodiment, image schemas, conceptual metaphors and frames – underlie the way we think, feel, speak, and act in our environments (Brdar, Gries, and Žic-Fuchs 2011, Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007). Also emphasizing on cognitive functions, social cognition studies the mental processes that we rely upon to navigate, strategize and negotiate our intrapersonal, interpersonal and social situations and relationships (Moskowitz 2005; Armitage and Conner 2000). The concept of narrative modulation bears a cognitive-linguistic and socio-cognitive understanding that stories and storytelling provide an embodied, usage-based and socially situated representations of individuals' lived experiences. The modulation process in storytelling is a dynamic, moment-by-moment negotiation between narrative elements that are actively involved in the shaping of a story. This chapter focuses on narrative modulations fulfilled by social cognitive processes including image schemas, conceptual metaphors, frames, as well as psychosocial coping and adjustment strategies.

In cognitive linguistics, an "image schema" is understood as a recurring and embodied structure that arises from an individual's perceptual interactions and motor programmes that gives coherence and understanding to our experience (Johnson 1987). In this chapter, the image schema groups of *FORCE* and *SPACE* are of particular relevance. The schemas of *FORCE* represent our bodily encounter and experience with physical forces. This embodied logic of force enables our inferences about the scale, direction and manner that a force is applied to an object, causing it to move on a certain course with a certain speed (Johnson 2005; Talmy

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(Giardini et al, 2017:453). A conceptual metaphor with a cross-domain mapping mechanism is an example of a social cognitive process. (see Gibbs 2011)

1983). The SPACE image schema group encompasses our conceptualisations of different spatial topologies and relations between entities, for example in terms of PATH, CENTRE-PERIPHERY and CONTAINMENT (Johnson 1987). Closely relating to image schemas, we are able to use our experience within one conceptual domain to make sense of situations in another conceptual domain. This cognitive process of cross-domain mapping is what Lakoff and Johnson call a “conceptual metaphor” (2003). A well-discussed example of conceptual metaphor is LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Built upon the image schema of PATH, aspects of a journey, such as the participants, events and situations, are systematically mapped onto our lived experiences. Also connected with image schemas and conceptual metaphors, the notion of “frames”, and associated concepts of “scenarios” and “schemas”, have been developed in cognitive linguistics and social cognition to capture more specific conceptual structures that underlie our representations of specific situations and our assumptions of these situations (Sullivan 2013; Semino, Demjén, and Demmen 2016; Brennan 2001). In this chapter, the term “frames” is used to refer to schematic or associative representations of the causal structure of the world, which provide us with a “mental model of the world” that we use to predict the storylines, participants, relationships, potential outcomes as well as emotional and moral evaluations of typical situations (Semino, Demjén, and Demmen 2016; Brennan 2001). Our frame of a JOURNEY activated in the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, can provide us with a knowledge structure that construes life as a journey with a start, a path with different landscapes and landmarks that lead toward different destinations and goals. This cognitive-linguistic view of life’s trajectory works complementarily with the psychosocial model of Social Cognitive Transition (SCT) that is designed to account for cancer survivors’ positive and negative transitional experiences (Brennan 2001). A key aspect of the SCT model is that a cancer survivor’s assumptive world based on conceptual frames needs dynamic modifications in order for the individual to adapt new challenges and new situations in the transitional period. This aspect is further explored in Section 5.

Applying these theoretical perspectives to the context of breast cancer and transitional phases, the storytelling of individuals’ experiences can be analysed through narrative modulations fulfilled by relevant cognitive-linguistic and socio-cognitive processes. The concept of “storyline” represents the image schema of PATH, and more specifically, the image schema of SOURCE-PATH-GOAL. This image schema is evident in illness narratives and healthcare discourse with references of patients’ “journeys” and “pathways” (Tighe Clark et al. 2011; Willett, Michell, and Lee 2010; Semino, Demjén, and Demmen 2016). On the basis of this image schema, the emergence and advancement of a storyline relies on the function of narrative modulators that construct the path of storytelling with a certain strength, scope and stance. The strength of a modulator can be underlaid with

the image schema of FORCE that indicates the modulator's capacity in developing a storyline or a theme. Depending on their engagement with relevant narrative elements within a story, some modulators may exhibit a greater force than others. For example, the conceptual metaphor RECOVERING FROM BREAST CANCER IS A JOURNEY can be a modulator with a substantial force if it provides an effective framing power (Semino, Demjén, and Demmen 2016) that configures and coordinates relevant events, relationships and experiences as part of the "recovery" storyline. Conversely, if a metaphor has little interaction or engagement with other narrative elements, and as a result makes little contribution to the advancement of the storyline of "recovery", then its strength as a modulator will be minimal. Besides its strength, a modulator also has a scope of influence. The scope of a modulator refers to the range of aspects and themes that it contributes to, or has an effect on, in a story. For instance, in the storyline of "positive transition", if the narrator adopts "positive attitudes" as a psychosocial strategy for the purpose of managing the challenges in multiple aspects of her life, then this coping strategy serves as a narrative modulator with a broad scope in the story. Finally, a narrative modulator can endorse a certain stance, which involves certain motivations, values, emotions and beliefs. The stance of a modulator can correspond with or defy that of an existing storyline, and as a result strengthens or weakens such storyline. Take the metaphor RECOVERING FROM BREAST CANCER IS A JOURNEY for instance, if this metaphor supports the "recovery" storyline by promoting the motivation of regaining health and wellbeing, and in doing so weakens the storyline "cancer is a crisis", then the modulator can be said to have a stance in line with the former storyline, and a stance against the latter storyline. The stance of a modulator bears some resemblance of what Dancygier and Sweetser call an "experiential viewpoint" (2014) where a frame evoked and selected for narrative composition reflects how the narrator / participant feels about the situation in question. A modulator's strength, scope and stance also depend on the personal, communal and cultural environment in which the story takes place.

In summary, narrative modulation is a dynamic and multi-modal process in storytelling that the storyteller relies upon for constructing the structure and content of the story and for maintaining an overall coherence in the act of storytelling. In doing so narrative modulation further attributes form and meaning to lived experiences. This chapter presents a case study that explores six breast cancer survivors' transitional experiences based on their self-reflective writing. The concept of narrative modulation discussed in this section is employed in the case study to examine the narrative data in order to reveal how relevant processes and strategies serve to modulate storytelling. Attention is placed to cognitive-linguistic and social cognitive approaches of image schemas, conceptual metaphors, frames, as well as coping and adjustment strategies.

#### 4. Study design and data analysis

For the purpose of understanding the ways breast cancer survivors experience the transitional period as discussed in Sections 2 and 3, a qualitative case study was conducted in the oncology department of a major metropolitan hospital in China. The design of the study and the data collection procedure were reviewed and approved by the ethics committee in the researcher's institute and by the governing body of the hospital. A recruitment letter was prepared by the researcher and was distributed in the oncology department over a three-month period. Potential participants then contacted the researcher to indicate their willingness to proceed further. In order to take part in the case study, participants would need to fulfil the criteria of being diagnosed with breast cancer within the previous 12 months at the time of recruitment. At the end of the recruitment period, eight potential participants got in touch with the researcher, and six of them fulfilled the selection criteria. All six participants submitted their written consent to take part in the study. All participants were female. The average age of the participants was 51, ranging from 34 to 63. The participants were each invited by the researcher to provide a written account of their personal experience with breast cancer. They were encouraged to write the story in their preferred style, order and length. The participants were also made aware that they could include any relevant individuals in their stories, as long as the persons mentioned were anonymised. All six participants completed their writings within eight calendar weeks, and the narrative data were then transcribed digitally for analysis. The average length of the narrative was 1258 words.

Employing the analytical methods reviewed in Section 3 that attend to both the substantive and the active sides of narrative composition, the data analysis consisted of two phases. In the first phase, the author (i.e. the researcher of the study) conducted a content analysis that employed thematic analysis to identify the themes and storylines within the narrative data. The results were then scrutinized by an independent researcher who was familiar with the research method. A subsequent discussion of the results then took place between the independent researcher and the author, and the final lists of storylines and themes were confirmed at the end of the discussion. The results are presented in Tables 1 and 2 below. In the tables, the narratives are indexed with numbers 1 to 6 and are marked with identified storylines and themes. Following the content analysis phase, the author carried out a discourse analysis with the focus on narrative modulation in the second phase of data analysis. Informed by the theoretical frameworks in narrative inquiry, cognitive linguistics and social cognition outlined in Section 3, the analysis examined the modulation process in the narrative data with respect to

the identified storylines and themes. The results of the narrative data are discussed in Section 5 below.

**Table 1.** Storylines in the narrative data

| No. | Storylines   | N1 | N2 | N3 | N4 | N5 | N6 |
|-----|--|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1   | The diagnosis of breast cancer was a crisis.                   | √  | √  | √  | √  | √  | √  |
| 2   | Health and wellbeing can be restored.                          | √  |    | √  |    |    | √  |
| 3   | My breast cancer experience has led to personal growth.        |    |    |    | √  |    |    |
| 4   | Living with breast cancer means continuous pain and suffering. |    | √  |    |    | √  |    |

**Table 2.** Themes in the narrative data

| No. | Themes                                   | N1 | N2 | N3 | N4 | N5 | N6 |
|-----|--|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1   | emotions (e.g. fear, sadness, anxiety)   | √  | √  | √  | √  | √  | √  |
| 2   | social support                           | √  | √  | √  | √  | √  | √  |
| 3   | decision making for treatment plans      | √  |    | √  | √  |    | √  |
| 4   | attitudes, beliefs and hopes             | √  | √  | √  | √  | √  | √  |
| 5   | treatment, medication and follow-up care | √  | √  |    | √  | √  | √  |
| 6   | physical side-effects                    | √  | √  |    |    | √  | √  |
| 7   | financial concerns                       | √  | √  |    |    |    |    |
| 8   | doctor-client relationships              | √  |    | √  | √  |    | √  |
| 9   | employment                               |    |    |    | √  |    | √  |
| 10  | meaning of illness                       |    |    |    | √  | √  |    |

## 5. Narrative modulation and meaning configuration in the narrative data

Following the previous discussions, this section examines the transitional stories narrated by six breast cancer survivors. In this study, a storyline refers to a narrative thread of a story in the way a participant experiences it (for example, the storyline of “having the cancer diagnosis”). A theme refers to a specific topic within a story. For instance, “emotions” and “social supports” are two distinct themes within the narrative data. There can be multiple storylines and themes throughout a story, as can be seen in Tables 1 and 2. The sub-sections below investigate how these storylines and themes are modulated and configured in the processes of storytelling.



## 5.1 The storyline of crisis

Although the six narratives present diverse patterns in storylines and themes (as shown in Tables 1 and 2), they share one striking similarity – all narratives perceive the diagnosis of cancer as a crisis. This storyline emerges at the beginning of the narratives, accompanied by negative emotions including fear, sadness, despair and anxiety. This crisis storyline and the theme of negative emotions are strongly supported by narrative modulation that involves conceptual metaphors, frames and the participants' coping strategies.

In the crisis storyline, the target domain of *CANCER* is metaphorically configured by the source domains of *THUNDERBOLT* (i.e. a sudden change of weather), *A FALLING SKY*, *DARKNESS* and *CONTAINER*. Examples (1a)-(1d) below illustrate the representation of these conceptual metaphors in linguistic expressions (as underlined in the examples). These expressions are all conventional expressions in the Chinese language in description of adversary situations. This can be understood as the framing power of metaphors (Semino, Demjén, and Demmen 2016) where a malignant entity (i.e. the diagnosis of breast cancer) creates an ominous situation that makes the individuals involved feel they suddenly lose their agency and are left powerless, helpless or incapacitated.

- (1) a. 收到病理报告的那一天，对我而言是一个晴天霹雳的日子！  
(Excerpt from N1)  
The day I received my pathology report was to me a day when a sudden thunderbolt struck the sky!
- b. 知道消息的那一刻，我感觉整个天快要塌下来。 (Excerpt from N3)  
At that moment of knowing the news, I felt the entire sky was about to fall down.
- c. 那一刻我眼前的所有人和物忽然全部漆黑一片。 (Excerpt from N4)  
At that moment, everything in front of me suddenly went pitch black.
- d. 看着眼前的癌症诊断结果，我一下陷入恐惧和无助。  
(Excerpt from N6)  
When staring at the cancer diagnosis, I suddenly sunk into fear and helplessness.

The crisis storyline is further strengthened by the activation of the conceptual frame of *DEATH*, where the participant is deeply worried by poor prognosis and the possibility of imminent death. Death anxiety is found to be experienced by many patients who are newly diagnosed with cancer (Sigrunn, Lindstrøm, and Underlid 2010). Linguistic expressions such as “death” (“死亡”), “life and death” (“生生死死”) and “leave this world” (“离开人世”) are used by the participants to convey their intense worries, fears and anxieties following the diagnosis. Although all six

participants experience a sudden and acute sense of being overwhelmed caused by the cancer diagnosis, their subsequent conceptualisations of the crisis storyline display qualitative differences. As can be observed from the narrative data, the crisis storyline is modulated by different image schemas and coping mechanisms in the participants' storytelling.

When narrating about their cancer diagnosis, four participants (in N1, N3, N4 and N6) explicitly mention the exact date or moment when they received the diagnosis, as expressed by the linguistic tokens "the day" ("那一天" in 1a), "at that moment" ("那一刻" in 1b and 1c), and "when (staring at)" ("看着" in 1d). Drawing the image schema of PATH and the "degree of extension" in schematic categories (Talmy 2000), it can be argued that the cancer diagnosis is perceived as a precise point on each participant's path of life. This "point-like" structure is used to signify the cancer diagnosis as the end of the participants' "familiar life" and the start of a transition from health to illness (Kralik and van Loon 2007). In these four narratives, the cancer diagnosis is a critical turning-point where the participants feel decisions and actions are needed in response to the life-threatening situation. As indicated in Table 2, the themes of "decision making" and "social support" are present in N1, N3, N4 and N6. Example (2) is selected from N1 for the discussion of these themes within the crisis storyline.

- (2) 但事实终究是事实，无论如何，我都得面对。在家人和朋友的支持下，我选择了积极。我选择了权威的S医院乳腺科，并选择了临床经验丰富的L主任和W主任。 (Excerpt from N1)

But facts were facts, and I had to face them no matter what. With the support of my family and friends, I chose to be positive. I chose the well-reputed oncology department at S hospital, and I chose the clinically experienced Consultant L and Consultant W.

In line with the PATH image schema, the model of Social Cognitive Transition (Brennan 2001) outlines a "life trajectory" that offers goals and plans for an individual's future actions. With the model of narrative modulation, the participant's life trajectory is mapped onto a storyline, and is modulated by the participants' coping strategies that act upon their beliefs and attitudes during the cancer crisis by seeking support from social networks and accessing available resources in the participants' own sociocultural contexts. These modulating processes can be observed in Example (2). The example shows the participant adopts a problem-focused coping strategy that actively tackles and confronts the issue at hand (i.e. breast cancer). Research evidence supports that problem-focused coping strategies are likely to lead to positive outcomes in the transitional period (Stanton et al. 2000). The example also highlights the modulator played by the participants' support network (i.e. family and friends) who assist and encourage the participant's

problem-focused strategy in the time of crisis. Consequently, the positive attitude and social support serve to mitigate the crisis storyline, and in the meantime facilitate the emergence of a new storyline that acts against the existing storyline of crisis. As it is discussed in the next section, this newly emerged storyline is to gain further strength and momentum as storytelling progresses to the treatment phase. Although the emergent storyline is not yet fully-fledged at this stage, it already exhibits a clear sense of agency. The verb “choose” (“选择”) appears three times in the example, highlighting the participant’s desire to regain control of her own life trajectory, and by doing so steering away from the crisis storyline evoked by the cancer diagnosis. The theme of decision-making is also explicitly mentioned in the other three participants (N3, N4 and N6), in which the participants and their family members actively seek medical treatments and care from medical providers. When threatened by critical illness, patients tend to welcome a sense of authority from medical institutions and professionals (Brennan 2001). Patient’s choices of medical providers, however, would depend on their abilities to access financial, logistical, informational and other resources. This is particularly evident in China’s medical system where healthcare clients’ choices of medical providers largely depend on their demographic characteristics (Yip, Wang, and Liu 1998; Brown and Theoharides 2009). In N1, the participant’s ability to access medical resources and to make informed treatment choice directly contributes to her sense of regaining control amid the breast cancer crisis. However, individuals who do not have similar access to resources and information may experience very different scenarios when encountering critical illness.

In contrast to the four narratives examined above, the other two narratives in the case study (N2 and N5) construct the crisis storyline from a different perspective. Although also seeing the diagnosis as the end point to their familiar life, N2 and N5 perceive the crisis storyline as an unbounded, continuous process (Talmy 2000). The expressions of “after knowing...” (“在得知...后”) in Example (3a) and “since...” (“自...以来”) in (3b) indicate the health crisis starts after the diagnosis and continues into the present and possibly to the future of the participants’ life trajectories.

- (3) a. 在得知自己患上乳腺癌后，我茫然，绝望，不知所措。

(Excerpt from N2)

After knowing I had breast cancer, I was lost, despaired, and knew not what to do.

- b. 自得了乳腺癌以来，已经不记得有多少次夜不能眠，泪湿枕头。

(Excerpt from N5)

Since having breast cancer, I cannot remember how many sleepless nights I have had when my tears soaked the pillow.

Opposite to the problem-focused approach in the previous four narratives, the participants in N2 and N5 adopt an emotion-focused approach that highlights negative emotions and associated behaviours (e.g. feeling “lost”, “despaired”, suffering from insomnia and crying). Although the theme of “social support” is also present in these two narratives with family members offering console and sympathy, no explicit actions or action plans are mentioned in the narratives. The beginning of N2 and N5 is therefore mainly dominated by the storyline of cancer crisis without the emergence of an alternative storyline.

Despite the different perceptions of breast cancer in the narrative data, the initial responses to the cancer diagnosis in all six narratives are experienced as overwhelming and intense, affecting virtually every aspect of the participants' lives. This degree of intensity is modulated by image schemas, frames and conceptual metaphors with negative valence. These modulators are both strong in strength and wide in scope in the process of storytelling, resulting in a powerful storyline of breast cancer crisis at the beginning of the narratives. The sections below investigate how this crisis storyline is modulated in the subsequent parts of the narratives and whether it is counteracted by any emergent storylines.

## 5.2 The storyline of restitution

Following the breast cancer diagnosis, storytelling in the narrative data moves on to recount the participants' experiences in the treatment phase and the follow-up care phase. Three narratives (N1, N3, and N6) present a shared storyline of “health and wellbeing can be restored” (see Table 1). The storyline focuses on treatment, recovery and restoration of health. It resonates strongly with Frank's restitution type of narrative that emphasises an individual's journey of returning to their previous state of health (1995). In N1, N3 and N6, narrative modulations are carried out by social cognitive processes with a clear stance that supports the restitution storyline and its associated themes, and by doing so mitigating the crisis storyline.

As discussed in Section 5.1, storytelling of N1, N3 and N6 begins with a breast cancer crisis. There is, however, an emergence of the restitution storyline just before the stories move on to the treatment stage. Following this, all three narratives continue to unfold the restitution storyline. Amongst the modulators, two conceptual metaphors are the most salient: the metaphor of “being ill with breast cancer is a journey” (hereafter referred to as the JOURNEY metaphor); and “to treat and to recover from breast cancer is to have a violent confrontation with the illness” (hereafter referred to as the VIOLENCE metaphor). These two metaphors are illustrated in Examples (4a–d):

- (4) a. 我表示一定积极配合医生做相应的治疗，憧憬着在L医生和W医生的帮助下，早日战胜病魔，重返美好生活。 (Excerpt from N1)  
I expressed that I would actively cooperate with the doctors to carry out relevant treatment. With the help of Dr. L and Dr. W, I look forward to soon overcoming the demon of illness and returning to the good life.
- b. 我知道抗癌是一条漫长的路，但我坚信通过我的努力，再加上有一支这么专业和有责任感的医疗团队的支持，我很快就可以重新回到职场，恢复正常的生活。痛苦终将过去，前方依然还是会很美好的。 (Excerpt from N6)  
I know fighting cancer is a long road, but I firmly believe that with my effort as well as the support of a highly professional and responsible medical team, I will soon make my way back to the work place and resume a normal life. Pain will eventually be gone, and what lies ahead will still be beautiful.
- c. T医生鼓励我首先要有一个正面的心态，这样可以帮助提高自身的免疫力，把病魔打倒。这是抗癌的第一步。 (Excerpt from N3)  
Dr. T encouraged me that I would first need to have a positive attitude. This would help boost my immune system and defeat the demon of illness. This was the first step in fighting cancer.
- d. 有T医生和我并肩作战，我有了更加积极的心态对抗病魔，打倒病魔。 (Excerpt from N3)  
With Dr. T fighting by my side, I developed an even more positive attitude to fight the demon of illness and to defeat the demon of illness.  
N3

The JOURNEY metaphor is represented in Examples (4) a, b, and c, selected from N1, N6 and N3 respectively. Expressions of “returning” (“重返” in 4a), “make my way back to” (“重新回到” in 4b), “a long road” (“漫长的路” in 4b), and “first step” (“第一步” in 4c) employ the source domain of JOURNEY and the image schema of PATH, which are mapped onto the domain of cancer treatment and recovery. The VIOLENCE metaphor is employed in all three narratives, and is particularly foregrounded in N3. The narratives refer to breast cancer as the demon of illness (“病魔” in 4a, c and d), which is a conventional phrase in Chinese for critical illness. Breast cancer is thus framed as an ominous and dangerous opponent that the participants must “fight” (“抗” in 4b, 4c and 4d), “overcome” (“战胜” in 4a) and “defeat” (“打倒” in 4c and 4d). Subsequently, clinicians who work with the participants during the treatment process are framed as allies “fighting by their sides” (“并肩作战” in 4d) against cancer. Recent research has revealed that the VIOLENCE metaphor and the JOURNEY metaphor are instrumental in the conceptualisation of people’s experiences with cancer (Semino et al. 2017). Although the VIOLENCE metaphor has received some criticism of being negative and clinicians have been

warned to use this metaphor with caution, Semino and her colleagues point out that a blanket rejection of the VIOLENCE metaphor would deprive patients of the metaphor's positive functions (2017). In the above examples, the VIOLENCE metaphor serve to promote the participants' positive attitudes, which is a crucial factor in the positive transition from a cancer sufferer to a cancer survivor. Importantly, as illustrated in (4c), the VIOLENCE metaphor is first used by the clinician for the purpose of encouraging the participant to adopt a positive attitude in order to "defeat" cancer. This metaphor is then embraced by the participant in (4d) in her active response and behaviours. This supports the view that the VIOLENCE metaphor can function as an effective modulator in strengthening the restitution storyline when an individual is willing to embrace such conceptual mapping, and to share it with the medical staff, with whom the participant has a mutually trusting and collaborative relationship.

Aside from conceptual metaphors and their associated image schemas and frames, coping strategies (e.g. problem-focused and emotion-focused approaches including positive thinking and cooperative mentalities) also serve as effective narrative modulators in storytelling to support the restitution storyline and its associated themes. When talking about treatments, medication and follow-up care, the participants mention physical side effects and emotional ups and downs. These challenges are resolved by the participants' combined approach of problem-focused and emotion-focused strategies. Adopting the problem-focused strategy, the participants foster collaborative working relationships with their medical team through different stages of treatment and follow-up care. In N1 and N3, the consultants become part of the participants' support network. All three participants feel their biomedical as well as emotional needs are met by their medical teams. This in turn promotes a narrative stance that holds the belief of getting well through regaining self-control and agency (Stanton et al. 2000). With the support of the narrative modulators, storytelling in N1, N3 and N6 gradually moves away from the crisis storyline and instead focuses on the emergent storyline of restitution. With the narrative stance that is in line with the restitutions storyline, the modulation process in N1, N3 and N6 largely mitigates the once powerful crisis storyline, and as a result promotes positive transition experiences.

### 5.3 The storyline of inner growth

Similar to the three narratives discussed above, the storyline of breast cancer crisis is effectively mitigated in N6 in subsequent storytelling. Instead of highlighting the pursuit of a full recovery, N6 focuses on the storyline of "my breast cancer experience has led to personal growth" (see Table 1). The emergence of this storyline is initiated by the participant's emphasis on her acceptance of the illness

after diagnosis. The process of acceptance, alongside other narrative modulators played by metaphors, image schemas and frames, is employed by the participant to compose an introspective reflection of her personal growth out of her illness experience. These aspects are illustrated in Examples (5) a and b below:

- (5) a. 我慢慢接受了这个事实 – 我患了乳腺癌，我是一个癌症病人了。  
接下来，我做的所有事情都是为了配合医生开始治疗。

(Excerpt from N6)

I gradually accepted this fact – that I had breast cancer, and I was a cancer patient. Following that, everything I did was to work with the doctors to carry out treatment.

- b. 这段经历既是治疗和康复的过程，也是一段内心自我强大的过程 – 从惶恐到接受再到平静。只有在撕开那外表恐怖的包装后，我才发现上帝送来的礼物的真正价值。 (Excerpt from N6)

This experience was both a process of treatment and recovery, and a process of inner personal growth – from fear to acceptance and to peace. Only after ripping off its terrifying packaging, I found out the real value of this godsent gift.

Throughout N6, the image schema of PROCESS is used to underline the participant's transitional phases – “fear” (“惶恐”), “acceptance” (“接受”) and “peace” (“平静”). The participant's acceptance of the illness marks the start of a “healthy personal development” and “posttraumatic growth” (Tedeschi, Park, and Calhoun 1998) that rise above the cancer crisis storyline as discussed in Section 5.1. Different from N1, N3 and N6 where the narrative modulators persistently steer the stories toward the domain of HEALTH and away from the domain of ILLNESS, N6 employs the process of categorisation that positions the participant as a “cancer patient” at the treatment stage. This evokes a situated frame that prioritises treatment and recovery. This medical frame provides a situational context for a number of themes to be constructed in N6, including “treatment, medication and follow-up care”, “doctor-client relationship”, “decision making for treatment plans” and “the meaning of illness” (see Table 2). These themes, alongside the storyline of personal growth, are further modulated by social cognitive processes with which the participant critically evaluate her intrapersonal, interpersonal and social relationships during the transition. By adjusting life's priority and adopting an active coping strategy, the participant gains a greater sense of personal strength and agency (Watson et al. 1984; Brennan 2001, Calhoun and Tedeschi 2006). This is further supported by the metaphor with the source domain of GIFT and the image schema of CONTAINER that conceptualise going through breast cancer as a traumatic but meaningful experience with hidden values and opportunities of personal growth.

In the process of configuring the storyline of personal growth, the narrative modulators in N6 enable a “performative” stance of storytelling where the story involves, persuades and even moves an audience through language (Riessman 2003). This performative stance can be found in the following excerpt:

- (6) 回忆这段经历，有几点我特别想提到：第一，我们对自己的健康马虎不得...第二，找对医生很重要，要找技术好，而且关心病人的医生...最后，医生和病人要互相体谅，互相包容... (Excerpt from N6)

When recollecting this experience, I would especially like to mention a few points: first, we should not be negligent of our health... Second, it is important to find the right doctor who is both competent and caring about the patient... And finally, doctors and patients should be more considerate and tolerant of each other...

In Example (6), three pieces of advice are given to potential readers, concerning personal, interpersonal and sociocultural domains in the time of critical illness. The advice reflects a strong sense of agency, i.e. what “we” (patients; cancer survivors) should and can do in order to maintain good health, and in times of illness, to achieve personal growth. It also highlights the intricate interpersonal relationships and expectations between doctors and patients. Whilst considering herself to be a “fortunate healthcare client” who has met and worked with a competent and caring consultant, the participant acknowledges the same can not be said for many patients. She also suggests achieving a trusting doctor-patient relationship would require efforts from both parties. The last two points raised by the participant touch upon a sensitive issue in China’s medical system – a growing tension between medical professionals and patients. As reported in recent research, there has been widespread public concern in China about low levels of trust and poor communication between patients and doctors, which in extreme cases have even led to patients exhibiting violent behaviours towards medical staff (Zhang and Sleeboom-Faulkner 2011; Hesketh et al. 2012). Although the participant in N6 fosters a trusting relationship with her doctors, she is aware of the conflicts and tensions prevalent in China’s patient care. Her advice for the improvement of doctor-patient relationships reflects a cultural-specific perspective where a “compassionate mentality” (Crawford et al. 2013) is encouraged not only for medical professionals and organisations, but also for patients and their family members during clinical encounters.

The use of conceptual metaphors, image schemas, frames, as well as socio-cognitive processes and strategies facilitate the storytelling in N6 to construct a storyline of positive personal growth out of the breast cancer crisis. The narrative modulators further support a performative stance through which the



participant shares her personal story and advice on health and wellbeing with potential audiences.

With social support and effective communication with the medical team, as well as access to financial and informational resources, the participants in N1, N3, N4 and N6 exhibit the psychosocial pattern of successful transitions of breast cancer survivors (Brennan 2001; Knobf 2011). Narrative modulations performed by a series of social cognitive processes and strategies in these narratives exhibit strong modulating strengths, wide narrative scopes as well as positive stances in mitigating the breast cancer crisis and fostering the storylines of restitution and personal growth. As observed in Section 5.1, N2 and N5 adopt a different approach to the conceptualisation of the breast cancer crisis, which indicates a less positive transitional process. The next section examines how a different type of storyline and associated themes are modulated and composed in these two narratives.

#### 5.4 The storyline of continuous pain and suffer

As discussed in Section 5.1, the breast cancer crisis in N2 and N5 is perceived as a continuous process. Following the diagnosis stage, the storyline of pain and suffering is sustained with associated themes of treatment and medication that lead to physical side-effects, as well as emotions and attitudes with negative valence, and (the lack of) doctor-patient relationships (See Table 2). Similar to the four narratives in previous discussions, N2 and N5 employ social cognitive processes as narrative modulators in the composition of storylines and themes. However, because the stance of the modulators is still largely in line with the crisis storyline, the narratives in N2 and N5 more or less follow this existing storyline. Overtime, although the crisis storyline becomes less acute, a counter-crisis storyline does not fully emerge in these two narratives.

- (7) a. 虽然身体上的疾病可以通过手术和药物得以治疗，但是心理上，情感上的伤痛并不是那么容易恢复的。 (Excerpt from N2)

Although physical illness can be treated with surgeries and medication, psychological and emotional pains and wounds are not that easy to heal.

- b. 在这痛苦的治病过程中，最痛苦的是无尽的等待：等待宣判（手术前的检查），等待受刑（化疗，放疗），等待定期审查（检查）...

(Excerpt from N5)

During this painful process of treatment and recovery, the most painful was the endless waiting: waiting to be sentenced (e.g. the preoperational assessment), waiting to be punished (e.g. chemotherapies, radiotherapies), waiting for the periodic reviews (e.g. follow-up check-ups) ...

- c. 我希望未来的患者在患病过程中能够少一点痛，多一点快乐。  
(Excerpt from N5)  
I wish future patients will be able to have a little less pain and a little more happiness in the time of illness.
- d. 希望医生和患者应该彼此多体谅一下吧，政府应该更有效地进行医改吧。  
(Excerpt from N2)  
[I] hope doctors and patients can be more considerate of each other, and the government should carry out a more effective healthcare reform.

In both narratives, the storyline of continuous pain and suffering is consistently modulated by the conceptual metaphor of PAIN. This metaphor is supported by the conceptual frame of PAIN AND HEALING in N2, and the frame of CRIME AND PUNISHMENT in N5. Both metaphors are constructed on an embodied basis where the physical pain is extended to the emotional and psychological domain. In N2, the crisis and trauma of breast cancer remain after the physical symptoms are gone, and the recovery of the emotional pain is experienced by the participant as a long and difficult process. In N5, the participant's experience is construed within the conceptual frame of CRIME AND PUNISHMENT, which positions the participant as a helpless, powerless prisoner being punished by her illness. With these metaphors being narrative modulators with disempowering functions, the storyline of breast cancer crisis is sustained and alternative storylines are suppressed in both narratives. This supports the findings in a recent study (Semino et al. 2017) that metaphors can have both empowering and disempowering functions in narrative construction depending on their framing and contextual perspectives. It is important, therefore, for medical professionals to be vigilant when understanding and evaluating patients' experiences in the context of cancer care.

The storyline of continuous pain and suffering in N2 and N5 is also modulated by social cognitive processes that reveal the participants' struggle in acquiring the support and resources that they need during cancer treatment and recovery. Although both participants mention social support from friends and family (see Table 2), they also experience difficulties in accessing relevant resources (e.g. interpreting medical information, navigating through the medical insurance system). The interpersonal relationships between the participants and their doctors are also described as "hard to reach the doctors" ("很难找到医生") and "hard to talk to" ("不容易沟通"). This resonates with the observation made by the participant in N4 as previously discussed, where inconsistencies in the standards of patient care exist and persist across China's healthcare system, leaving many patients, especially those from disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds, in dire and vulnerable situations. Consequent to these difficulties and struggles, the narrative theme of "decision making for treatment plans" (see Table 2) that is prominent in the other four narratives is absent in both N2 and N5, which further worsens the participants' sense of pain and suffering.

Despite a continuous illness storyline in N2 and N5, both participants express hopes and wishes for improvements in future events. Similar to N4, a performative stance with a positive affective valance is adopted in these two narratives to address a broad readership of patients, healthcare providers and the government. Example (7c) hopes for better emotional wellbeing of fellow patients. This is the first and only time when an emotion with positive valence (i.e. “happy”, “快乐”) appears in the narrative. In the modulation process, this positive affect lacks sufficient strength or scope to counteract the dominant illness and crisis storylines, but it does present a stance toward a more positive attitude, indicating possibilities for a positive transition in subsequent and future actions. Example (7d) shares some similarities with Example (6) in that both participants feel a trusting doctor-patient relationship would be beneficial but is difficult to pursue in their experience. Example (7d) takes this one step further by urging the Chinese Government for “more effective healthcare reform”. Drawing on the available narrative content and the relevant sociocultural context in China’s ongoing medical reform, it can be inferred that the “medical reform” mentioned in N2 refers to China’s ongoing development of the “New Rural Cooperative Medical System” (NRCMS) (Ministry of Health 2003). Healthcare clients who are newly introduced to the scheme with limited information and support (such as the participant in N2) can find NRCMS complicated and difficult to navigate. This can intensify the patient’s stress and anxiety during an already overwhelming health crisis. Adopting a performative approach, the participant in N2 advocates a better and fairer access to NRCMS for fellow patients as well as herself. Although this single statement does not alter the overall storyline of crisis and illness in N2, it serves to mitigate the existing storyline by conveying the participant’s positive belief that patient care can and should be improved by joint-actions from all social agents involved.

The narrative modulators in N2 and N5 bear a strong performative stance, which pinpoints the limitations and constraints that are detrimental to the participants’ successful transitions from a health crisis to survivorship. These limitations and constraints are deep rooted in the participants’ socioeconomic and cultural contexts, ranging from patient-clinician relationships on individual bases to the broader healthcare issues that affect patient care and patient outcomes on a nation-wide scale. This finding further illustrates that narrative modulation is a useful concept for not only academic researchers, but also healthcare practitioners and policy makers in understanding patient experience. With the ability to fully comprehend how a cancer patient’s transitional experience is shaped and configured by narrative modulators with their distinct scopes, strengths and stances, healthcare providers can better target and tackle the difficulties and barriers that hinder the patient’s recovery process.

## 6. Conclusion

This chapter presents an exploratory study that introduces and examines an original concept of “narrative modulation” that focuses on the compositional and configurational processes in narrative storytelling. The concept is employed to analyse the self-reflective narratives written by six breast cancer survivors, and the findings illustrate the participants’ diverse transitional experiences from diagnosis to survivorship. Four storylines in the narrative data – that of “crisis”, “restitution”, “personal growth” and “continuous suffering” – are found to be constructed and modulated by a series of social cognitive processes and mechanisms through narrative storytelling. These processes, including conceptual metaphors, image schemas, frames and coping strategies, exhibit distinct strengths, scopes and stances in the modulation process. Although all six narratives perceive the breast cancer diagnosis as an acute and intense crisis, this storyline is modulated alongside different subsequent storylines. Three narratives in this case study establish a storyline of “restitution” that is modulated with the conceptual metaphors of *JOURNEY* and *VIOLENCE*, along with positive coping strategies and problem-focused approaches. This emergent storyline counteracts the crisis storyline and presents a psychosocial pattern of positive transition in these narratives. Another narrative in the case study reveals a storyline of “personal growth”, which focuses on the meaning of illness and the philosophy of life. Modulators played by the positive coping mechanism of acceptance, conceptual metaphors, image schemas and frames enable the participant to re-prioritise and re-evaluate her intrapersonal, interpersonal and social situations. In doing so, the modulation process mitigates the breast cancer crisis in storytelling, and in the meantime strengthens the participant’s life trajectory toward a positive transition. In comparison to these four narratives, the last two narratives in the case study adopt a storyline of “continuous pain and suffering”. This storyline is modulated by conceptual metaphors and frames with negative affective valence and disempowering functions. As a result, the breast cancer crisis storyline is largely sustained and left unchallenged in these two narratives, thereby indicating a potentially negative transition. Despite this, the end of the two narratives are both configured by modulators with positive valence, providing potential for an emergent storyline with a stance of positive transition.

Amongst the six narratives, the participants’ transitional experiences are modulated within the context of China’s healthcare services. It is illustrated in the narrative data that while some participants have adequate access to relevant resources and support, other participants experience difficulties and barriers in accessing healthcare resources and navigating through the medical care and insurance system. These diverse patterns of patient experience are communicated to the readers through a performative stance constructed in the narrative modulation

and storytelling processes. The performative stance is especially intensified in the participants' hopes and desires for the improvement of doctor-patient relationships and the effectiveness of the reform of China's current medical insurance system.

Overall, the concept of narrative modulation developed in this study provides an interdisciplinary perspective on how social cognitive processes can work together in configuring and constructing storylines and themes within a narrative. Based on the result of a small case study, the findings presented in this chapter cannot be generalised. However, the model of narrative modulation developed in this chapter offers scholars, clinicians and policy makers a helpful analytical approach to interpreting and understanding healthcare clients' experiences. Finally, the diversity of patient behaviours and doctor-patient relationships revealed in the narrative data indicate a series of deep-rooted, underlying socioeconomic and cultural factors that are determinants to a holistic understanding of patient experience. By having the capacity to observe, understand and evaluate how narrative modulation functions and impacts on patients' life stories, clinicians and healthcare organizations can better act upon the narrative evidence to develop targeted, patient-centred care plans, encouraging positive transitions in cancer survivorship. The theoretical aspects as well as the practical implications of narrative modulation presented in this chapter shall serve to inform and support future research of narrative evidence and patient experience in healthcare communication and beyond.

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# Framing the onset of obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD)

## Women's experiences of changes in the body

Olivia Knapton

Despite quantitative research showing differences between obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) across genders, little research has qualitatively explored women's experiences of the disorder. This chapter combines image schemas with illness narrative analysis to explore how women with OCD link the onset of the disorder to traumatic changes in their bodies that are experienced as a crisis. It is argued that the bodily changes disrupt the image schemas that provide stable conceptualisations of the body. The disintegration of the stable body leads to conceptualisations of OCD that, to various degrees, frame OCD as an attempt to regain control over the changed body. Thus, the women make sense of OCD onset by connecting it to personal crises and relationships within specific sociocultural contexts.

**Keywords:** obsessive-compulsive disorder, OCD, women, onset, traumatic events, embodiment, illness narratives, image schemas, qualitative, discourse

### 1. Introduction

From a clinical perspective, obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) is a mental health problem that is diagnosed when the person experiences relentless, anxiety-inducing obsessions (such as having a disease or forgetting to turn off the cooker) that they attempt to get rid of through repetitive compulsions (such as washing hands or excessive checking) (American Psychiatric Association 2013a). From the perspective of the sufferer, OCD is not only experienced as a mental health problem but also as a debilitating, personal crisis that can consume their everyday lives and make carrying out even the smallest of tasks an overwhelming burden.

While clinical research has identified that lifetime prevalence rates of OCD in the general population are evenly spread across genders (Lochner and Stein 2001), it has been found that females are more likely than males to have washing compulsions (Tükel et al. 2004; Labad et al. 2008), and males are more likely than females to have sexual obsessions (Tükel et al. 2004; Labad et al. 2008; Fullana et al. 2010). Like the overwhelming majority of clinical research on OCD, these gender differences have been found by quantitative studies that ask large samples of participants to rate statements on self-report inventories (e.g. the Padua Inventory, Sanavio 1988). The inventory scores are then analysed statistically to determine relationships between demographic characteristics and symptomatology.

While quantitative, positivist measures have been useful for illuminating the general differences between genders, there is little research exploring the qualitative, subjective experiences of women (or men) with OCD. Data collected through qualitative methods, such as interviews, allow participants to express their experiences of OCD in their own words without needing to conform to the rigid and generic statements found on inventories (Van Schalkwyk et al. 2016; Knapton 2016b). In the current study, three case studies drawn from interviews with women with OCD are analysed using approaches from Cognitive Linguistics and illness narrative analysis (e.g. Bury 1982, Williams 1984) in order to explore the relationships between conceptualisations of the body and the onset of OCD. More specifically, the study aims to investigate how the body is conceptualised by the women in these case studies through various image schemas (Johnson 1987) and how unwanted bodily changes can disrupt the stability provided by those image schemas. This qualitative approach allows a focus on individual understandings and sense-making of OCD as a crisis, which cannot be captured by the quantitative approaches that currently feed into the medical definitions and categorisations of OCD.

## 2. Moving beyond medical approaches

As noted, little research has qualitatively explored how sociocultural factors and individual life events can play a role in the development and maintenance of OCD. However, quantitative clinical studies on OCD do suggest links between the disorder, gender and traumatic life events, which further strengthens the argument for an approach that addresses the socially situated nature of the disorder.

## 2.1 Medical definitions of mental health disorders

Now in its fifth edition, the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-5) (American Psychiatric Association 2013a) is the guide most commonly used by health professionals to diagnose mental health problems. In essence, the DSM serves as a classificatory system that “[fosters] agreement among practitioners by providing common diagnostic categories” based on clinical research (Davis 2008: 9). This medicalised approach to mental health is perhaps best captured by the following definition of what constitutes a mental health disorder provided in the DSM-5:

A mental health disorder is a syndrome characterized by clinically significant disturbance in an individual's cognition, emotion regulation, or behaviour that reflects a dysfunction in the psychological, biological, or developmental processes underlying mental functioning. (American Psychiatric Association 2013a: 20).

As the above quote demonstrates, the medical approach positions mental health disorders as residing within the individual and as caused by some sort of biochemical impairment. As a result, disorders are framed as treatable by medication and as adhering to supposedly universal patterns that are set up in comparison to an assumed, healthy ‘normal’ (see Crowe 2000, Cooper 2014, Horwitz and Wakefield 2007, 2012).

The case of OCD highlights the power of clinical research to organise knowledge in ways that legitimise and circulate medical definitions of mental health problems in preference over possible, alternative definitions. In the DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association 2013a), OCD was classified as part of a new ‘obsessive-compulsive and related disorders’ category (along with other disorders involving repetitive thoughts and/or behaviours) whereas, in the DSM-4 (American Psychiatric Association 1994), OCD was categorised as an ‘anxiety disorder.’ The modification has been acknowledged as in part as due to the “clinical utility of grouping these disorders in the same chapter” rather than due to any inherent change in the disorders’ symptomatology (American Psychiatric Association 2013b: 7).

What is absent from medical definitions is the important role of the cultural, social and individual contexts in which a person develops a disorder. While disorders may be characterised by some generalisable patterns, an individual’s treatment and recovery will not be effective if highly personal “relational, social and material influences” are largely ignored (Murphy and Perera-Delcourt 2012: 3). In order to counterbalance the dominant discourses that construct mental health disorders as biochemical dysfunctions, approaches and methods that recognise the central role of the cultural, social and personal aspects of mental health disorders are required.

## 2.2 Sociocultural and individual contexts in OCD

One factor that appears to play a role in OCD symptomatology is gender. The DSM-5 summarises the clinical findings on gender differences in OCD as follows:

Males have an earlier age at onset of OCD than females and are more likely to have co-morbid tic disorders. Gender differences in the pattern of symptom dimensions have been reported, with, for example, females more likely to have symptoms in the cleaning dimension and males more likely to have symptoms in the forbidden thoughts and symmetry dimensions. Onset or exacerbation of OCD, as well as symptoms that can interfere with the mother-infant relationship (e.g., aggressive obsessions leading to avoidance of the infant), have been reported in the peripartum period. (American Psychiatric Association 2013a: 240).

Clinical studies (Mataix-Cols et al. 2004; Labad et al. 2008) tend to search for biological markers that can explain these differences between the OCD symptomatology of men and women. However, it would seem that these observations could be better explained by sociocultural factors rather than by an individual's biochemical make up. As Davis (2008: 16) points out, "one could argue that it is only with the development of the germ theory and an awareness of toxic chemicals in the environment that one could have developed the kind of contagious fear that motivates a compulsive cleaner". Moreover, if compulsive cleaners tend to be women rather than men, it is also arguable that the culturally entrenched view of women as fulfilling the tasks of cleaning, housework and looking after the family contributes to women's worries about precisely those activities. Similarly, OCD triggered by pregnancy and/or childbirth could well be due to the stresses and strains of these events rather than a change in hormones, as is suggested by some clinical research (e.g. Forray et al. 2010, Labad et al. 2005).

Indeed, personal crises and traumatic life events have repeatedly been found by clinical studies as a key trigger for the onset or exacerbation of OCD (e.g. Cromer, Schmidt, and Murphy 2007), particularly for post-puberty onset of the disorder (Millet et al. 2004). Moreover, rates of OCD appear to be higher amongst people who also have a diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (e.g. de Silva and Marks 1999), thus strengthening the argument for a relationship between traumatic events and the onset of OCD. Common triggering events for OCD include witnessing violence, having an accident or being assaulted (Gershuny et al. 2008); however, events that cause changes in the body (such as puberty, illness and pregnancy) can also be experienced as traumatic and as a crisis (see Beck 2016 for a study on PTSD following childbirth). These changes in the body may not necessarily trigger OCD through causing imbalances in biochemical markers but through the great personal and social impacts they inevitably have.

### 3. Cognitive linguistics, embodiment and mental health

One approach that could provide insights into the personal, individualised aspects of OCD is Cognitive Linguistics (henceforth CL). From the perspective of CL, the mental conceptualisations that organise our knowledge of and experiences with the world around us arise from our embodied interactions with our surroundings (see Evans and Green 2006). Language use reflects these mental conceptualisations and, thus, language is unavoidably a reflection of our embodied state as a thinking, sensing and acting human being. Issues of embodiment in experiences of OCD (both from the perspective of CL and other approaches) have been considered in only a handful of studies.

#### 3.1 Conceptual metaphor theory and OCD

Where CL has been used to explore personal experiences of mental health disorders, studies have tended to apply conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) in two key contexts. Firstly, research has investigated the construction and application of metaphors in therapy sessions (see Tay, this volume, and Ferrari, this volume) and, secondly, research has investigated metaphor use by people with specific disorders, such as depression (e.g. Charteris-Black 2012). For OCD, the disorder has been found to be framed through metaphors of a JOURNEY (e.g. “my journey through OCD”) or a BATTLE (e.g. “impossible to beat”) (Campbell and Longhurst 2013: 87–89). Yet these metaphors are not specific to OCD, being commonly drawn upon to frame subjective experiences of many diseases, such as cancer (e.g. Semino et al. 2017). Similarly, OCD has also been framed by people with the disorder as a threatening entity that is separate from the self (e.g. “a shark”) (Fennell and Liberato 2007: 322), which is arguably part of an externalisation process common to many disorders, such as anorexia (Knapton 2013). Where CL can perhaps provide some new insights into experiences of OCD is through the theory of image schemas.

#### 3.2 Image schemas and OCD

Image schemas are the primary units of cognition, such as CONTAINER, FORCE, BALANCE, UP-DOWN and TRAJECTORY, which are learned in early childhood through our embodied interactions (Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987). They are gestalt, coherent patterns with a consistent internal structure that help us to achieve meaning (Johnson 1987: 41). For example, the CONTAINER image schema must have an inside and an outside separated by a (more or less effective) boundary (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 31–33).

For OCD, a couple of studies have touched on the embodied nature of certain obsessions and compulsions. While not adopting embodied cognition approaches, these studies do appear to highlight the importance of the CONTAINER image schema for OCD, with a particular focus on the role of boundaries. Pajak and colleagues (2013) conducted a thematic analysis of mental images described by 20 participants who had obsessions about losing control of bowel or bladder functions in public. The participants described their obsessions as flash-forward mental images in which they pictured themselves being incontinent in their current public space. For 17/20 participants, these mental images were linked to distressing past experiences of being incontinent. In particular, participants reported that memories and fragments of the past experience were transposed onto the flash-forward image of the catastrophe feared to occur in the current public space. The majority of participants also reported physical sensations such as an urgent need to use the toilet, nausea or pain during these images.

The participants' qualitative descriptions in Pajak and colleagues' (2013) study portray an intense focus on one's contained body and one's bodily boundaries. The distressing past experience of a public breakdown of bodily boundaries becomes mapped onto the present sense of embodiment, heightening an awareness of one's body in the current public space. Segrott and Doel (2004) also theorise that people who have fears of germs require barriers around the self to be erected (e.g. by wearing gloves) and protected (e.g. by washing the hands). However, in public places where the movement of objects and people through space is uncontrollable, it becomes impossible to keep these barriers intact. The boundaries of the self are therefore threatened by external forces that have the capability to infiltrate the self, changing the person's current embodied state into one of contamination.

In a study specifically exploring image schemas and OCD symptoms, Knapton (2016a) argues that the image schema of a CONTAINER is also significant for obsessions about the meaning of one's own thoughts (e.g. obsessions about whether having 'immoral' thoughts makes one an immoral person). In OCD episodes involving these kinds of obsessions, it is not the boundaries of the physical body that need protecting, but the boundaries of the mind. The person performs their compulsions to ensure that their mind, which is conceptualised as contained and bounded, is protected from unwanted thoughts, which are conceptualised as external and trying to infiltrate the mind. In contrast, OCD episodes involving obsessions about catastrophes (e.g. the house burning down), tend to be structured by a SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema in which the feared catastrophe is conceptualised as moving further away from the self, thus becoming more uncontrollable. The findings of Knapton (2016a) provide insights into the cognitive underpinnings of OCD that have not been suggested by clinical research. CL

can therefore offer new routes into the nuances of OCD that are not made visible through quantitative measures searching for generalised patterns.

In recent years, the theory of image schemas has been criticised for focussing on the decontextualised, maximally schematic character of the conceptualisation at the expense of investigating their context-based usage (Kimmel 2005; Hampe 2005). The current study demonstrates how image schema theory can be combined with narrative theories to create an approach to discourse analysis that highlights the situated, individualised nature of image schema usage.

#### 4. Illness narratives

Existing outside of the medical domain, illness narratives are one way in which people come to understand their illness experiences and create the social realities of living with illness and suffering (Hydén 1997). While acute illness may be brief, chronic illness can cause significant disruption to a person's life (Bury 1982), thus also disrupting their identity and their relationships with their body and their surroundings. While medical science often does not provide patients with satisfactory explanations for a breakdown of a coherent identity (Williams 1984), illness narratives integrate symptoms and experiences into a new life, one that connects past social experiences to illness experiences (Williams 1984; Hydén 1997) and allows the changed body to become familiar once again (Frank 1995). Thus, reconstructing one's life story by telling narratives about chronic illness and, in particular, about the onset and cause of the illness is a key way of creating meaning from an event that has significantly altered one's expected life trajectory (Bury 1982; Williams 1984).

While CL and illness narrative frameworks have rarely been brought together, Huang (this volume) demonstrates how cognitive processes such as conceptual metaphor and image schemas are used by women with breast cancer to construct narratives about their experiences of the illness. Similarly to the current chapter, Huang adopts a case study approach that advocates an analysis of cognitive processes within extended stretches of narrative discourse rather than drawing conclusions about phrases removed from their surrounding context. Through this approach, Huang argues that cognitive processes can be examined for their role in the telling of illness narratives (i.e. *how* the narrative is constructed) as well as their thematic content (i.e. *what* the narrative is about).

As illness narratives are inherently social in nature, they are also told with specific addressees in mind and within a specific situational context (Frank 1995). A criticism often levelled at CL is that it rarely tries to account for the social, communicative functions of language and instead emphasises the internal workings



of the mind (Croft 2009). This study, however, follows recent arguments that image schemas are linguistically realised for the purposes and aims of situated communication (Kimmel 2005; Hart 2011; Velasco Sacristàn and Cortes de los Rios 2009). For example, the image schema CONTAINER can be linguistically constructed in multiple ways (such as *the city walls kept out the army*, or *the city walls protected the civilians*), with each construction focussing on different elements of the image schema.

By bringing together image schema theory and illness narratives, the current chapter demonstrates several characteristics of image schemas that are often overlooked in CL research. Firstly, it is shown how image schemas can provide structure to extended stretches of discourse, not only to the isolated phrases commonly found in CL studies. Secondly, it is shown how the specific use of an image schema within a personal narrative can be seen to connect with widely available, sociocultural knowledge. Finally, owing to the embodied nature of image schemas, it is argued that first-person narratives involving an intense focus on the body (such as illness) can provide a rich source of data for exploring the situated usage of image schemas.

## 5. Aims

This chapter presents three case studies that provide initial insights into how women with OCD can construct the onset of the disorder as caused by unwanted and often traumatic changes in their bodies. Through cognitive linguistic analysis of OCD onset narratives told by the women, it is demonstrated how the body can be conceptualised through various image schemas, and how bodily changes can disrupt the expected and stable nature of the body provided by those image schemas. It is also shown how, for these women, the disintegration of the stable body leads to several conceptualisations of OCD onset, which, to various degrees, frame OCD as an attempt to regain control over the changed body. Additionally, this chapter explores how the women make sense of their experiences of OCD by telling narratives about the disorder's onset and connecting it to highly personal events. In this light, OCD is addressed as a disorder that cannot be separated from the sociocultural contexts in which it is embedded.

## 6. Methods

### 6.1 Ethical approval

This study was granted ethical approval by the King's College London Social Sciences, Humanities and Law research ethics sub-committee (Ref: SSSL/10/11–4). Pseudonyms were used at all stages from transcription to publication.

### 6.2 Recruitment and participants

Two charities in the UK (OCD Action and OCD-UK) uploaded a recruitment advert onto their websites and then potential participants contacted the researcher directly. Participants had to be age 18 or over and speak English fluently. The study was open to participants with a clinical diagnosis of OCD as well as participants who self-identify as having OCD; however, in the end, every participant did have a clinical diagnosis of OCD. Participants were not excluded if they had diagnoses of additional mental health problems, and particular genders, age ranges or symptoms of OCD were not targeted. Fifteen participants with OCD (10 women, 5 men; age range 23–56) were recruited between July 2011 and December 2011.

### 6.3 Data collection

Each participant completed an audio-recorded, semi-structured interview with the author of the paper. Open-ended questions about the participants' personal experiences of OCD, the onset of OCD and public perceptions of OCD were asked in the interviews. All participants gave written informed consent to be interviewed.

### 6.4 Data selection and analysis

The interviews were transcribed following the transcription methods of Chafe (1980) and Gee (1986), which divides spoken discourse into smaller units distinguishable by changes in intonation and semantic content. Narratives of the onset of OCD and narratives of a significant development of OCD were then identified from the transcripts. Of these narratives, six described OCD as starting or significantly developing due to changes in the body, such as pregnancy, illness, accidents or puberty. These six narratives were then analysed for linguistic markers (both lexical and grammatical) of image schemas. For example, the CONTAINER image schema may be signalled by items such as *into*, *out of* or *inside*, and the UP-DOWN image schema may be signalled by items such as *up*, *high*, *rise*, *down*, *low*, *under* and so on.

In illness narrative research, many studies have focused on the collaborative, interactional negotiation of narratives (e.g. Reissman 2003). However, when exploring cognitive conceptualisations (as in this paper), the focus is on the lexicogrammatical patterns that may signal underlying structures. This is not to say that the role of the researcher is not considered to be important, but that the focus of the analysis is on the creation of meaning through lexicogrammar rather than interaction.

## 7. Results and discussion

All six narratives that described OCD onset or development as linked to bodily change were recounted by women; no men described bodily changes as paramount in the onset or development of OCD. Table 1 gives an overview of the six narratives of bodily change.

**Table 1.** Narratives of OCD onset or development linked to changes in the body

| Pt.     | Onset or development narrative | Change in the body described in the interview                       | Primary obsessions described in the interview                                 |
|---------|--------------------------------|---|---|
| Angela  | Onset and development          | Problems with spine from a car crash, removal of teeth by a dentist | Contamination fears, particularly of chemicals                                |
| Lucy    | Onset                          | Early puberty, osteitis disease                                     | Contamination fears, particularly of germs in general                         |
| Nicola  | Onset                          | Premature birth of second child                                     | Contamination fears, particularly of harming children through spreading germs |
| Susan   | Development                    | Pregnancy with first child  | Contamination fears, particularly of catching toxoplasmosis                   |
| Vicky   | Development                    | Lump on neck  | Fears of illness, in particular cancer (no fears of contamination)            |
| Jessica | Development                    | Hole in heart   | Fears of catching illnesses, fears of mental health problems                  |

Within five of the six narratives, the participants described the change in their bodies as a negative and unwanted experience. However, in the narrative recounted by Susan, the change in her body that exacerbated OCD (i.e. becoming pregnant) was not described as a negative change.

In the following discussion, the three narratives of the onset of OCD (i.e. those recounted by Angela, Lucy and Nicola) are analysed. The image schemas of

UP-DOWN, FULL-EMPTY, CONTAINER and FORCE are discussed in relation to how they provide structure to the body, are disrupted by bodily changes and are positioned through the narratives as central in the onset of OCD.

Additionally, as Williams (1984: 182) states, the “body is defined by its relationship to the world of social action”. Thus, responses to illness cannot be divorced from the social world in which the person lives (Bury 2001). Through the narrative reconstructions of OCD onset, the three women also create significance for their experiences of OCD by tying the onset of the disorder to their personal circumstances. The traumatic changes in their bodies are situated as grounded in specific times, places and events, and as such are given meaning through the social contexts in which they are embedded. Bury (2001: 269) notes that people will typically “draw upon and, in turn, constitute culturally available concepts of disease and illness” in order to explain the origins of their sickness. As is discussed here, the women incorporate and resist cultural and medical framings of the body, illness and OCD to explain the onset of their disorder.

### 7.1 Narrative one: Angela

In the following narrative, Angela positions OCD as being caused by disruptions to the structural alignment of her body. Angela links these changes in her bodily structure to distressing events in her life, such as a car crash and having dental treatment in childhood.

- 1 this is something I'm kind of really thinking about-
- 2 I think there's a physical aspect as well
- 3 certainly in this particular current OCD I've got
- 4 because it's one of the triggers
- 5 I had a car accident
- 6 a neck injury
- 7 and now my neck's just screwed basically
- 8 I've lost its curve
- 9 I got a lump on my neck
- 10 and they didn't-
- 11 I felt my bones go weak
- 12 and I lost about two and a half stone
- 13 and my heart was going brrrrr
- 14 and I was really anxious
- 15 and that's when the OCD started
- 16 and it took them four years to actually send me to a specialist
- 17 because they just- they did a thyroid test

18 and it came back as normal  
19 so they just said “oh there’s you know nothing wrong with you”  
20 and then they just treated it as a mental health problem  
21 turned out I had hypocalcaemia, low blood calcium  
22 because your parathyroid regulates that  
23 and apparently one of the symptoms of low blood calcium is anxiety  
24 so I always wonder if they had picked it up right at the beginning rather than  
25 left it four years  
26 whether that OCD would’ve been nipped in the bud  
27 rather than being allowed to you know-  
28 because I had this horrific anxiety  
29 to the point where I lost about three stone-  
30 it all happened in a very short space of time  
31 and I lost 20% of my bone mass as well  
32 I could feel- literally felt the ener-  
33 you know my bones go  
34 I couldn’t lift heavy objects anymore  
35 but my dentist also  
36 because I had a tooth-  
37 I’ve got a splint-  
38 I’ve got a lot of problems with my jaw at the moment  
39 and my den- all the dentists I’ve seen have said-  
40 because I had a tooth come out- taken out when I was a child  
41 that this is really just my whole spine is wonky  
42 and one of the orthodontists that I saw  
43 but I couldn’t afford to see him any longer  
44 that were taken out  
45 he puts them back in again  
46 so that the whole structure and spine-  
47 and he says that one of the biggest side effects is that people’s anxiety disap-  
48 pears when their spine’s sorted out  
49 and I wonder whether having that tooth taken out when I was a kid made my-  
50 had an impact as well  
51 because that was round about the time the OCD started  
52 but you know that’s one of these things I wouldn’t know unless they –  
53 I’d have to have all this bridge work  
54 to have it put back in

Throughout the narrative, Angela draws on two key image schemas to describe her body and its changes: the FULL-EMPTY image schema and the UP-DOWN image schema.

Drawing on the FULL-EMPTY image schema, Angela constructs a healthy body as one that is physically strong and as containing high levels of essential minerals, such as calcium. Angela positions her body as transforming into a physically weak and empty body as a direct result of the car accident. For example, she describes how she “lost 20% of her bone mass” (line 31) and “couldn’t lift heavy objects anymore” (line 34). This loss of strength was accompanied by a weight loss of “about two and a half stone” (line 12) and a diagnosis of “hypocalcaemia, low blood calcium” (line 21). Angela thus positions her body as having shifted from a strong body that is full of health to a weak body that has been emptied of minerals and nutrition.

Angela also draws on the UP-DOWN image schema to construct a healthy body as one that is vertically straight and in correct alignment. She describes how her neck “lost its curve” (line 8) because of the injury in the car crash and she also depicts her childhood dental treatment as causing her “whole spine” to become “wonky” (line 41). Angela goes on to construct an incorrectly aligned spine as a direct cause of “people’s” anxiety in general (line 47), which is an idea she reinforces by using an anecdote from an orthodontist as evidence (lines 47–48). Here, Angela is making sense of the onset of her disorder by incorporating the widespread, lay associations of anxiety and jaw/teeth pain (caused by clenching our jaw or grinding our teeth). By embedding the causes of her problems within this “culturally available concept” of anxiety (Bury 2001: 269), Angela presents her disorder as stemming from an everyday complaint that could have been avoided through simple measures on the part of the medical profession, such as not having her “tooth taken out when [she] was a kid” (line 49).

Angela positions the onset of her OCD as directly caused by the physical alterations in her structural constitution. She says “apparently one of the symptoms of low blood calcium is anxiety” (line 23) and she considers that having her tooth “put back in” (line 54) might straighten her spine (thus restoring the image schema of vertical alignment) and lower her anxiety levels. In this respect, Angela frames OCD as a medical problem; it is a symptom of medicalised conditions such as “hypocalcaemia” (line 21) and a potentially faulty “parathyroid” (line 22). Positioning OCD within a medical framework also leads Angela to connect delays in the treatment of her physical body to exacerbations in her OCD (lines 24–25). She criticises the medical profession for taking “four years to actually send [her] to a specialist” (line 16) and for treating her bodily problems as “a mental health problem” (line 20). Angela thus interprets the onset of OCD as an inevitable result of untreated medical problems and she creates meaning for the onset of OCD

against a background of inefficient medical professionals. Angela's reconstruction of OCD onset is therefore profoundly influenced by the perceived (lack of) medical help available to her, and she does not interpret OCD onset as in any way shaped by her own agency. Thus, OCD onset is not positioned as Angela's response to try and reverse the changes in her body or to gain control over her altered body. Rather, OCD onset is tied to her relationships with the medical profession and their failure to enact the expected social roles assigned to them.

Angela's narrative also demonstrates how the linguistic realisation of image schemas is contextually-bound (see Kimmel 2005). The image schemas of FULL-EMPTY and UP-DOWN that Angela draws on are axiological in that the first element (i.e. FULL and UP) represents a positive pole whereas the second element (i.e. EMPTY and DOWN) represents a negative pole (see Hampe 2005). At line 6, Angela introduces the fact she had "a neck injury" and, following that, she builds up the negative pole of both image schemas between lines 7–12. For example, she states "I've lost its curve" (line 8), "I felt my bones go weak" (line 11) and "I lost about two and half stone" (line 12). By focussing on the negative pole of both schema, Angela builds a strong argument for these problems being the cause of her OCD, which she states in line 15 ("and that's when the OCD started"). The structure Angela uses here of building up the negative pole as evidence for the aetiology of her OCD is repeated at various points in the narrative (e.g. lines 40–50, where Angela builds up evidence that having a tooth "taken out when [she] was a kid" also "had an impact" on the onset of her OCD). Angela thus linguistically realises image schemas in ways that provide her narrative with the structure of a persuasive stretch of discourse.

## 7.2 Narrative two: Lucy

In the following narrative, Lucy constructs the onset of OCD as an attempt to re-gain control over her body after she goes through early puberty and develops osteitis (inflammation of the bones).

- 1 I think because I hit puberty very young
- 2 so I was about eight or nine when that happened
- 3 and I got osteitis disease which is like a gross disease as well
- 4 basically you get it either as a sporting injury or if you grow up too fast
- 5 and it's quite painful
- 6 it's basically your knees
- 7 and that's the joint [MAKES SHAPE WITH FIST]
- 8 that bit grows up and rubs against the nerve
- 9 so it's very very painful
- 10 and you can't really treat it

11 so I got all this-  
 12 I got that, OCD and hit puberty in the same year  
 13 and it's all- I think it's all interlinked  
 14 and I think it's basically because all this random stuff happened at once that  
 15 was so alien and weird  
 16 and I was of course the only one that was at the time  
 17 I think it was my mind's way of trying to compensate for it  
 18 I think it was just that  
 19 because I couldn't control anything in my body at the time  
 20 and it was- because of the osteitis  
 21 it was very painful  
 22 I think it was my mind's way of trying to get some control over my life  
 23 because like I say from my point of view OCD is a self-defence mechanism  
 24 but it's just gone wrong  
 25 and it's the same kind of thing of just you know  
 26 I just hit it way too young  
 27 and wanted some control back  
 28 and the only way I could get control was by doing these weird compulsions  
 29 so it's the only thing I can think of  
 30 because there wasn't anything abusive  
 31 and that's normally what it is  
 32 some kind of trauma  
 33 but that's what I think  
 34 but I mean no one's told me any different

In her narrative, Lucy explains how she “hit puberty very young” (line 1) and simultaneously “got osteitis disease” (line 3). These two bodily changes are positioned by Lucy through the image schema of a CONTAINER; they were occurring “in [her] body” (line 19) and, as a result, she “couldn't control” them (line 19) or stop them from happening. Lucy reconstructs her experience of puberty as happening “way too young” (line 26) and, as a result, she “was of course the only one that was [going through puberty] at the time” (line 16). In the same way that chronic illness can disrupt the “structures of everyday life” (Bury, 1982: 169), early puberty is experienced by Lucy as a biographical disruption. Rather than following “a perceived normal trajectory through relatively predictable chronological steps” (Bury 1982: 172), Lucy's experience of early puberty represents a discontinuity with the culturally expected age at which puberty occurs. Just as “cultural meanings mark the sick person” (Kleinman 1988: 26), going through early puberty marked Lucy with unwanted significance, such as differences caused by being “the only one” of her classmates to have reached puberty.



As a result of her bodily changes, Lucy interprets the onset of OCD as “[her] mind’s way of trying to get some control over [her] life” (line 22). In fact, she states that “the only way [she] could get control was by doing these weird compulsions” (line 28). Thus, Lucy makes sense of OCD as a tool that she uses to control the changes inside her body and the unwanted disruptions they have caused in her life. In this respect, Lucy interprets OCD as stemming from the agency of her own mind; it is “a self-defence mechanism but it’s just gone wrong” (lines 23–24). Unlike Angela, who interprets OCD as caused directly by physical changes, the onset of OCD has meaning for Lucy through being an active response by her mind to the changes in her body. Thus, Lucy reconstructs the onset of OCD as potentially playing a positive role in her life by allowing the chaotic, “alien and weird” changes in her body (line 15) to become within her control. More recent research into OCD has begun to discuss the perceived benefits that having OCD can hold, such as this perception of increased control or protection of the self and others (e.g. Murphy and Perera-Delcourt 2012). For Lucy, OCD offered a way to resist the unfamiliarity and fears of puberty, which is an issue well-discussed in relation to anorexia (e.g. Ruuska et al. 2003) but somewhat neglected for OCD.

Lucy’s depiction of the changes as occurring within a contained body also reinforce previous research that has highlighted the importance of the CONTAINER image schema for OCD (Knapton 2016a; Segrott and Doel 2004). While these studies have discussed how people with OCD protect the insides of their bodies (e.g. from germs) by performing compulsions on their bodily boundaries (e.g. washing the skin) during *episodes* of OCD, Lucy’s narrative highlights the importance of the CONTAINER image schema and the significance attached to the contents of the contained body for the *origins* of the disorder.

### 7.3 Narrative three: Nicola

In the following narrative, Nicola positions herself as directly responsible for the premature birth of her son. As a result, Nicola constructs the onset of OCD as a way of taking control of the surrounding environment so that children will be kept safe from harm.

- 1 and then my second son he was born
- 2 and he was really premature
- 3 and he was born at 25 weeks
- 4 and I was totally convinced
- 5 and probably still am
- 6 that I must’ve done something during my pregnancy that caused his- that
- 7 pregnancy to go wrong

8 and all sorts of things like we had the house- part of the house decorated by  
 9 somebody like a couple of weeks before he arrived  
 10 and there were lots of strong chemical smells of paint and fillers and all sorts  
 11 of things that this guy used in the house  
 12 and I thought “perhaps it was that” you know  
 13 too many fumes  
 14 or I went down a slide at one of these play places with my other son  
 15 and did I bump too many times you know  
 16 it was just generally one of these “did I just not look after myself too much”  
 17 because I was too blasé about it all you know  
 18 because it's second time round you don't worry about things too- so much  
 19 and I think that's where all this doing something that might affect a little child  
 20 came from  
 21 and then all obviously when he was in hospital  
 22 there's lots of hand washing going on all the time  
 23 and hand gels  
 24 and I guess I'd never done that that much before-  
 25 in fact I think I was more the other way about cleanliness  
 26 and I was like you know you didn't worry about washing hands too much  
 27 before eating  
 28 and quite sort of like care free with my toddler  
 29 and then suddenly you're in this environment where you're washing hands up  
 30 to here [POINTS TO ARM]  
 31 and then gelling them  
 32 and doing that every time you wanna touch-  
 33 and I guess that probably didn't help

In this narrative, Nicola draws heavily on the image schema of FORCE. More specifically, by reconstructing her own actions and lifestyle as forces that caused the premature birth of her son, Nicola positions the changes in her body as instigated by her own volitional actions. For example, Nicola questions whether the premature birth was caused by “strong chemical smells of paint and fillers” in the house (line 10) or by going “down a slide” (line 14) with her elder son. Overall, Nicola constructs herself as blameworthy for disrupting the pregnancy because she “was too blasé about it all” (line 17). Thus, Nicola interprets her behaviour during the pregnancy as irresponsible and herself as a potentially dangerous force that could harm children. She reasons that her fears of “doing something that might affect a little child” (lines 19–20) come from this belief in her own capabilities to cause accidental harm.

In her work on agoraphobia and pregnancy, Davidson (2001) argues that both of these ‘conditions’ can be experienced by women as challenges to a stable self-identity. Women who are pregnant and/or have agoraphobia often experience a feeling of being out of place in social settings, which in turn can lead to a retreat into the home. In Nicola’s narrative, it is not the pregnancy itself that disrupts her identity but the unexpected premature birth. As discussed by Talbot (1996), society’s master narratives of pregnancy require women to avoid engaging in risky behaviours and to make choices that prioritise the health and wellbeing of the foetus. In Nicola’s narrative, she draws upon the connections that health promotion makes between risk behaviours and pregnancy to reconstruct her actions as not conforming to the expectations of a ‘responsible’ pregnant woman. As a result, she interprets the premature birth as her personal failure to safeguard the pregnancy (e.g. “I must’ve done something during my pregnancy that caused his- that pregnancy to go wrong”, lines 6–7).

For Nicola, then, the meaning she attaches to the onset of OCD is thus inherently linked to changes in her sense of self after the premature birth. Her narrative not only reconstructs the onset of OCD but also reconstructs her identity by re-establishing the relationships between her body, the social world around her and her sense of self (Hydén 1997). After her son was born, she begins to take protective measures such as “hand washing” (line 22) and “hand gels” (line 23) whereas she had previously been “quite sort of like care free with my toddler” (line 28). Her relationship with her environment is thus altered by the birth and she positions herself as someone who constantly strives to protect children. Yet there is a tension between her desire to be a protective force and her perception of herself as having the capability to be a harmful force.

Unlike Lucy, Nicola is not controlling the internal workings of her body through her compulsions, rather, she is controlling the external environment. Nicola therefore interprets OCD as managed by her own agency, and she uses OCD to help her carry out her perceived responsibilities. Nicola’s construction of herself as a responsible force also connects to studies of OCD that posit that people with checking compulsions often have an inflated sense of responsibility, in particular for negative rather than positive events (Rachman 1993; Rachman et al. 1995). Additionally, studies have found that people with OCD often have a high desire for control while perceiving themselves as actually having a low level of control (Moulding et al. 2008; Moulding and Kyrios 2006). However, while these studies tend to position beliefs in self-responsibility as an internal personality trait, Nicola constructs the beliefs in her own responsibilities as triggered by the premature birth of her son, thus positioning her responsibility beliefs as grounded within the very specific events of her personal circumstances.

## 8. Conclusions

Limited qualitative research has thus far been conducted into women's experiences of OCD and the role that their bodies may play in the onset of the disorder. This study employed a case study approach that analysed three narratives of OCD onset told by women. All three narratives attributed OCD onset to some form of change in the body that was experienced as a crisis. The analysis combined the cognitive linguistic theory of image schemas with considerations from approaches to illness narratives. The conclusions are divided into conclusions for OCD and conclusions for image schema research.

### 8.1 Conclusions for OCD

Through the narratives of OCD onset, the three women positioned changes in their bodies as traumatic events that were distressing enough to result in the onset of OCD. Whilst clinical research on OCD does discuss the role of traumatic events and personal crises (such as being attacked or witnessing an attack), very little work has explored how unwanted changes in the body can be experienced as a specific form of traumatic event. As this study has only focussed on three women's experiences of their bodies, further research would be needed to explore whether changes in the body are significant for OCD onset in women more generally, and whether they also play a significant role for OCD onset in men.

By analysing first person narratives, this study has argued that the body is conceptualised by the women through various image schemas. As image schemas are embodied conceptualisations, changes in the body disrupt these image schemas and the stability they provide. As a result, the women position OCD onset as an attempt to regain control to various degrees over their bodies and the crisis they are experiencing. For Angela, who draws on the image schemas of FULL-EMPTY and UP-DOWN, OCD is a medicalised condition that is caused directly by her bodily changes. In this framing, Angela's OCD could be relieved if the changes in her body could be corrected. As a result, Angela positions OCD onset as outside of her own agency and it is not an attempt to regain control. For Lucy, who draws on the image schema of a CONTAINER, OCD is a response to try and control the changes going on inside of her body. OCD is within her agency, and she positions it as a way of maintaining a sense of stability whilst so many significant changes were occurring. For Nicola, who draws on the image schema of FORCE, OCD is a response to try and control the external environment around her to make it safe. She actively blames herself for the changes in her body and thus OCD is framed as a tool for ensuring that she does not again behave in a way that she perceives as irresponsible.

In this study, the use of first person narratives rather than quantitative data has allowed the socially grounded nature of OCD experiences to come to the fore. The three women construct their OCD onset as inextricably embedded within specific social contexts that attach meanings and significance not only to OCD but to the changes their bodies are going through. The women thus make sense of the onset of OCD through highly personal framings that connect their experiences of the disorder to specific crises, places and times in their lives. These personal framings challenge the clinical framings of OCD that construct the disorder as a biological or cognitive dysfunctions that can be treated with medication.

## 8.2 Conclusions for image schemas

Being learnt in childhood through our interactions with the world around us, image schemas are inherently embodied conceptual structures (Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987). When talking about bodily changes, it is thus likely that people will draw upon image schemas to construct and describe their experiences. Similarly, experiences of illness (and of health in general) are inescapably embodied; they can only be lived through the body. Thus, image schemas likely provide structure to illness events and can be a resource through which we organise our understandings of illness experiences. In this light, first person narratives of illness provide a rich source of data that can be used to explore the role of image schemas in illness experiences. As illness narratives are personal, subjective accounts, they also allow the socially-situated and usage-based nature of image schemas to be investigated.

Where image schemas have previously been researched using decontextualised (often invented) examples, the narratives in the current study show how an underlying image schema can be drawn upon throughout a longer stretch of discourse. The analysis in this study has also argued that there are many effects of using an image schema throughout a narrative. Firstly, the image schema can be linguistically constructed to represent the illness experience or bodily change. For example, in the current study, Angela, Lucy and Nicola use the image schemas of FULL-EMPTY, UP-DOWN, CONTAINER and FORCE to describe their bodily changes. Secondly, image schemas can be linguistically realised to provide the narrative with structure. For example, as Angela's narrative progresses, she gradually embellishes the image schemas as a way of building evidence for the cause of her OCD. Thirdly, the narrative can imbue the image schema with meanings that are grounded in the sociocultural context of the narrative telling. For example, Nicola's narrative positions the premature birth of her son through the image schema of FORCE, which is inextricably linked to wider discourses of the expectations of pregnant women. Similarly, Lucy's narrative draws on the CONTAINER image schema to describe her experience of early puberty, which

Lucy sets up as embedded within a culture that has an expected age at which children reach puberty.

While this study does take into account the sociocultural context, it does not account for the immediate context of the research interview setting. It may be that the participants were wanting to tell a 'good story' about their OCD or were trying to make sure the interviewer had interesting data to analyse. Image schemas may well have played a role in allowing the narratives to fulfil these functions. Similarly, this study has not investigated the interaction between the interviewer and the participant, which could show that image schemas are co-constructed and only create meaning through their realisation in interaction patterns. Thus, future studies of image schemas in discourse need to focus on image schemas as grounded both within a broad social setting and an immediate context of use.

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In times of crisis, how do people conceptualise and communicate their experiences through different forms and channels? How can original research in cognitive linguistics, discourse analysis and crisis studies advance our understanding of the ways in which we interact with and communicate about crisis events? In answering these questions, this volume examines the unique functions, features and applications of the metaphors and frames that emerge from and give shape to crisis-related discourses. The chapters in this volume present original concepts, approaches, authentic data and findings of crisis discourses in a wide range of organisational, political and personal contexts that affect a diverse body of language users and communities. This book will appeal to a broad readership in linguistics, sociological studies, cognitive sciences, crisis studies as well as language and communication researchers and practitioners.

ISBN 978 90 272 0496 7



9 789027 204967

JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY