# Metaphor studies as a bridge between linguistics and political science: theoretical implications and methodological challenges

Julien Perrez (ULiège)

7th Young Linguist's Meeting in Poznan

*Rethinking language and identity in the multilingual world*

23–25April 2021

**LIÈGE** université
**UR L&L**
**Langues et Lettres**

1

# Structure of the talk

- Part 1 - Introduction
  - Metaphor as key component of human cognition
  - The interdisciplinary potential of metaphors
- Part 2 - Metaphors in political discourse
- Part 3 - Case studies on metaphor use in political discourse
  - Case study 1 – Citizen discourse
  - Case study 2 – Media discourse
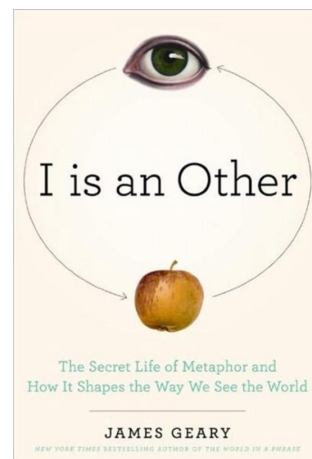  - Case study 3 – Institutional discourse
- Discussion

2

# Part 1: Introduction

ylmp
2021

3

---

"English speakers utter about

**ONE *METAPHOR***

for every **10 to 25 words**, or about

**SIX METAPHORS**

a **minute**"

J. Geary (2012)

ylmp
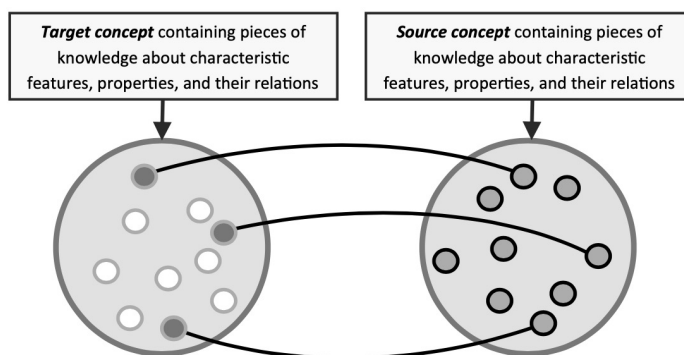2021

4

## COGNITIVE TURN

« Metaphor is not simply a stylistic feature of language but **thought itself is fundamentally metaphoric** »

(Evans & Green 2006)

5

# Metaphor > Conceptual mapping

Target concept containing pieces of knowledge about characteristic features, properties, and their relations

Source concept containing pieces of knowledge about characteristic features, properties, and their relations

« a conceptual metaphor allows people to draw on their knwoledge of the source as a framework for thinking about the target »

*Figure 1.1.* Graphical depiction of a conceptual mapping.

Source: Landau, Robinson and Meier 2014
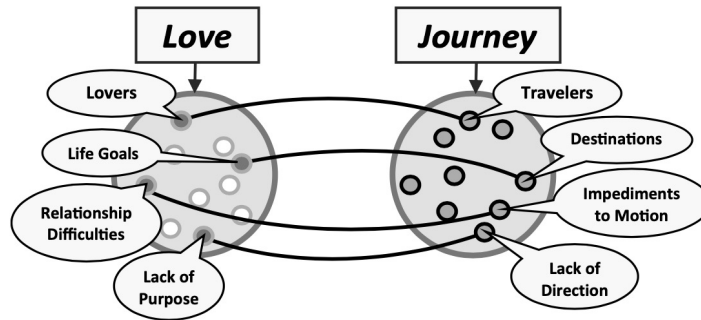
7

3

# Metaphor > Conceptual mapping



Figure 1.2. Graphical depiction of a portion of the conceptual mapping created by the metaphor *love is a journey*.

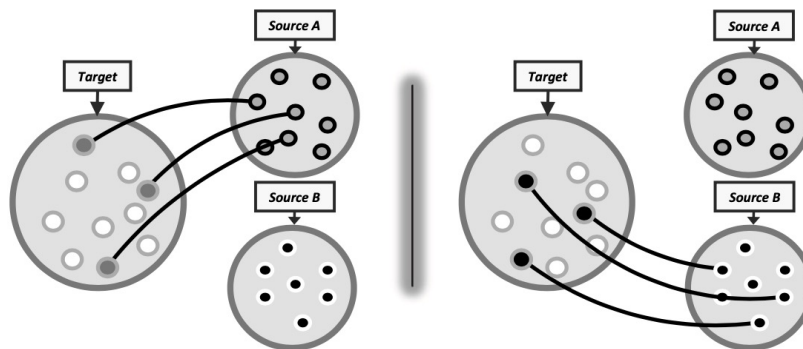Source: Landau, Robinson and Meier 2014

8

# Metaphor > Conceptual mapping



Figure 1.3. Alternate conceptual mappings.

Source: Landau, Robinson and Meier 2014

10

# Metaphors at the intersection



11



12

# Metaphor and identity construction

- Impact on social sciences
  - How do conceptual metaphors structure our understanding of **society**? (Rigney 2001)
    - Society as War, Society as Machine, Society as Libing System, Society as Martketplace, Society as Game, Society as Theater, Society as Legal Order
  - How do conceptual metaphors structure processes of **identity construction**?
    - **social** identity (Wilson & Hay 2012)
      - Dassargues (2017) > metaphors contribute to the processes identity construction of language minority groups in Belgium
    - **national** identity (Baruh & Popescu 2008, De Cillia et al 1999, Fitzgerald 1991, Flowerdew & Leong 2007)
    - **supra-national** identity (Hülsse 2006)
  - How do conceptual metaphor structure the notion of **citizenship** in Ancient Greece (Filonik 2018)

13



15

# Part 2. Metaphor in political discourse

**ylmp**
2021

16

---

## Introduction | Metaphors in political discourse

Aristotle (*Poetics,* 22)

« It is a great thing, indeed, to make a proper use of these poetical forms, as also of [5] compounds and strange words. But the greatest thing by far is to be a **master of metaphor**. It is the one thing that cannot be learnt from others; and it is also a **sign of genius**, since a good metaphor implies an intuitive perception of the similarity in dissimilars. »

Barnes, Jonathan, « The Complete Works of Aristotle. »

**ylmp**
2021

17

# « Metaphors can kill. »

AS DEADLY AS A GUN
WORDS ARE WEAPONS

Lakoff, G. (1991). Metaphor and War: The Metaphor System Used to Justify War in the Gulf. *Peace Research 23*, 25-32.

https://www.thebullyproject.com

18

---

# Metaphors in political discourse

- Lakoff (1996) *Moral Politics*
    - Strict-father and nurturant parent models
- Musolff (2004, 2008, 2010, 2016, 2017)
    - Metaphors in debates about of the European (de)construction
    - Metaphor scenarios >  "recurring argumentative, narrative and stance-taking patterns in corpora of present-day metaphor use".
        - Brexit: Britain *at the heart of Europe*
- Goatly (2007)
    - Role of metaphors in carrying ideologies
- Charteris-Black (2004, 2011)
    - Persuasive power of metaphors in the speeches of major UK and US politicians
    - Critical metaphor analysis

20

# Metaphors in political discourse

Charteris-Black (2011: 28)

« In political contexts metaphor can be, and often is, used for **ideological purposes** because it activates unconscious emotional associations and thereby contributes to **myth creation**: politicians use metaphors to tell the right story»
(…)
« Rhetorically, metaphors contribute to mental representations of political issues, making alternative ways of understanding these issues more difficult and in so doing 'occupy' the mind »

21

# Metaphors in political discourse

- Important role of metaphors in structuring our perception and understanding of abstract political concept and relations (Lakoff 2002, De Landstheer 2009, Koller 2009, L'Hôte 2011, L'Hôte & Lemmens 2009, Musolff 2004, Semino 2008)
- Political systems, federalism, democracy, nation, nationalism… (Musolff 2020, Perrez & Reuchamps, 2014, 2015, Putz 2019, Šarić & Milan Stanojević 2019)

"it is often claimed that the use of metaphor is particularly necessary in politics, since politics is an abstract and complex domain of experience, and metaphors can provide ways of simplifying complexities and making abstractions accessible" (Semino 2008: 90)

22

# Metaphors in political discourse

- Metaphors have the potential to frame the debate
  - "[...] select[ing] some aspects of a perceived reality and mak[ing] it more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the described item" (Entman, 1993: 52)
  - Political metaphors "serve primarily as a means to change meanings, and hence, to change social and political attitudes" (Musolff, 2016: 136).
  - Charteris-Black (2004: 23): "if metaphor can influence the way we perceive a certain social reality, then it is a potent and potentially powerful weapon".

23

23

---

PRODUCTION

RECEPTION

SEMIOTIC ANALYSES

BEHAVIORAL ANALYSES

Metaphor **identification**

Metaphor **categorization**

Political **Scenarios** / frames

**IDEOLOGIES**

**Effects** of Metaphor
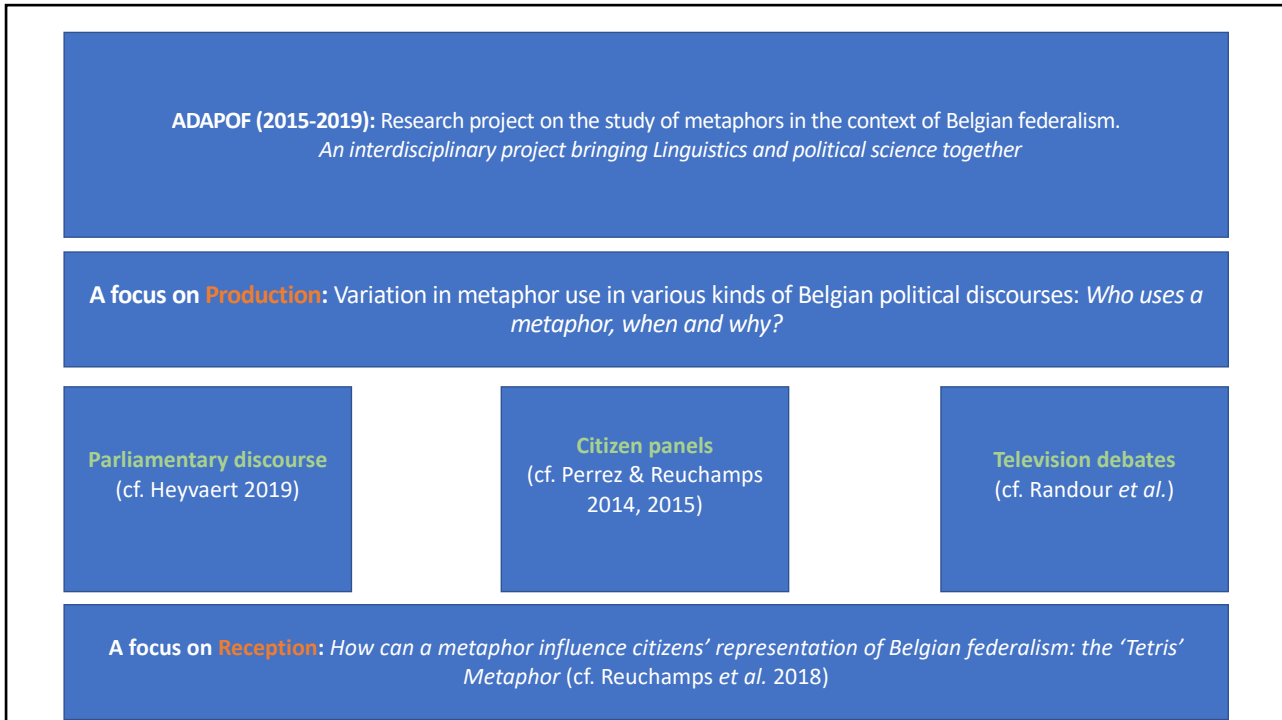
Metaphor **processing**

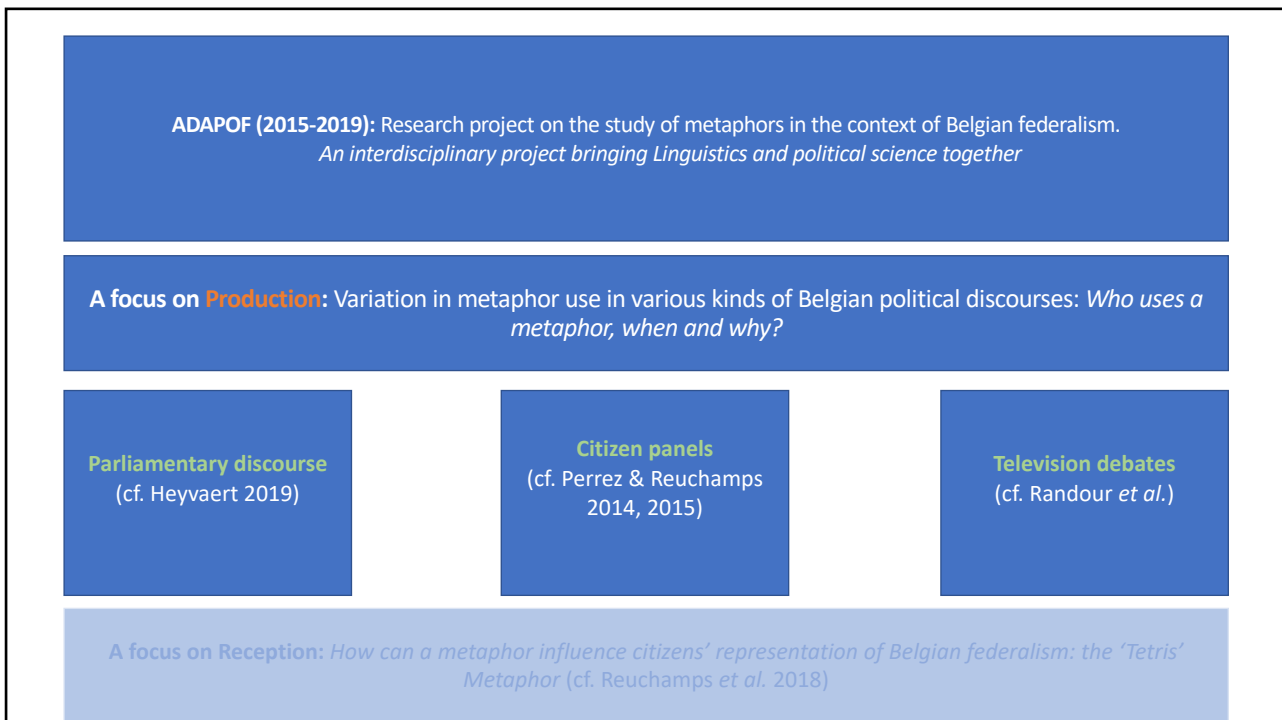Political **representations**

Political **attitudes**

Political **decisions**

25

**ADAPOF (2015-2019):** Research project on the study of metaphors in the context of Belgian federalism.
*An interdisciplinary project bringing Linguistics and political science together*

**A focus on Production:** Variation in metaphor use in various kinds of Belgian political discourses: *Who uses a metaphor, when and why?*

**Parliamentary discourse**
(cf. Heyvaert 2019)

**Citizen panels**
(cf. Perrez & Reuchamps 2014, 2015)

**Television debates**
(cf. Randour *et al.*)

**A focus on Reception:** *How can a metaphor influence citizens' representation of Belgian federalism: the 'Tetris' Metaphor* (cf. Reuchamps *et al.* 2018)

26

**ADAPOF (2015-2019):** Research project on the study of metaphors in the context of Belgian federalism.
*An interdisciplinary project bringing Linguistics and political science together*

**A focus on Production:** Variation in metaphor use in various kinds of Belgian political discourses: *Who uses a metaphor, when and why?*

**Parliamentary discourse**
(cf. Heyvaert 2019)

**Citizen panels**
(cf. Perrez & Reuchamps 2014, 2015)

**Television debates**
(cf. Randour *et al.*)

**A focus on Reception:** *How can a metaphor influence citizens' representation of Belgian federalism: the 'Tetris' Metaphor* (cf. Reuchamps *et al.* 2018)

28

# Part 3: Metaphor in political discourse | Production

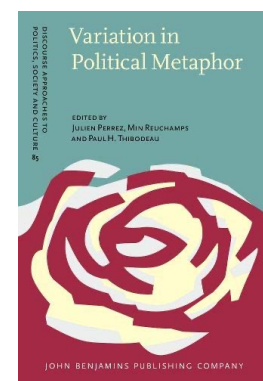3.1 Avenues for future research on political metaphor use

3.2 Case studies

29

---

# Metaphors in political discourse > avenues

- **Variation** (Perrez, Reuchamps & Thibodeau 2019)
  - Types of metaphors in political discourse
  - Types of political discourses
  - Types of political actors



30

# Metaphors in political discourse > avenues

- Variation (Perrez, Reuchamps & Thibodeau 2019)
  - **Types of metaphors** in political discourse
    - Deliberate metaphors vs. Non-deliberate metaphors
    - Communicative nature of metaphor use
      - Metaphors that are used as metaphors to achieve a communicative goal in a given discourse (deliberate metaphors) (Reijnierse et al. 2017, Steen 2015)

      - >< metaphors that are part of everyday language use

Deliberate metaphors are "meant to change the addressee's perspective on the referent or topic that is the target of the metaphor, by making the addressee look at it from a different conceptual domain or space, which functions as a conceptual source" (Steen 2008: 222)

ylmp 2021

31

# Deliberate metaphors in political discourse?

**ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE**

**POLITICAL SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS**

FR. Je crois que c'est un problème qui représente toute la difficulté de la **construction** d'un État fédéral où il faut à la fois trouver des frontières et respecter les gens et il faut réussir à trouver, entre ces deux éléments, un équilibre. *(Philippe Moreaux, PS, 18/02/90)*

EN. I believe it's a problem which is typical of the difficulty of **constructing** a federal state, where we both need to find borders and to respect the people and we need to find a balance between these two elements. *(Philippe Moreaux, PS, 18/02/90)*

FR. Je pense que Melchior Wathelet a raison sur ce point-là, un stop institutionnel est nécessaire, je pense qu'on ne peut pas **construire** une **maison** si l'**architecte** change les **plans** toutes les semaines. *(Jean-Charles Luperto, PS, 20/02/2005)*

EN. I think Melchior Wathelet is right about this, an institutional stop is necessary, I think one cannot **build** a **house** if the **architect** is changing the **plans** every week *(Jean-Charles Luperto, PS, 20/02/2005)*

=> Political metaphors "serve primarily as a means to **change meanings**, and hence, to **change social** and **political attitudes**" (Musolff 2016: 136)

32

# Metaphors in political discourse > avenues

- Variation (Perrez, Reuchamps & Thibodeau 2019)
  - Types of metaphors in political discourse
  - Types of **political discourses**
  - Types of political actors

34

# Metaphors in political discourse > avenues

- Strong interest for political discourse in linguistic research
  - Various theoretical/methodological perspectives
    - Critical discourse analysis
      - Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), *Political Discourse Analysis. A Method for Advanced Students*
      - Wodak (1989), *Language, Power and Ideology : Studies in Political Discourse*.
    - Lexicometric approaches
      - Mayaffre, D. & Poudat, C. (2013).*Quantitative Approaches to Political Discourse : Corpus Linguistics and Text Statistics*.
    - Cognitive linguistics | Conceptual Metaphor Theory
      - Charteris-Black, J. (2011). *Politicians and Rhetoric. The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*
      - Musolff, A. (2004). *Metaphor and Political Discourse Analogical Reasoning in Debates about Europe*
      - Musolff, A. (2016). *Political Metaphor Analysis : Discourse and Scenarios*

35

« **Most scholars doing political discourse analysis are linguists and discourse analysts** » (Van Dijk, 1997: 12)

« **When we consider the use or application of discourse approaches in political science, we find that it is one of the few social sciences that so far have barely been infected by the modern viruses of the study of text and talk** » (Van Dijk, 1997: 12)

36

---

# Metaphors in political discourse > avenues

- Concept of 'political discourse'
  - Presented as a global and coherent genre
  - However…
  - High degree of **variation** behind this label

37

38

---

# Metaphors in political discourse > avenues

- Concept of 'political discourse'
  - Presented as a global and coherent discourse genre
  - However…
  - High degree of variation behind this label
    - Institutional context
    - Political actors
    - Medium (written vs. Spoken data)
    - Topics
  - // definition of political discourse and politics in general

39

# Metaphors in political discourse > avenues

This question is allied to the question of what constitutes politics. If 'politics' is confined to **institutional politics** – parliamentary debates, party conference speeches, and the like, and generally more overtly linked to ideology, then the objects of study for political discourse analysis can be easily circumscribed. But **everyday conflicts** – say between men and women, workers and managers, policemen and black youths, even schoolchildren and teachers – are some- times by some people characterized as 'political'. However, it is **probably useful to maintain a distinction between institutional politics and everyday politics**. It is true that the borderline may be fuzzy, and that many other relationships between individuals and groups may not be regarded as politics at all by many people.

(Chilton & Schäffner 2002)

40

# Bibliometric analysis > PRISMA
(Randour, Perrez & Reuchamps 2020)

- Keyword: « political discourse » (title or abstract)
- Sample **165 scientific articles**
  - 9 different journals: *Political Psychology, Semiotica, Discourse Studies, Journal of Pragmatics, Discourse and society, International Journal of applied Linguistics and English literature, Journal of Language and Politics, Language in society, Language and communication*
- Variables
  - Definition of political discourse, political actor, medium (oral/written), audience, geographic coverage, political issues (immigration, international relations, home affairs…) covered, theoretical background (CDA, CMT,…)

41

# Bibliometric analysis > PRISMA
(Randour, Perrez & Reuchamps 2020)

**Main observations**

- What do linguists talk about when studying political discourse?
  - Institutional context (official contexts)
  - Oral > written discourses (Speeches, Debates, Parliamentary sessions)
  - Overrepresentation of elite discourse ('Professional politicians')

- **Lack of representativeness** as far as the political actors are concerned
- **Underrepresentation** of other types of political discourses
  - Media discourses about political issues
  - Citizen discourses

42

# Metaphors in political discourse > avenues

- Variation (Perrez, Reuchamps & Thibodeau 2019)
  - Types of metaphors in political discourse
  - Types of **political discourses**
    - Broadening the scope of political discourses
      - // Different uses of metaphors by different political actors
      - Circulation patterns of particular metaphors in a discourse community
        - // Musolff's theory of metaphor scenarios

43

## Metaphors in political discourse > avenues

- Variation (Perrez, Reuchamps & Thibodeau 2019)
  - Types of metaphors in political discourse
  - Types of political discourses
  - Types of **political actors**
    - Do all political actors use metaphors to the same extent and in the same way?
    - For what rhetorical purposes do they use metaphors in a particular context?

44

# Part 3: Metaphor in political discourse | Production

3.1 Avenues for future research on political metaphor use
**3.2 Case studies**

Case study 1 – Citizen discourse
Case study 2 – Television debates
Case study 3 – Parliementary debates

45

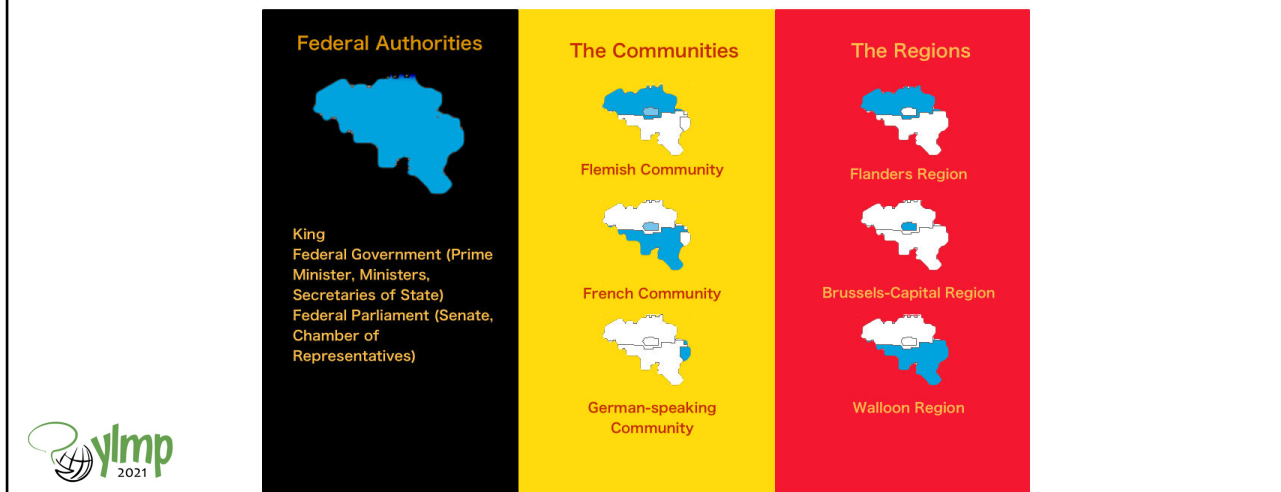# Part 3: Metaphor in political discourse | Production
## Belgian federalism

46

Source:
Wikipedia

47

# Belgian politics in 3 slides

## Federal Structure of Belgium



**Federal Authorities**

King
Federal Government (Prime Minister, Ministers, Secretaries of State)
Federal Parliament (Senate, Chamber of Representatives)

**The Communities**

Flemish Community

French Community

German-speaking Community

**The Regions**

Flanders Region

Brussels-Capital Region

Walloon Region

48

---

# Belgian politics in 3 slides

- **A never ending and ongoing political transformation**
  - **From a unitary country to a federal country**
    - Art 1 of the Constitution: '*Belgium is a federal state composed of communities and regions' (3 regions and 3 communities)*
  - **A process of six States reforms: 1970, 1980, 1988-89, 1993, 2001, 2013**
    - 2007-2011: unpreceded political crisis
    - 06/2010 – 12/2011: 541days to form a federal government
- **Main cleavages : diverging views on the future of the state**
  - In simple words, when Flemish political parties have homogeneous positions on the necessity to reform the Belgian state, this is less the case for French speaking parties (cultural vs. economical divides)
  - The question of **financial transfer** from Flanders to Wallonia and more economical autonomy for Flanders
  - The question of Brussels: which territory with what financial mechanisms

49

# Part 3: Metaphor in political discourse | Production

3.1 Avenues for future research on political metaphor use
**3.2 Case studies**

**Case study 1 – Citizen discourse**

Perrez, J. & Reuchamps, M. (2014, 2015)

51

---

# Case study 1 – Citizen discourse

- **Citizen discourse analysis** can be a relevant avenue for political discourse analysis
  - "while research on metaphors in political discourse has flourished in recent years, the focus on elite communication has left metaphor's wider capacity as a reasoning tool for citizens underexplored." (Bougher 2012: 149)
  - From a **political point-of-view**
    - Rise of social networks => citizens can become more visible political actors
    - Response to technocratization of politics (« Brussels takes all the decisions »)
    - Tendency towards more and more deliberative democracy | G1000 in Belgium
  - From a **linguistic perspective**
    - Citizen's political cognition => metaphor use
    - How elite political discourse echoes in citizens'representations

52

## Case study 1 – Citizen discourse

De Cillia, Reisigl & Wodak (1999: 152-153)

"It enables one partially to study the **recontextualization** and **transformation** of specific **political concepts** and **identity narratives** which are expressed by politicians, taught in educational systems (e.g. by teachers and in schoolbooks), promoted in the mass-media, etc., and which are expressed in everyday situations and interactions"

53

## Case study 1 – Citizen discourse

- **RQ: Do citizens use metaphors when talking about Belgian federalism?**
  - Which type of metaphors? Which source domains?
  - To what extent do these metaphors influence their perception of Belgian federalism?
  - Cultural differences between the groups?

54

# Case study 1 – Citizen discourse

- **Focus group** discussions
  - Qualitative participatory tools
    - Participants are prompted to discuss a given (political) topic
- 2 citizens' panels (Liege & Antwerp in 2008)
  - 4 focus groups
    - Each including 6 to 9 people
  - Discussion about topics related to Belgian federalism
- Discussions were recorded and transcribed
- 2 corpora
  - Dutch-speaking citizens (47,579 words)
  - French-speaking citizens (52,003 words)

55

# Case study 1 – Citizen discourse

- Semi-automatic method for **metaphor identification**
  - Makes it possible to deal with large corpora



POS-tagging
Lemmatization
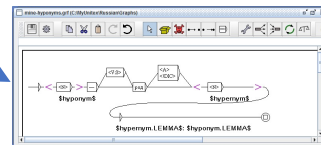
**Target domain**
*Belgian federalism*

**Potential metaphorical contexts**

FR: 492
DU: 496

56

# Case study 1 – Citizen discourse

- Metaphors in the direct context of the target word
  - **MIP-procedure** (Pragglejazz 2007)
    - read the entire text
    - identify the lexical units
    - for each lexical unit
      - contextual meaning
      - basic meaning (sensory perception, bodily action, more concrete)
      - difference CM >< BM
  - **MIPVU**: Steen's 3-dimensional model
    - direct - indirect
    - new – conventional
    - deliberate – non-deliberate
  - source domain

57

# Case study 1 – Citizen discourse

→ **Top-down approach** to Deliberate Metaphor Identification
*= use of existing set of features to identify potentially deliberate metaphors (Krenmayr 2011)*

- Is the metaphorical unit *signalled* (e.g. by a simile or other signalling device)?
- Is the metaphorical unit in the *form of A = B*?
- Is the metaphorical unit *expressed directly*?
- Is the metaphorical unit *novel*?
- Is the metaphorical unit *surrounded by metaphorical expressions from compatible semantic fields*, which are somehow connected?
- Is the metaphorical sense of the unit particularly *salient* through, for example, alluding to the topic of the text?
- Does the metaphorical unit participate in *word play*?
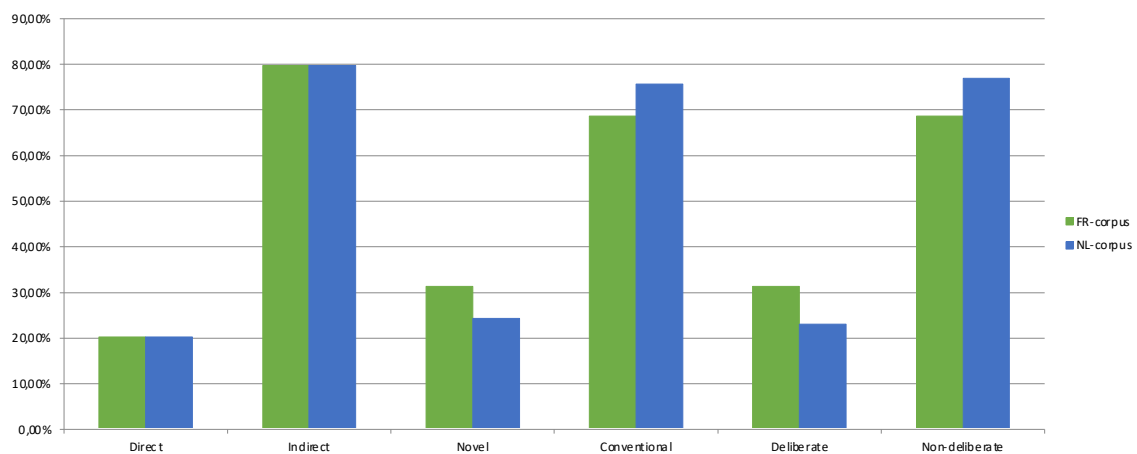- Does the metaphorical unit *elicit rhetorical effects* such as, for example, persuasion or humor?

58

# Case study 1 – Citizen discourse

|  | FR-corpus | | NL-corpus | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | N | % | N | % |
| **Metaphorical contexts** | **99** | **20,1%** | **75** | **15 %** |
| Non-metaphorical contexts | 393 | 79,9% | 422 | 85 % |
| Total | 492 | 100% | 496 | 100% |

59

# Case study 1 – Citizen discourse



61

# Results > source domains (French-speaking)

| source domain | deliberate | non-deliberate | total |
|---|---|---|---|
| machine | 2 | 15 | 17 |
| path | 1 | 15 | 16 |
| personifcation | 2 | 14 | 16 |
| construction | 2 | 13 | 15 |
| family | 9 | 2 | 11 |
| disease | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| instrument | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| food | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| container | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| localisation | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| theatre | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| company | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| laboratory | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| breakable object | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| clothes | 1 | 0 | 1 |
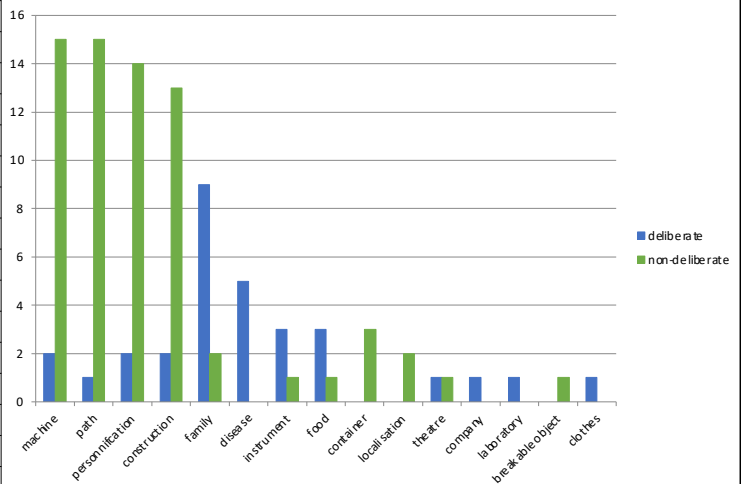


62
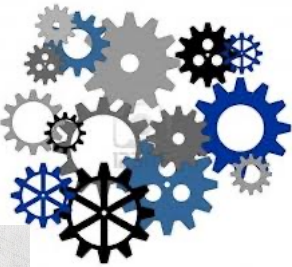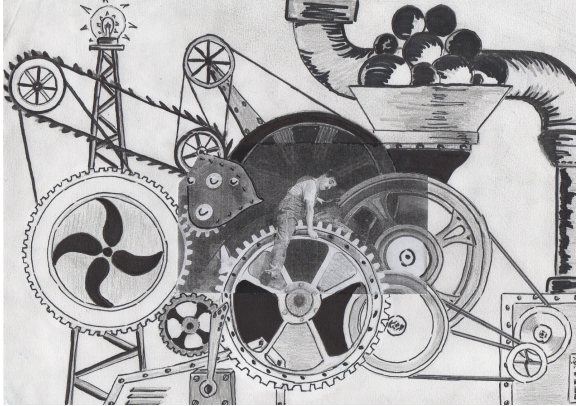
# Results > source domains (Dutch-speaking)

| source domain | deliberate | non-deliberate | total |
|---|---|---|---|
| construction | 0 | 35 | 35 |
| personification | 3 | 8 | 11 |
| company | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| path | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| family | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| machine | 0 | 5 | 5 |
| entity | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| breakable object | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| container | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| instrument | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| disease | 1 | 0 | 1 |
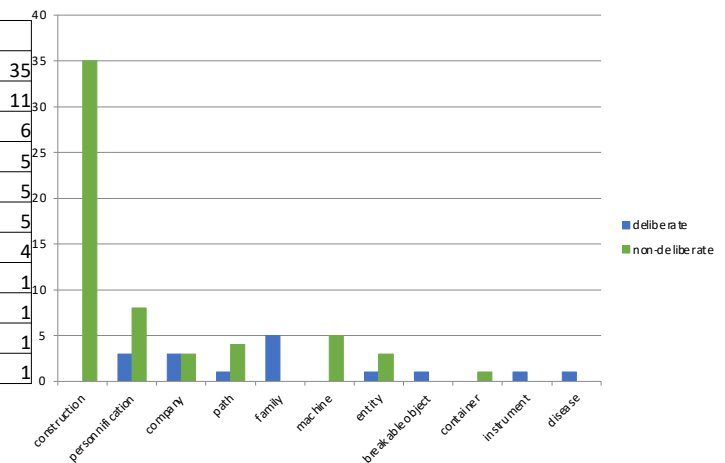


63

Fr. *On a coupé le citoyen du* fonctionnement *d'une espèce de* mécanisme, *de* machine folle lancée sur elle-même. (PBF, B8, 839-840)

Du. "Maar ik denk dat je kunt concluderen dat het federalisme zoals het nu is dat het niet *werkt*" (PBN, N4, 3318-3319)



From Perrez & Reuchamps (2014, 2015)

64

64

---

# Case study 1 – Citizen discourse

- **BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A MACHINE**
  - Artificial mechanism
    - « Blijft een *kunstmatige situatie* natuurlijk. Het is nog niet zo heel oud, het blijft een *kunstmatige zaak*. » (PBN, K5, 274-275)
    - "it remains an *artificial situation* of course. It is not very old, it remains an *artificial issue*"
  - High degree of complexity
    - Ik heb het gevoel dat dat een *sterke vereenvoudiging* van heel dat systeem met zich zou kunnen meebrengen. » (PBN, K6, 402-404)
    - « I have the feeling that this could lead to a strong *simplification* of that system »
  - not working properly
    - Maar ik denk dat je kunt concluderen dat het federalisme zoals het nu is dat het *niet werkt*. (...) working. Euhm omdat het geen zuiver federalisme is omdat we met […] confederalisme, utilitarisme en federalisme zitten. Dat zorgt dus voor tegenstellingen, *dat werkt niet*. » (PBN, N4, 3317-3321)
    - But I think you can conclude that federalism as it is now *is not working*. Euh because it's no pure federalism, because we're facing confederalism, utilarism en federalism. This leads to contradictions, that's *not working*.

65

**Slide 66**

Du. "Normale partijen die een staatshervorming willen enzovoort die willen eigenlijke hetzelfde als we zo zeggen een ernstige *LAT relatie* in dit land." (PBN, M5, 3130-3131)'

c'est comme dans un *ménage*, on ne règle jamais les solutions une fois pour toutes. On *se marie, ou en vit ensemble*, peut importe, à 20 ans, puis on a des enfants, puis les enfants deviennent grands, puis le bonhomme fait sa crise de la quarantaine, puis on se dit que tout compte fait, on se dit que c'était quand même pas si mal et puis rien, et puis entre, temps, madame est ménopausée et puis... (...) puis..... Puis elle a perdu son job, puis les enfants se sont mariés, voilà que la maison est trop grande... les situations évoluent et je ne pense pas qu'on va rêver d'avoir une situation immuable. (PBF, B8, 1968-1977).

L2: "het is vergelijken met dat *huwelijk* he. De Belgische staat is een *gearrangeerd en geforceerd huwelijk* geweest." *(2263-2266)* (...)
L6: "het is inderdaad een *gearrangeerd huwelijk* en het is *gearrangeerd* door de internationale gemeenschap" (2268-2269) (...)
L6 : "een *gearrangeerd huwelijk* kan ook ontbonden worden, zo moeilijk is dat allemaal niet. Het moet gewoon erkend worden door de internationale gemeenschap." (2279-2280)
L2 : "ja maar dat *is getrouwd voor goede en kwade dagen* en wij zijn nu in kwade dagen." (2281-2282)
L6 : "maar bij een *gearrangeerd huwelijk* is het niet *in goede en kwade dagen* vrijwillig, maar is het verplicht in *kwade* dagen. (...) ik hoop toch dat we zover zijn *dat huwelijken niet meer verplicht* zijn ofwel? " (2283-2287)

From Perrez & Reuchamps (2014, 2015)

66

66

---

**Slide 67**

# Case study 1 – Citizen discourse

- **BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A LOVE RELATIONSHIP**
  - "Si l'on compare avec un *ménage*, certains *ménages se marient avec contrat de mariage*, d'autres pas,» (PBF, B1, 188-190)
  - If we compare this to a *couple*, some *couples get married under a wedding contract*, others don't…
  - "parce que je ne sais pas comment *cohabitent* la région wallonne et la région flamande avec le fédéralisme etc. » (PBF, B6, 145-148)
  - "because I don't know how the Flemish region and the Walloon region *are living together* under federalism"
  - "c'est comme dans un *ménage*, on ne règle jamais les solutions une fois pour toutes. On *se marie, ou en vit ensemble*, peut importe, à 20 ans, puis on a des enfants, puis les enfants deviennent grands, puis le bonhomme fait sa crise de la quarantaine, puis on se dit que tout compte fait, on se dit que c'était quand même pas si mal et puis rien, et puis entre, temps, madame est ménopausée et puis... » (PBF, B8, 1630-1636)
  - "it's like in a *couple*, you can't get all problems solved once and for all. You get married, or you're living together, whatever, at twenty, then you get kids, then the kids grow old, the husband goes through his midlife crisis, but then you realize it wasn't that bad after all, and then nothing, and then in the meantime, his wife gets menopause and then…"

67

# Case study 1 – Citizen discourse

- **BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A LOVE RELATIONSHIP**
  - « Normale partijen die een staatshervorming willen enzovoort die willen eigenlijke hetzelfde als we zo zeggen een ernstige LAT relatie in dit land. »
  - « …they want the same thing as let's say a serious *LAT relation* in this country »
  - BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A FORCED MARRIAGE
    - « het is vergelijken met dat *huwelijk* he. De Belgische staat is een *gearrangeerd en geforceerd huwelijk* geweest. *(PBN, L2, 2263-2266)*
  - 'it's comparing to that *marriage*, right? The Belgian state has been an *arranged and forced marriage*
    - « het is inderdaad een *gearrangeerd huwelijk* en het is gearrangeerd door de internationale gemeenschap (PBN, L6, 2268-2269)
  - "It is indeed an *arranged marriage* and it has been arranged by the international community."

68

# Case study 1 – Citizen discourse

- « L6 : een gearrangeerd huwelijk kan ook ontbonden worden, zo moeilijk is dat allemaal niet. Het moet gewoon erkend worden door de internationale gemeenschap. »
- " an *arranged marriage* can also be abrogated"
- « L2 : ja maar dat is getrouwd voor goede en kwade dagen en wij zijn nu in kwade dagen. »
- "yes, but it has been *married for better or for worse* en we are now in bad (miserable) days"
- « L6 : maar bij een gearrangeerd huwelijk is het niet in goede en kwade dagen vrijwillig, maar is het verplicht in kwade dagen. « L6 : ik hoop toch dat we zover zijn dat huwelijken niet meer verplicht zijn ofwel? »
- "but in *an arranged marriage*, it's not voluntarily *for better or for worse*, but it's forced in bad (miserable) days. I hope we have come to a situation where *marriages* are *no longer forced*"
- « L1 : Neen, maar je kan dan toch karakter tonen, karakter tonen. »
- "No, but you can still show character"
- « L6 : Als ons dat ieder jaar 10 miljard euro kost, vind ik dat toch... » (PBN, 2279-2289)
- "If it costs us 10 billion euro a year, I find that…"

69

## Case study 1 – Citizen discourse

- Citizens do use metaphors to make sense of political issues
- No cultural differences between the groups
  - Symmetry between FR & NL corpora
    - N metaphors
    - Types of metaphors
    - source domains
- Non-deliberate metaphors
  - Construction domain
  - Machine domain
- Deliberate metaphors
  - Love relationship
    - reference point in terms of which citizens make sense of Belgian federalism
    - makes it possible to express different views on Belgium's future

71

# Part 3: Metaphor in political discourse | Production

3.1 Avenues for future research on political metaphor use
**3.2 Case studies**

**Case study 2 – Television debates**

Perrez, J., Randour, F. & Reuchamps, M. (in preparation)

72

## Case study 2 – Television debates

**Objective of this research**

• Diachronic analysis
  • Analysing the progressive **transformation of Belgium's political system** by focusing the use of metaphors in Belgian political discourse from the 1980's until now

73

## Case study 2 – Television debates

**Objective of this research**

• **From a linguistic perspective: a better understanding on the use of metaphors in political discourse**
  • Which **frames** are used to describe Belgian federalism?
  • To what extent does metaphor use **evolve over time**?
  • Is there variation among the **political actors** producing these metaphors?
  • To what extent does metaphor use vary according to the specific **political context** in which the are produced (state's reforms, elections,…)?
  • To what extent is the distinction between **deliberate** and **non-deliberate metaphors** relevant for political discourse analysis?
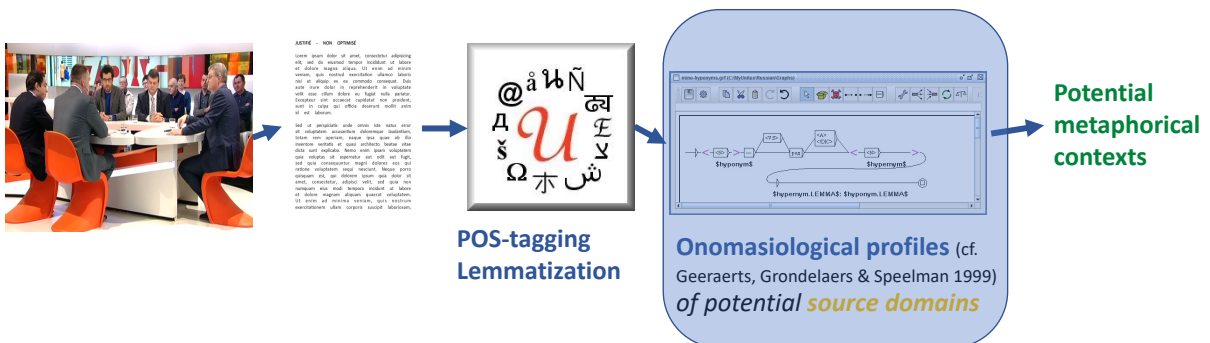  (Cultural variation?)

74

# Case study 2 – Television debates

- **TV debates** | RTBF – Mise au Point (VRT - De Zevende Dag)
  - Weekly political programs broadcasted by the public TV channels
  - **Sample selection**: Only television debates that specifically deal with the development and *evolution of Belgian federalism*
  - 80 debates in total (RTBF: 80 | VRT: 47) > 15 hours (RTBF: 9 | VRT: 6)
  - Period: from 1967 until 2016 (mainly 1980 to 2016)
  - RTBF-corpus: 906.237 words
- **Political actors**
  - Belgian politicians from both communities (MPs, Ministers and officials from political parties)
  - Journalists
  - Members of the civil society (Professors, artists,…)
- **Audience**
  - Primary audience: other political actors during the debates
  - Secondary audience: citizens
- Oral (but retranscribed) and formal form of political discourse

75

# Case study 2 – Television debates

- **Semi-automatic** method for **metaphor identification**
  - Makes it possible to deal with large corpora



**POS-tagging Lemmatization**

**Onomasiological profiles** (cf. Geeraerts, Grondelaers & Speelman 1999) *of potential source domains*

**Potential metaphorical contexts**

76

# Case study 2 – Television debates

- **Semi-automatic** method for **metaphor identification**
  - Makes it possible to deal with large corpora
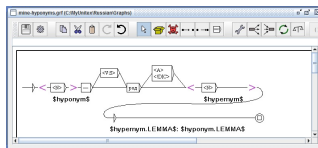


**Onomasiological profiles** (cf. Geeraerts, Grondelaers & Speelman 1999) *of potential frames*

**Battle**
**Disease**
**Construction**
**Relationships**
Body
Machine
Sport
Nature
Container
Movement/destination

**60%** of the dataset

77

# Case study 2 – Television debates

- **Potential metaphorical contexts**
  - Check the metaphorical status
  - Check the relevance of the target domain
- **Metaphor analysis**
  - **MIPVU** (Steen 2008, Steen *et al.* 2010)
    - Linguistic level (direct vs. Indirect)
    - Conceptuel level (novel vs. Conventional)
    - Communication level (deliberate vs. Non-deliberate)
  - **External paramaters**
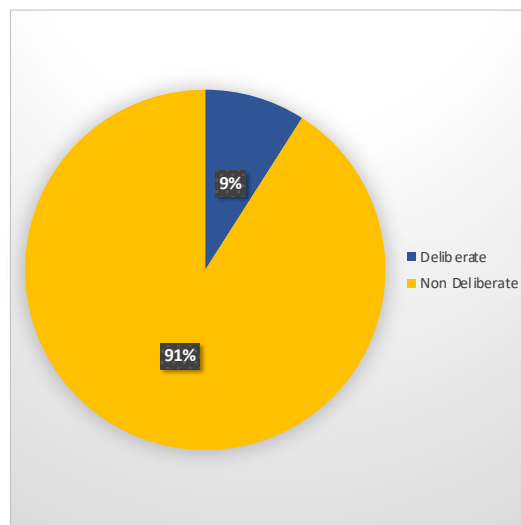    - (Political) actor
    - Gender
    - Date/Time
    - …

78

## Case study 2 – Television debates

| SOURCE DOMAINS | POTENTIAL METAPHORICAL CONTEXTS | CONFIRMED METAPHORICAL CONTEXTS | TARGET DOMAIN: BELGIAN FEDERALISM |
|---|---|---|---|
| BATTLE | 838 | 758 | 690 |
| DISEASE | 489 | 61 | 51 |
| CONSTRUCTION | 1506 | 1432 | 1035 |
| RELATIONSHIPS | 1102 | 99 | 95 |
| **TOTAL** | **4855** | **2350** | **1871** |

79

## Results| Deliberate vs. Non-deliberate



80

# Results| Deliberate vs. Non-deliberate per frame



Legend: ■ Deliberate  ■ Non Deliberate

X-axis: All metaphors, Building, Battle, Relationships, Disease
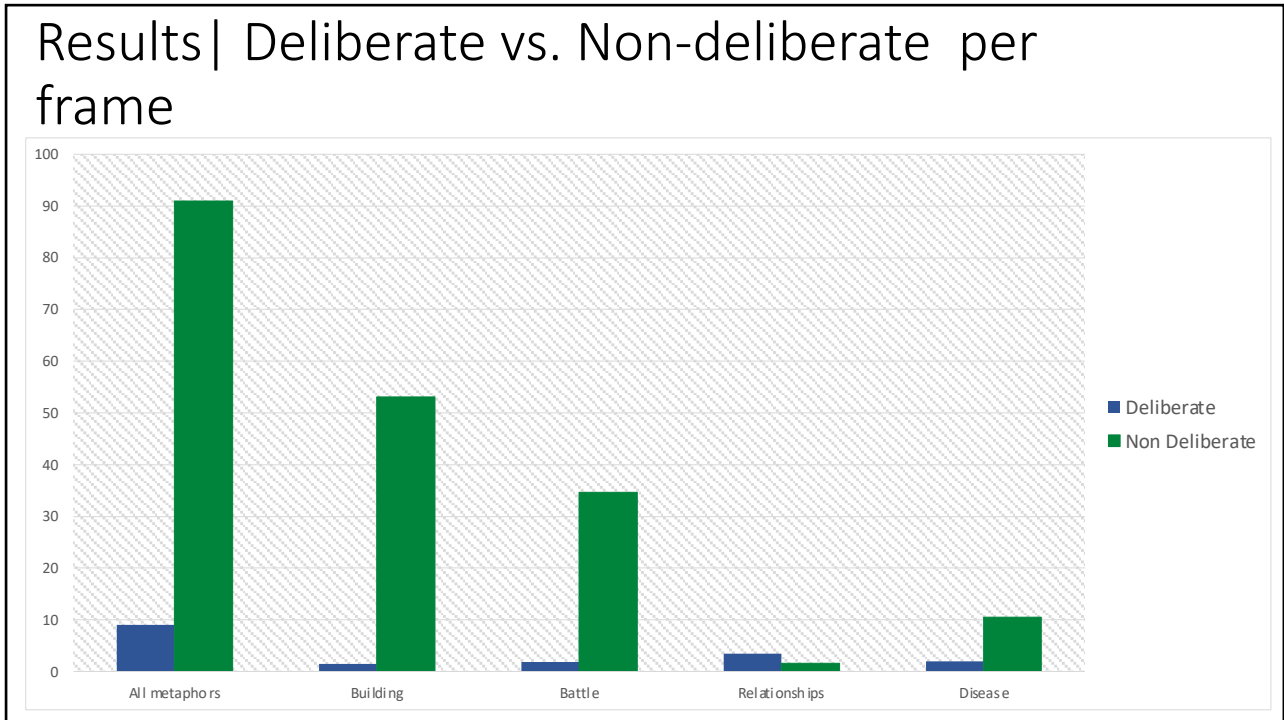
81

---

## BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A LOVE RELATIONSHIP/FAMILY

### Non-deliberate

FR. Que deviendrons Bruxelles et la Wallonie en cas de **divorce** belge *(Journaliste, RTBF, 13/12/2006)*

EN. What will Brussels and Wallonia become in case of a Belgian **divorce**? *(Journalist, RTBF, 13/12/2006)*

### Deliberate

FR. Si on a dans sa propre sa **famille**, si on a deux enfants et que les deux **enfants** ont une autre **maladie**, on ne donne pas le même **médicament**. Ça c'est la plus importante question. *(Geert Lambert, Spirit, 13/12/2006)*

EN. If you have in your own **family**, if you have two **children** and the two **children** have a different **disease**, you don't give the same **medicine**. That's the most important question. *(Geert Lambert, Spirit, 13/12/2006)*

82

## BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A DISEASE

### Non-deliberate

FR. FR. Mais pour l'instant, on a un peu l'impression d'être dans une situation de **coma**, de blocage, je le vois au parlement fédéral. *(Zoé Genot, Ecolo, 20/02/05)*

EN But for the time being, we have the impression of being in a situation of **coma**, of deadlock, I can see that at the federal government *(Zoé Genot, Ecolo, 20/02/05)*

### Deliberate

FR. A1 : Abrégeons les **souffrances** ?
PHG : Alors. Il y a deux pratiques : il y a la pratique flamande qui consiste à **euthanasier** la Belgique et il y a la pratique francophone qui consiste à pratiquer contre toutes évidences un **acharnement thérapeutique**.
*(Paul-Henri Gendebien, RWF, 12/09/2014)*

EN. A1: Should we put an end to Belgium's **sufferings**?
PHG: So, there are two practices: the Flemish one consisting in **practising euthanasia** on Belgium and the francophone one obviously consisting in practising a **heroic treatment**.
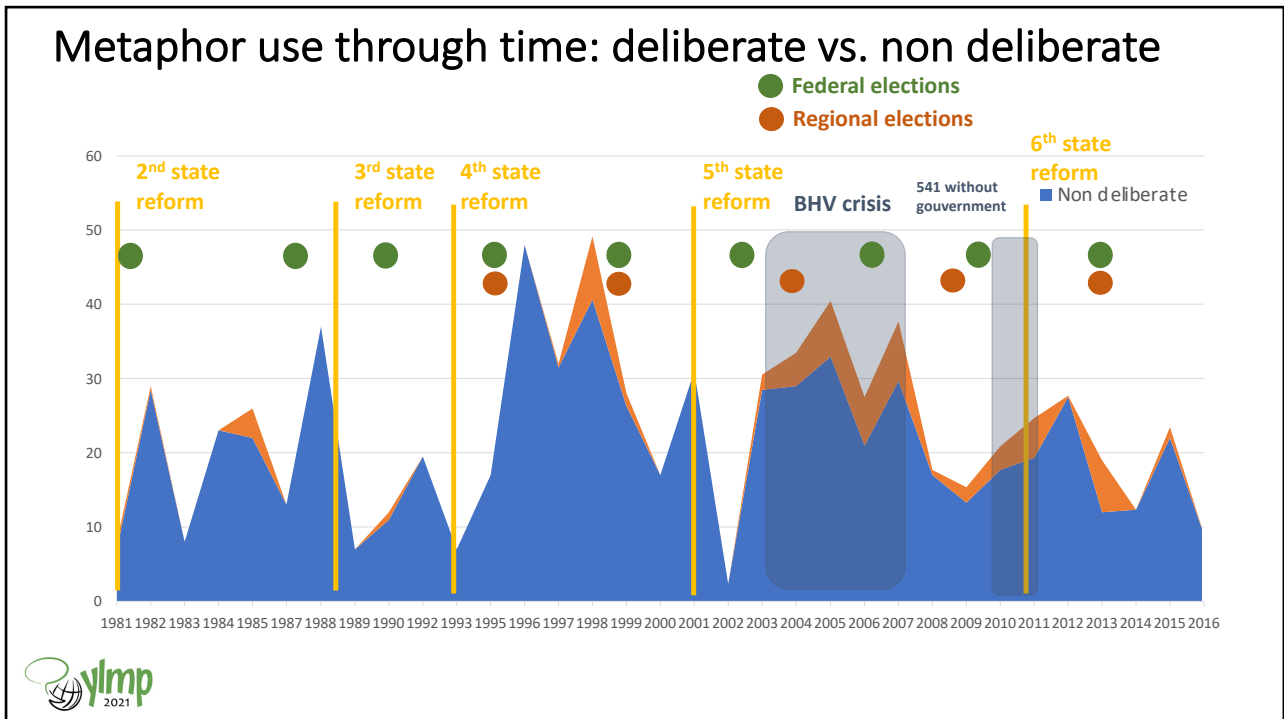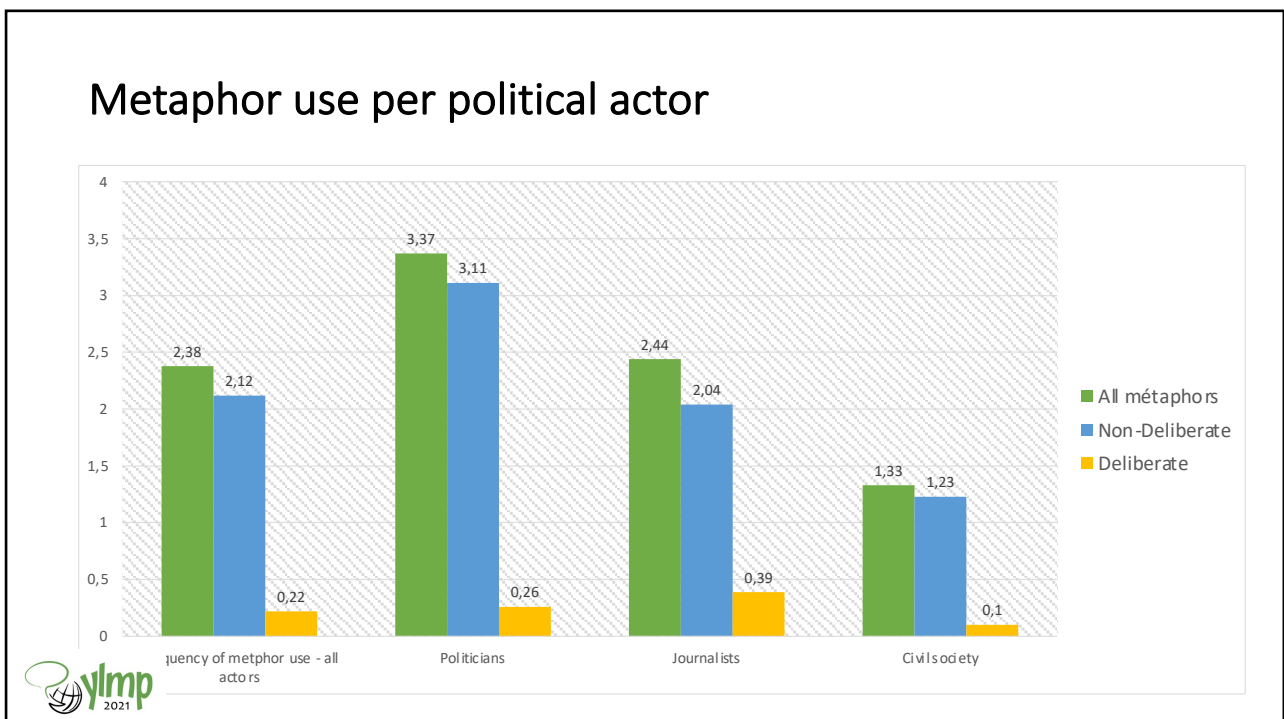*(Paul-Henri Gendebien, RWF, 12/09/2014)*

83

# Metaphor use through time



84

37

# Metaphor use through time: deliberate vs. non deliberate



86

# Metaphor use per political actor
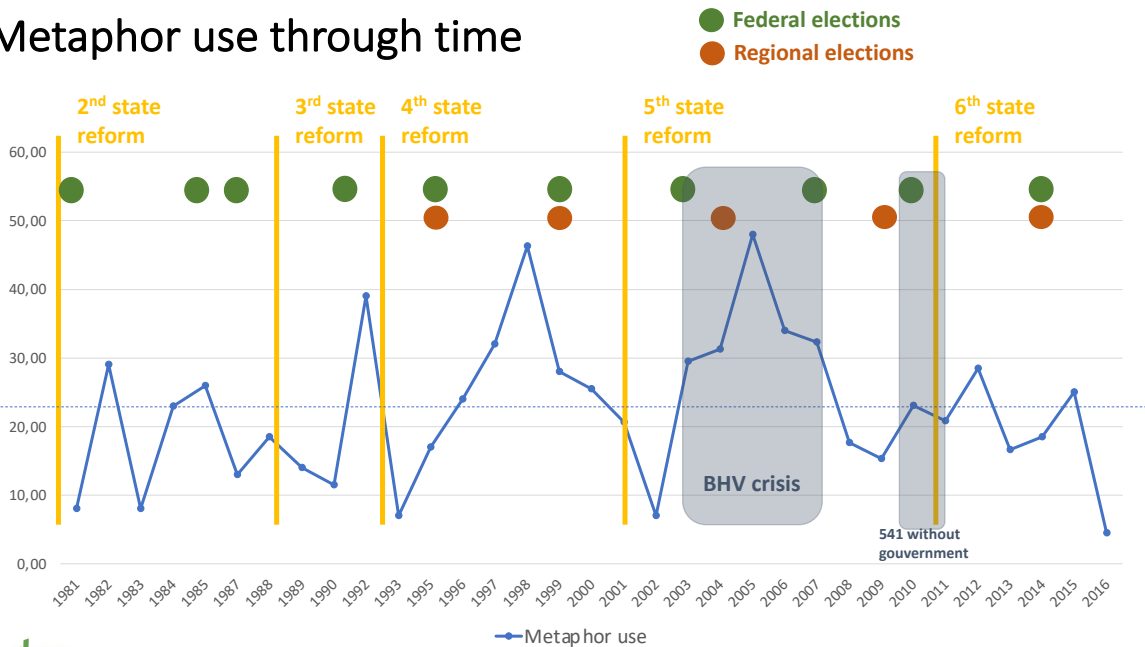


87

## BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A LOVE RELATIONSHIP/FAMILY

FR. Je voudrais poser une question à monsieur Voorhamme. Vous dites et vous venez de dire et vous pensez la même chose tous les trois je crois "les francophones ont peur". C'est ce que vous dites, c'est l'analyse que vous avez, c'est un refus par la peur. Alors est-ce qu'il est anormal d'avoir peur quand dans un **couple un** des **deux** sent qu'**il** va **se faire larguer** par **l'autre**? Est-ce que c'est, ou alors la question que je vous pose c'est, est-ce que vous tenez encore au **couple** ou bien est-ce que vous estimez effectivement que les visions sont tellement différentes qu'il faut dépasser ce stade-là?*(Journaliste, RTBF, 14/03/1999)*

EN. I'd like to ask a question to mr Voorhamme. You claim and the three of you just said the same thing, I think « the francophones are afraid ». It's what you're claiming. It's your analysis, a refusal out of fear. So, is it unusual to be afraid when in a **couple one of the two** (partners) is feeling **s/he will get dumped** by **the other**? So the question I'm asking is: do you still care about the **couple** or do you think the visions are so different that we should go beyond that?
*(Journalist, RTBF, 14/03/1999)*

88

---

# Metaphor use per actor: frames
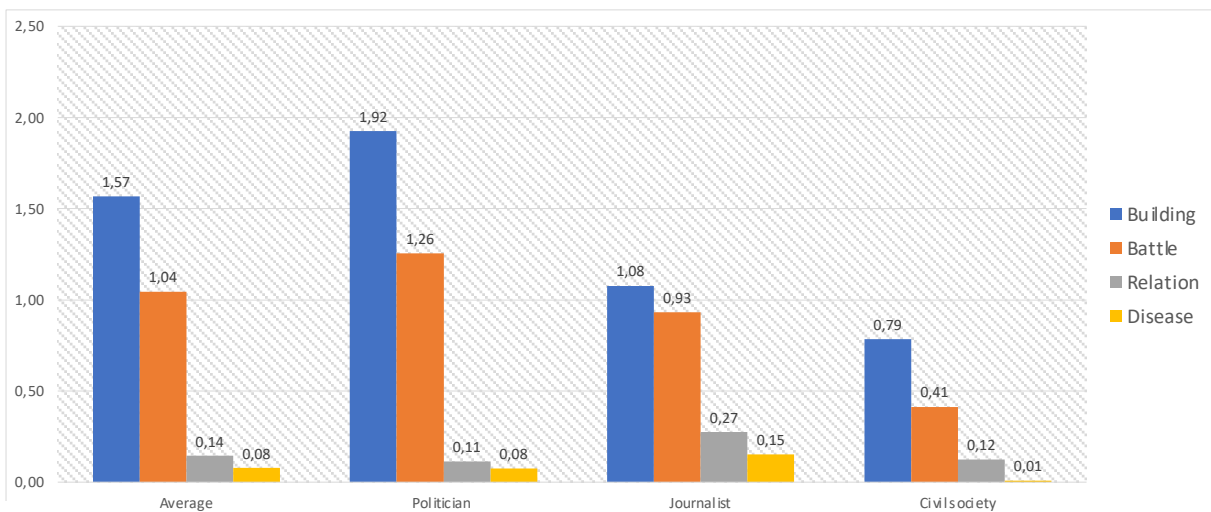


89

## Case study 2 – Television debates

- Variation
  - Variation over time
    - Political context?
      - Period of political crisis > greater variety of frames
  - Variation per political actor
  - Variation per political affiliation
- Relevance of deliberate metaphors
  - Higher frequency in periods of crisis
  - Greater use by the journalists
  - // Communicative functions in such context

ylmp 2021

91

# Part 3: Metaphor in political discourse | Production

3.1 Avenues for future research on political metaphor use
**3.2 Case studies**

**Case study 3 – Parliamentary discourse**

Heyvaert, P. (2019, 2020)

ylmp 2021

92

# Case study 3 – Parliamentary debates

P. Heyvaert (2020) – PhD Dissertation > *A Linguistic and Critical Analysis of Deliberate Metaphors in Belgian Parliamentary Debates*

• **Parliamentary discourse**
→ Belgian governmental policy statements (Prime Minister's policy statement + politicians' responses)
→ Bilingual corpus French - Dutch
→ Peer-to-peer political discourse

→ <u>Diachronic</u>: ten year time span (2006 – 2016)
→ large data (approx. 1 million words)

93

# Case study 3 – Parliamentary debates

P. Heyvaert (2020) – PhD Dissertation > *A Linguistic and Critical Analysis of Deliberate Metaphors in Belgian Parliamentary Debates*

• **Research objectives**
• Identify the linguistic features that are identified as characteristics of deliberate metaphor use
• Analyze the variation in deliberate metaphor use
• Political affiliation, gender
• Diachronic evolution
• Pinpoint the pragmatic/communicative functions of deliberate metaphors?

94

# Case study 3 – Parliamentary debates

P. Heyvaert (2020) – PhD Dissertation > *A Linguistic and Critical Analysis of Deliberate Metaphors in Belgian Parliamentary Debates*
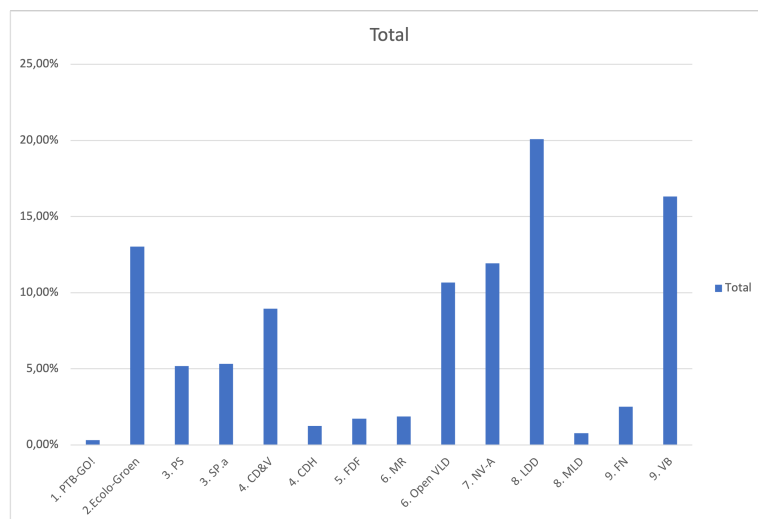
- **Method**
  - Deliberate metaphors
  - DMIP (Reijnierse et al. 2017) => bottom-up approach to deliberate metaphor identification
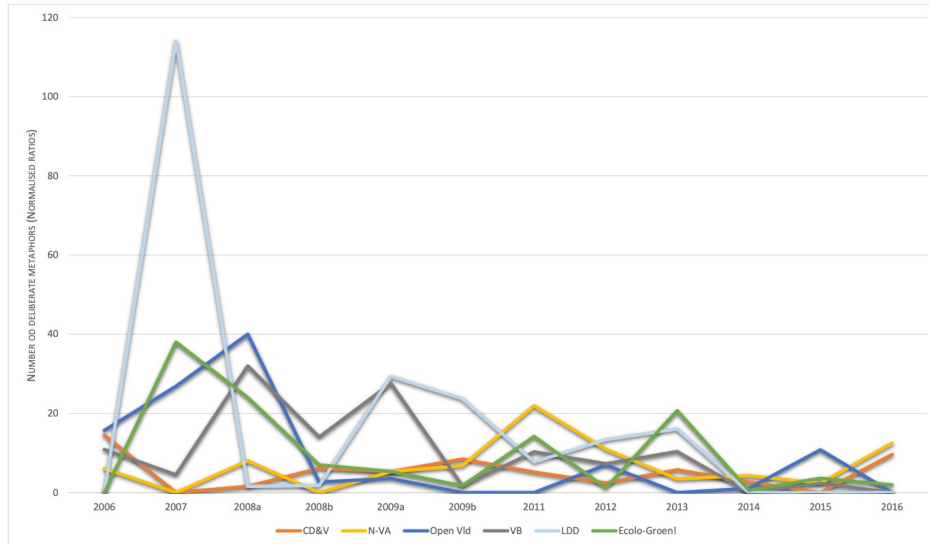
95

# Variation per political affiliation (1)

Total

25,00%

20,00%

15,00%

10,00%

5,00%

0,00%

1. PTB-GO! | 2.Ecolo-Groen | 3. PS | 3. SP.a | 4. CD&V | 4. CDH | 5. FDF | 6. MR | 6. Open VLD | 7. NV-A | 8. LDD | 8. MLD | 9. FN | 9. VB

■ Total

96

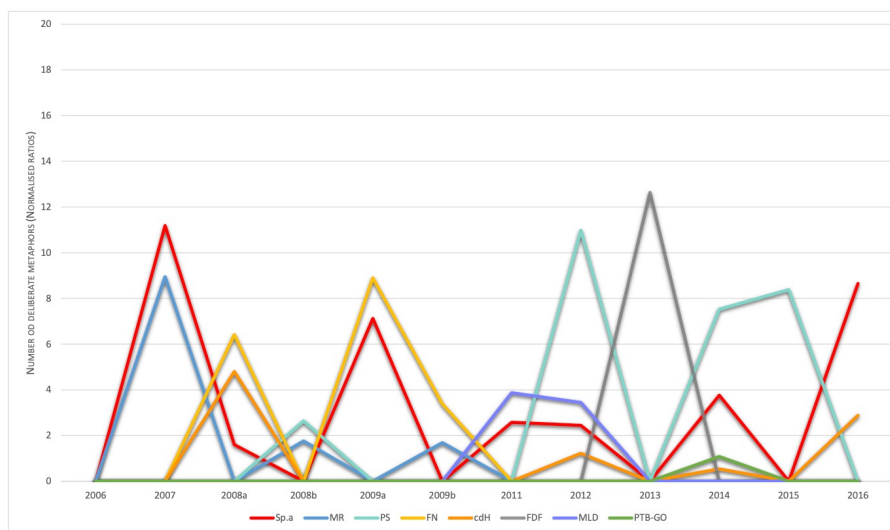# Variation per political affiliation (2)



Graph 5 : Production of deliberate metaphors across entire corpus (CD&V, N-VA, Open VLD, VB, LDD and Ecolo-Groen!)

97

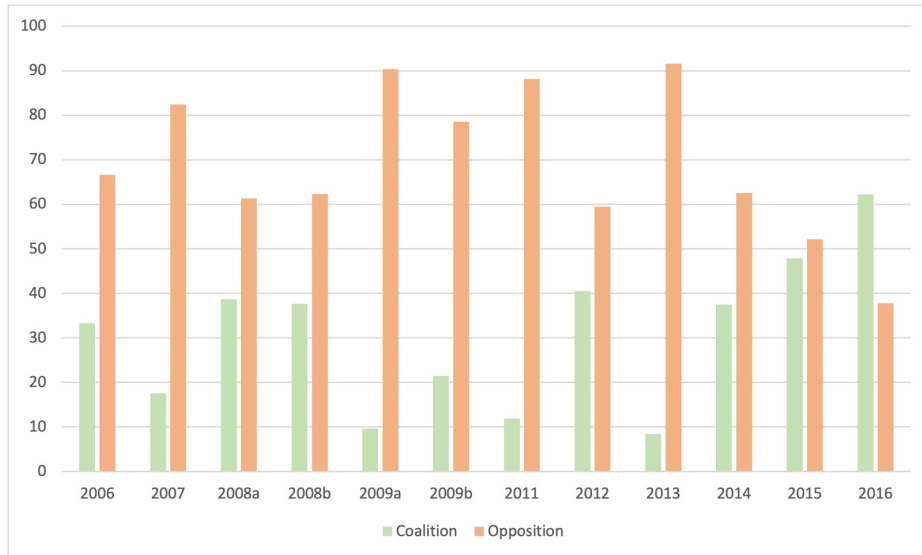# Variation per political affiliation (3)



Graph 7 : Production of deliberate metaphors across entire corpus (Sp.a, MR, PS, FN, cdH, FDF, MLD and PTB-GO!)

98

# Variation per political affiliation (4)



99

# Gender

| | Male politicians | | Female politicians | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % |
| Number of politicians | 140 | 68.6% | 64 | 31.4% |
| Number of politicians producing DM | **44** | **31.4%** | **9** | **14.0%** |
| Number of DM per politician | 556 | 87.3% | 81 | 12.7% |
| Av. number of DM per politician | **12.6** | - | **9** | - |

100

# Conclusions

# Interdisciplinarity

- Relevance for linguists
  - Going beyond the « simple » observation of metaphors in political discourse
    - Variation
  - Questioning aspects of metaphor study that were taken for granted
- Relevance for political scientists
  - Looking at the surface form of words (>< content, ideas)
  - Role of metaphors in structuring our understanding of political concepts

## Metaphors in political discourse

- Interest to look at variation in political metaphor use
  - Different types of political corpora
    - Citizen discourse
    - TV debates
    - Parliementary debates
  - Evolution through time
  - Different types of actors
    - Political affiliation
    - Opposition vs. coalition
    - Gender

ylmp
2021

103

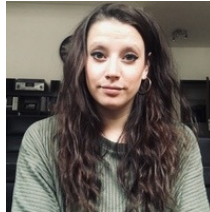# Thank you for your attention ☺

104

## Our ULiège | UCLouvain Team


Prof. dr. Min Reuchamps


Dr. Jérémy Dodeigne


Dr. Pauline Heyvaert


Dr. Audrey Vandeleene


Dr. François Randour


The whole team at Liege's Christmas fair ☺

105



106