Metaphor & Manipulation

Friday 17 May 2019

University of Lyon (Jean Moulin Lyon 3)

Amphitheater Doucet-Bon, 18 rue Chevreul, 69007 Lyon
Conference organized by the Linguistics Research Center at the University of Lyon (UJML3), France

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Presentation

Since *Metaphors We Live By* by Lakoff and Johnson was published [1980], studies adopting a cognitive approach to metaphor have proliferated and it is now generally acknowledged that metaphors have a cognitive function; they not only structure our language and discourse, but also our thought system, as they allow us to conceptualize a target domain thanks to a source domain. Cognitive linguistics, however, was frequently criticized for not considering the ornamental and rhetorical functions of metaphor. Other approaches were thus developed to take these functions into account, including *Critical Metaphor Theory* (Charteris-Black [2004]), which largely relies on *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Nevertheless, Charteris-Black based his studies on large corpora of political, religious, or journalistic texts and found that metaphor, because of its cognitive and affective appeal, remained the ultimate rhetorical tool in some genres. He reckoned that lexicalized metaphors in those texts not only allow us to persuade readers or co-speakers or to convey an ideology, but also to manipulate the reader or the co-speaker by remaining unnoticed, as “the subliminal potential of metaphor is central to the performance of leadership” (Charteris Black [2005: 2]).

Yet, in *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*, metaphor largely relies on the principle of highlighting-hiding (Kövecses [2002: 80]); in other words, using one particular source domain allows the speaker to conceptualize one target domain in a particular way, that is to say to highlight some characteristics and to hide others. Metaphor thus allows speakers to manipulate the information by presenting it in a very specific way, as changing the source domain allows the way in which the information is presented to be changed. Consequently, it seems that metaphor allows speakers to manipulate the co-speaker(s) and the reader(s) by influencing their perception of a given reality. Therefore, wouldn’t it be possible to postulate that all metaphors have both cognitive and manipulative functions? Is this last function limited to a certain type of discourse? Following Charteris-Black’s work on the persuasive function of metaphor (“Metaphor can be manipulative but is more commonly persuasive”, Charteris-Black [2005: 44]), this conference will essentially focus on the manipulative aspects of metaphor – whether or not in combination with other rhetorical strategies, linguistic or non-linguistic devices, myths, etc.

Presentations should focus on contemporary English and on contemporary societal topics. A corpus study will be much appreciated; corpora may be written or oral and different genres are welcome (all kinds of discourses, journalistic texts,
TV series, films, forums, etc.). Presentations may tackle the following topics (but not exclusively):

- What are the main differences between persuasion and manipulation?
- Does the use of metaphors necessarily entail a form of manipulation?
- How does a metaphor become a potential manipulative device?
- How does a given metaphor conceal a speaker’s intention and become manipulative?
- Does the degree of lexicalization and the degree of metaphoricity of a metaphor have an impact on its persuasive force and, by extension, on its manipulative capacity and effectiveness?
- What are the roles of intention, linguistic choice and context in manipulative discourse?
- Are some source domains more frequent and/or more efficient in manipulating co-speakers?
- Is positive or negative evaluation more frequent and productive in the case of manipulative metaphors?
- Does the rhetorical function of metaphor represent a danger? If so, some affirm that metaphors should be avoided (Sontag [1979]), whereas cognitive linguists maintain that it is impossible given how pervasive and ubiquitous they are.
- What are the links and limits between the rhetorical, the persuasive, and the manipulative functions of metaphors?
- How are metaphors and emotions related in the context of manipulation?
- What is the relationship between euphemistic metaphor and manipulation?
- Are multimodal metaphors particularly efficient for manipulation? If so, in what ways?

Selected Bibliography


Program

Friday 17 May 2019

8h15  Registration, Amphitheater Doucet Bon

8h45  Introduction

Prof. Denis Jamet (University of Lyon (UJML3), France & University of Arizona, USA) & Adeline Terry (University of Lyon (UJML3), France)

9h-10h  Plenary: “Good for the Mind, Body and Soul: Cognitive, Embodied and Social Effects of Metaphor”

Prof. Herbert L. Colston (University of Alberta, Canada)

10h-10h30  “Persuasion at hand: speech, gesture and thought-control”

Prof. Jean-Rémi Lapaire (University Montaigne Bordeaux 3, France)

10h30-11h  Coffee break

11h-11h30  “What Makes Metaphors Manipulative Tools?: A Case-Study of Pro-Life Speeches in the US”

Prof. Denis Jamet (University of Lyon (UJML3), France & University of Arizona, USA) & Adeline Terry (University of Lyon (UJML3), France)

11h30-12h  “Characterising a ‘zero degree’ of manipulation through the reports of the International Panel on Climate Change”

Dr. Marie-Hélène Fries (University Grenoble-Alpes, France)

12h-12h30  “Green is clean: the persuasive vs. manipulative power of multimodal metaphors in marketing discourse”

Dr. Inesa Sahakyan (University Grenoble-Alpes, France)
12h30-14h  Lunch at the Rotonde (18 rue Chevreul, 6° étage)

14h-15h  Plenary: “Family or Friend? Relationship Metaphors in the Discourse of Brexit”

Prof. Jonathan Charteris-Black (University of the West of England – Bristol, England)

15h-15h30  “Make Britain Great Again: Brexit, Vote Leave and the Myth of Grandeur”

Dr. Alma-Pierre Bonnet (Sciences Po Lyon, France)

15h30-16h  “Metaphor, Multimodality and Manipulation? Implicit vs. explicit product benefit and risk claims using multimodality and metaphor in direct-to-consumer television advertising of Alzheimer’s medication”

Dr. Michael O’Mara Shimek (Boston University, USA)

16h-16h30  Coffee break

16h30-17h  “Visual metaphor and manipulation: The case of political cartoons on the migration crisis”

Dr. Anna Piata (University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland) & Dr. Stavros Assimakopoulos (University of Malta, Malta)

17h-17h30  “The ‘war on drugs’ metaphor in the American political discourse: genesis, use and function in State of the Union addresses”

Dr. Sarah Bourse (University Jean Jaurès Toulouse 2, France)

17h30-18h  “Metaphoric expression of ‘happycracy’ in feminine press. Individual frontiers, quests and strengths”

Dr. Lucia Gomez (University Grenoble-Alpes, France)

18h30-19h  Concluding remarks

19h  Dinner at the Rotonde (18 rue Chevreul, 6° étage)
Abstracts

9h-10h Plenary: “Good for the Mind, Body and Soul: Cognitive, Embodied and Social Effects of Metaphor”

Prof. Herbert L. Colston (University of Alberta, Canada)

One of two questions typically motivates much research on metaphor—how are they comprehended and why are they used? It turns out these questions are connected—metaphors are used because of how they are comprehended, at least in part. But this usage motivation is driven by more than mere metaphorical meaning. Metaphor comprehension involves much more than just a speaker/writer/signer leveraging a metaphorical meaning in another person’s mind. Metaphor comprehension carries with it a range of meaningful experiences in a hearer/reader/viewer, some of which are likely in part intended by the producer. Others can be emergent in the conversation. These meaningful experiences, or pragmatic effects (Colston, 2015), are a major reason for why people use metaphors. Pragmatic effects stem from a range of processes from the cognitive through the embodied to the social—some linguistic, some psychological. But metaphors are also used for cathartic speaker-(writer/signer)-benefitting reasons. These benefits can also arise from cognitive, embodied and social sources. The crux of all of this is the primary pragmatic effect wrought by metaphorical cognition—meaning enhancement. Metaphors are effectively meaning in concentrate. Akin to how you get more than you start with when you add water to a concentrated food substance, so is it the case with metaphor. Manipulation by metaphor is thus something that producers can achieve on receivers, implicitly or explicitly. But metaphorical manipulation is also something that can happen to us, whether or not we’re the receivers of a metaphorical production. A metaphorical thought can occur in us, which we may or may not voice, with or without an interlocutor. And that mere metaphorical thought can alter, persuade and indeed, manipulate us and/or our interlocutors. The same can be said for our encountering metaphorical images and other non-linguistic instantiations of metaphor. The talk will discuss these wide-ranging instances of metaphorical manipulation—between people, within individuals, live and via recorded metaphor, noting the specific cognitive, embodied and social underpinnings driving the manipulation.

10h-10h30 “Persuasion at hand: speech, gesture and thought-control”

Prof. Jean-Rémi Lapaire (University Montaigne Bordeaux 3, France)

Language is in essence a kind of manipulatory activity (Kendon 2004): meanings are manually shaped by the ‘intelligent body’ (Streeck 2009), and a number of discourse-pragmatic functions enacted, as speakers physically engage in communicative action (McNeill 1992, 2005). Objects of conception and units of experience are symbolically established, displayed and manipulated (Lapaire 2016) in an attempt to control other people’s feelings, conceptions and behaviours. Language thus integrates different forms
of manipulation - physical, cognitive and socio-interactional – which operate in synchrony, at different levels of semiotic expression, as gesture observation attests.

In this paper, I will present the preliminary findings of an empirical study that is currently under way. Three 30’ studio interviews were recorded in the Spring of 2018, in both English and French, as part of a documentary film on (trans)gender and queer activism on a French campus. Both show that speakers (unconsciously) resort to the physical, metaphorical and metonymic manipulation of abstract entities to get their meanings across and (re)shape the viewer’s (misplaced) conceptions of gender. Regularities across languages, cultures and LGBTQ experience occur in the areas of form / patternment (Calbris 2011), thematic relevance and argumentative function (e.g. defining gender categories, challenging social norms, reporting face-threatening events, describing social processes, contrasting or blending gender norms, deconstructing personal experience).

**Key words**: gesture, symbolic action, interpersonal manipulation, spatial metaphor

**Selected references**


LAPAIRE Jean-Rémi, 2016, “From ontological metaphor to semiotic make-believe: giving shape and substance to fictive objects of conception with the globe gesture”, *Signo*, vol. 41, nº 70.


**11h-11h30 “What Makes Metaphors Manipulative Tools?: A Case-Study of Pro-Life Speeches in the US”**

**Prof. Denis Jamet** (University of Lyon (UJML3), France & University of Arizona, USA) & **Adeline Terry** (University of Lyon (UJML3), France)

Manipulation implies a conscious choice from speakers to trigger a change of opinion in the interlocutors and to make them accept their own point of view, i.e. their own vision of the world. As pointed out by Goatly (2007), Charteris-Black (2005, 2014) or Van Dijk (1998), metaphors can be used as manipulative tools. Metaphors have traditionally been
considered as figures of speech used by rhetoricians to convince crowds; cognitivists have demonstrated that they are figures of thought as well, which partly accounts for their manipulative potential. The three underlying reasons to this are, among others, the highlighting-hiding process, the existence of asymmetrical metaphors, and the multivalency of metaphors.

The manipulative potential of metaphors will be examined in twelve speeches from pro-life supporters, ranging from 2006 to 2019. One of the main ideological debates going on in the US has been on abortion, as the pro-life movement has grown stronger in recent years and has been threatening the right to abortion guaranteed by *Roe v. Wade*. The study of the metaphors in those speeches will enable us to study how pro-lifers manipulate people regarding the apprehension of reality by systematically using a limited number of conceptualizations.

**Key words:** abortion, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, metaphor, manipulation, pro-life movement

**Selected references**


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**11h30-12h**

“Characterising a ‘zero degree’ of manipulation through the reports of the International Panel on Climate Change”

**Dr. Marie-Hélène Fries (University Grenoble-Alpes, France)**

Advertising and political discourse are two genres traditionally linked to both metaphors and manipulation (Charteris Black 2005, Cortes de Los Rios 2002). In other genres, especially specialized ones, the use of metaphors has been more commonly related to heuristic or epistemological purposes (Black 1962, 1979). This presentation will explore the hypothesis that the highlighting/hiding principle identified by cognitive semanticists...
(Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2002), defines a kind of “zero degree” of manipulation, in so far as it influences our perception of reality and, therefore, our cognitive basis for action indirectly, without explicitly showing in which way. This could be true even in highly specialized scientific or technical fields. Physists who define light as a wave will not design the same experiments as their colleagues who define light as particles, for instance. The corpus chosen will be the five comprehensive assessment reports written by the International Panel on Climate Change since it was established under the auspices of the United Nations (in 1990, 1990, 1996, 2001, 2007 and 2013). These reports are collectively written by thousands of experts around the world, which gives scientific credibility to state of the art reviews of themes such as climate change, adaptability, vulnerability and mitigation and makes them good candidates for a “zero degree of manipulation”. They also include summaries for policy makers, which are discussed and adopted line by line by government representatives. These summaries aim at popularizing the findings outlined in the reports and inform governments on mitigation policy options, which shows they have a prescriptive intent as well as a descriptive content. The “zero degree” of manipulation will first be examined from the point of view of specialized genres through an analysis of the differences between the metaphors found in the summaries for policy makers and those found in the reports, to see what is highlighted or hidden in both cases and which political consequences it could have, if any. The focus will be on metaphorical terms (Temmerman 2000, Resche 2013), because they are shared by specialized discourse communities. Then the “zero degree” of manipulation will be characterized from the point of view of multimodality, with an analysis of the pictorial metaphors shown on the title pages of the five assessment reports and a comparison between these pictorial metaphors and the non-verbal elements contained in these reviews. Finally, from a diachronic point of view, the evolution of the core metaphors found both in the summaries and the full reports will be monitored for the 1990-2014 period, in order to see whether the highlighting/hiding mechanisms linked with these metaphors has evolved, and in which ways.

**Keywords:** climate change, cognitive semantics, IPCC, manipulation, metaphorical terms

**Selected references**


The term metaphor has its roots in Old French, Latin and Greek and dates back to the late 15\textsuperscript{th} century. In Greek \textit{metaphora} is coined from \textit{meta}, meaning ‘over, across’ and \textit{pherein} ‘to carry’. So when confronted with a metaphor, the interpreter’s attention is indeed \textit{carried away} from the real world they face so as to be \textit{projected} onto an imaginary one. Nowadays, “through sophisticated advertising, cars are increasingly presented in or adjacent to natural environments rather than next to glamorous people and opulent mansions as was customary in earlier periods of car advertising” (Mühlhäusler,1999:175). This shift in marketing strategy that overexploits the green metaphor to project consumers into a more environmentally-friendly world and make them believe that the product they purchase is clean and eco-friendly seems to derive from the manufacturers’ need to meet the consumer’s growing concern with making responsible choices. When it comes to delving into the manipulative power of metaphor, its definitions could provide some further insight. For instance, Abrams (1988:65) defines metaphor as “a word or expression which in literal usage denotes one kind of thing or action [but] is applied to a distinctly different kind of thing or action, \textit{without asserting a comparison} [emphasis added]”. This definition, though not the most commonly used, seems of interest to us here as it pinpoints what seems to us the very source of manipulation carried by metaphors: the fact that the parallel drawn between the two worlds is not explicitly asserted.

This paper attempts to throw light into the power of metaphors as \textit{communication devices} within the context of green marketing discourse. Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis, an approach integrating Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and studies of multimodality constitutes our theoretical framework of analysis. Hence an important distinction is drawn between monomodal and multimodal metaphors. The former being purely verbal or “lexicalized” draw on the resources provided by the language, while the latter tap into different human senses and modes of communication to capture attention, trigger emotions and structure meaning making processes. We believe multimodal metaphors, unlike monomodal ones, bear a greater potential of manipulation for in “selective projection” different modes are involved to project the desired features with utmost precision (using colour, form, sound, etc.), while making sure to leave out the undesired

\footnote{Online Etymology Dictionary, available at \url{https://www.etymonline.com/word/metaphor} (accessed on November 13, 2018)}
qualities of the source domain. This selective projection is indeed construed as manipulative in itself. Thus drawing on analyses of multimodal metaphors in particular, the paper endeavours to trace a demarcation line between *persuasion* and *manipulation*. To this end, two sub-corpora are constituted to compare and contrast the way a metaphor is used to convey a commercial message in green car advertisements on the one hand, and on the other, a message in the public interest with the aim of raising awareness of environmental issues.

**Keywords:** multimodal metaphors, marketing discourse, environmental rhetoric, multimodal discourse analysis

**Selected references**


**14-15h Plenary: “Family or Friend? Relationship Metaphors in the Discourse of Brexit”**

**Prof. Jonathan Charteris-Black** *(University of the West of England – Bristol, England)*

In this paper I explore the extent to which the moral and political issues underlying Britain’s decision to leave the European Union were articulated through metaphors deriving from family and other frames for interpersonal relationships. The network of experiences surrounding marriage and the family provided a fertile ground for contesting positions in the Brexit debate. While family metaphors were generally popular in the media, because of their potential for arousing powerful emotions, Leave politicians were cautious about using them. One reason for this is that the ‘the European family’ had long been used as a metaphor by the European Commission. Nonetheless, given the emotional resonance of the family, it was hardly surprising that the family metaphors were commonly used by the media to describe Britain’s departures from the EU as a ‘divorce’ and, to argue that it had always been ‘a marriage of convenience’.

I compare how family metaphors were employed on social media, by the press and by politicians, comparing how Remain and Leave supporters argued for, or against, the concept of Europe as a ‘family’, and, if it were not a family, the other types of relationship that were available. I discuss the issue of how far politicians who advocated leaving the European Union reframed Britain’s relationship with Europe as a ‘friendship’ and argue that this that implied a different set of moral obligations from those that applied when it was framed as a ‘family’ member. I then consider whether the ‘marriage’ of Britain to the European Union was just ‘a marriage of convenience’ so that it could be emotionally therapeutic to end it and suggest that this may account for how ‘divorce’ became the predominant media representation of Britain’s possible departure from the European Union.
I also discuss the discourse history of family metaphors to illustrate how the frames on which campaigners and commentators relied during the referendum had their roots in stereotypical representations of Britain's relationship with the European Union that developed over a much longer period of time.

15h-15h30  “Make Britain Great Again: Brexit, Vote Leave and the Myth of Grandeur”

**Dr. Alma-Pierre Bonnet (Sciences Po Lyon, France)**

On 23 June 2016 almost 52% of the EU membership referendum voters decided to leave the European Union. A key player in this fateful decision, Vote Leave was the official pro-Brexit group that campaigned to end more than 40 years of love/hate relationship between the United Kingdom and the EEC, later the European Union. It managed to convince people that the UK would be better off out than in, focusing on the consequences of mass immigration, the undemocratic dimension of an overbearing institution, the huge amount of money sent to a bureaucratic giant and a general feeling that the UK would do better on its own.

Two and half years later, most of those arguments have been debunked. Yet, the tide in favour of leaving the EU has not really turned and most Brexiteers still believe that a hard Brexit, or even a no-deal scenario, is the only way to go to safeguard Britain's place in the world. It seems therefore that Vote Leave achieved a formidable rhetorical feat: it convinced people without any bulletproof arguments. Worst, it persuaded a majority of British people to take the political decision of a lifetime without resorting to facts and reason. We can assume that there was something about the Vote Leave campaign, and the Brexit possibility, that made this decision irresistible in eyes of most British people.

Since logical arguments fall short of providing a clear explanation, we need to go beyond the words and try to understand the rhetorical devices used by the Vote Leave campaigners to achieve their goal. One key element in the abundant Brexit literature was the recurrent use of metaphors. The cognitive and persuasive values of metaphors prevailed over the coherence of (counter-) arguments. The link between metaphors and emotions was crucial to the Brexit campaign. As Jonathan Charteris-Black puts it: “leadership is communicated, often

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2 Among others:

- [https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/health/2016/06/debunking-brexit-myths](https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/health/2016/06/debunking-brexit-myths),
- [https://www.independent.co.uk/infact/brexit-second-referendum-false-claims-eu-referendum-campaign-lies-fake-news-a8113381.html](https://www.independent.co.uk/infact/brexit-second-referendum-false-claims-eu-referendum-campaign-lies-fake-news-a8113381.html),
- [https://www.ft.com/content/c72960f0-088c-11e6-a623-b84d06a39ec2](https://www.ft.com/content/c72960f0-088c-11e6-a623-b84d06a39ec2)
unconsciously – through the use of metaphor to legitimise ideology through the creation of myth.3
My objective is to analyse the political myth created by the Vote Leave campaign through their use of metaphors to understand why, even today, their message seems to carry more weight than any other sound and factual arguments. To do so, I will study the ‘Key speeches, interviews and op-ed’ section of the official Vote Leave website. By focusing on the metaphors, I will try to uncover both the way they managed to convince people back in 2016 and the reasons why the political myth then created still holds water in the eyes of many, on the other side of the Channel.

**Keywords:** Brexit, myth, metaphor, politics, manipulation

**Selected references**


15h30-16h “Metaphor, Multimodality and Manipulation? Implicit vs. explicit product benefit and risk claims using multimodality and metaphor in direct-to-consumer television advertising of Alzheimer's medication”

**Dr. Michael O’Mara Shimek** (Boston University, USA)

This research applies Conceptual Metaphor Theory to the rhetorical and multimodal use of metaphor a in direct-to-consumer (DTC) advertising of pharmaceutical products in the United States for treating Alzheimer’s disease. This study examines how the pharmaceutical company Allergan uses multimodality and metaphor in television advertising to rhetorically represent both implicit and explicit product claims of risk and benefit for Namzaric, the latest FDA approved treatment for Alzheimer’s disease. The hypothesis of this research is that while the ads at first glance might appear to globally conform to FTC and FDA standards for Truth in Advertising, the implicit product benefit claims represented visually with the assistance of other modes overshadow the explicit product risk and benefit claims that are realized verbally and in written text, thus potentially infringing industry guidelines, and more importantly, misguiding consumers.

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Across critical analyses of discriminatory discourse, the use of metaphors has repeatedly been underlined as a prominent strategy used to legitimise social processes of othering (cf. Reisigl & Wodak 2001; Baker et al. 2008; KhosraviNik 2010; Musolff 2015), whereby “particular recurring patterns of metaphor come to normalise certain ways of thinking about groups of people, which, if negative, justify their discrimination” (Ng 2018: 220). A case in point is the way we commonly talk about migration; in terms of a ‘flood’, a ‘wave’ and/or a ‘tide’, which essentially evokes a dehumanising representation of migrants and refugees (see Abid et al. 2017 and references therein). It therefore seems that metaphor lends itself quite smoothly to manipulation, since it can trigger (derogatory in this context) associations that “may not always be ones of which we are conscious” (Charteris-Black 2011: 44).

In this talk, we will shift the focus from linguistic to visual metaphors that are used to represent the current ‘migration crisis’ in Europe (cf. Özdemir & Özdemir 2017). On the assumption that “visual framing may convey meanings that would be more controversial or might meet with greater audience resistance if they were conveyed through words” (Messaris & Abraham 2001: 215), we aim to explore the potential of visual metaphor as a manipulative device, which has so far been largely overlooked in the relevant literature. And we use ‘potential’ intentionally here, since visual metaphors, much like any other discourse structure, are not inherently manipulative; “they only have such functions or effects in specific communicative situations and the way in which these are interpreted by participants in their context models” (van Dijk 2006: 372).

Drawing on a corpus of political cartoons that have appeared in online and traditional media from 2015 until 2018, we will discuss the ways in which particular source domains (such as, e.g., the EU flag, boats carrying immigrants, and country borders) visually recur to achieve distinct, but often overlapping, communicative goals. Although we find examples that aim at legitimising discrimination through implicit othering processes and in standard manipulative fashion (in line with previous research in critical discourse analysis), we also identify several cases where the same metaphorical patterns are used with an intention to shift the negative focus from the migrant group and on to the authorities and the way in which they handle the migration crisis. In this particular context, the intention appears to be, at least at face value, the development of a narrative that counters anti-migrant sentiments. Upon closer inspection, however, the visual framing is, again, dehumanising; “[w]e see no faces, no real people. We see just anonymous masses. We see an abstract and dehumanised political problem” (Bleiker et al. 2013: 411). We tentatively consider this as second-order manipulation, masquerading a hidden agenda that may not only perpetuate the dichotomy of ‘us versus them’, but also weaponise it for political reasons, most notably in relation to the role of the EU in national and international affairs.

**Keywords:** metaphor, manipulation, political cartoons, migration crisis
Selected references


MUSOLFF Andreas, 2015, “Dehumanizing metaphors in UK immigrant debates in press and online media”, Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict 3 (1), 41-56. DOI: 10.1075/jlac.3.1.02mus


17h-17h30 “The ‘war on drugs’ metaphor in the American political discourse: genesis, use and function in State of the Union addresses”

Dr. Sarah Bourse (University Jean Jaurès Toulouse 2, France)

Metaphors are pervasive in political discourse (Charteris-Black 2011, Beard 2000). One very common metaphor that can be considered the backbone of political discourse is the metaphor POLITICS IS WAR, identified and described by Lakoff. This metaphor can be
applied to many entities: the war on terror, the war on drugs, the war on poverty, to mention a few examples. The use of this metaphor activates a relief frame, which can be defined as including the following components:

“The relief frame is an instance of a more general rescue scenario in which there is a hero (the reliever), a victim (the afflicted), a crime (the affliction), a villain (the cause of affliction) and a rescue (the relief). The hero is inherently good, the villain is evil and the victim after the rescue owes gratitude to the hero.” (Lakoff 2003)

The evocation of the metaphor through carefully chosen words then forms an intricate narrative that contributes to the ethos of the speaker as well as myth-making:

“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 metaphor to tell the right story.” (Charteris-Black 2011, 28)

The metaphor also largely participates in appeals to emotions as it evokes the relief frame and might summon the collective unconscious.

One of the most common metaphors is the ‘war on drugs’ metaphor. It has been profusely used in political speeches as well as in the press since Nixon declared war on drugs in 1971. When studying metaphors in the political discourse, several questions can be raised: what are the implications of this metaphor and how is it used to justify or pave the way for some policies? In what ways can metaphors be considered manipulative? To what extent can conventional metaphors be considered more effective or insidious than original metaphors? How do metaphors contribute to the larger rhetoric strategy of politicians and in combination of which other linguistic devices are they used to elicit emotion?

After unveiling the mechanisms of its birth, I would like to consider the manipulative function of the ‘war on drugs’ metaphor and analyze the role it plays in the building of a common story. I shall also address the way in which this metaphor can elicit emotion, as the ‘war on drugs’ metaphor can especially fuel fear and trigger empathy.

Through the analysis of several State of the Union Addresses (SOTUAs) from Nixon to Trump, I shall examine how this metaphor is used in the discourse of the United States presidents, using the Sketch Engine so as to identify lexical patterns and further present case studies to show what the metaphor conveys and to what ends it is used.

The present study will rely on the definition of conceptual metaphors as presented in Lakoff & Johnson’s Conceptual Metaphor Theory (1980) as well as studies that shed light on the persuasive or manipulative power of metaphors (Lakoff 2008, Charteris-Black 2011, Bonnefille 2013, Digonnet 2014).

**Keywords:** war on drugs metaphor, drug reform, political discourse, emotion, ethos

**Selected references**


**CHARTERIS-BLACK** Jonathan, 2005 [2011], *Politicians and Rhetoric: the Persuasive Power of*
As Illouz and Cabanas (2018: 9) point out, happiness has deeply permeated our cultural imagination, to occupy a central place in our lives. Self-fulfilment has become the essential aim of the individual, workplace wellness is a key objective for companies, and the wellbeing of societies is now the unit of measure used to assess the success of political projects (see Helliwell, Layard & Sachs 2017).

If happiness has become such an important value it is because the influence of ‘positive psychology’. Positive psychology has triggered a paradigm shift. Happiness is no longer considered as a natural consequence of circumstance but rather as the consequence of the way in which the individual faces it. Besides, it is a fundamental tenet of positive psychology that happiness is the engine of personal success, and not the other way round. Therefore, both happiness and success are reachable for everyone.

Beneath this laudable ideal of ‘widespread individual happiness’ lies a discourse that, despite its altruistic, apolitical and ideology-free appearance, pursues very clear objectives that benefit certain sectors of society compatible with neoliberal values.

In fact, this theory allows the states to offload its responsibilities such as income redistribution, gender equality, access to health and food, etc. (Illouz and Cabana 2018: 66), by making citizens responsible for their potential failure (obesity, unemployment, etc.). It is also an effective ideological tool to justify some of the most damaging aspects of the market economy (Ehrenreich, 2009). In sum, this ideology has made it possible to present the structural deficits of society in terms of individual responsibility.
This paper analyzes the current impact of ‘positive psychology’ in the feminine press, by considering the case of the iconic magazine Cosmopolitan. More precisely, our (ongoing) study is interested in how happiness is metaphorically expressed in the ‘psychological’ section of the magazine, called ‘de la personnalité’, in order to analyze how this construct is presented to readers. In this study we will try to answer the following questions:
1. In the ‘psychological’ section of Cosmopolitan, is happiness considered in the light of ‘positive psychology’?
2. How is this concept represented metaphorically? What conceptualization of happiness is conveyed through metaphor?
For this we have created a corpus of ‘psychology’ sections from 12 issues of Cosmopolitan (2017-2018), in which metaphors have been manually identified. Our preliminary results show a great permeability of ‘positive psychology’ in the psychological discourse of the magazine. Happiness is portrayed with a high metaphorical density and through metaphors of wildly different degrees of conventionality. The essential images that serve to spread the ‘positive psychology’ message reveal an extremely pronounced notion of “self”, which appears separated from happiness by different boundaries. The individual must act to seek and approach happiness, the location of which, however, is never metaphorically designated. Finally, our corpus demonstrates not only adherence to positive psychology, but also a critical stance, which can be understood as an awareness of the negative side of this ideology and the expression of a certain suffering.

Selected references


18h30-19h Concluding remarks