

Applying Critical Metaphor Analysis in Political Discourse Post 9/11

HANAN QASIM DAKHIL
Universidad de Málaga

Abstract: This paper attempts to explain how the political enemy and its actions have already been defined in the political environment. Regarding the metaphorical units involved in the political discourse and statements, this study considers the case of the American war against Afghanistan and Iraq in 2002 and 2003. The use of metaphorical units of the former president of the United States, George W. Bush, former president of Iraq, Saddam Hussein and former leader of Al Qaeda, Osama Bin Laden during the war have been analyzed using Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) as a concrete method developed by Charteris-Black (2004).

This type of metaphorical unit involves the cognitive process of cultural and religious experiences to generate a specific stereotype of the enemy. That image appears in most religious traditions of the world, aiming to arouse hatred and fear among people. The paper concludes by emphasizing that the considered metaphorical units have created an “abstract” conceptual metaphor that deliberately establishes an analogy between "political enemy " and "religious enemy" using lexical units such as " satán/satan" "diablo/devil" and "infiel /infidel ", among others.

Keywords: Critical Metaphor Analysis, ideology, political enemy, conceptual metaphor.

1. Introduction

In political discourse, metaphor plays a crucial role in establishing a platform for communication and mutual knowledge between politicians and the public. In linguistic studies, however, metaphor builds the coherence of the text as a fundamental characteristic of political discourse. Moreover, politicians use metaphors to influence the opinion of the masses and emotionally persuade the public to achieve the support required to reach their goals. Nevertheless, the inclusion of metaphors in speech could be used to avoid conflicts and maintain solidarity according to Charteris-Black (2011, p. 28) “[...] rhetorically, metaphors contribute to mental representations of political issues, making alternative ways of understanding these issues more difficult...”.

Politicians usually tend to present the best interpretation of their discourse. One real example of this theory in recent history is the political speech after the 11th of September. Indeed, the context of the discourse of the most related politicians (i.e., former Presidents George W. Bush, Saddam Hussein, and former Al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden) has been a hot topic for many in-depth studies by various analysts of political discourse, especially from the perspective of cognitive semantics. It relates to the use of metaphor and metonymy such as the new analytical trend extending since the Gulf War in 1991. The results of these mentioned studies led to an abstract conception of metaphor and metonymy and demonstrated the role of interactive experience in language use, along with other findings of cognitive semantics.

In the field of political context, Charteris-Black (2004, p.38-39) argues that the 11th of September attack motivated by the conceptual metaphor of CONFLICT IS RELIGION is funded by Osama Bin Laden's use of 'crusade'. Conversely, the conceptual metaphor of POLITICS IS RELIGION is inferred by analyzing Bush's axis of evil'.

This research attempts to apply the Critical Metaphorical Analysis (CMA) approach by analyzing the linguistic expressions that contribute to the formation of the political enemy image, the context in which it occurred, and the purpose of using such a metaphor. The research discussed the justification and the persuasiveness of the war decision after the September 11 attack motivated by the Conceptual metaphor: THE ENEMY IN POLITICS IS THE ENEMY IN RELIGION where the presentation of the image appears in most of the world's religious traditions. In addition, the discussion focuses on the ideological dimension of the speakers with the aim of evoking feelings of hatred and fear among the audience.

2. Critical Metaphor Analysis: Analysis of Metaphor and Ideology

Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) is an approach coined by Charteris-Black (2004, 2011), which in turn has been influenced by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach pragmatics and cognitive linguistics. According to Charteris-Black "this approach whose objective is to identify the intentions and ideologies underlying the language in use" (2011, p.45). Furthermore, critical studies and cognitive semantics represented the advanced movements in political discourse analysis that investigates the relationship between language, power, and ideology in society.

Charteris-Black (2004, p.9) argues that a deep understanding of metaphor and what it does in the language is achieved by analysing its role in specific contexts and corpora. Accordingly, the metaphor should not be isolated from linguistic, semantic, pragmatic, and cognitive criteria, but rather, all these criteria should be incorporated into its definition but integrate all these criteria in their definition in a relevant way to us.

George Lakoff (1980, 1993), one of the pioneers of cognitive semantics, showed that metaphor is more than just a linguistic expression. It is defined as "a transfer between two cognitive domains" or between two cognitive entities and is understood as any mental experience, spatial relationships, physical, cultural, and social experience as in politics, for example, where political competition is usually conceptualized in war metaphors based on the conceptual metaphor of ARGUMENT IS WAR (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 4).

Charteris-Black (2004) claims that this definition requires a pragmatic view. For him, the pragmatic perspective on metaphor should be back to treat into traditional view as a rhetorical device; "[...] rhetoric meant a theory of argumentation as well as a theory of composition and of style" (Ibid, 2004, p.10). In this way, the metaphorical expression has the function of persuading the audience to choose emotional words or phrases. In the same vein, Musolff (2012, p.302) argues that "cognitive metaphor analysis needs to be complemented by a pragmatic, specifically relevance-oriented approach to be fruitful for CDA".

On this basis, Charteris-Black (2004, p.21) redefines metaphor according to his view of linguistic, pragmatic, and cognitive criterions as below:

A metaphor is a linguistic representation that results from the shift in the use of a word or phrase from the context or domain in which it is expected to occur to another context or domain where it is not expected to occur, thereby causing semantic tension.

Diversely, Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) of political discourse is concerned with the concept of ideology. Theoretically, ideology is used to designate the set of our beliefs, values, attitudes, and our perspectives of seeing the world as positive or negative (Dijk 1998; Reynares et al., 2011). However, it is understood through the metaphorical expressions underlying ideological intentions in texts that focus on political and social problems.

In his approach, Charteris-Black analysed the role of the metaphor selected from political discourses, press, and religion. With regard to the

political dimension, political discourse (re)produces ideologies and ideological arguments. According to him, ideologies serve to legitimize power and implement their own strategies to influence public opinion to enable control of listeners' attitudes and change them according to their interests. Charteris-Black (2004: 246) argues that the concept of struggle shares the conceptual basis with different types of discourses, such as political, religious, or economic since this notion is the central idea of ideology development.

3. Methodology, context, and materials

As indicated previously, the approach used in this study is Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). The metaphors that defined the politician's enemy and their actions are integrated in terms of involving Charteris-Black's criteria redefinitions of metaphor, which are; linguistic, pragmatic, critical, and cognitive criteria.

As we know, after the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States, most of the media around the world have spoken out against "international terrorism". Shortly after the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, former US President George W. Bush launched a propaganda campaign with the intention of identifying Iraq as "the symbol of evil and terrorism", in order to legitimize the path of the war against that country. Accordingly, this research analyses the lexical speech and statements of the former US president George W. Bush, former President of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, and the former leader of Al Qaeda, Osama Bin Laden during Afghanistan and Iraq war in 2002 and 2003 in Spanish and Arab newspapers. These lexical units identified the politicians' enemies with images of concepts such as infiel (infidel), demonio (demon) and satán (Satan), and diablo/ devil or evil, among others.

Thus the main objective of CMA is to:

“identify *which* metaphors are chosen in persuasive genres such as political speeches, party political manifestos or press reports, and attempts to explain *why* these metaphors are chosen, with reference to the interaction between an orator's purposes and a specific set of speech circumstance” (Charteris-Black, 2014, p.174).

Accordingly, the framework methodology of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) is based on three phases: determination, interpretation, and explanation of the metaphorical use of cognitive semantics.

To analyse the metaphorical expressions that explain the construction of the image of the political enemy and their actions already identified in the political environment, we follow this three-stage approach:

3.1. Determination

In this stage, it is attempted to identify expressions or lexical units that cause semantic tension in the present context and discourse. This means a shift of using words or phrases from a domain in which it is expected to occur to a domain where it is not expected to occur. The selection of such lexical units, however, should be done after a close reading of the texts. For further clarification, some examples have been selected:

Former leader Al-Qaeda, Osama Bin Laden frequently used the lexical unit " *infiel*/infidel" identifying the image of former US leader George Bush:

Text 2,1:

"...Estados Unidos de América empezando por el cabeza de los *infielos* internacionales, Bush, y su equipo"¹... / "...United States of America starting with the head of the international *infidels*, Bush, and his team..."

The former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, on several occasions, mentioned a diabolical image in reference to the Bush administration, using expressions and linguistic structures such as: "أفعالهم الشيطانية" / his actions diabolical /devil", "خيالهم الشيطاني" / his diabolical imaginations", "وليهم الشيطان" /his owner satan", "امتطاءهم الشيطان" /posed by devil". He also pointed out that former US President, George Bush and his team hid the demon:

Text 2,2:

الإدارة الأمريكية لا يمكنها خداع أي أحد...كلماته تخفي شياطينها ونواياه الشريرة

"The American administration cannot deceive anyone... his words hide his demons and his evil intentions..."²

Although the former President George Bush repeated the slogan of war "axis of evil/ eje del mal", which refers to his politician enemy, the slogan

¹ Newspaper *el mundo*, October 4, 2001.

² The translation is ours.

refers to all those within that axis who are his enemies identifying them with one of the characteristics of Satan, which is evil.

Furthermore, Bush preferred to use lexical units such as "dictator", "tyrant", "murderer" , to defined Saddam Hussein. He used lexical units such as 'el terror y el demonio' / terrorism and demon, referring his political enemies.

Text 2,3.:

"dispuesto a seguir la guerra contra 'el terror y el *demonio*' tres años después de los atentados"³/ to continue the war against 'terror and the devil' three years after the attacks".

3.2. Interpretation

The second stage of metaphor analysis is the interpretation that explains the relationship between cognitive and pragmatic factors in the metaphorical expression and identifies the conceptual metaphor, if possible, the conceptual key.

We have observed that this selection involves the following metaphorical conceptualization: THE ENEMY IN POLITICS IS THE ENEMY IN RELIGION, which is familiar in most of the world's religious systems. One of the reasons that many conceptual metaphors are common to many languages of the world is that the association between the source and target domains has an experiential basis (Soriano, 2012, p.89).

As we can see, the lexical units contain a description of the political enemy and its actions, in which attempts were made to define the enemy's image to stir up hatred and win the public's opinion, and this represents the pragmatic criterion: The decision of war entails the audience convince.

3.3. Explanation

This stage attempts to identify the social agency involved in the production of metaphoric expressions and their social role in persuasion.

Metaphors have an essential function in political discourse. It represents the ideological view of political leaders and consolidates their position of power throughout society. Therefore, as one of the objectives of the critical approach, metaphor reveals to us what kind of influence they have in their choice of words and sentences.

³ Newspaper El mundo, September 11, 2004.

Our investigation found that this type of metaphorical unit involves a cognitive process of cultural and religious experiences in presenting politicians and their actions in a stereotyped image of the enemy. This negative image that appears in most of the world's religious traditions is intended to inspire hatred and fear among the audience.

THE ENEMY IN POLITICS IS THE ENEMY IN RELIGION is a metaphor based on fear and hatred for the political enemies in the War against Afghanistan and Iraq carried out by the United States.

This type of metaphor was used at a turbulent time to decide on war. By examining such metaphors, we find that politicians use them to win over public opinion and the public at the international level.

For his part, Bin Laden decided to attack the United States according to religious law. As the decision to attack was blessed and carried out, he used the metaphor *infidel* as a justification and a legitimate for the decisive attack.

Saddam used to describe the Bush Administration's actions as demons with the intent of having no legitimacy for war as decisions and actions are issued by demons, while they (refers to...) carry a religious framework. Thus, society must stand by it (refers to...) if there is a possible war on Iraq.

From the beginning, George Bush divided the world into two parts, Us versus Them. He made the decision on the war against Afghanistan and Iraq. As for the Iraq war, George Bush asked for domestic and international support.

In figure 1. we want to represent from our perspective the metaphorical map between the different cognitive domains, the religious domain, and the political domain. The use of terms such as infidel, demon, devil, and Satan found in the lexical field of religious texts belong to cultural experience rooted in our knowledge of enemies in religion and their characteristics. As we can see, the religious domain has been partially mapping towards real enemies in reference to both Bush and Saddam, or that they belong to the political domain.

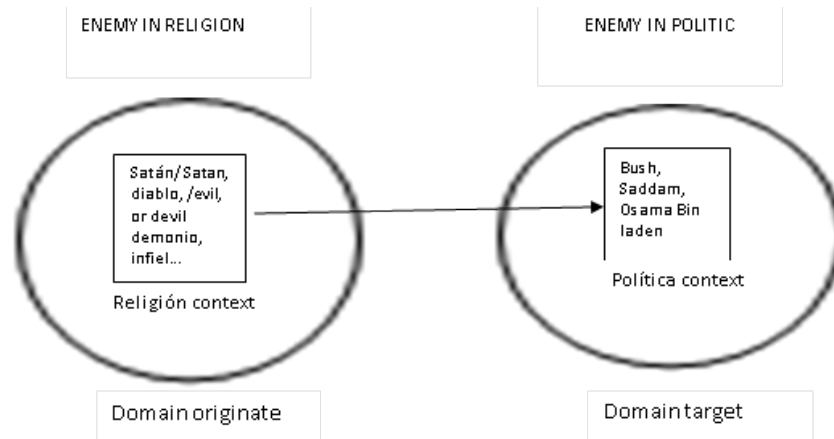


Figure 1. The conceptual metaphor ENEMY IN POLITICS IS ENEMY IN RELIGION

Chilton (2004b, pp.173-193) argued that this type of conceptual metaphor is familiar in most of the world's religious systems. It is understood in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. These metaphors have a fundamental role in the persuasive and argumentative function of legitimizing the use of power.

According to Oujjani (2013), Arab community has a general tendency to find the enemy as a danger coming from abroad, and politicians face dangerous opponents from the international community such as ex-colonial countries or imperialist states in power. For this reason, there is no doubt that the metaphors used in the discourses of Arab leaders focus particularly on metaphors rooted in the world of war.

Conclusion

It is concluded from this paper that the oriented focus on the use of specific metaphorical units has created an “abstract” conceptual metaphor, which establishes an analogy between the “political enemy” and “religious enemy” using lexical units such as “satán/satan” “diablo/demon” and “infiel /infidel”.

In war discourse, politicians use various linguistic tools to win the media battle and defend their opinion in a controversial way. They are trying to reshape public opinion in an organized approach including the use of some linguistics tools. Metaphor is used as an effective tool in communication, providing alternatives in communication and perception

of reality, especially in those arguments where it is difficult to convince their audience. In this article, we have analyzed the linguistic structures that implicitly underlie the ideological tendency of politicians, and the metaphorical units that describe the image of the real enemy. In turn, we underlie our knowledge of the stereotypical image of "enemy" in religious contexts, as well as its characterizations in terms of "demon", "devil" and "satan" used with the intention to provoke hatred towards the political enemy. According to cognitive semantics, cognitive metaphors involve the process of transference between two different cognitive domains. Based on this, we have presented the conceptual metaphor: THE ENEMY IN POLITICS IS THE ENEMY IN RELIGION.

Throughout history, the practice of presenting the political enemy using such metaphorical expressions has been frequent in various religious contexts (such as Hebraism, Christianity, Islam, etc.). In addition, it is observed that metaphors not only specify the cognitive processes of the human mind and transmit the ideological perspectives of each political leader, but also as one of the strategies used to reinforce and legitimize his power

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