What is the purpose of metaphor in political discourse? An answer from Critical Metaphor Analysis

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Abstract

The identification of purpose characterises Critical Metaphor Analysis because when we wish to explain *why* certain language choices were made in preference to others we need to identify the purpose for which they are selected. This chapter draws on the Greek notion of *telos* or 'end' to propose a teleological explanation of metaphor based on the claim that politicians select metaphors with the ultimate objective of persuasion. 'Purposeful metaphor' avoids the claims about consciousness that are implied by the term 'Deliberate metaphor' and is especially relevant in constructing a theory of metaphor for political discourse. It identifies correspondences between Burke's rhetorical theory of dramatism – with its focus on motives, agency and purpose – and the notions of illocution, locution and perlocution in Speech Act Theory. Using the same tri-partite structure metaphor is purposeful when speakers use metaphors that draw on a SOURCE (an ideology or intention), follow a PATH (political or rhetorical action) to a GOAL (political outcome or rhetorical effect).

Journey metaphors are typical of political rhetoric and 'Purposeful metaphor' integrates the source, path and goal of journey metaphors to explain *how* and *why* they are used systematically to provide persuasive representations of political actors and their actions. By giving equal weight to intention, action and effect 'Purposeful metaphor' avoids an exclusive focus on intention which seems to characterise 'deliberateness'. There are accounts and illustrations of the seven predominant purposes of metaphor: the rhetorical, the heuristic, the predicative, the empathetic, the aesthetic, the ideological and the mythic. Linguistic evidence of purposefulness is in the interaction between textually complex use of metaphor such as conceptual repetition and contextual features such as knowledge of the beliefs and objectives of political actors.

Keywords: deliberate, metaphor, persuasion, purposeful, rhetorical, teleological

1. Introduction

Because metaphor has been to shown to pervade political and economic discourse (e.g. Charteris-Black 2005, 2011; Goatly 2007; Koller 2004; Musolff & Zinken 2008; Semino 2008) there is a growing need for a theory of metaphor to explain why it is so pervasive in areas of discourse in which the Speech Act of persuasion is primary. In this paper I am going to propose a teleological theory of metaphor and to argue that metaphor in persuasive texts, such as many types of political discourse, is best described by the term 'Purposeful Metaphor'. Therefore the title of this paper as well as proposing a question also contains the answer to this question: the purpose of metaphor in political discourse is *to be purposeful*. Drawing on the Greek notion of *telos* or 'end' I will propose a teleological explanation of metaphor based on the claim that politicians and their speech writers design – usually with intelligence – metaphors with the ultimate objective of persuasion.

2. Theoretical Framework: Deliberate Metaphor & Critical Linguistics

A theory based on the idea of purpose avoids the problems that have arisen from Steen's (2008) concept of 'Deliberate Metaphor' because it shifts the focus from the mind of the individual to the social or extrinsic. Deliberate Metaphor' is defined as follows:

> I propose that a metaphor is used deliberately when it is expressly 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 form a different conceptual domain or space, which functions as a conceptual source. (Steen 2008: 222)

He also illustrates the type of contexts in which such deliberate metaphors occur:

> Thus, metaphor may be used deliberately for divertive purposes in literature, advertising, or journalism; or it may be used deliberately for persuasive purposes in advertising or in politics and government communication, and so on. (Steen 2008: 224)

The term 'Deliberate' has proved highly controversial and has been chosen in preference to other possible terms such as 'manipulative' or 'persuasive'; in particular, Gibbs (2011: 28), a psychologist, challenges the idea that speaker are fully conscious of their metaphors since 'Psychological research has often noted the 'paradox of the expert' in that experts have great difficulty in describing how they perform their skilled actions (Anderson 1990)'; since writers do not know whether they are acting deliberately when producing a metaphor, this precludes their readers from doing so. By shifting the focus from the intrinsic to the extrinsic, 'Purposeful metaphor' avoids claims about consciousness because we usually do not know *why* we do things – even though our actions have clear objectives. The shift of focus to teleology in the present chapter changes the debate from one of consciousness to one of rhetorical effect.

It is not possible to provide a theory of metaphor that is equally relevant to all disciplines. A discourse analyst interprets language use with reference to its intended effect, this involves considerations of authorship, audience, occasion of language use and communicative purpose; all of these contribute to identifying the genre of a discourse. However, a psychologist interprets language with reference to a complex interaction between thought process, cognition and memory. The discourse analyst identifies the story, its teller and its effect, while the psychologist identifies *why* people tell one type of story rather than another. Inevitably theoretical tensions will emerge that reflect the epistemology and teleology of that discipline.

Different disciplines are necessarily going to have different perspectives on metaphor because they have different teleologies; discourse analysis – especially critical discourse analysis – assumes that underlying intentions are connected with social purposes. Psychology assumes that we do not know our underlying intentions but examines language as a source of insight into these. Discourse Analysis looks outwards while Psychology looks inwards: there is therefore the potential for difficulties to emerge in inter-disciplinary research of metaphor where a theorist from one discipline makes claims that extend to another. For this reason I would like to propose a counter theory for Critical Discourse Studies of 'Purposeful Metaphor'. No matter how socially entrenched metaphors become, the argument that they have been chosen presupposes that they are purposeful. 'Purposeful metaphor' implies a connection between an intention (in the past), with a verbal action – the uttering of a metaphor (in the present) that is motivated by judgement of its social and political effect (in the future). Critical Metaphor Analysis looks for evidence of purpose by combining analysis of textually complex use of metaphor with analysis of the context of political speeches that will suggest possible intentions. It combines cognitive theory (in particular conceptual metaphor theory) with rhetorical theory and with Speech Act theory to provide an account of *why* and *how* metaphor is used and with what effect.

Rhetorical theory has a longer history than Speech Act theory but shares with it a purpose of identifying underlying speaker motives, plans and goals. Burke (1945) saw the purpose of rhetoric as identifying motives with reference to act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose and developed an approach known as dramatism that "invites one to consider the matter of motives in a perspective that, being developed from the analysis of drama, treats language and thought primarily as modes of action" (Burke 1945: xxii)'. Goffman's notion of 'performance' also employs analogies with drama: 'the individual typically infuses his activity with signs which dramatically highlight and portray confirmatory facts that might otherwise remain apparent or obscure' (Goffman 1969: 19). The Speech Act concept of a 'performative' may have originated in these analogies with drama and that these can be traced to the emphasis placed in classical rhetoric on delivery – the skilful use of the techniques of such as memorising and gesture that contributed to the success of rhetoric. Speech Act and rhetorical theory are essential in politics where 'purposes' are a defining element of political action. For example they are frequently referred to explicitly by politicians:

> We are on a journey of renewal. Before us lies a path strewn with the challenges of change. But *the purpose of our journey* is not to lose our values as a nation: but to make them live on. (Tony Blair, September 26, 2000)

> Believe me, it would have been so easy for me to stand on a platform like this and pretend – everything is fine, we can carry on as we are, nothing needs to change. But that would be a complete dereliction of duty. It would run completely counter *to the purpose of this coalition* – to act in our country's interest. (David Cameron, 16 May 2011)

As we will see later, 'journey metaphors' are the prototypical metaphors of political action because political goals are conceptualised as destinations in the teleology of politics. Evidence that we often conceptualise purpose in terms of actions is found by examining the words that occur immediately after 'purposeful' in the British National Corpus; these are shown in Table 1.

1	☐	WORK	9
2	☐	WAY	8
3	☐	ACTIVITY	7
4	☐	MANNER	4
5	☐	DIRECTION	4
6	☐	MOVEMENT	4
7	☐	ACTION	4
8	☐	STRIDE	3
9	☐	MOVEMENTS	3
10	☐	ACTIVITIES	3
11	☐	PROCESS	3
12	☐	DEVELOPMENT	3
13	☐	YET	3
14	☐	LIFE	3

Table 1. Collocations adjacent to 'purposeful' in BNC

'Purposeful' typically collocated with 'actions', 'movement' and ways of moving (e.g. 'manner', stride') and 'direction'. What is interesting is that 'purposeful' is frequently used as a metaphor, as in Table 2 where none of the contexts refer to the literal geographical sense of 'direction'.

1	GVJ	W_ac_humanities_arts	A	B	C	in the first bar. # (4) # The bass line has a **purposeful direction**, mostly in contrary motion to the melody, and includes an effective chromaticism
2	G0H	W_non_ac_humanities_arts	A	B	C	an indication that God had programmed the whole history of life to move in a **purposeful direction** towards higher levels of intelligence. Somewhat paradoxically, Chambers also included a chapter
3	G0H	W_non_ac_humanities_arts	A	B	C	power of God, which somehow transcended the ordinary laws of Nature to impose a **purposeful direction** on the ascent of life. Far from being an anticipation of Darwin's
4	G0H	W_non_ac_humanities_arts	A	B	C	vision of history because it seemed to guarantee that the world was moving in a **purposeful direction** towards a morally significant

Table 2. Contexts of the Phrase 'Purposeful direction'

Here it is typically ideas of morality and improvement that are associated with the idea of purpose. This supports the potential of 'purposeful metaphor' as accounting for metaphors in political speeches.

3. The Method of Critical Metaphor Analysis

Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004, 2012) aims to identify *which* metaphors are chosen in persuasive genres such as political speeches, party political manifestos or press reports and tries and to explain *why* these metaphors are chosen. It does by analysing the interaction between a speaker's purposes and the circumstances in which the speech was given to identify *how* and with *what effect* they contribute to persuasive discourse and ideology. Critical analysis of metaphor demonstrates how this aspect of vocabulary choice influences an audience by providing a favourable representation of speakers and their policies and an unfavourable representation of opponents and their policies. Figure 1 provides an overview of the principle stages of Critical Metaphor Analysis.

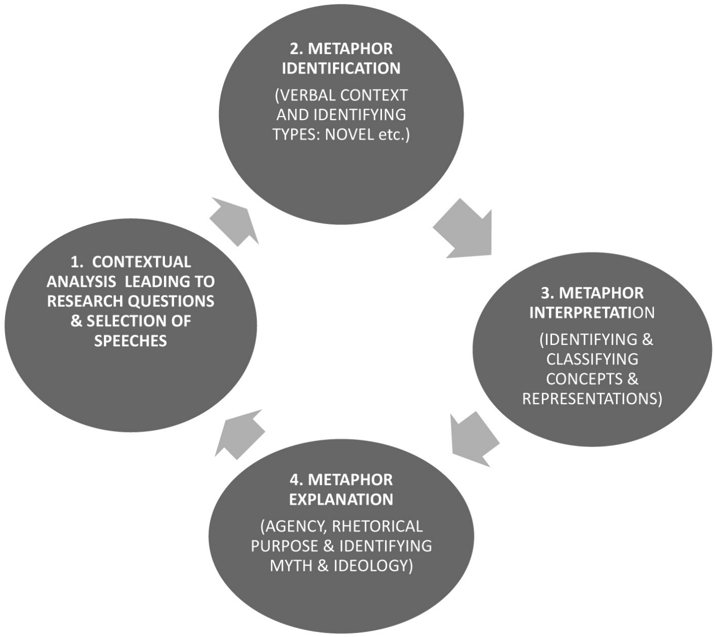

Figure 1. Stages of Critical Metaphor Analysis

The first stage is to develop research questions about metaphor that should emerge from an awareness of its potential for rhetorical impact in social and political contexts. Critical metaphor analysis identifies and investigates metaphors that are systematically employed for social representation. The second stage – metaphor identification – entails analysis of words and phrases to decide *what to count as a metaphor* in the context of the speech. At the identification stage metaphors can be grouped into preliminary categories such as 'novel', 'conventional' and 'entrenched' – and a dictionary and corpus of electronically stored language are essential for this stage. The third stage – metaphor interpretation – involves deciding *how* metaphors are to be classified, organised and arranged – for example, whether they are classified on the basis of the semantic fields such as 'sports', or 'light' – or classified on the basis of what they refer to – topics such as 'war' or 'hope'. Interpretation also involves working out the particular meanings, representations and evaluations conveyed by the speaker – for example working out whether these are positive or negative. Metaphors may be treated individually or as interacting with other linguistic features such as modality.

The fourth and final stage of metaphor explanation involves returning to the political context to work out speakers' purposes in using these metaphors.

Explanation also benefits from estimating how metaphors *influenced* an audience and how they interacted with other features in forming, consolidating or changing opinions, ideas and beliefs: in persuading. Explanation may involve identifying underlying ideologies and political myths and when it does so becomes more convincing in supporting the claim that metaphor contributes in some essential way to persuading an audience.

In practice, although I have described these four stages of Critical Metaphor Analysis sequentially I see them as recursive, so an insight gained while interpreting a particular metaphor by one politician might raise questions about how it is used by other politicians and may spark off a new phase of metaphor identification (and if part of a pilot study may lead to a reformulation of an original research question). Similarly an insight gained while explaining the choice of a metaphor may start off a fresh cycle of metaphor interpretation by providing evidence of a positive or negative representations. Similarly, judging the purpose of metaphors may be influenced by new understanding of the social and political context in which the speech was given as new sources of data emerge.

4. The Purposes of Metaphor

Although a particular instance of metaphor may have several motivations it can improve our understanding of the rhetorical role of metaphor if we analyse these purposes into seven discrete categories (see Figure 2). There is nothing magical about the number seven and it would be equally possible to identify six or eight purposes and it should be remembered that these purposes interact dynamically with each other because in a metaphor cannot usually be fully explained with reference to a *single* purpose because rhetorical effects are enhanced when different appeals work simultaneously.

4.1. *Rhetorical Purpose: Gaining the audience's attention and establishing trust*

Aristotle advised orators to connect with audiences initially by attracting their attention as this is a prerequisite for other persuasive modes; the use of language that is colourful and memorable, such as metaphor, contributed to this purpose. In the modern period political advertising is no different from advertising in general – it fails completely if nobody notices it, and the more provocative the metaphor the better. The need to gain attention also applies to media reporting of speeches, and for this reason orators use colourful and memorable, 'soundbite' metaphors to inspire

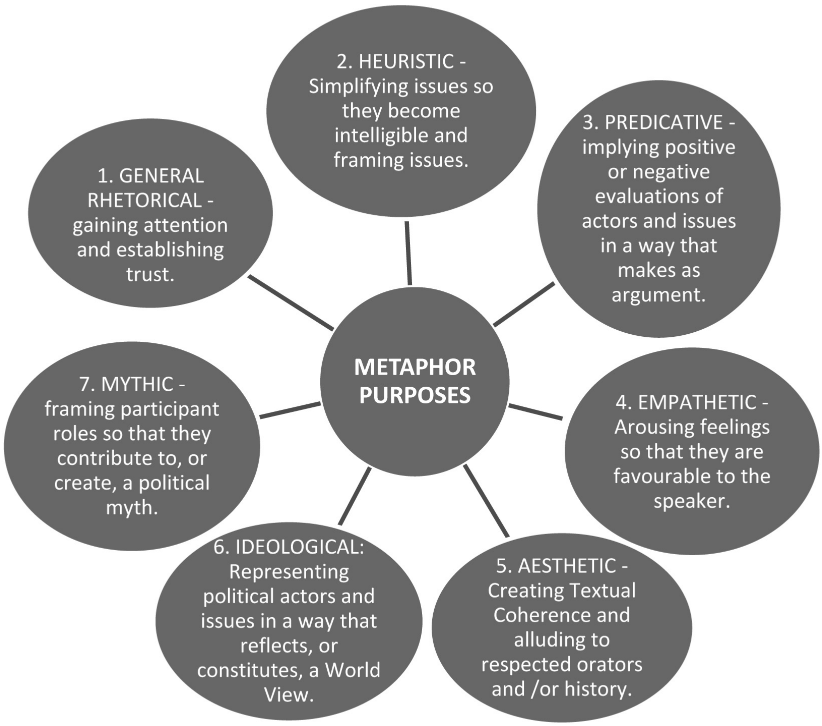

Figure 2. Persuasive purposes of metaphor

followers and arouse media interest. 'Wind of Change', 'Rivers of Blood' etc. are nominal metaphors that attracted attention because they were short and memorable and readily available for distribution through the media. There is also always the hope that a particularly powerful metaphor will become a catchphrase for a policy that encapsulates the predominant political perspective of a whole period – as happened with the 'War on Terror'. They became a form of shorthand and offered banners around which supporters could rally. But the choice of metaphors also depends on political context: although 'The Big Society' sounded insipid, the context (an era of political uncertainty) was not one where colourful metaphors were readily available.

It is generally minority parties from the political extremes that are associated most closely with a colourful use of metaphor. For example, the radical Russian all-female punk group 'Pussy Riot' who are opposed to President Putin's authoritarian policies employ an attention seeking metaphor in their choice of name. Its deliberately provocative sexual connotations appeals to its radical punk followers, but alienates rural opponents who are sympathetic to the powerful Russian Orthodox Church.

Apart from political radicals more colourful metaphors now tend to occur in economic discourse, for example we are told that there is no 'magic bullet', no 'golden key' to the ongoing, and apparently global, economic crisis.

4.2. *Heuristic and Explanatory Purpose – Framing issues so that they are intelligible in a way that is favourable to an argument*

Political, social and especially economic issues are abstract, complex, controversial and usually disputed and metaphors are a way of simplifying issues and making them generally intelligible. The majority of people have only a partial understanding of these issues – especially in the case of finance; the metaphor 'Credit Crunch' referring to the severe restriction on credit following the sub-prime mortgage crisis in the USA took off very rapidly. One reason for this was that very few people knew what a 'sub-prime mortgage' was, and in Europe the inability of governments to pay their debt has become known as the 'Sovereign debt crisis', although very few of these countries have sovereigns. It is valuable to political audiences when abstract issues are at least explained by image-based metaphors that make them more intelligible – although in the case of these complex economic events they are really just a way of referring to *the effect* of economic problems rather than helping us to understand what *causes them* (economists themselves don't seem to understand this). For example, talking about 'financial contagion' provides little insight into the cause of the disease. The heuristic role of metaphors concerns problems for which there may not be readily available solutions.

When cognitively accessible metaphors become conventionalised their status as a metaphor becomes invisible so that in psycholinguistic terms they are processed by categorisation rather than by comparison. When metaphors become catchphrases they frame issues in a way that is favourable to the speaker's argument. Critical explanation of a metaphor involves working out exactly what that metaphor brings to our attention and what it obscures. It seeks to identify what is implied *and* what is concealed by the metaphor. Explaining the metaphor leads us to consider how we might have thought about an issue differently had a literal equivalent been used. For example, when Harold Macmillan said: 'The wind of change is blowing through this continent: whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact', he was framing independence movements as a natural force and implying that independence should be accepted. So 'wind of change' had a covert argument of acceptance rather than resistance to change. Conversely, when Enoch Powell used the phrase 'river Tiber foaming with much blood' he was framing immigration as conflict and arguing that it should be resisted. When a financial crisis is described as a 'contagion' it implies that no matter how strong the medicine or its side effects, it is necessary to take ithe medicine to prevent the disease from spreading.

4.3. *Predicative Purpose: implying an evaluation of political actors and their policies*

Predication involves attributing positive or negative traits or characteristics to social groups with the purpose of evaluation. Metaphor provides a lexical resource for upgrading or downgrading positive or negative features: when Hitler referred to the Jews as 'parasites' he was upgrading their negative features and when he referred to the 'Final Solution' he was upgrading the positive advantages of destroying what he construed as a source of social danger. Metaphors offer positive representations of the speaker, his policies, supporters and actions and a negative representation of opponents and their policies, supporters and actions.

Charteris-Black (2011) describes in detail how Blair and Clinton used verbs such as 'create', 'craft', 'forge' and 'shape' metaphorically to represent themselves as creative forces working for what is morally good as in the following:

> It is this Government that *created the minimum wage* and equal pay, new rights to work, new rights for part time as well as full time workers, new rights for women workers. (Tony Blair, Feb 2003)
>
> The point is that unless there is real energy put into *crafting a process* that can lead to lasting peace… (Tony Blair, Jan 2003)

I proposed the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL ACTION IS CREATING WHAT IS GOOD because the connotations of 'create', and craft' are positive. Conversely, Blair used aggressive physical verbs such as 'stamp out', 'strip away', to describe his own actions against negatively evaluated entities:

> We know, also, that there are groups or people, occasionally states, who trade the technology and capability for such weapons. It is time this trade was *exposed, disrupted, and stamped out*. (14 September 2001)

To capture this I proposed the conceptual metaphor: POLITICAL ACTION IS DESTROYING WHAT IS BAD. Politicians establish legitimacy by representing themselves as heroically upholding the moral values that bind society together and take action to control rampant forces of evil. Control over what is threatening is ensures survival of the social and moral order. Of course these two conceptual metaphors presuppose both that the speaker has the ethical judgement to determine what constitutes goodness and badness and that some form of action should be taken.

Disease metaphors are typically used by politicians for predicative purposes. In political philosophy the analogy between disease and social disorder demands a rational response of some sort. Early political theorists such as Machievelli and Hobbes recommended intervening before the disease was out of control. Sontag argued that after the French Revolution disease metaphors became a much more melodramatic hallmark of totalitarian movements. For Trotsky, Stalinism was a syphilis and in Arab polemics Israel is the cancer in the heart of the Arab world. The switch to fatal illnesses argued for much more radical cures. As Sontag (1991: 73) summarises: 'Disease imagery is used to express concern for social order, and health is something everyone is presumed to know about'. When a disease is conceptualised as an invasion it also entails a powerful moral argument as it is right to end whatever is metaphorically represented as disease-like. Once the enemy is effectively demonised by disease metaphors, it becomes a moral obligation to destroy the illness, or in metaphorical terms, to 'cleanse' the group of sources of disease. The argument here is one often used by the political right: the ends justify the means. The predicative purpose of metaphor shares the underlying rhetorical purpose of the heuristic: to frame political actors and issues in line with an underlying rhetorical purpose of 'being right'. But it does so more explicitly with reference to positive and negative scales for evaluation that draw on lexical semantics for good and bad embodied experience of life as health is inherently positive and disease inherently negative. Such framing contains implied arguments – ones that may not stand up in an analysis of argument structure.

We have seen that disease metaphors have both a rhetorical, a heuristic and a predicative purpose, this argues that it is common for highly persuasive metaphors to combine a range of interacting purposes as shown in Figure 3.

> Protection is the crack cocaine of economic policy. (Richard Fisher, CEO of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, Feb 2009)

Source Domain – Drugs	Mappings	Target Domain – Economic Policy
Response to problems in life	→	Response to problems in national economy
Effects spread buying	→	Other nations retaliate by not
Once a habit is started it is irreversible	→	Once a policy is started it is irreversible
Has the negative outcome of addiction	→	Has the negative effect of reduced trade

Figure 3. Interacting rhetorical purposes

Here the underlying speech act of persuasion unifies a range of more specific rhetorical objectives that are integrated into a single interpretative frame of drug addiction.

4.4. *Empathetic, Expressive & Motivational Purpose*

The previous purposes have, in systemic functional terms, been ideational, however metaphor also has an interpersonal function in evoking empathy towards the speaker through subliminal identification by arousing feelings. It does this through pathos, humour or by intertextuality as these all offer shared emotional experience. So far I have largely focused in on the why and how of metaphor without considering evidence of their effect. One source of data on effect is in the interactive dynamics between orator and audience for by examining speech recordings and transcripts for evidence that at the specific point when a metaphor is introduced there is an audible emotional response. Audience response data allows us to gauge the emotional response to metaphor; for example, when we look at Obama's inaugural speech of 2009 we find that wherever he used pathos there is audible applause or cheering at the next opportunity:

> Starting today, *we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off,* and begin again the work of *remaking America* (Cheers)
>
> know th*at America is a friend of each nation* every man, woman, and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity, and we are ready to lead once more (Cheers & Long Applause)

These metaphors create solidarity and encourage optimism by personifying America; in the first example American becomes a person showing resolution and courage in the face of aggression. Although representing the nation state as an individual – with the capacity of thought and action – is a conventional way of discussing national affairs, the use of 'dust ourselves off' re-activates the comparison by evoking the embodied experience of physical recovery from a blow. The second example conceives of international relations in terms of personal relationships with America as a friend (rather than, say, a bully). Conceiving of abstract international relations as if they were relationships between people creates the potential for the range of emotions that we associate with relationships – empathy towards friends and family and hostility towards enemies or villains who threaten our group.

Intertexual use of metaphor also arouses stronger emotions by transferring the emotions aroused by historical memory for admired and loved past leaders. For example Obama:

> 'We welcomed immigrants to our shores, we opened railroads to the west, we landed a man on the moon, and *we heard a King's call to let justice roll down like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream* (February 10, 2007 Obama Presidential Announcement)' explicitly refers to Martin Luther King's:
>
> Yes, I have a dream this afternoon that one day in this land the words of Amos will become real and *justice will roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream.* (June 1963).

The point is that when Obama makes this allusion it is followed by loud cheers and applause.

Humour also contributes to arousing the emotions and metaphors are sometimes used humorously and Charteris-Black (2011) illustrates how right wing politicians such as Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan successfully used humour. But humour is not the exclusive preserve of the political right. Here is a more recent example in a discussion of the debate over whether reduction in public spending would solve the financial crisis:

> And let's make sure that what we're cutting is really excess weight. Cutting the deficit by cutting our investments in innovation and education is like lightening an overloaded airplane by removing its engine. It may make you feel like you're flying high at first, but it won't take long before you feel the impact. (Laughter). (Obama, January 25^{th} 2011)

Although this is closer to an analogy than a metaphor, it is visual and draws on embodied meaning to create humour and evoke laughter.

Another figurative process – metonymy can also be used to create humour by intertextual reference, an example of this is the gesture by the British dual gold medla Olympic Champion Mo Farah who celebrated his success with a gesture that was first suggested to him by the BBC TV presenter Clair Baldwin as equivalent to Usain Bolt's iconic gesture for a thunderbolt. Farah, used his arms to make the shape of the first letter of his first name Mohammed. The visual metonym of the letter M was subsequently used by Boris Johnson to create humour – leading to the British media to speculate whether he would replace David Cameron as Prime Minister.

4.5. *Aesthetic Purpose – Creating Textual Coherence*

Metaphors are not evenly distributed but cluster in rhetorically salient parts of a speech – typically the prologue and the epilogue; this testifies to how coherence is created by identifying a theme early on and signalling a conclusion by returning towards the end to the same metaphor theme. This is an aesthetic function that establishes the speech as well formed, balanced and having the aesthetic qualities of a piece of music in which the coda is signalled by the return to a main theme. Figure 4 illustrates this in the metaphors used in Obama's inaugural speech,

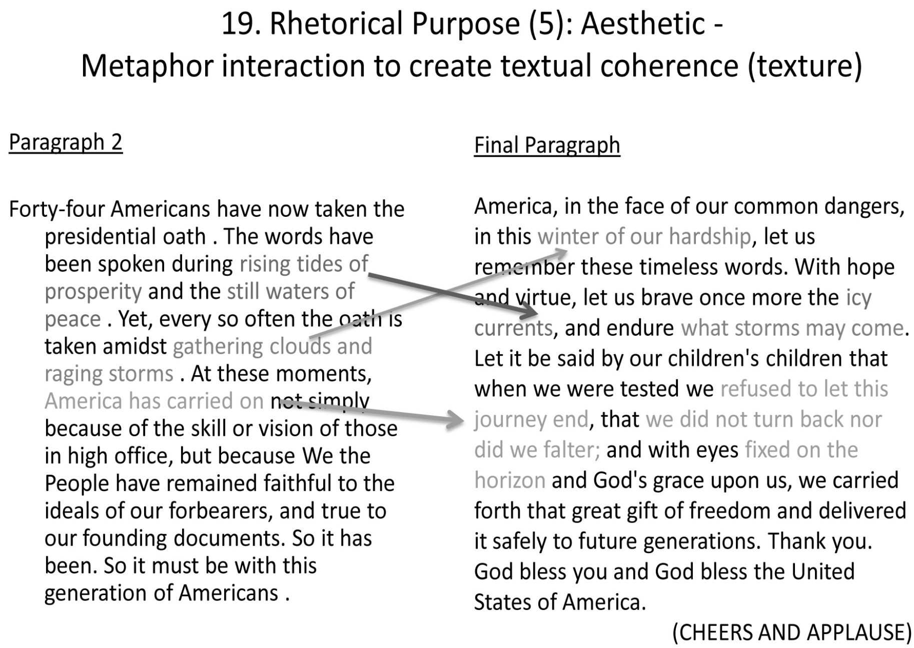

Figure 4. Aesthetic purpose in Obama's Inaugural Speech

There are clusters of metaphors in the introductory and concluding sections of the speech – this is especially the case with 'weather' metaphors. The start and finish of a speech are rhetorically important as they identify the primary message. These parts of a speech have a high impact on the audience – as measured by audience response – and the very formal, historic occasion requires a traditional or classical rhetorical style. Metaphors therefore interact with each other to create coherence – at a local textual level, but also intertextually so that a speaker creates an aesthetic style of discourse that contributes to a political identity. Charteris-Black (2011) illustrates how a number of different politicians create such identities through this stylistic of metaphor – often in combination with other linguistic features such as modality. For example, a sense of certainty and self-conviction permeates Obama's rhetorical style so that his commitment to a cause is communicated through a combination of the language of high modality, with metaphors that contribute to the coherence of his speeches. It is important that, while particular speeches may be adapted to specific occasions and audiences, there is an enduring style that creates political identity.

4.6. *Mythic Purpose*

The mythic purpose of metaphor is to engage the hearer by providing stories that express aspects of the unconscious. Myth is a narrative based representation of powerful, intense often unconsciously driven emotions such as grief, fear, happiness and joy. Myths are purposeful but their origin is in the unconscious. Charteris-Black (2005 & 2011) and Semino (2008) illustrated the importance of journey metaphors in political discourse: 'Analysis of metaphors can add to our understanding of how specific rhetorical goals are achieved through the use of metaphors that match the speaker's intentions with the audience's mental schemata and scripts for journeys' (Charteris-Black 2011: 71). Figure 5 shows that journeys area easily the most productive source domain for metaphor in political rhetoric:

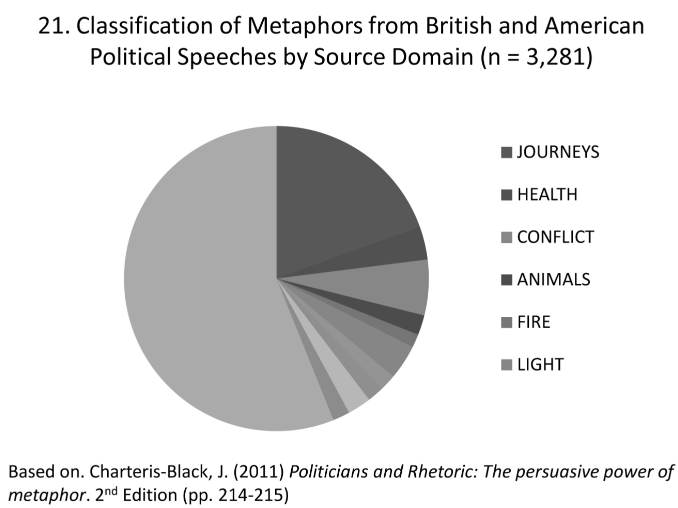

Figure 5. Political metaphors classed by Source Domain

In an explanation of this I emphasise the unconscious, mythic, appeal of journeys: 'In many myths going on long journeys towards some predetermined goal is an established means of taking on the stature of a hero' (Charteris-Black 2011: 324).

Many politicians are unconsciously motivated by a heroic ideal and use metaphor purposefully to communicate a political myth based on this. 'Purposeful' metaphor seems an explanatory term to describe this, because, although it does not assume that speakers are fully conscious of their underlying motivation, it implies that they are driven by an underlying purpose along a rhetorical path towards the anticipated outcome of political power. Myth communication, evokes a heroic or legendary past, in the service of present political plans to realise ideals in the future – that are metaphorically expressed as destinations. Figure 6 summarises the mappings involved in these motion metaphors.

Source Domain	Mappings	Target domain
Motion	⟶	Politics
An Active (Controlling)	⟶	A Politician Agent
Moving Along a Path	⟶	Political Actions
Moving Forwards	⟶	Change for the Better
Moving Backwards	⟶	Changes for the Worse
Arriving at a	⟶	Achieving a Political
Destination	⟶	Purpose

Figure 6. Conceptual Analysis of 'motion' in political metaphors

Figure 7 summarises the cyclical stages in myth representation for which there is evidence in the prologue and epilogue of Obama's inaugural speech.

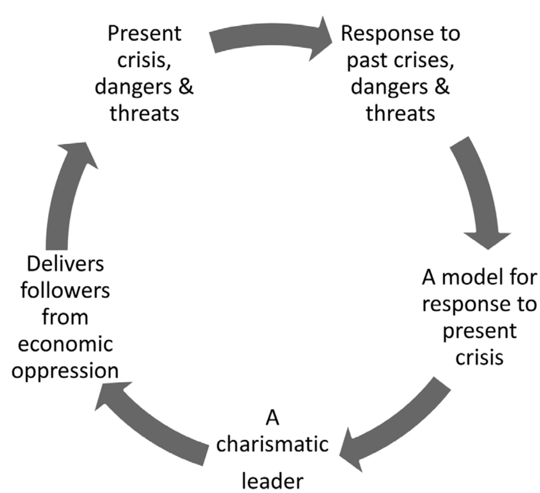

Figure 7. Mythic Cycle in Obama's Inaugural Speech

The mythic purpose of metaphor is to engage the hearer by providing stories that express aspects of the unconscious. Myth provides a narrative based representation of powerful, intense often unconsciously driven emotions such as grief, fear, happiness and joy. Myths are purposeful but their origin is in the unconscious. I illustrate this duality in an account of journey metaphors: 'Analysis of metaphors can add to our understanding of how specific rhetorical goals are achieved through the use of metaphors that match the speaker's intentions with the audience's mental schemata and scripts for journeys' (Chareris-Black 2011: 71). I emphasise the unconscious, mythic, appeal of journeys: 'In many myths going on long journeys towards some predetermined goal is an established means of taking on the stature of a hero' (Charteris-Black 2011: 324). It is likely that many politicians are unconsciously motivated by a heroic ideal but will purposefully use metaphor to communicate their ideology. For this reason 'purposeful' metaphor seems an explanatory term because, although it does not assume that speakers are fully conscious of their underlying motivation, it nevertheless implies that they are driven by an underlying purpose along a rhetorical path towards the anticipated destination of political power.

4.7. *Ideological Purpose – To offer a 'Word View'*

The ideological purpose of metaphor is to form long-term mental representations that contribute to a particular world view. Often successful ideological frames integrate a range of rhetorical purposes: rhetorical, heuristic, empathetic, predicative and ideological. For example, Musolff (2006) offers a detailed discussion of how family scenarios are used ideologically in debates around membership of the European Union and this is summarised in Figure 8.

Source Domain – People Target	**Mappings**	**Domain – Nations**
Flirting	⟶	making diplomatic approaches
Getting engaged	⟶	making alliances
Falling out with each other	⟶	developing opposing policies
Divorcing	⟶	breaking alliances

Figure 8. Family based scenarios for European Union policies

5. Speech Act & Rhetorical Theory

Intentionality is fundamental to both Speech Act and Rhetorical theory because both are concerned with the difference between the dictionary meaning of words and their illocutionary meaning in use. Much of the work in pragmatics, for example in politeness theory, examines the discrepancy between what is said and what is 'meant' and here what is 'meant' presupposes that meaning is intentional. Speech Act Theory has had a very significant influence on discourse analysis: the notion that people *do* things with words presupposes that they have conscious intentions or preconceived plans – as when they utter commands, make promises, declare war or vow that that they will stay together until death does them part. But it also presupposes that they do things that *change the world.* The point I am making here is that the concept of verbal action being both intentional *and* influential is fundamental in theories of meaning and is therefore central to a discourse-based theory of metaphor. I see Speech Act theory as integrating rhetorical theory and a theory of political action as offered by Wodek (2009). Rhetorical actions commences with an intention just as Speech Action commences an illocution and political action with a belief; rhetorical action is then performed linguistically that corresponds with locution and political action. Finally we need to know the effect of rhetorical action and the speech action through what is done – in Speech Act terms the perlocution. We can only define persuasion with reference to *purpose* – a term that gives equal weight to intention, event and effect. Persuasion takes place over time through repeated exposure whereby entities in short term memory shift over to long term memory (see Semino 2008: 87-90 for a discussion of this). However, the notion of 'purpose' seems to capture the interactive process between the two participants (active and passive) rather than focusing on intention alone.

Much other discourse analytical work on political rhetoric presupposes that it is intentional. For example, Wodak emphasises the agency of political actors:

> Politicians have internalized and stored the knowledge and experience of specific contexts and events, and thus, are able to recognize new similar incidents and situations. (Wodak 2009, 15)

Here part of the claim is that politicians have cognitive abilities that enable them to recognise the similarity between particular events and that this makes them more conscious of how they articulate this awareness. Indeed it would be hard to study rhetoric at all if we did not assume that politicians had particular motives, objectives and goals. Classical rhetoric was concerned with working out a structure or plan (taxis) of a speech and with its delivery which assumes that there are some ways of speaking that are more effective than others and that these can be learnt. My own view on rhetoric sees it as a *means* for achieving persuasion:

> the term 'rhetoric' is used when we want to focus on how persuasion is undertaken: it refers specifically to the methods that the speaker uses to persuade, rather than to the whole gestalt of intention, action and effect. (Charteris-Black 2011: 13)

Persuasion is necessarily purposeful. One way to conceptualise 'purpose' cognitively is in terms of a SOURCE – an idea that give rise to a plan, a PATH – rhetorical actions undertaken to realise the plan, and a GOAL or a preconceived outcome. Therefore the SOURCE-PATH SCHEME cognitive model offers a cognitive model for rhetorical action, political action and for Speech Acts.

6. Conclusion

I have illustrated how other sources of data – conceptual analysis and audience response analysis can indicate that metaphors are 'purposeful' – rather than necessarily being 'deliberate'. Rhetorical analysis of political speeches shows that metaphor often interacts with repetition, schemes, metonyms and a wide range of other figures that allow us to infer a single underlying purpose of persuasion. There is also evidence of purpose in textually complex use of metaphor – as when metaphors are used repeatedly and in particular stages of a speech – especially when contextual analysis supports the claim of purposefulness. In this chapter I have proposed that 'purposeful metaphor' fits well with Speech Act and Rhetorical theory as providing an explanation of why, how and with what effect metaphor is used in political discourse, and other forms of language use such as economic discourse where there is an ostensible purpose of persuasion. Where there is linguistic evidence – for example in textually complex use of metaphor – and this interacts with non-linguistic contextual features such as the role of a politician or economist, then the claims to purposefulness become feasible and offer a contribution to a theory of metaphor use in discourse.

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