



Bérengère Lafiandra

"These Are Animals". Conceptualisations métaphoriques de l'immigration dans les discours politiques contemporains : étude comparative de discours français et américains de 2015 à 2020

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Abbreviations & Labelling System

BT	Blending Theory
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DMT	Deliberate Metaphor Theory
DT	Donald Trump
EM	Emmanuel Macron
HC	Hillary Clinton
JB	Joe Biden
KWIC	Key Word In Context
MLP	Marine Le Pen
MIP	Metaphor Identification Procedure
MIPVU	Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PIM	Procedure for Identifying Metaphors
RQ	Research Question
SQ	Sub-question

- Conceptual metaphors as well as source and target domains are written in SMALL CAPITAL LETTERS.
- In the excerpts, metaphors are in **bold** and the salient elements of the surrounding context are underlined.
- Examples extracted from the corpus (available at: <https://owncloud.univ-lyon3.fr/s/WJrQcRiEq89HqjS>) are written in grey.
- Speeches are labelled as follows: [Country_Politician_Year_Month_Day].
- The internet links of the newspapers I used are directly quoted in the footnotes and were all checked in June 2024.

Jungle ? Pourquoi « jungle » ? [...]

Non moins étonnant est le retard à s'étonner ou s'indigner de l'usage du terme. Il a été allègrement utilisé de tous bords et dans tous les milieux avant que des voix n'objectent à sa circulation. « Ce ne sont pas des animaux » – l'argument principal est d'ordre typologique et vient servir un raisonnement moral. S'il n'est pas intervenu plus tôt, c'est que la désignation venait peut-être malignement conforter une perception.¹

(Nuselovici, 2016)

¹ (EN): Jungle? Why 'jungle'? [...] What is even more surprising is the time it took people to be scandalized by the use of the term. It was resorted to everywhere and by everyone before some people opposed its circulation. "They are not animals" – the first argument is a typological argument and nurtures a moral reasoning. If it did not come sooner, it is maybe because the designation malevolently supported a perception.

The project's *raison d'être*

Fuir n'est pas du tout renoncer aux actions, rien de plus actif qu'une fuite².

(Deleuze, 1977: 47)

« T'es qu'un *macaroni* ». At the time, I did not understand what it meant. I was eight years old and that was how my father was addressed by a friend of his. It was a metaphorical expression, a dysphemism, of course, but it was impossible for me to understand *why* that man called him *macaroni*: my father hates pasta.

A few months later, on 21 April 2002, I found my parents devastated in front of the first round of the French presidential elections: Jean-Marie Le Pen was in the runoff. The matter seemed traumatic, so I asked my father why it was so serious. He answered, oversimplifying the situation for the child I was: "If that man becomes president, he'll send us back to Italy." *Italy*? I had never been there. I was French. So, the day after, I went to see each and every classmate at school, asking them to tell their parents not to vote for Jean-Marie Le Pen, otherwise my family and I would have to move out to another country.

I then grew up with the conviction that my counter-campaign at school in 2002 had led to his defeat and that such an event would never happen again. I was wrong. Marine Le Pen, Jordan Bardella, Donald Trump, Giorgia Meloni, Jair Bolsonaro, Scott Morrison, Viktor Orbán, to name a few, all became politically successful in the last few years.

It was in 2016, when I took my first lexicology classes, and the year Trump was elected, that I started to understand the potential link between the success of these nationalist politicians and the power of metaphors. In my master's thesis (Lafiandra, 2018), I looked deeper into the use of IMMIGRATION metaphors in political discourse in French, British English and American English. In that work carried out on a small corpus of 26 speeches and without corpus linguistic tools, I got accustomed to the persuasive dimension of metaphors and realized that the *macaroni* episode could certainly be considered insignificant, in the context of an informal conversation between two friends, but that it concealed much more and could be so powerful if used by political leaders who have a platform. That phenomenon therefore needed to be expanded into a PhD thesis.

Since my grandparents were economic immigrants, I have always been interested in immigration and have always been taken aback by how immigrants are called and more particularly how they are referred to by prominent political leaders. Donald Trump's now well-known expression "there aren't people. These are animals" ³ was especially shocking, but, fortunately, I realized that I was not the only person to be shocked and that these words usually provoke many reactions, especially today with social media, but also in the world of linguistics, where language can hopefully be dissected and (mis)conceptualizations debunked. As people cannot be prevented from speaking their minds, specifically in the U.S. where the First Amendment to the Constitution strongly protects freedom of speech, and even hate speech, the only solution to fight misconceptualizations seemed to be linguistics.

In the framework of cognitive linguistics, metaphors rely on the *hiding-highlighting* principle: my objective is therefore to determine how this principle works with sensitive subjects such as immigration, since those last few years have shown that discriminations can be nurtured when political leaders refer to human beings by emphasizing some parts of reality while hiding others.

² (EN): Fleeing is not refusing to act. There is nothing more active than fleeing.

³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aib5Ts2cDI8>. (Trump, May 2018)

General Introduction

*Aujourd'hui, les migrants sont l'objet de bien des incompréhensions. Citons au hasard des propos d'internautes : « ils volent notre travail. Ils ne veulent pas s'intégrer. C'est la principale cause du terrorisme. » De telles considérations ne **masquent**-elles pas l'essentiel ? Si ces hommes et ces femmes quittent leur chez eux, ce n'est pas par plaisir. Pour beaucoup, c'est une question de vie ou de mort.⁴*

(Paulin & Smadja, 2020: 6)

0.1. Political background

In 2015, in the aftermath of the Syrian conflict, Europe witnessed an immigrant “crisis”. Over a million refugees tried to reach the European shores so as to escape the ongoing violence of their home country, contributing to the rise of nationalist politicians such as Marine Le Pen, who won the first round of the 2015 regional elections in France and became one of the top two candidates, against Emmanuel Macron, in the 2017 and 2022 French presidential elections. At that very moment in the United States, Donald Trump announced that he was running for president, building his campaign on nationalist ideologies. He promised to build a wall between Mexico and the United States and became even more successful than his French counterpart, since he managed to enter the White House in 2017 and signed a discriminatory executive order (n° 13769) to prevent some immigrants from predominantly Muslim countries from entering the U.S., only seven days after his inauguration.

⁴ My emphasis. (EN): Nowadays, immigrants are part of many misunderstandings. For instance, on the internet, we can find expressions such as “they steal our jobs. They don’t want to assimilate. Immigration is the main reason for terrorism”. Don’t such considerations **hide** essential elements? If these men and women leave their countries, they do not do so with pleasure. For most of them it’s a question of life and death.

In June 2024 politicians who want to drastically restrict immigration have not disappeared, quite the contrary. Donald Trump is running for the 2024 presidential elections, the French government passed the law “Loi immigration intégration asile” in January 2024, and the French far-right party, the Rassemblement National (RN) with Jordan Bardella as leader, won 30 seats in the 2024 European elections, making immigration their main target, as can be seen in the following post⁵ where the WATER metaphor *submersion migratoire* is used:



The use of such metaphors to conceptualize IMMIGRATION is, however, far from being inconsequential if we consider that “public discourse has an enormous effect upon the outcome of elections” (Lakoff, 2008: 110). Besides, Brugman, Burgers and Vis (2019)

⁵ (EN): Vote for Jordan Bardella to stop the migratory submersion and refuse migrants in rural areas. Faced with the Macronists who supported and voted for the immigration pact, we are those who protect you. https://www.threads.net/@rassemblementnational_fr/post/C74PkiAIL3Q.

demonstrated that “metaphorical frames are more persuasive than non-metaphorical frames in political discourse, irrespective of the specific frame type.” Although the recent political successes of Donald Trump and Marine Le Pen are clearly multifactorial, a part of them can definitely be explained by the words – and more particularly the metaphors – they use to describe immigrants, since many linguists have shown that metaphors are not only considered ornamental tools but powerful devices that enable human beings to conceptualize their environment.

0.2. Terminology

The purpose of this section is to introduce the terminology I will resort to in this study and demonstrate to what extent Marine Le Pen and Donald Trump defend similar political ideas, when it comes to immigration policy, despite the undeniable disparities between the RN and the Republican candidate / president. I will especially determine how Le Pen and Trump can be defined on a global political spectrum, since using the dichotomy right/left would not be accurate considering that real divergences between French and American politics cannot be ignored.

Although many differences between the French and American political systems cannot be denied, due to the cultural, historical and social respective contexts⁶ of the two nations, there are many common elements between Marine Le Pen’s and Donald Trump’s ideologies. These figures can be gathered in the same category: the category of

⁶ It is delicate to put them in the exact same part of the global political spectrum. For instance, economically speaking, Marine Le Pen intends to adopt more redistributionist policies than Donald Trump. Conversely, on a moral level and after ambiguous statements, Le Pen does not question abortion and even wanted to enshrine this right in the French constitution, contrary to Donald Trump who appointed Amy Coney Barrett, a pro-life Catholic, as a Supreme Court Justice. https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2022/11/22/sur-l-ivg-marine-le-pen-change-de-position-et-propose-de-constitutionnaliser-la-loi-veil_6151030_823448.html.

nationalists. In this study, nationalists (namely, Le Pen and Trump) will thus be opposed to their political rivals: Macron, Clinton and Biden.

Snyder (1964: 2) defines *nationalism* as follows:

Nationalism is a condition of mind, feeling, or sentiment of a group of people living in a well-defined geographical area, speaking a common language, professing a literature in which the aspirations of the nation have been expressed, being attached to the common traditions, and, in some cases, having a common origin.

The idea of “well-defined geographical area” is fundamental in the case of immigration as it echoes the conceptual metaphor THE HOST COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER (which is the most productive metaphor of the corpus, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 4). In addition, Snyder’s emphasis on “having a common origin” and “common traditions” is essential in Le Pen’s and Trump’s discourses: they both reject newcomers who were not born in France⁷ / the U.S. Moreover, they both criticize values that are not traditionally Christian values and frequently regard Islam as a cultural threat.

In the same vein, Plamenatz (1975: 23) gives the following definition of *nationalism*:

Nationalism is the desire to preserve or enhance a people’s national or cultural identity when that identity is threatened, or the desire to transform or even create it when it is felt to be inadequate or lacking.

The question of national identity, which is highlighted by Plamenatz, is also central to Marine Le Pen and Donald Trump, who both say that Muslims (and Mexicans for Trump) are threatening the cultural identity of their own nations. The fact that Trump used “Make America Great Again” and “America First” as his slogans for the presidential elections clearly illustrates his nationalist ambitions. As for Le Pen, a preliminary analysis that I carried out on #LancsBox showed that she uses 74 times the noun *identité* in the corpus. Moreover, she resorts to 6 occurrences of the collocation *identité nationale*, while these collocations are themselves associated with the notion of *threat*, thanks to the verbs

⁷ The type of nationalism they belong to is based on blood, tradition and cultural elements rather than on economic arguments.

protéger, défendre, or the nouns *offensive* and *sécurité*. As can be seen in the following example:

Ici plus qu'ailleurs, vous avez conscience que l'un des grands défis de notre siècle est celui de **l'identité**. **L'identité** des peuples est attaquée de toute part. La mondialisation que certains de mes adversaires vous présentent comme heureuse est une machine à laver, une machine à laver et délayer des identités. L'idéologie libre-échangiste qui la fonde en est l'essoreuse dans cette opération de décapage, d'effilochage, c'est l'Union européenne qui fournit la soude. Certains, ici ou ailleurs, -qui se présentent d'ailleurs parfois comme les défenseurs de **l'identité** -vous expliquent que l'Union européenne vous protège, protège les **identités** et les cultures. Ils vous trompent. [...] Dans le grand combat pour les **identités** des peuples, la France est en première ligne. Elle est en première ligne parce que nous sommes directement concernés, directement victimes d'une offensive contre notre **identité** nationale. Confrontés aux deux totalitarismes que sont le mondialisme et l'islamisme, confrontés à la dictature du tout économique et du tout religieux, confrontés à la marchandisation du monde et à l'islamisation de nos sociétés, nous sommes face à un choix de civilisation. C'est pourquoi, j'exhorte mes chers compatriotes au rassemblement de toutes nos forces pour gagner le combat essentiel de **l'identité**. La France est en pointe dans ce combat pour les **identités** parce que son rôle historique, sa vocation première est la défense des **identités** de tous les peuples du monde. [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_08]

According to her, French voters must fight to keep their national identity safe. The omnipresence of this notion in Marine Le Pen's corpus demonstrates that she belongs to the category of nationalists, as confirmed by Copsey (2018: 115):

Le Pen's combination of nationalism and populism would attract the scholarly designation "national populism", which subsequently became pervasive among French academics as it emphasized French "exceptionality".

Copsey's quotation echoes the concept of *American exceptionalism* which was first described by Tocqueville in 1835. In other words, nationalist discourses imply that the U.S. and France are exceptional and superior countries.

Trump even describes himself as a nationalist and opposes nationalism to globalism, as illustrated in the metalinguistic comments "use that word" in the following example:

A **globalist** is a person that wants the globe to do well, frankly, not caring about our country so much. And you know what? We can't have that. You

know, they have a word. It sort of became old-fashioned. It's called a **nationalist**. And I say, really, we're not supposed to use that word. You know what I am? I'm a **nationalist**, OK? I'm a **nationalist**. **Nationalist**. [...] Use that word. Use that word. [US_Trump_2018_10_22]

Parallely, although Marine Le Pen does not resort to the noun *nationaliste per se* to describe herself, she still frequently refers to the notion of *national sovereignty* (100 occurrences of the noun *souveraineté*), which is fundamental to her, as can be seen in the following example:

Notre combat est celui de notre identité et donc celui de notre **souveraineté**. Un pays qui perd sa richesse, s'affaiblit. Un pays qui s'accable d'impôts s'appauvrit. Un pays qui voit son **identité** s'effacer est menacé parce qu'il ne sait plus d'où il vient, qui il est. Mais, un pays qui rompt à la fois avec sa **souveraineté** et son **identité** est perdue. Or, la France, vous le constatez chaque jour, vit une amputation de sa **souveraineté** et notre peuple subit une dépossession de son **identité**. [...] Mes deux principaux adversaires sont le Système. Celui qui nous a menés exactement où nous sommes aujourd'hui. Les deux veulent davantage encore d'Union Européenne. Les deux veulent des gouvernements de la zone euro, des ministres européens. Les deux veulent donc à terme encore moins de **souveraineté nationale**, encore moins de France, encore plus de transferts financiers vers l'Europe de l'Est et l'Europe du Sud. [...] Mon choix est tout autre : **je veux plus de France**. Je veux retrouver notre **souveraineté nationale**, c'est-à-dire notre liberté et notre indépendance. [FR_Le Pen_2017_03_27]

In this excerpt, Le Pen resorts to the noun *souveraineté* five times and clearly defends a “France first” policy, similarly to her American counterpart. Thus, she also embraces a nationalist ideology.

Finally, I will use the term nationalist to refer to Le Pen and Trump in this PhD thesis, since they both create a dividing line between citizens who are inside the country and people who are outside. Duvivier (2016: 23) writes that the nationalist idea of a self-governing nation, which is marked by opinions that generate a classification between those who are *in* and those who are *out*, became a political category in the 19th century. According to her, nationalism draws a demarcation line between the citizens of the host country and foreigners or immigrants. This line is particularly drawn both by Trump and

Le Pen, which is why I will refer to them as *nationalists* in this study, as opposed to Clinton, Biden and Macron, who are *globalists*. I finally chose this term instead of *far-right*, *alt-right* or *extreme-right*, which would not have corresponded exactly to the same realities in the French and American political systems even if Trump and Le Pen both explicitly defend restrictive immigration policies.

Since this PhD deals with how politicians conceptualize immigration, the terminology that was chosen to refer to the participants of IMMIGRATION also needs to be justified. Who is targeted by restrictive immigration policies? Who do the words *migrant*, *asylum seeker*, *undocumented*, *refugee* and *immigrants* refer to exactly in French and English?

As pointed out by La Cimade⁸, the noun *migrant* (in French) has to be resorted to carefully since it is ambiguous and sometimes used to make the distinction between “migrants”, who come to the U.S. or France for economic reasons, and *refugees* or *asylum seekers*, who are forced to move out for political reasons. However, the economic and political constraints are frequently related and the categories overlap:

Le terme “migrant” doit être utilisé avec précaution, car il n’est dénué ni d’idéologie, ni d’ambiguïté. Il arrive qu’il serve à opérer un tri entre les personnes qui quittent leur pays selon les causes supposées de leur départ. Les “migrants” feraient ce choix pour des raisons économiques, quand les réfugiés ou les demandeurs d’asile y seraient forcés pour des motifs politiques. Or les contraintes économiques et politiques se confondent souvent, et la distinction entre différentes catégories de “migrants” est généralement arbitraire. (La Cimade)

Since the connotations of the noun *migrant* are not considered the same depending on the speaker and on the language (French or English), I carried out a preliminary comparison of its different collocations in the English Web 2021 (enTenTen21) and the French Web 2023 (frTenTen23), thanks to the platform SketchEngine®. The analysis demonstrated

⁸<https://www.lacimade.org/faq/qu-est-ce-qu-un-migrant/#:~:text=Le%20Programme%20des%20Nations%20Unies,origine%20naturelle%20ou%20humaine.>

that, as can be seen in Figure 1, the noun *migrant* is frequently associated with the notion of work in the collocation “travailleur migrant” in frTenTen23, while it is the legal status that prevails in enTenTen21, with the collocations “undocumented migrant”, “irregular migrant” or “illegal migrant”:

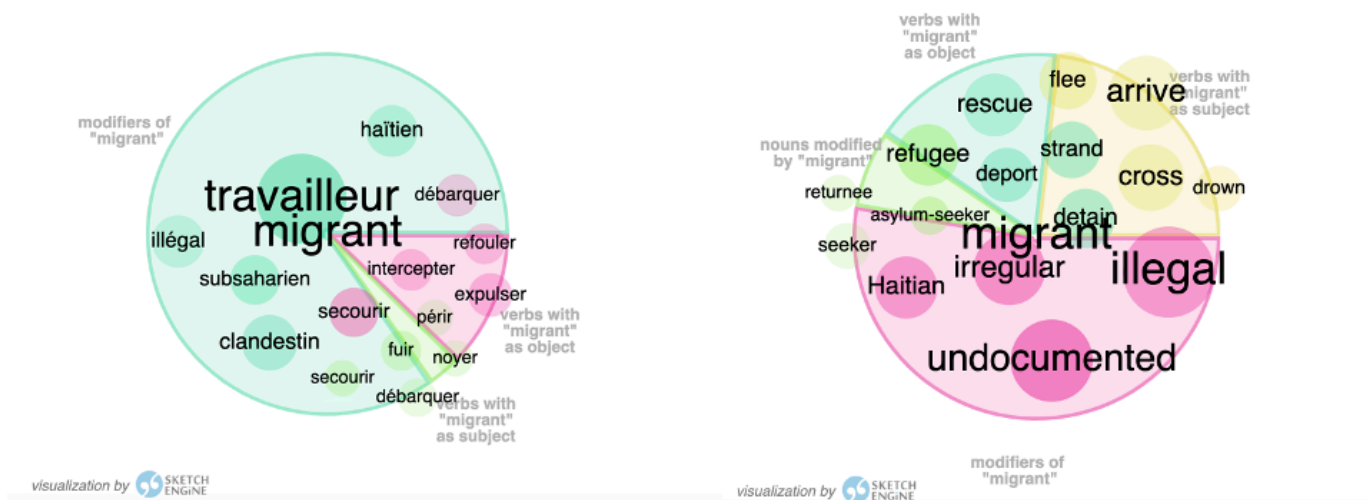


Figure 1. Collocations of the noun “migrant” in French and English, SketchEngine®

The connotations of the noun *migrant* are therefore different in English and French but also paradoxical in each language. For instance, in French, the collocations with the verb “secourir” are as frequent as those with the verb “expulser”, while in English the antonyms “rescue” and “deport” are also frequently found in collocations with the noun *migrant*. However, the connotations are less negative in French than in English, even though common elements do exist in the most frequent collocations, namely the notions of illegality and deportation. These results thus confirm the ambiguity around the definition of the noun *migrant*, which may explain why no *legal* definition has been established yet, although the United Nations Migration Agency⁹ describes the noun *migrant* (in English) as follows:

⁹ <https://www.un.org/en/fight-racism/vulnerable-groups/migrants>.

[A migrant is] any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of:

- the person's legal status
- whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary
- what the causes for the movement are
- what the length of the stay is.

Nuselovici (2016: 27) also underlines the ambiguity of the term *migrant* (in French) and the complexity of immigration-related words in general:

Un migrant (participe présent) migre, ce qui signifie que lorsqu'il cesse de migrer, lorsqu'il est arrivé, il n'est plus un migrant. Quel statut lui donner ? Un réfugié (participe passé) a fui (de *fugere* en latin), ce qui signifie que lorsqu'il trouve un accueil, lorsqu'il met fin à sa fuite, il n'est plus réfugié. Quel statut lui donner ? Devant une situation qui défie une compréhension normale, deux stratégies de nomination sont possibles : avoir recours à la création néologique ou changer de lexique en puisant dans le répertoire existant¹⁰.

According to the Geneva Convention¹¹ (1951), a *refugee* is "someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion". An *asylum seeker* corresponds to any person who left their country of origin and wants to obtain the status of *refugee*, while the term *undocumented* (or *clandestin* in French) encodes the notion of unlawfulness in the sense that it refers to someone who is in the country illegally, as explained by La Cimade:

Le terme "clandestin", empreint d'un caractère péjoratif et criminalisant, est communément mais abusivement utilisé pour désigner des étrangers en situation irrégulière, et laisse penser que ces personnes ont volontairement franchi irrégulièrement la frontière du pays où elles se trouvent, pour y rester dans l'illégalité. En réalité, la plupart des étrangers en situation irrégulière sont entrés régulièrement

¹⁰ (EN): A migrant (present participle) migrates, which means that when they stop migrating, once they have arrived, they are not migrants anymore. What is their status? A refugee ("réfugié") (past participle) fled ("a fui") (from *fugere* in Latin), which means that when they find a shelter, when they put an end to their journey, they are not refugees anymore. What is their status? In front of a situation that defies normal understanding, there are two possible strategies: one can resort to neology or change the lexicon by using the existing reservoir.

¹¹ <https://www.unhcr.org/media/convention-and-protocol-relating-status-refugees>.

sur le territoire européen : avec un visa de touriste, d'étudiant ou autre, ou encore en déposant une demande d'asile à leur arrivée.

According to La Cimade, the terms *clandestins*, *sans-papier* or *undocumented* (in English) imply that the person entered the country illegally whereas most of undocumented people arrived legally and only stayed with an out-of-date visa. The concept of IMMIGRATION thus refers to many different types of situations and cannot be fully understood without looking at the context. It encompasses Refugees, Asylum Seekers and IMmigrants (often referred to as the acronym RASIM in the literature). In this thesis, given that each politician can have their own interpretation¹² of the term and of the policies associated with it, I will resort to the hypernym *immigrant*, regardless of the cause of the movement, the legal status or the length of the stay. Moreover, the analysis of the collocations of the noun *immigrant* in the English Web 2021 and the French Web 2023 showed that the connotations are similar in French and in English, as can be seen in Figure 2.

¹² Furthermore, even the term *refugee* can be interpreted differently. The most prototypical example is certainly the double standards concerning how Syrian refugees were treated compared to Ukrainians in 2022. El-Nawawy and Elmasry (2024) demonstrated that “newspaper framing was more sympathetic toward Ukrainian refugees than Syrian refugees” and the fact that there are “worthy” and “unworthy” refugees: Christians, on the one hand, and non-Christians, on the other. Hence the necessity to always analyze the context since the exact same legal situation (Syrians and Ukrainians both fled war) can target very different reactions in the media and in the public sphere.

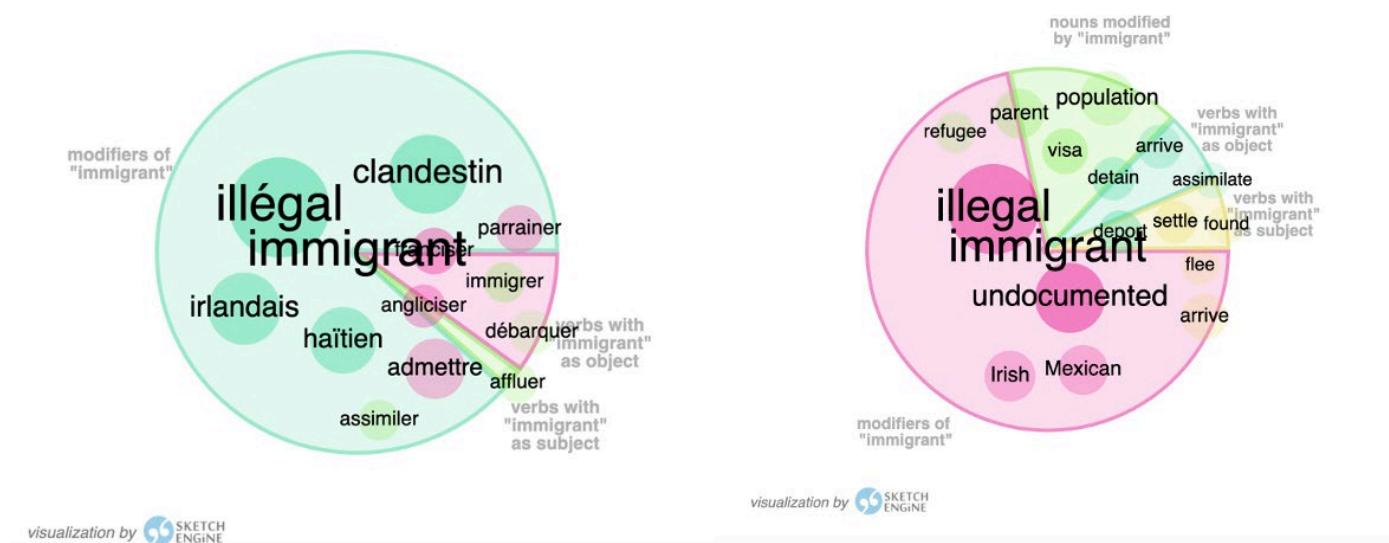


Figure 2. Collocations with the noun "immigrant" in French and English, SketchEngine®

Figure 2 demonstrates that the noun *immigrant* collocates with the notion of illegality in English and French. In both languages, the most frequent collocations are with the modifiers *illegal* (*illégal*) and *undocumented* (*clandestin*): the term *immigrant* does not include the notion of illegality *per se* since a modifier is needed to convey that very notion. Thus, I will prefer the noun *immigrant*, which is the most univocal term despite certain remaining ambiguities, and follow Botler's (2019) definition:

Simply put, an immigrant is a person living in a country other than that of his or her birth. No matter if that person has taken the citizenship of the destination country, served in its military, married a native or has another status.

I will use the nouns *migrant*, *undocumented*, *refugees*, *asylum seekers* and *alien* only when the status is specifically mentioned by the speaker. In addition, the term *alien* (someone who belongs to a foreign country, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*) is highly evaluative: Cunningham-Parmeter (2011: 1556) writes that the metaphor "IMMIGRANTS ARE ALIENS, for example, highlights the criminal characteristics of some immigrants (the target domain), while ignoring the fact that most immigrants reside legally in the United States." The negative evaluation of this dead metaphor is even found in its etymology, the

Latin *alienus* means *strange* or *other* and thus directly creates a dichotomy between the citizens of the host country and aliens.

Although *immigrants* represent the essential element of the concept of IMMIGRATION, at least five other participants were distinguished by Héois and Lafiandra (2023): the host country, the border, the means of transportation (boat, plane etc.) and the manner (the sea, air etc.), as can be seen in Figure 3:

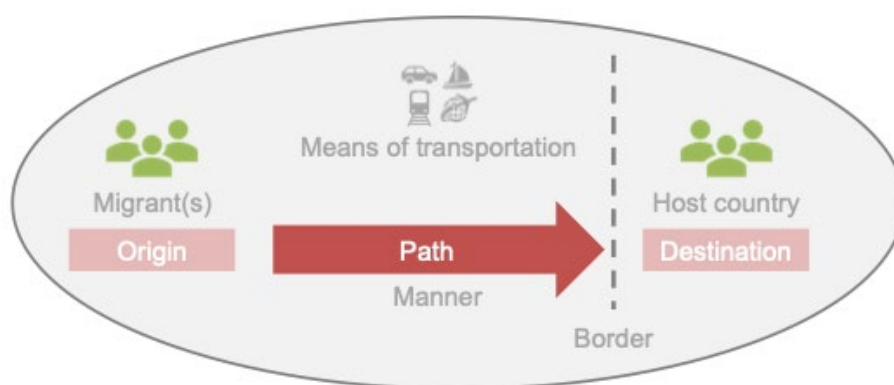


Figure 3. Participants of IMMIGRATION (Héois & Lafiandra, 2023)

The IMMIGRATION metaphorical occurrences of the corpus can thus bear on all these participants and contribute to nurturing a certain conceptualization of immigrants themselves. For instance, and as will be developed in Chapter 4, the representation of the border of the host country is essential in CONTAINER metaphors.

Finally, the complexity to define *immigration* and its plurality of meanings, depending on each speaker, may account for the frequent use of metaphors to talk about this concept in political discourse.

0.3. Research questions

This PhD thesis particularly focuses on the use of IMMIGRATION metaphors as metaphors are part of rhetorical devices that enable the speaker to highlight some elements of reality while hiding others (see the “highlighting-hiding principle” (Edelman,

1971: 68; Goatly, 2007: 213-214; Kövecses, 2002). Several studies on IMMIGRATION metaphors have already been carried out in the existing literature. Most of them have shown that the target domain of IMMIGRATION is often conceptualized in terms of derogatory concepts, such as NATURAL DISASTERS, INDIGESTIBLE FOOD, SOLDIERS, SPREAD of DISEASE, WASTE, OBJECTS, or PARASITIC ORGANISMS to name a few (Charteris-Black, 2006; Hart, 2011; Musolff, 2011; O'Brien, 2003; Semino, 2008; Taylor, 2022; Van Dijk, 2000; Silaški/Đurović 2019, 2021). They have also demonstrated that these source domains generally highlight the scale of immigration while completely hiding the distress and vulnerability of refugees.

Following these results and those developed in my Master's thesis (Lafiandra, 2018), I decided to expand my previous work, adding new speeches to the corpus (381 speeches for this study, against 26 for the previous study) as well as a new methodology (with the use of textometry and the Metaphor Identification Procedure). This PhD thesis has five different objectives. First, it aims to confirm or infirm the existence of negative source domains to refer to IMMIGRATION in the corpus. The goal is primarily to determine the role of the context in the evaluation of the metaphor's axiology. Another objective is to see whether the source domains used to conceptualize IMMIGRATION are the same depending on the languages (namely French and English) or on the political figures (namely, Biden, Clinton, Le Pen, Macron and Trump) and their position on the political spectrum (whether they are considered nationalist politicians or not).

These different purposes, as well as my intuition that only Trump and Le Pen use negatively connoted metaphors to refer to IMMIGRATION, led me to the following General Research Question (GRQ) for this PhD thesis: **How do political leaders metaphorically conceptualize IMMIGRATION in French and American political speeches?**

This GRQ can be divided into six Sub-Questions (SQs), as follows:

SQ1: How often do political leaders refer to immigration?

SQ2: Do nationalist political leaders use more IMMIGRATION metaphors than their opponents?

SQ3: What are the most frequently used source domains to conceptualize IMMIGRATION? Are they different depending on the language used and on the political figures?

SQ4: What is the axiology of the most frequently used source domains? Are they different depending on the language used and on the political figures?

SQ5: What are the main semantic domains used in combination with immigration-related terms?

SQ6: How does the axiology of the context interact with IMMIGRATION metaphors? Are there different patterns of interaction depending on the language used and on the political figures?

In order to answer these questions, the PhD thesis has been divided into five chapters. The aim of the first chapter is to give a general overview concerning the different theories on metaphors, and more particularly on metaphors in the framework of cognitive linguistics and corpus linguistics.

The second chapter presents the methodology and corpora. Two different corpora were created; one is composed of American political speeches and the other of French political speeches. The American corpus is composed of a corpus of interest, which corresponds to Trump's speeches (US_Trump), and of a sample corpus that is composed of Hillary Clinton and Joe Biden's speeches, while the French corpus is also composed of a corpus of interest, which consists in Marine Le Pen's speeches (FR_Le Pen), and of another sample corpus that is composed of Emmanuel Macron's speeches. Only the speeches of the top-two candidates in presidential elections between 2015 and 2020 were

selected. 2015 corresponds to the moment when Donald Trump launched his first campaign, as well as to the regional elections in France, when the Front National won the first round, and to the Syrian refugee crisis. 2020 corresponds to the moment when Joe Biden was elected. These corpora consist of official transcripts found on institutional websites. The sampling was done according to the frequency of lemmas related to immigration (*migr*, refugee*, deport*, asylum*, etc.): the speeches needed to contain essential key lemmas related to this theme to be selected so as to have a homogeneous corpus.

The third chapter presents the textometric analysis that was carried out thanks to software tools such as AntConc®, WMatrix®, Tropes® and #LancsBox®. The aim is to draw the main immigration-related characteristics of the corpora, with quantitative analyses of frequencies, keyness and collocations, so as to pave the way for qualitative analyses of IMMIGRATION metaphors and their contexts. It will enable me to answer SQ1 and SQ5.

Chapter four aims to study the axiological dimension of the source domains used to conceptualize IMMIGRATION, within the theoretical framework and methodology developed in the first three chapters. Its objective is to demonstrate that each source domain possesses an inherent axiology and to answer SQ2, SQ3 and SQ4.

Finally, Chapter 5 intends to demonstrate to what extent the context interacts with said metaphors to nurture a certain axiology and focuses on the different patterns of interaction between a given metaphorical occurrence and its environment (SQ6).

All these elements combined will eventually lead me to determine **how IMMIGRATION is metaphorically conceptualized in French and American political speeches (RQ)** thanks to textometric as well as semantic analyses.

Chapter 1: Literature Review on Metaphor, Political Discourse and Corpus Linguistics

1.0. Introduction

1.1. General review on metaphor

- 1.1.1. Definitions of metaphor
- 1.1.2. Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Deliberate Metaphor Theory
- 1.1.3. General functions of metaphor
- 1.1.4. Dangers of metaphor

1.2. Review on metaphors in/and political discourse: persuasion and evaluation

- 1.2.0. Jakobson's functions of language
- 1.2.1. Defining *discourse*, *political discourse* and *metaphors in political discourse*
- 1.2.2. Cognitive dimensions
- 1.2.3. Axiology and semantic prosody
- 1.2.4. Rhetoric
- 1.2.5. Framing Theory and metaphorical scenarios
- 1.2.6. Critical Discourse Analysis

1.3. Review on corpus linguistics

- 1.3.1. Defining corpus linguistics
- 1.3.2. Corpora
- 1.3.3. Representativeness
- 1.3.4. Statistics
- 1.3.5. Different approaches
- 1.3.6. Cognitive linguistics, metaphor and corpora

1.4. Conclusion

1.0. Introduction

The objective of Chapter 1 is to provide a broad overview of the theoretical backgrounds of metaphors, and mostly of metaphors in the theories of cognitive linguistics, political discourse and corpus linguistics. I will particularly expand and rely on the literature review I had started in my Master's thesis (Lafiandra, 2018), with the addition of notions such as the notions of "axiology", "surrounding context" and "semantic prosody". In the first section, various traditional definitions of metaphors are presented. The idea is not to draw a comprehensive list of all the different definitions but rather to focus on the aspects of metaphors that are relevant to support the arguments I develop in this PhD thesis and more particularly in the corpus analysis. The Conceptual Metaphor

Theory (CMT) described by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live by*, published in 1980, is then dealt with, since it is the main theoretical framework I have chosen for this work. Then, the distinctive roles of metaphors are presented. This leads me to analyse the possible threats and values of this linguistic and cognitive tool which helps speakers emphasize certain features of the real world while concealing others. The second section of this chapter deals with metaphors and/in political discourse. It particularly develops the mechanisms of evaluation and persuasion in political discourse. It enables me to give a general definition of political discourse and to tackle essential subjects such as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the framing theory. This section also presents the role of cognition in discourse. The final section of this chapter defines corpus linguistics and its different features and approaches.

1.1. General review on metaphor

1.1.1. Definitions of metaphor

The main purpose of this section is to present the traditional views on metaphor and how they have evolved through time, more particularly with the emergence of cognitive linguistics. I will start with Aristotle's view since both the word "metaphor" and the debate about it originated from Ancient Greece (Ounis, 2021) and since "there is no better place to begin than with Aristotle, who is generally regarded as the first thinker to elaborate a theory of metaphor" (Punter, 2007: 11). According to Aristotle, metaphor "is the application of an alien name by transference either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or by analogy, that is, proportion" (Aristotle, 2008). This description is one of the earliest explanations of metaphor ever provided. It means that metaphor lies in an improper expression, that is to say a word which belongs to an entirely singular field, which is associated with what is designated. The metaphor

generates correspondences and relationships between the “improper expression” and the described matter: metaphors rely on the human “eye for resemblances”¹³, as explained by Aristotle in his *Poetics* (350 BC).

Metaphors are often seen as crucial devices of speech-making. It is therefore relevant to study their role in political discourse. However, this idea was not developed by Aristotle in his first works. On the contrary, he placed the use of metaphor in poetry rather than in rhetoric (Punter, 2007); in other words, in *Poetics*, Aristotle did not regard metaphor as essential to language but rather as an ornament, an enrichment. It is only in his second work, *Rhetoric*, that he started to consider the link between metaphor and motivation: there emerged the idea that metaphor has different functions in discourse and is not used superfluously by speakers. The fact that metaphor is not only an ornament but also a rhetorical device can be illustrated by the following example extracted from the French corpus:

- (1) Mais quel aveu de faiblesse, et quel est le signal envoyé aux terroristes islamistes lorsque l’on demande aux jeunes de son propre pays de s’habituer à vivre avec le terrorisme ? Serions-nous devenus une nation de **moutons**, prête à être **dévorée** des **loups affamés** ? [FR_Le Pen_2015_11_28]

In this excerpt, not only does Marine Le Pen use metaphors to adorn her speech, but rather to generate fear by comparing French citizens to sheep and terrorists to starving wolves, so as to convince her audience that terrorism has to be fought. Besides, it contributes to persuading voters to choose her as the person who could prevent terrorism, since the context of utterance is the 2015 regional election. The metaphor is not used pointlessly, it has a specific purpose: generating fear.

¹³ <https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:abo:tlg.0086.034:1459a:34>.

Traditionally, metaphors are considered resemblance structures. With the use of metaphors, the utterer is able to implicitly refer to a person, an object or a concept. However, metaphors are not similar to similes since they form an authentic union between two concepts without the use of prepositions such as *as* or *like* as analogical tools. As a result, metaphors enable the speaker to associate two separate domains *and* to amalgamate them, even if similes are sometimes considered “the simplest form of metaphor” (Punter, 2007: 12). In example (1), Marine Le Pen does not say that terrorists act like starving wolves, she says that terrorists **are** starving wolves, therefore creating a total identification between the two notions. In *Rhetoric*, Aristotle writes that a simile is a metaphor with a minor distinction. To illustrate this fact, he provides the now famous simile “Achilles rushed on like a lion”, which is, according to him, not so distinct from the metaphor “Achilles is a lion” (*Rhetoric*: 1407a). Nevertheless, the characterization has subsequently changed, since Aristotle believed that similes and metaphors diverged merely with the presence of an analogical term (namely the prepositions *as* or *like*). In metaphors, it is the omission of this term precisely “which brings the two compared entities far closer to each other in a way that challenges the reader or hearer to make sense of the assumed or alleged comparison rather than having it spelt out” (Punter, 2007: 12). Moreover, since the non-metaphorical expression and the metaphor do not have the same meaning, the use of a metaphor cannot be arbitrary and there is always a clear distinction between the two expressions (metaphorical and non-metaphorical), as explained by Searle (1979: 81):

Because in metaphorical utterances what the speaker means differs from what he says (in one sense of “say”), in general we shall need two sentences for our examples of metaphor—first the sentence uttered metaphorically, and second a sentence that expresses literally what the speaker means when he utters the first sentence and means it metaphorically.

Since the two expressions are different, they cannot be synonymous. Therefore, the use of metaphor is undeniably motivated and has many functions which will be detailed in 1.1.3. Otherwise, the speaker would have opted for the non-metaphorical expression. Thus, the notion of the motivation of metaphor is itself irrefutable since there cannot be two different expressions with the exact same meaning and purpose: when a speaker uses a metaphor, they have one particular goal in mind. One of the objectives of this PhD thesis is to determine these implicit goals in political discourse about immigration.

The traditional view of metaphor encompasses distinct constituents; metaphor is a linguistic expression, it is a property of words (1), it has aesthetic and rhetorical purpose (2), it is based on similarities (3) and it is a mark of intelligence, since not everyone is able to use it (4) (Kövecses, 2002). However, this description has been challenged by the cognitive linguistic view and each point has been refuted, or at least detailed, as explained by Kövecses (2002: x):

Lakoff and Johnson challenged the deeply entrenched view of metaphor by claiming that (1) metaphor is a property of concepts, and not of words; (2) the function of metaphor is to better understand certain concepts, and not just some artistic or esthetic purpose; (3) metaphor is often not based on similarity; (4) metaphor is used effortlessly in everyday life by ordinary people, not just by special talented people, and (5) metaphor, far from being a superfluous thought pleasing linguistic ornament, is an inevitable process of human thought and reasoning.

This description of the different features of metaphor is the description I chose for this PhD thesis and the two different views are represented in Figure 4:

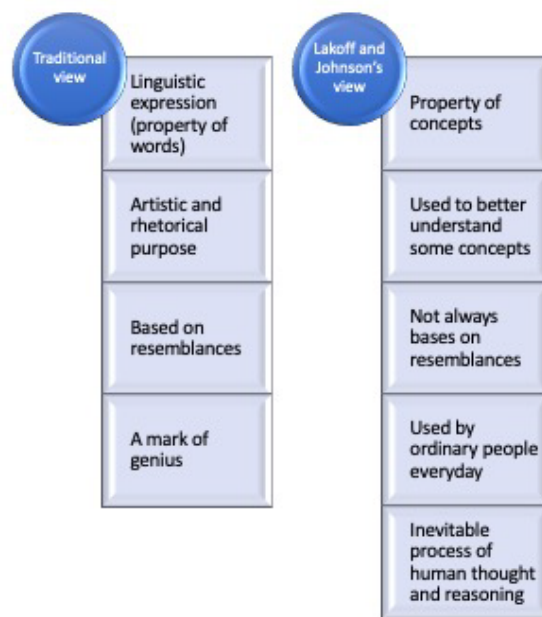


Figure 4. Comparison of the traditional view and Lakoff and Johnson's view

Even if these five features are, of course, all crucial, one of them, the feature according to which a metaphor is based on resemblances, needs to be detailed. Contrary to Aristotle's view, metaphor is not always based on similarities and this is a substantial element when studying the persuasive dimension of immigration metaphors: there is absolutely no material resemblance between immigrants and waves, animals, or diseases, which are images yet frequently used by politicians (see Chapter 4), so why use that type of metaphor? One of the goals of this study is to answer this question. As Tournier (2004: 137) writes, in a metaphor the transfer is based on the perception of resemblance¹⁴ (Tournier & Crystal, 2004: 137). In the original text, Tournier italicized the noun "ressemblance", but in this quotation, the noun "perception" is even more significant: metaphor is not based on similarities, as described by Aristotle, but only on the perception of these similarities, which makes a fundamental difference, and which is why I have

¹⁴ « Le phénomène de changement de sens par métaphore est fondé sur la perception d'une *ressemblance*. » in the original text (Tournier & Crystal, 2004: 137).

opted for the cognitive linguistic framework. Metaphors are merely a matter of *perception*.

To illustrate this idea, let us take example (2) from the American corpus:

- (2) In the 3 years before I took office, more than 150,000 unaccompanied alien minors arrived at the border and were released all throughout our country into United States communities, at a tremendous monetary cost to local taxpayers and also a great cost to life and safety. Nearly 4,000 from this **wave** were released into Suffolk County—congratulations—including 7 who are now indicted for murder. [US_Trump_2017_07_28]

In this example, it is undeniable that there is originally no similarity between a wave and immigrants, which means the resemblances have been created thanks to perception and discourse. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, perception is first the “ability to see, hear, or become aware of something through the senses” but also “a way of understanding or interpreting something”. In both cases, the definition of “perception” shows the discrepancy between the information one gets through the senses and reality. In the second definition, the indefinite article *a* that determines the noun *way*, demonstrates that perception is generally specific to one individual and cannot be universal. This is why metaphors can distort reality and thus mislead voters. Some politicians who support restrictive immigration policies may impose their *own perception* to others and create similarities between two domains that have absolutely nothing in common and generalize an idea that does not represent reality since it is only a *perceived* idea. They present their *own* evaluation of the concept. This idea was also developed by Kövecses (2002: 82):

These are cases that can be said to be based on some non-objective similarity as perceived by speakers of English.

[...]

The suggestion that some metaphors are characterized by perceived similarities has an interesting implication. It implies that some metaphors are not based on similarity but generate similarities [...].

Thus, metaphor is powerful since it is not a way to describe reality but to create a new reality. It does not only rely on similarities, it consists in the possibility of creating new common connotations (Touratier, 2004), which becomes particularly useful when someone's goal is to convince or persuade someone else.

For the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), metaphor relies on a binary system for several reasons. First, because metaphor enables us to go from literal to figurative language. Knowles & Moon (2006: 3) write that metaphors are resorted to so as "to refer to something other than what it was originally applied to, or what it 'literally' means". Usually, the distinction made between literal and figurative meaning is rather simple: literal meaning is associated with concrete elements while figurative meaning is more abstract (Kövecses, 2006). Metaphor therefore enables this movement from literal to figurative meaning; however, it is paradoxical since metaphors are also very commonly used to make an abstract concept more concrete. However, IMMIGRANTS are physical and concrete human beings: there is nothing abstract about them, so why conceptualize them with "more concrete" domains such as WATER? Thus, the equivalence literal/concrete, figurative/abstract has to be qualified and it would be wiser to see this difference in terms of chronology since "the literal meaning is also typically the earliest historically: metaphor is a historical (or diachronic) process" (Knowles & Moon, 2006: 7). Finally, the dichotomy between literal and figurative meaning can be explained in terms of cognition: figurative language requires "special cognitive processes" while literal language only requires "normal cognitive mechanism" (Gibbs, 1994: 80).

Metaphor is based on a binary structure¹⁵ for another reason: it is built on the association of two domains. Cognitive linguists define metaphor as a "mapping between

¹⁵ In the blending theory, metaphors rather rely on a quaternary structure, as will be developed in section 1.1.2.

a source domain and a target domain” (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 2). Lakoff and Johnson clearly insist on the idea that the two domains share no common feature or at least that, at first sight, it is not easy to grasp the presence of an objective connection between these domains, hence the significance of perception in metaphors. This argument also openly refutes Aristotle’s idea according to which metaphors are always based on similarities. Once again, this point is particularly relevant for this study since the connections that are made between immigrants and many of the source domains used are not objective at all and are only based on the speaker’s perception.

Mapping can also be defined as “a process in which particular words are connected with meanings” (Ritchie, 2013: 9) and “the target domain is the topic that you want to describe through the metaphor while the source domain refers to the concept that you draw upon in order to create the metaphorical construction” (Simpson & Mayr, 2010: 43). Even if the terms “source” and “target” will be used in this PhD thesis, it is worth mentioning that the terminology is not the same for all linguists; for example, Knowles and Moon (2006: 9) use other nouns to describe the constituents of metaphors. They state that three distinct features have to be taken into account when studying metaphors: the “vehicle”, which constitutes the linguistic expression itself, the “topic”, in other words, the subject and, ultimately, the “grounds”, that is to say the links between the first two components (Knowles & Moon, 2006: 9). For instance, in one of the debates of the 2016 presidential elections in the U.S., Hillary Clinton assumed that Vladimir Putin “would rather have a **puppet** as president of the United States” [US_Clinton_2016_10_19]. In this example, “the American president is a puppet” is the vehicle, the topic is Trump’s weakness, while the grounds correspond to the existence of a political order and to the idea that President Putin intends to control Trump, as “a puppeteer would manipulate a puppet” (Lafiandra, 2018: 9).

Another traditional binary distinction related to metaphor is the difference between *in praesentia* and *in absentia* metaphors that is to say between syntagmatic and paradigmatic metaphorical figures (Jenny, 2003). *In praesentia* metaphors are metaphors in which both the topic and the grounds are explicitly designated, while with *in absentia* metaphors either the topic or the grounds are not explicitly mentioned and have to be retrieved by the listener. In nationalist speeches, both *in-praesentia* and *in-absentia* metaphors are used to mention enemies. For instance, in a speech delivered in Saint-Raphaël in 2017, Marine Le Pen said:

- (3) L'islamisme est un **poison** dans la société française et le terrorisme qu'il engendre n'en est qu'une face. [FR_Le Pen_2017_03_15]

In this *in-praesentia* metaphor, Islamism is explicitly compared to a poison, both the topic (Islamism) and the ground (poison) are mentioned. Here, it enables Marine Le Pen to clearly designate the enemy and have the audience picture Islamism as a dangerous entity. Furthermore, *in-absentia* metaphors are also used to point at enemies, as shown in example (4):

- (4) Il est temps de faire cesser ce scandale et de rappeler à tous qu'ici on est en France et qu'en France, on applique la loi française. Parallèlement à cette véritable **submersion**, s'est développée une insécurité qui pourrit la vie des gens. [FR_Le Pen_2019_01_19]

In this excerpt, Marine Le Pen does not openly say that "IMMIGRATION is water". With the use of the demonstrative determiner *cette*, immigrants are not explicitly mentioned in the second sentence: the *in-absentia* metaphor is thus more inconspicuous than the metaphor that does mention immigrants and can only be detected by reading the text. However, the metaphorical meaning of an occurrence cannot emerge without the existence of an entire subject / predicate relationship (Jamet, 2009: 134), even with *in-absentia* where the relationship between the two is not overt. In the example of *cette submersion*, it is the

whole subject / predicate relationship *la submersion migratoire s'est développée* that conveys a metaphorical meaning.

Metaphor falls into one final dichotomy which opposes two different groups. On the one hand, there are simple metaphors, when only one linguistic occurrence is resorted to. On the other hand, there are extended metaphors which correspond to several linguistic occurrences of the same source domain: extended metaphors “are developed throughout a text, or throughout significant proportion of it” (Punter, 2007: 146). Thus, with extended metaphors the identical source and target domains are resorted to all along the text, and only the form differs in the distinct occurrences. This type of metaphor is often used in the corpus, as will be developed in Chapter 5, for example when the host country is compared to a house (simple metaphor) and the borders of the country to the doors of this house (extended metaphor), which is for example the case in the French corpus:

- (5) N'en déplaise à mes adversaires, la **maison France** doit avoir des **portes** et c'est aux Français d'en détenir les **clefs** ! Pour effectuer ce nécessaire contrôle aux frontières, il faut d'abord reconstituer nos douanes, très affaiblies par le gouvernement Fillon puis par Hollande. [FR_Le Pen_2017_03_18]

In example (5), Marine Le Pen extends the metaphor even further, saying that French people should own the keys to lock the doors, in other words, that they should be able to decide whether to limit immigration or not.

Finally, three distinct types of metaphors have traditionally been pointed out: dead, conventionalized and vivid metaphors. The different groups are also referred to as lexicalized, semi-lexicalized and creative metaphors (Fernández, 2008: 98) because they can be located on the lexicalisation continuum, as exemplified in Figure 5. These categories are, of course, not clear cut and there are some overlaps, which is why the notion of *continuum* is essential to the understanding of metaphor.



Figure 5. Categories of metaphors on the continuum of lexicalization

Lexicalised metaphors correspond to metaphors that are resorted to every day when the utterers are not even conscious that they use a metaphor. However, the term “dead” can be criticized since a metaphor cannot be totally dead as it can generally be resuscitated in discourse, which is why the adjective “lexicalized” is preferred and the expression “dead metaphor” will only be occasionally used in this PhD thesis. The metaphors are considered lexicalized and perceived as lexical items when they are recorded in dictionaries. A lexicalized metaphor can be defined as: “A metaphors which has been used so often that it barely stands out as a metaphor at all and has descended to the level of cliché” (Punter, 2007: 146). Lexicalized metaphors are completely stable in discourse and, according to Orwell, they can be defined as “ordinary words” (Orwell, 1968: 130). In the corpus, it is frequent to find lexicalized metaphors, such as in the following example:

- (6) To continue our momentum, to protect your family, your borders, your Constitution, and your country, you need to get your friends, get your family, get your co-workers, and get out and vote for Patrick Morrisey. Get out and vote Republican. And if you aren’t registered, register right now. You’ve got to register here. And the **deadline** to register is October 16th. [US_Trump_2018_09_29]

In excerpt (6), Donald Trump resorts to the noun *deadline*. It is a lexicalized metaphor since it does not refer to the line that should not be crossed in prisons but to a time limit, and is recorded as such in dictionaries. Moreover, this noun has been used so often as a time limit, rather than a real line, that it is memorized as such by the audience. It means

that the more frequent a metaphor is, the more likely it is to be lexicalized. The noun *deadline* also fills in a lexical gap since it enables the speaker to say that something is due: it is a catachresis. In this case, Donald Trump's audience will easily understand that the deadline corresponds to a time limit and is very unlikely to picture a real line beyond which you could be shot. Donald Trump is probably not even aware that he is using a metaphor and "the only way to decide whether the lexicalised metaphor view is correct or not is to see whether people actually understand the meaning of formerly metaphorical expressions (meaning that was once figurative and abstract) as a literal one". (Kövecses, 2006: 185).

Lexicalized metaphors are different from creative metaphors, which are almost always intentionally created by the utterer on purpose. Creative metaphors generate a real novelty effect for the listeners, as these metaphors are fully designed by the utterers for a definite context; thus, this type of metaphor is not recorded in dictionaries and is not regarded as a lexicalized metaphor. Creative metaphors are useful to influence the listeners, particularly potential voters, since political leaders are able to assert their ideas with mental pictures that are effortlessly memorised by the audience because they stand out. For instance, one of the most famous examples of a creative metaphor, which is not part of the corpus of this PhD thesis but which has had a huge impact on politics in France, is Nicolas Sarkozy's following remark: "Dès demain, **on va nettoyer au Karcher la cité**. On y mettra les effectifs nécessaires et le temps qu'il faudra, mais ça sera nettoyé", delivered in June 2005 in La Courneuve. In this excerpt, the former French President explains that he plans to clean Parisian suburbs with a high-pressure washer so as to say that great measures have to be deployed to fight against criminality in these areas. The metaphor is creative: it cannot be found in dictionaries, since it was the first time it was used, and as it cannot be understood out of context. The audience could not understand

what Nicolas Sarkozy referred to, had they not been given indispensable information (Sid-Ahmed Hammache, an 11-year-old child had been shot by a gang in La Courneuve), otherwise the listeners could simply think that La Courneuve was literally dirty and needed to be cleaned. Moreover, the idea that a creative metaphor can have a huge impact on the audience can be shown by the fact that this example was reused by Valérie Pécresse in January 2022, when she said: “il faut ressortir le kärcher de la cave”. Everyone knew she was referring to what Sarkozy had said 17 years before.

If their level of lexicalisation is taken into account, semi-lexicalized metaphors can be found between lexicalized and creative metaphors: they can be regarded as a middle way between the two. Even if a semi-lexicalized metaphor is not lexicalized by definition and is often naturally understood by the listener, it is occasionally regarded as cliché and frequently implies the existence of a common experience between the utterer and the listeners. The metaphor of the *wave*, which will be developed further in Chapter 4, belongs to this category. Let us now consider the following examples:

(7) Ces **gigantesques vagues de migrants** que l'Union Européenne laisse **déferler** sur nos côtes, ces millions de migrants que l'UE installe chez nous, dans nos villes et même dans nos villages les plus reculés, cette politique irresponsable scelle la disparition de l'Europe si nous ne l'arrêtons pas. [FR_Le Pen_2018_01_15]

(8) Whether it was my ancestors who boarded coffin ships in the Irish Sea in the famine in the 1840s, or families who fled oppressive regimes and natural disasters in Latin America and the Caribbean, or any of the **waves of immigrants** seeking freedom and opportunity and who have continuously renewed our national strength and have given us the great capacity to speak – to speak with grit and determination, to simply say, “I can do it.” [US_Biden_2020_09_15]

In both English and French, the metaphor “wave of immigrants” / “vague migratoire” is a semi-lexicalized metaphor for two main reasons. First, in dictionaries, the definition of the noun “wave” is not associated with immigration; for example, in French, the noun

“vague” is defined by the Larousse as a movement produced by the friction of the wind on the surface of the sea (“Onde forcée produite par effet de friction du vent à la surface de la mer ou d'un lac”) and the *OED* gives the following entries for the noun “wave”:

- i. a raised line of water that moves across the surface of the sea, ocean, etc.
- ii. the form that some types of energy such as heat, sound, light, etc. take as they move.
- iii. a movement of your arm and hand from side to side.

These definitions show no link with immigration and demonstrate that the metaphor is not lexicalized yet. However, this is a very common metaphor, used not only by politicians from all parties but also by journalists, and effortlessly understood by listeners. What is creative in excerpt (7), from Marine Le Pen’s speech, is not the metaphor itself but its extension with the verb *déferler*; thus, this example particularly demonstrates that semi-lexicalized metaphors oscillate between lexicalized and vivid metaphors. Furthermore, it shows the importance of semantic prosody and the context, which will be detailed throughout the study. For now, semantic prosody corresponds to “the way in which words that seem neutral can acquire positive or negative associations through frequent occurrences with particular collocations”.¹⁶

The names of the distinct categories of metaphors (namely, lexicalized, semi-lexicalized and creative) are principally useful because they can act as a means to predict the metaphorical expressions that are likely to disappear: “The recognition of metaphor becomes not only a sign of power but also a powerful marker of cultural instability; metaphors need to be considered not only in terms of their endurance but also in terms of their passing away” (Punter, 2007: 102). Therefore, a metaphor may be analysed

¹⁶ <https://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/semantic-prosody>.

according to its level of lexicalization so as to show the possible social variations in a given culture. Since metaphors are anchored in a specific society, I have opted for the Conceptual Metaphor Theory as my main theoretical framework, as this theory explicitly considers the crucial role of the context and the environment in studies about metaphors. This idea was also emphasized by Kövesces (2002: 244):

In sum, conceptual metaphors and metonymies and their cultural context can all be put to useful work in the study of cultural variation in the conceptualization of target concepts, such as emotions. They enable us to see with considerable clarity precisely where and how cultural variation occurs both cross-culturally and within a culture.

[...]

Moreover, given the cultural context and its influence on conceptualization, we can see why the changes take place in the cultural models and the conceptual metaphors.

[...]

People in different cultures may take the same thing to be similar to different things, and different cultures can have unique concepts that may function as either source or target domains.

The study of metaphors is essential to analyze the conceptualization of immigration in French and English political discourse, which leads me to develop and use the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, but also the Deliberate Metaphor Theory.

1.1.2. Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Deliberate Metaphor Theory

As developed in 1.1.1., traditional definitions of metaphor have been criticized by cognitive linguistics. For example, Aristotle considered that one had to be a genius to use a metaphor, in other words, that the use of metaphor required special skills. This traditional perspective was contested with the 'cognitive turn' that occurred with Ortony in 1979, and more particularly with the book *Metaphor and Thought*, in which metaphor was not only seen as a linguistic tool but also as a thought process (Steen, 2011) (Ortony, 1993). Then, in *Metaphors We Live by*, published in 1980, Lakoff and Johnson described their central principle: the well-known Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT from now on). In this theory, they make the assumption that metaphors are fundamental elements of our daily lives, in the way we express ourselves, but mostly in the way we think and act (Lakoff

& Johnson, 1980: 3). Therefore, not only can anyone resort to metaphor, it is also the basis of our conceptual system. In this pivotal book, the central statement is that human beings ordinarily picture the world metaphorically because the manner they relate to the world is built on metaphorical conceptualizations. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 61) demonstrate that “most of our conceptual system is metaphorically structured”: metaphor acts as a fundamental element in the human aptitude to comprehend the environment and thus in the capacity to describe it; in other words, in the aptitude to speak. Contrary to the Aristotelian theory, since language is mostly metaphorical, metaphor is indispensable to human society and should not be merely regarded as an artistic enrichment, as mentioned in 1.1.1. The link between metaphor and thought had been mentioned by Richards in his book *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, published in 1936 (Richards, 1936) and was then developed by several linguists, who underlined the importance of metaphor in life, language and thought: “Trying to understand metaphor, then, means attempting to understand a vital part of who we are and what kind of world we live in” (Kövecses, 2002: xi). Kövecses (2006: 5) developed this idea, saying that metaphor enables us to shape not only our thought-system but also our knowledge of the world we live in:

The study of human cognition is concerned with certain essential issues. First and foremost among them is the nature of knowledge. Second, there is the issue of how we acquire knowledge. Third, and just as important, we have the issue of how knowledge is represented in the mind.

[...]

We know a great deal about the cognitive processes that human beings make use of in the course of their interaction with the world. These include perception, attention, categorization, viewpoint, figure-ground alignment, image-schematic understanding, force dynamics, and several others that have been identified and studied by various disciplines through the ages. A more recent idea is that figurative devices of various kinds (such as metaphor and metonymy) play an equally important role in the operation of the mind and in shaping knowledge.

Before analyzing the principles of CMT, conceptual metaphors have to be defined. A conceptual metaphor can be summarized as CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (A) IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (B): it “consists of two conceptual domains, in which one domain is understood in terms

of another. A conceptual domain is any coherent organization of experience” (Kövecses, 2002: 4). Let us consider the following excerpt from the American corpus:

- (9) It’s unconscionable that the Trump Administration has continued its attacks on DACA recipients, especially while our country is **battling** COVID-19 and many of these young people are risking their lives to keep us safe and healthy. Nearly a third of all current DACA recipients are essential workers helping our communities respond to the pandemic. Close to 30,000 of them are **front-line** health-care workers. [US_Biden_2020_07_28]

In example (9), the two metaphors, *battling COVID-19* and *front-line health-care workers*, correspond to the same conceptual metaphor MEDICINE IS WAR, with MEDICINE as conceptual domain A and WAR as conceptual domain B. Of course, conceptual metaphors do not appear as such in linguistic occurrences; a typographical rule is conventionally used to refer to them; small capital letters are resorted to, so as to clearly make the distinction between conceptual metaphors and linguistic metaphors. “[M]etaphor in cognitive linguistics is a two-way affair” and “it can go from linguistic metaphor to conceptual metaphor, or from conceptual metaphor to linguistic metaphor” (Gibbs & Steen, 1999: 1). In this PhD thesis, I chose to go from the linguistic level to the conceptual level and to depart from the linguistic metaphorical occurrences I found in the corpus.

One of the central tenets of CMT is the *highlighting-hiding principle*. It corresponds to the capacity that enables us to conceptualize a notion “in terms of another” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). This capacity inevitably conceals some features of the notion. By enabling us to contemplate merely one dimension of the notion, the metaphor distracts us from reality (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 10). While generating a specific conceptualization through a certain perception of the world thanks to the metaphor, the utterer automatically emphasises certain features of the target domain and erases other elements. In other words, the choice of the source domain depends on the features of the

target domain the speaker intends to stress or conceal, as explained by Kövecses (2002: 79):

When a source domain is applied to a target, only some (but not all) aspects of the target are brought into focus.

[...]

When a metaphor focuses on one or some aspects of a target concept, we can say that it highlights that or those aspect(s).

[...]

Highlighting necessarily goes together with hiding. This means that when a concept has several aspects (which is normally the case) and the metaphor focuses on one (or maybe two or three) aspect(s), the other aspects of the concept will remain hidden, that is, out of focus. Highlighting and hiding presuppose each other.

In this quotation, the quantifier “some” is essential as it creates at least two different categories, namely the elements that are “brought into focus” and those that are not. Kövecses (2002: 90) also mentions the notion of “partial metaphorical utilization”, and writes that “metaphorical mappings from a source to a target are only partial. Only a part of the source domain is utilized in every conceptual metaphor.” Some linguists exemplified this concept with the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR; Evans & Green (2006: 304) write that these metaphors emphasize the confrontational dimensions of quarrels but conceal the fact that quarrels habitually comprise a controlled and structured elaboration of a specific subject. Let us consider the following example:

- (10) That was Charles Koch, Charles Koch who’s actually a nice guy. They’re members of my clubs, David and Charles Koch. **But** he said, ‘Donald Trump doesn’t take care of foreign workers.’ I said, ‘Hey, he’s right.’ I mean, [inaudible]. **I don’t want to get into an argument**, he’s right. I want to take care of the American workers. I want to be America first, OK? [US_Trump_2018_08_04]

In excerpt (10), the adversarial nature of the *argument* is emphasized; there are two different sides: Charles Koch is opposed to Donald Trump. However, it is only with the next sentence, and more particularly with the conjunction *but*, that Trump mentions that he does not agree with Koch and that his intention is to restrict immigration. As developed throughout this study, the *highlighting-hiding* process is prominent in political speeches,

and more specifically in speeches about immigration, in which the quantity of immigrants is regularly emphasized whereas their uniqueness is entirely concealed by the metaphor, especially in nationalist discourse (Lafiandra, 2018). Moreover, metaphors not only enlighten, they obliterate elements: a “good” metaphor accentuates likeness and de-emphasises differences (Katz et al., 1998: 33); however, it is worth mentioning once again that the similarities are a matter of perception and sometimes do not even exist initially since they can be created by the metaphor itself. That is why the *highlighting-hiding* is used to study the metaphorical conceptualizations of IMMIGRATION in Chapter 4 and determine the similarities that were perceived by the speakers. Now that this tenet of CMT has been developed, let us focus on Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) essential classification of metaphors.

Three singular categories of metaphors have been described by Lakoff and Johnson (1980): structural, ontological and orientational metaphors.

Let us start with structural metaphors. Structural metaphors correspond to metaphors that enable the utterer to depict an intangible notion, which cannot be fully understood (for instance, *moods, sensations, beliefs*, etc.), with the use of another notion, which is built on familiarity and which can be more simply conceptualized: “In this kind of metaphor, the source domain provides a relatively rich knowledge structure of the target concept. In other words, the cognitive function of these metaphors is to enable speakers to understand target A by means of the structure of the source B” (Kövecses, 2002: 104). Besides, structural metaphors “allow us to use one highly structured and clearly delineated concept to structure another” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 61). For instance, ECONOMY IS WAR is a structural metaphor as ECONOMY is an abstract notion and WAR is a more tangible domain: the metaphorical use of the verb *target* to refer to economic measures, as in “I will triple the number of enforcement officers, and when countries

break the rules, we won't hesitate to impose **targeted** tariffs. [US_Clinton_2016_08_11]" can indeed be opposed to its literal use, as in "And then in Dallas, five police officers killed while serving and protecting peaceful protesters **targeted** because they were police." [US_Clinton_2016_07_18]. Let us illustrate the conceptual metaphor POLITICS/ECONOMY IS A JOURNEY with an example from the corpus:

- (11) It's time to start thinking big once again. That's why I believe it is time to establish a national goal of reaching 4% economic growth. In working with my economic team, we've put together a plan that **puts us on track** to achieve that goal. [US_Trump_2016_09_07]

In example (11), Trump's economic plan is abstract and the metaphor of the track enables him to make it more concrete: his audience can more easily picture the beginning of the plan thanks to the JOURNEY conceptual domain.

Even if IMMIGRATION is not as abstract as the domains of LOVE, POLITICS, or ECONOMY, immigrants, who are concrete human beings, are very often described thanks to structural metaphors, with, for example, the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE PLANTS, since a plant is a very well-structured element. Moreover, in such cases, immigrants, who are concrete elements, are described with a source domain that is supposed to be more concrete, as if immigrants were abstract entities, which is dehumanizing. For instance, the notion of roots is very often referred to in the French and American corpora¹⁷.

¹⁷ In Chapter 4, I will develop the analysis of this source domain, which can be used for very different political ideas and effects. This idea was developed by Chilton (1994: 617):

Un des traits les plus frappants du texte de l'extrême droite paraît être une certaine forme de la cohésion textuelle reposant sur des convergences métaphoriques de domaines thématiques distincts. Ainsi pour revendiquer une perception privilégiée des événements, les pamphlets ont tendance à choisir un vocabulaire lié au schéma du contenant ('pénétrer au fond des choses', etc.), en même temps qu'ils l'emploient pour le thème majeur de la migration. Il est possible que cette tendance caractérise tout discours visant une philosophie totalisante du monde.

(EN): One of the most striking features of far-right texts seems to be textual cohesion that relies on metaphorical convergences of distinct thematic domains. Thus, in order to claim a preferred perception of events, pamphlets tend to choose words that are related to the container schema ('get to the bottom of things'), while they use them to talk about the major

(12) Nous savons les dangers que courent les migrants en traversant le Sahara, au risque d’y mourir, en stationnant en Libye, où ils sont exploités comme des esclaves, et en se jetant en Méditerranée, où tant d’entre eux se noient. Pensons à ceux qui réussiront à arriver en Europe ! Ils y seront des **déracinés**, beaucoup y connaîtront une pauvreté dramatique et alors verront naître évidemment dans leur cœur une vive amertume. [FR_Le Pen_2017_03_23]

(13) Folks, in the midst of the God-awful pandemic, we’ve seen even more clearly than ever how much we rely on people with Hispanic **roots** to keep our country running. And, again, that’s not an exaggeration. [US_Biden_2020_09_15]

The second category described by Lakoff and Johnson is the category of ontological metaphors. Ontological metaphors are different from structural metaphors and are defined as follows (Kövecses, 2002: 34):

Ontological metaphors provide much less cognitive structuring for target concepts than structural ones do. Their cognitive job seems to be to “merely” give an ontological status to general categories of abstract target concepts. What this simply means is that we conceive of our experience in terms of objects, substance, or containers, in general, without specifying exactly what kind of object, substance, or container is meant.

Similarly to structural metaphors, ontological metaphors are resorted to so as to refer to abstract notions in terms of material entities since “our experience of physical objects and substances provides a further basis of understanding” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 25). To illustrate ontological metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson take the example of CONTAINER metaphors, as containers are material entities that are linked to the human bodily understanding. In the corpus, CONTAINER metaphors are generally resorted to in order to refer to the host nation (namely France or the U.S.). This example accounts for the fact that CONTAINER metaphors are based on individual elementary instincts, and more particularly on territoriality (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 29):

We are physical beings, bounded and set off from the rest of the world by the surface of our skins, and we experience the rest of the world as outside us. Each of us is a

theme of migration. This tendency possibly characterizes every discourse that aims to provide a totalizing philosophy of the world.

container, with a bounding surface and an in-out orientation. We project our own in-out orientation onto other physical objects that are bounded by surfaces. Thus, we may also view them as containers with an inside and an outside.

[...]

But even where there is no natural physical boundary that can be viewed as defining a container, we impose boundaries-marking off territory so that it has an inside and a bounding surface-whether a wall, a fence, or an abstract line or plane. There are few human instincts more basic than territoriality.

Let us consider the following excerpt from the corpus:

- (14) Les pays ne sont plus des nations, unies par un élan de cœur, mais des **marchés**, des espaces où la marchandisation de toute chose et de tout être humain est envisageable, possible, admise et même organisée. Les peuples ne sont plus que des populations. Les frontières sont effacées, comme avec Schengen, pour faire de **nos pays des halls de gare** où tout un chacun est libre de venir et de rester et, par le nombre, participer au nivellement des protections sociales et la baisse des salaires ainsi qu'à la dilution culturelle dans un plus petit commun dénominateur mondial.
[FR_Le Pen_2017_02_05]

In example (14), the host country is first compared to a market and then to a railway station. One could say that these are structural metaphors since markets and stations are rather structured entities, but in fact they are more ontological since what matters in those cases is that they describe closed places i.e., containers where people can come and go: it is thus based on human bodily experience.

Finally, the last category consists in orientational metaphors, which “provide even less conceptual structure for target concepts than ontological ones. Their cognitive function, instead, is to make a set of target concepts coherent in our conceptual system. The name ‘orientational metaphor’ derives from the fact that most metaphors that serve this function have to do with basic spatial orientations, such as up-down, center-periphery, etc”. (Kövecses, 2002: 35). Orientational metaphors rely on directional dimensions (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 195): for instance, directions such as UP-DOWN, ON-OFF, IN-OUT, FRONT-BACK, etc. They are built on our three-dimensional environment but also on how human beings tangibly perceive it. For example, the well-known conceptual metaphors “MORE IS UP” or “LESS IS DOWN” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 195) are considered

orientational metaphors: “upward orientation tends to go together with positive evaluation, while downward orientation with a negative one” (Kövecses, 2002: 36). As it will be demonstrated in this PhD thesis, orientational metaphors are mostly resorted to in order to refer to the concept of immigration, since orientational metaphors inherently denote the notion of movement, which is useful to picture the migratory journey: immigrants can either enter or exit the host country. Let us consider the following excerpt:

- (15) We’re joined by the chairman of the House Judiciary, Bob Goodlatte, a friend of mine for a long time. Bob is one of the most skilled legislators in Congress—and you didn’t even tell me to say that, Bob, right—and he’s worked with law enforcement to write a series of critical immigration bills that will close the dangerous loopholes exploited by criminals, gang members, drug dealers, killers, terrorists. MS-13 is a prime target. They are bad people. And we’ve gotten many of them out already. You know, we’re pretty much at the 50-percent mark. We’re getting them out as fast as we can get them out, and we’re **freeing up** towns. We’re actually **liberating** towns, if you can believe that we have to do that in the United States of America. But we’re doing it, and we’re doing it fast.
[US_Trump_2017_06_28]

In example (15), the conceptual metaphor UP IS GOOD is represented by the linguistic metaphor *we’re freeing up towns*, where the verb *free* and the adverbial particle *up* are used metaphorically. Donald Trump’s main purpose in this case is to show that some gangs of immigrants oppress American cities, which must be liberated from them. The liberation is represented as a positive and therefore upward movement thanks to the orientational metaphor. Conversely, and as will be developed in Chapters 4 and 5, orientational metaphors contribute to framing immigrants as a BURDEN or a WEIGHT to the host country with the metaphor DOWN IS BAD. Restrictive immigration policies that “free up towns” are then regarded as positive measures since they correspond to the orientational metaphor UP IS GOOD. Orientational metaphors are essential because they rely on movement. Radden and Dirven (2007: 278) go as far as highlighting the significance of

movement in cognitive processes: “Motion attracts our attention more than anything else. Even a new-born baby reacts to an object moving across its visual field. It is not surprising, therefore, that many domains are metaphorically conceptualized in terms of motion.” The power of motion in the corpus is particularly prominent in discourse (with orientational metaphors) but also in gestures, which accounts for the need of brief multimodal analyses, which will be detailed in Chapter 5.

In addition, it is worth mentioning that according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 22), metaphor depends on cultural factors: “the most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture”. Thus, the metaphors used by a specific society are built on different aspects of a given culture: they depend on historical facts, geographical or economic elements, etc. This is why I have chosen to compare an English corpus with a French corpus, as it has been shown that only some metaphors are universal (this is for example the case for PRESSURIZED CONTAINER metaphors described by Kövecses (2002: 245)). According to Kövecses, these metaphors are universal because they rely on “certain universal aspects of human physiology”; they rely on an “experiential basis” and are thus “embodied”. This accounts for the significant notion of *embodiment* (Kövecses, 2002: x) that distinguishes CMT, and more generally the “cognitive linguistic view” from the traditional definitions of metaphor given by Aristotle (see Figure 4 in section 1.1.1.). *Embodiment* is an essential part of CMT:

The cognitive linguistic view of metaphor can provide new insight into how certain linguistic phenomena work, such as polysemy and the development of meaning. It can also shed new light on how metaphorical meaning emerges. It challenges the traditional view that metaphorical language and thought is arbitrary and unmotivated. And offers the new view that metaphorical language and thought arise from the basic bodily (sensorimotor) experience of human beings. As it turns out, this notion of “embodiment” very clearly sets off the cognitive linguistic view from the traditional ones. (Kövecses, 2002: x)

However, it is worth noting that embodiment does not necessarily refer to *physical* embodiment. Ziemke (2003: 1305) distinguishes six different types of embodiment:

- structural coupling between agent and environment,
- historical embodiment as a result of a history of agent-environment interaction,
- physical embodiment,
- ‘organismoid’ embodiment, i.e., organism-like bodily form,
- organismic embodiment of autopoietic, living systems, and finally
- social embodiment.

These six notions reinforce the idea that metaphor is based on general experience, and not only on physical experience. The notion of embodiment is essential to make the distinction between the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor and the traditional view. According to Kövecses (2002: 245), the cognitive view relies on three different levels: the supraindividual level, the individual level, and the subindividual level. The supraindividual level corresponds to “how a given language and culture reflects metaphorical patterns”, the individual level corresponds to “the metaphorical cognitive system as used by individual speakers of a language”, and the subindividual level corresponds to “universal aspects of various kinds of embodiment”. In all these levels, the cognitive linguistic view is clearly distinct from the traditional definitions of metaphors in the sense that, contrary to what Aristotle wrote, it is not necessary to have special skills to use metaphors, since any “individual speaker of a language” can do so.

CMT also paved the way for other theories such as the Deliberate Metaphor Theory (DMT). The name of the theory was coined by Steen in the early 2000s. According to Steen (2015: 1), a deliberate metaphor “is the intentional use of a metaphor *as a metaphor*”:

with deliberate metaphors, the speaker presents the metaphor as a metaphor to the addressee, for instance with expressions such as “imagine A as B”. For example, Trump’s quotation used in the title of this PhD thesis is a deliberate metaphor:

- (16) That’s why we need more Republicans. But they come in and -- Long Island, we send ICE¹⁸ and they get in there and they get them out, and it’s like we’re *liberating* a town. In this day and age, it’s like in a war, where, you know, you’re a foreign invader -- a foreign invader, finally, is being taken out. They’re liberating a country or liberating a city or town. These people are liberating these towns. And you know the story, and you’ve heard it, it’s all over. They cut people up because they don’t want to use bullets, it’s too fast and it’s not painful enough. And then when I said, “**Animals!**” Nancy Pelosi said, “How dare you speak that way about a human being. How dare you.” Right? This woman just said it to me. She screamed out of the word **animal**, so how dare you call them. “They’re human beings and not” -- these are **animals**, folks. These are **animals**. [US_Trump_2018_10_06]

In excerpt (16), Trump makes different metalinguistic comments about the use of the metaphor *animals*, for instance with the verb *say* or the noun *word*, and explicitly asks the addressee to set up a cross-domain mapping between some immigrants and animals. Moreover, “since linguists assume that all language use is intentional, including regular metaphorical language use, this explicit, express use of metaphor *as* metaphor is doubly intentional” (Steen, 2015: 1). Steen *et al.* (2010) also stated that deliberate metaphors can be “explicitly signalled by the use of *like*”, as in:

- (17) On immigration policy, “America First” means protecting the jobs, wages, and security of American workers. Whether first or tenth generation, no matter who you are, we’re going to protect your job because, let me tell you, our jobs are being stripped from our country **like we’re babies**. [US_Trump_2016_06_07_NY]

In this example, the use of *like* shows that Trump openly intends to have his listeners metaphorically picture themselves as babies so as to trigger victimization: foreign

¹⁸ Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

countries are framed as adults who confiscate a toy (jobs) from babies (American workers).

Some elements of DMT are relevant for this study, namely the importance of the context and the cotext as well as the different positive or negative connotations that may be associated with metaphors. The analysis of connotations has to be combined with the analysis of semantic prosody on metaphors, as will be developed in Chapter 5.

DMT can be considered an expansion of CMT. In CMT, metaphors rely on two elements, namely thought and language, while in DMT, a third element has been added: metaphors are a matter of thought, language *and* communication, as described by Steen (2015: 2):

Metaphors are not only a matter of thought (with conceptual structures bridging conceptual domains or mental spaces) and a matter of language (with linguistic expressions in context indicating at least one aspect of such cross-domain mappings in thought), but also of communication, with linguistic expressions in context suggesting whether the metaphor has a specific value to the interlocutors as a distinct communicative (typically: rhetorical) device -- or not.

Steen (2011: 27-28) also highlights the necessity to adopt a social approach: metaphors “cannot just be approached from a linguistic (or more generally, semiotic) as well as a cognitive (or more adequately, psychological) perspective”. Metaphors would therefore not rely only on two elements but on a three-part structure with thought, language and context. Thus, DMT is particularly useful for this study since Chapter 5 will particularly deal with metaphors in context. Steen (2011: 59) even goes as far as writing that there are three dimensions in a metaphor: “naming”, which corresponds to the linguistic function, “framing”, which is the conceptual function, and “changing”, the communicative function. Steen (2011: 37) also defines a deliberate metaphor as “an overt invitation on the part of the sender for the addressee to step outside the dominant target domain of the discourse and look at it from an alien source domain.” This is particularly the case with IMMIGRATION metaphors since the source domains that are used are very different from the

target domain: for instance, politicians frequently resort to source domains such as WATER, DIRT or DISEASE to refer to human beings. Finally, Steen (2011: 37) distinguishes non-deliberate metaphors from deliberate metaphors with the presence or absence of the communicative function. According to him, “[n]on-deliberate metaphor does not have this particular communicative aim of changing an addressee’s perspective on the current local topic of a discourse event.” Thus, IMMIGRATION metaphors in political discourse can most of the time be regarded as deliberate metaphors since they do participate in the communicative function as the objective of politicians is to change or to strengthen voters’ opinions on that topic.

Another theory that stems from CMT is the Blending Theory. As explained by Fauconnier and Turner (1994), “metaphor is a special case of a much larger one” (Kövecses, 2002: 267), which is why they developed the Conceptual Blending Theory (BT, from now on). BT enabled Fauconnier and Turner to generalize CMT. In both theories, metaphor is considered a conceptual entity rather than a linguistic entity; nevertheless, some differences between BT and CMT exist and were described later by Grady, Oakley and Coulson (Grady et al., 1999: 101):

CMT posits relationships between pairs of mental representations, while blending theory (BT) allows for more than two; CMT has defined metaphor as a strictly directional phenomenon, while BT has not; and, whereas CMT analyses are typically concerned with entrenched conceptual relationships (and the ways in which they may be elaborated), BT research often focuses on novel conceptualizations which may be short-lived.

BT does not rely on a binary structure. In the Conceptual Blending Theory, four different “mental spaces” are distinguished: there are two “input spaces”, a “generic space” and a “blend”. Certain associations are built between the two distinctive input spaces. The objective of these associations is to link a constituent of the first input space to its analogous element in the second input space. The components which are regarded as mutual to the two input spaces are then established in the generic space, which is more

abstract. That is why the components are often referred to with hypernyms. In addition, the blend category, which is also called the “blended space”, consists in the amalgamation of the first input space and the second input space. The blended space corresponds to the place where the hidden relations emerge; thus, the blended space is the element that becomes particularly significant when studying metaphors.

To exemplify BT, Hart and Lukeš (2007: 114) give the following example¹⁹: “We will do what is required and we have firm plans as regard our policy on ending illegal immigration immediately, and **reversing the tide of immigration**²⁰ in the longer term.” In this case, the “theme” is a component of the generic space: it matches “the ocean” in input space 1 and “people” in input space 2, as characterised in Figure 6:

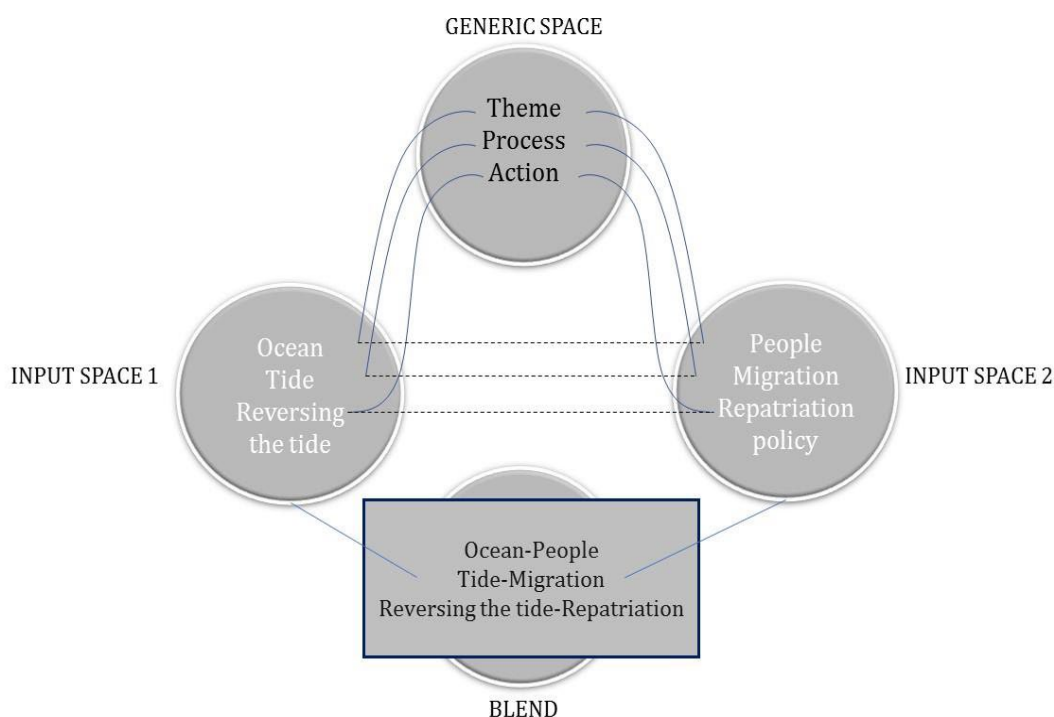


Figure 6. BT applied to “reversing the tide of immigration” by Hart and Lukeš (2007: 114)

BT enables us to have a more detailed analysis and to associate each element in input space 1 with the corresponding elements of input space 2, so as to have the idea of repatriation directly emerge, which is not straightforwardly possible with CMT. Although

¹⁹ From the British National Party’s manifesto of 2005.

²⁰ My emphasis.

BT and blending networks are more specific and will be only occasionally used in this study, I have chosen to rely on the first two theories presented (namely, CMT and DMT) since the domains (target and source) are often sufficient *per se* to classify the metaphors: it is not necessary to detail the correspondences between the two domains systematically. Besides, I will focus more on the purpose and the effects of the metaphors, which now leads me to deal with their general functions.

1.1.3. General functions of metaphor

Metaphors can be used for many different reasons simultaneously. This section aims to give an overview of their general different functions. Goatly (1997) describes more than ten functions of metaphor; however, I consider that, most of the time, a metaphor has more than one function at a time: there are some overlaps and functions that coexist. In this PhD thesis, I will only define the functions that are primarily found in political discourse. I will start with the most frequent roles of metaphor and then move on to those that are less common. Thus, the cognitive function will be the first function as it is inherent to all metaphors. Then, I will move on to the persuasive, dysphemistic, euphemistic, didactic, catachretic and ornamental dimensions. Finally, in part 1.2., I will develop the functions that I will examine more carefully in this PhD thesis, namely the persuasive and evaluative functions of metaphor.

1.1.3.1. Cognitive function

Orwell (1968: 134) describes the essence of metaphors as follows: “The sole aim of a metaphor is to call up a visual image.” Thus, the main objective of metaphors consists in generating the intended conceptualization with cognitive images. The cognitive aspect indeed corresponds to the initial function, which is inherent to each and every metaphor.

That is also why the CMT framework has been chosen for this study. A metaphor can be regarded as a “code” and be defined as “the opposite of concrete things” (Punter, 2007: 74), which demonstrates that cognition plays a major part in metaphorical processes. Moreover, Semino (2008: 6) describes the importance of cognition to connect abstract and concrete entities:

Cognitive metaphor theorists emphasize that target domains typically correspond to areas of experience that are relatively abstract, complex, unfamiliar, subjective or poorly delineated, such as time, emotion, life or death. In contrast, source domains typically correspond to concrete, simple, familiar, physical and well-delineated experiences, such as motion, bodily phenomena, physical object and so on.

Therefore, metaphors combine the source domain and the target domain, while generating mental connections, conceptual constructions and tangible objects. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that while some linguists (Dancygier & Sweetser, 2014) have explained that these connexions do not always exist, Kövecses (2002: 6) points out the existence of a unidirectionality principle: “the metaphorical process typically goes from the more concrete to the more abstract but not the other way around”. It means that it is very common to use concrete elements as the source and abstract elements as the target, and that the other way round is extremely rare. Let us take the example of IMMIGRANTS ARE WATER, the source and the target are not reversible: we never talk about WATER in terms of IMMIGRATION, just as we do not talk about JOURNEY in terms of LOVE (Kövecses, 2002).

The cognitive function of metaphor is thus fundamental: “The inseparability of mind, body, and world, and cognitive and cultural models, points to the important idea that metaphor is an emergent property of body-world interactions” (Gibbs & Steen, 1999: 156). Gibbs and Steen write that metaphors consist in our ability to connect the world to the human brain, hence the necessity of the cognitive function of metaphor in daily experience. Thanks to metaphors human beings are able to interpret their experiences.

Moreover, the “usage-based” dimension of cognitive linguistics (Radden & Dirven, 2007: 1) involves considering the linguistic alternatives the utterer has, as well as why they made this or that linguistic decision. It is this particular method that was adopted for the analysis of the corpora, so as to determine the incentives and mental associations at stake in each IMMIGRATION metaphor. Taylor (2022: 4) writes that interpretation is fundamental because metaphors are never neutral; they “act as a way of understanding the world and so the choice of any given metaphor offers up an interpretation of the target”. Therefore, the analysis of IMMIGRATION metaphors can reveal how politicians want their audience to interpret the world.

The connection between our environment and our mind, which is possible thanks to metaphors, has also been described by Goatly (1997: 14), who created a model to “understand the continuum between metaphorical and literal language”, as can be seen in Figure 7:

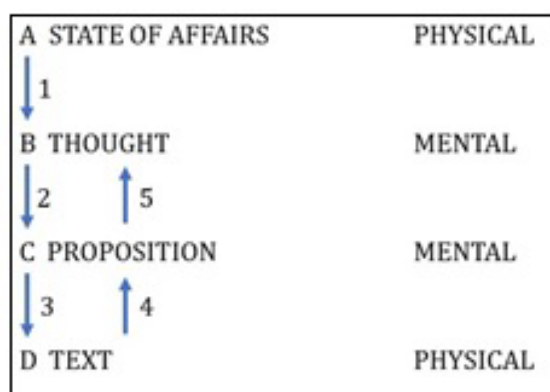


Figure 7. How communication works according to Goatly (1997: 14)

Goatly makes the assumption that the utterer designates a material element for the listener: [A] consists in the initial step, the solid entity that belongs to the physical environment. [1] corresponds to cognition; it involves the utterer’s thoughts. The specificity of thoughts is that they are only known by the utterer themselves; thus, the system allows them to transform the material entity [A] into a cognitive conceptualization

[B]. Then, the utterer continues the mental procedure [2] to generate an offer [C] by resorting to a code [3] while [D] corresponds to the linguistic form that is shaped. Ultimately, the audience recognises the linguistic form and decodes it thanks to a cognitive mechanism [4] so as to generate a new conceptualization [C]. [C] is available to the addressees only: thanks to a new mental decrypting procedure [5], they are able to partly access the utterer's thought [B]. Goatly's description demonstrates to what extent the tangible environment and cognition are interconnected in discourse. By extension, it accounts for the essential part of cognitive processes in all metaphors. As the primary function of all metaphors, the cognitive function encompasses the evaluative function as well as the persuasive function. The cognitive function enables the speaker to express their positive or negative evaluation of one concept: it is the **evaluative** function of metaphor, which will be developed in 1.2.3. Moreover, the cognitive function enables the speaker to have the addressee conceptualize a topic in a certain way: it is the **persuasive** function, which is developed in the following section.

1.1.3.2. Persuasive function

For politicians, the crucial function of metaphors consists in persuading the audience: "A metaphor is often the primary tool the general public uses to understand information policy" (Osenga, 2013: 30). Van Stee's (2018: 545) results on the persuasiveness of metaphor even show that "metaphorical messages are more persuasive than literal messages". Thus, it is unsurprising to find metaphorical occurrences in political discourse. Metaphor is frequently built on common references between the politician and the public: the purpose is to persuade the audience and eventually to win their votes in the election. In other words, metaphor generates familiarity between the politician and voters; it creates an idea of inclusion: the utterer and the audience are part

of one unit and share the same values. This phenomenon corresponds to the necessary social dimension of metaphor described by Steen (2011). Following this idea, Osenga (2013: 39) writes that metaphors imply that the utterer and the listener share common references. The aim of a metaphor is to offer mutual references to categories of people who do not have the same experience. Osenga states that metaphors are useful to do so because even outside academic situations, metaphors are resorted to so as to turn abstract notions into more concrete elements built on references that the speaker and the listener share anyhow.

With their persuasive dimension, metaphors are useful to trigger a change in the listeners' minds: with metaphors, as well as emotions, the speaker is able to modify the audience's beliefs (Charteris-Black, 2005: 13). As a result, metaphors should be studied carefully as they are not inconsequential figures of speech. Metaphors are significantly powerful when they are used in public political discourse: as demonstrated by Lakoff (2008: 110), "public discourse has an enormous effect upon the outcome of elections". This function will be developed throughout part 1.2.

1.1.3.3. Dysphemistic and euphemistic functions

Since metaphors do conceal certain elements of reality and underline others with the highlighting-hiding principle, all metaphors inherently possess both euphemistic and dysphemistic dimensions. Metaphors are indeed paradoxically built on processes of amplification *and* softening of veracity. Allan and Burridge (1991: 11) describe a euphemism as "an alternative to a dispreferred expression, in order to avoid possible loss of face: either one's own face or, through giving offense, that of the audience, or of some third party". Consequently, a euphemism is regarded as harmless while expressing rather unpleasant thoughts. Concerning immigration, this tactic is mainly resorted to by political

figures to refer to the deportation of immigrants, as deportation is regarded as a taboo issue. To illustrate this idea, in the French corpus, the euphemism *reconduire* (*take somebody home/drive somebody home*) is often used instead of the verb *expulser*, while the noun *expulsion* (*deportation*) is replaced by *éloignement* (*removal*). This process is essential in politics since political discourse can sometimes be used as a way to put up “the defence of the indefensible” (Orwell, 1968: 136). Therefore, political figures use euphemistic forms as well as elusiveness in order to refer to violent measures (for instance, the deportation – or “removal” – of immigrant families). Orwell goes further and writes that euphemistic forms are useful when one intends to refer to “things without calling up mental pictures of them”. As a result, with metaphorical euphemisms, the conceptualization does not include the inherent unpleasant characteristics of the target domain.

On the contrary, dysphemism is defined as “an expression with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum or to the audience, or both, and it is substituted for a neutral or euphemistic expression for just that reason” (Allan & Burridge, 1991: 26). Thus, in political speeches, dysphemism is resorted to in order to highlight elements that are already strongly evaluative. In the corpus, this phenomenon is especially found when politicians refer to their political rivals. Let us consider example (18) extracted from the debate between Macron and Le Pen in 2017. In this excerpt, Emmanuel Macron resorted to the metaphorical dysphemism *parasite* to refer to his main political rival, namely Marine Le Pen:

- (18) Vous êtes la coproduction du système que vous dénoncez, parce que vous en vivez. Vous êtes son **parasite**. [FR_Macron_2017_05_03]

A *parasite* is literally defined as “a small animal or plant that lives on or inside another animal or plant and gets its food from it” according to the *OED*. Therefore, the inferences of this noun are offensive: Macron blames Le Pen for taking advantage of the corrupt system, like an insect which feeds on a bigger animal.

The dysphemistic and euphemistic functions are **evaluative** *per se*: a dysphemism systematically emphasizes the positive or negative evaluations of a source domain to its maximum, while a euphemism understates the negative evaluation to its minimum. In addition, these functions are **persuasive**: with a euphemism the goal is to avoid shocking the addressee, while the goal of a dysphemism is to trigger a strong reaction. Finally, dysphemisms and euphemisms can be **didactic**: exaggeration or attenuation can help the speaker “simplify” some concepts.

1.1.3.4. Didactic function

One of the functions of metaphor, which is also a sub-category of the cognitive function, consists in “simplifying” complicated concepts so as to make them more intelligible, even to someone who is not a specialist in a given domain. The didactic function can be regarded as a sub-category of the cognitive role of metaphor. This category illustrates that the different functions necessarily overlap. Osenga (2013: 31) writes:

To create the best discourse community, the participants must understand the science and the policy components, as well as the relationship between the two. Essentially, metaphors can be used to educate the public about science while framing it within the debate.

In other words, the purpose of metaphors often consists in being didactic, particularly when it concerns specific fields, so as to clarify multifaceted notions and to describe them to addressees who do not have the same knowledge. With the didactic function of

metaphors, the objective is to simply clarify a subject. Thus, metaphor provides a more understandable – and probably more relatable – conceptualization for the audience: “Where a concept, an idea, an emotion may be hard to grasp in language, then a metaphor, an offering of perceived resemblances, may enable us the better to ‘come to grips with’ the issue in hand” (Punter, 2007: 13). Even if the didactic function is not the main function in the corpus under study, it can be noticed in the speeches of nationalist politicians, who, according to Delouis (2014: 1), have to simplify their thoughts because their opinions are not considered “mainstream”. Let us consider the following excerpts from the French and American corpora:

- (19) Nous avons un point commun, nous avons tous été enfants. Vous vous souvenez du jeu « Jackadi a dit » ? Bah **Hollande il joue à « Merkeladi a dit »**. Merkeladi a dit : « ouvre les frontières ! », Il a ouvert les frontières. Merkeladi a dit : « euh referme les frontières ! », il a refermé les frontières. « Ouvre les frontières ! », nan là il fallait pas les ouvrir. [FR_Le Pen_2015_11_28]
- (20) Imaginez si la moitié de la presse française était d'accord avec le Front National sur l'Union Européenne... C'est inimaginable pour nous. Pourquoi ? Parce que les journaux qui feraient ça seraient immédiatement accusés. Accusés de quoi ? Je vous laisse deviner. De « faire-le-jeu-du-Front-National ». Le jeu du Front National. J'ai tellement entendu ça, que ça en devient drôle. J'aimerais bien jouer « **au jeu du Front National** » moi aussi, ça a l'air amusant ! C'est un jeu où les règles sont simples j'ai l'impression : **plus on tape sur le Front National, plus on gagne des points**. Et plus c'est bête, moins c'est argumenté, plus les points se multiplient. [FR_Le Pen_2016_05_01]
- (21) We've become a nation that is exporting energy for the first time. We're exporting energy. So many things. And you look at the money that NATO is getting now. They're probably saying in Russia, “You know, if we did like this guy, we've made a big mistake. We'd rather have crooked Hillary Clinton.” I think they would much rather have Hillary. But, getting along with other countries -- and you're talking nuclear powers, in all fairness. Getting along is really a nice thing. It's a smart thing. We're going to beat everybody; we have the greatest military. We have now -- look, we have now -- and hopefully, we'll never have to use it. You know, the only way

you're never going to have to use it? If it's so powerful, so good, so strong that nobody wants to **play games**, and that's what we are doing.
[US_Trump_2018_07_05]

These three examples illustrate the didactic function of metaphor through the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A GAME. In except (19), Marine Le Pen blames François Hollande for following everything Angela Merkel says concerning borders and migration. In order to do so and to make her audience understand better, but also to laugh at the former French president, she uses the metaphor of the GAME, comparing the situation to the famous game “Simon says”: the persuasive, didactic as well as evaluative (Hollande is laughed at) functions overlap. In example (20), the situation is also oversimplified thanks to the metaphor, and politics is also compared to a game. However, in this case the effect is not the same since the idea is more to victimize the party: through this metaphor, Marine Le Pen explains that the more journalists criticize the Front National, the more points they get. In example (21), Donald Trump also uses the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A GAME to explain that nuclear powers are held as a deterrent against other countries, which enables his audience to understand better and approve of his military strategy. The didactic dimension is therefore linked to the persuasive function when one intends to influence the audience.

The didactic dimension of metaphor is also useful if the speaker and the listener do not have the same cultural references. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) write that even if conceptualizing what the other says may be challenging if cultural principles are different, metaphor can enable these people to understand each other: the didactic function can therefore be turned into a social function.

1.1.3.5. Catachretic function

The catachretic dimension of metaphors is another function that has to be taken into account. Metaphor can be resorted to in order to cover up the nonexistence of a word. In that case, thanks to the metaphor, the utterer is able to describe a notion without the use of a long periphrasis that eventually avoids the issue. This function is particularly useful to describe new conceptions of a constantly evolving society. To illustrate this phenomenon, Goatly (1997: 149) refers to the invention of the “mouse of a computer”: such expressions are created when the word does not exist, so as to fill in lexical gaps. In the occurrence “mouse of a computer”, the innovative technical item, which is the target domain, is designated thanks to the ANIMAL source domain, even if the computer tool and the mouse are extremely different. Nevertheless, they do have analogous contours that correspond (the cable of the computer tool is associated with the tail of the mouse while the two buttons resemble the animal’s body), hence the success of the “metaphor”, which was never perceived as such: today’s existence of wireless mice makes the correspondences less apparent and the catachretic metaphor is lexicalized.

When it comes to the creation of a metaphor that has a catachretic function, Goatly (1997: 83-86) writes that the grammatical category which often resorts to metaphors is the category of nouns: “When language maps experience in the most straightforward or congruent way, nouns represent things, adjectives the properties of things, verbs realize states and processes, adverbs the properties of processes, and prepositions the relationships between things.” Goatly (1997: 83) demonstrates that a noun is more easily pictured by the listener, as a noun generally describes material entities that possess three-dimensional features. Goatly (1997: 86) then goes further and writes that when verbs are metaphorically used, the speaker does so in an indirect way only, since human beings

conceptualize the physical element before imagining the “process”; according to him, it is impossible to picture the act of “kicking” without mentally picturing “a foot”. A similar process happens to adverbs and adjectives since it is possible to rearticulate verbal and adverbial metaphors thanks to a noun. Let us illustrate this idea with the following excerpt from the corpus:

(22) It is our right as a sovereign nation to choose immigrants that we think are the likeliest to thrive and **flourish** here. [US_Trump_2016_08_31]

In this case, the node of the metaphor is the verb *flourish*. This verb cannot be pictured without imagining a thriving *flower*: immigrants are dehumanized and conceptualized as plants but the connotations are not negative in this case. Nevertheless, as demonstrated by Jamet (2009: 196), metaphors ignore parts of speech since the metaphorical meaning is part of a whole subject / predicate relationship. In the previous example, it is the entire sentence that has a metaphorical meaning, not only the verb *flourish*. Thus, the metaphorical node shows a strong interactional force which spreads the metaphorical meaning to the whole paragraph. This phenomenon accounts for the productivity and conceptual scope of metaphors, even though the conceptual dimension was ignored by the traditional definitions that solely focused on their ornamental function.

1.1.3.6. Aesthetic function

Because of the traditional views on metaphor, the aesthetic dimension of metaphor is the dimension that automatically – and perhaps mistakenly – comes to mind, even if this function is less frequent and less essential than the cognitive, didactic or persuasive functions. Furthermore, the ornamental function is rarely resorted to by politicians since its aim consists in generating an attractive as well as a creative cognitive image to refer to the target domain. The ornamental dimension is predominantly found in art: it can change

a basic concept into a more beautiful one. Despite its scarcity in political speeches, this function also aims to create more poetic images, such as in the following examples from the French corpus:

(23) Je l'ai dit, il y a un **cap**, et donc un **capitaine**, je suis ce **capitaine**. [...] L'heure de la France va bientôt sonner à **l'horloge du monde** ! [FR_Le Pen_2016_05_01]

In excerpt (23), Marine Le Pen uses the conceptual metaphor A LEADER IS A CAPTAIN. While this metaphor can be seen as rather poetic since it creates a maritime image, it is not particularly ornamental *per se*. However, the polyptoton, used with the nouns “cap” and “capitaine”, creates an alliteration in /k/, which can be seen as poetic and contributes to adding an ornamental dimension. In the final part of the excerpt, Marine Le Pen resorts to the conceptual metaphor THE WORLD IS A CLOCK. This metaphor has no real purpose except to demonstrate France’s supposed supremacy, and above all to conclude the speech on a rather creative note: the aesthetic function is thus also **evaluative**, and more particularly positive in this case.

However, providing a certain evaluation of a concept through a metaphor can turn out to be dangerous, more particularly if the discourse is listened to by many citizens, which is why the potential dangers of metaphors have to be discussed.

1.1.4. Dangers of metaphor

Jamet (2008) distinguishes three deviances of metaphor: the aesthetic, the scientific and the political deviance (*dérive* in the original text). In this PhD thesis, I will particularly refer to the *political* deviance of metaphor: according to Cacciari (1998: 141), “[...] creativity has a ‘dark side’: The intimacy it creates can serve as an agent of exclusion”. Thus, the familiarity which is created by IMMIGRATION metaphors can lead to the

marginalisation of immigrants: IMMIGRATION metaphors can be “agents of exclusion”. An IMMIGRATION metaphor is never dangerous *per se* but its use can lead to discrimination.

As political leaders have the public floor much more frequently than any other citizen, the issue of the trustworthiness of metaphor has to be examined. In other words, the elements the political metaphor conceals or reveals have to be analyzed thoroughly as politicians are able to reach and impact many citizens. Metaphors or covert semantic strategies consist in the most influential method of political discourse, permitting the audience to be controlled in conducts that they would fight had the control been exercised more explicitly, regularly exploiting a xenophobic behaviour that is deliberately excluded (Saul, 2017: 2). As a result, metaphor is a tool that can mislead voters since it conveys influential and concealed notions, which would certainly have been disapproved by the audience, had they identified the elements that were concealed underneath the covert linguistic device. That is why the *hiding-highlighting* process should constantly be kept in mind when examining metaphors in political discourse, in order to raise awareness about how the speaker influences voters. Following this idea, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 236) write:

Like other metaphors, political and economic metaphors can hide aspects of reality. But in the area of politics and economics, metaphors matter more, because they constrain our lives. A metaphor in a political or economic system, by virtue of what it hides, can lead to human degradation.

According to this quotation, the elements that are concealed thanks to metaphors preclude the audience from entirely grasping the opinions of the politician they choose to vote for: their decision is partially predetermined by the chosen metaphor, which can lead to “exclusion” (Cacciari, 1998: 141). This idea also echoes the results found by Alduy and Wahnich (2015) concerning the main characteristic of Marine Le Pen’s speeches. They emphasize her discourse’s opacity, which they call *semantic fuzziness* (“flou sémantique”

in French) and which can be related to the *hiding-highlighting* principle. They write that Marine Le Pen's strategy is very different from her father's, Jean-Marie Le Pen, in the sense that he used to resort to a more explicit and literal vocabulary than his daughter²¹. Semino (2008: 100) also illustrates this idea with WAR metaphors, which are principally resorted to in English in order to conceptualize other notions related to negatively-connoted concepts such as problems, dangers, or uncertain consequences. For linguists, this practice is challenging since WAR metaphors can be employed to refer to illicit substances, as in "the war against drugs", as well as human beings, as in "the war against immigration". The consequences of comparing the two different target domains (namely, drugs and immigration) to a WAR will clearly be very different; that is why Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 191) regard certain metaphors as paths towards trickery:

Words are viewed as having "proper senses" in terms of which truths can be expressed. To use words metaphorically is to use them in an improper sense, to stir imagination and thereby the emotions and thus to lead us away from the truth and toward illusion.

As metaphors are built on the *hiding-highlighting* principle, they constantly erase certain elements of reality; or, as Taylor (2022) puts it: "when we liken one thing to another we do so on a partial basis". Once again, the use of metaphors is never impartial. This echoes Punter (2007: 73), who demonstrates that metaphors are deceptions and lies:

In this mindset there is no room for metaphor; to say that one thing is another thing is akin to lying. It follows that since such a lying may be perceived under psychotic conditions as volitional on the part of the liar, persons who, or speech acts which, use metaphor may be perceived as willful deceivers or deceptions.

In everyday life, but more particularly in political speeches (considering the existence of a larger audience), a metaphor can guide the listener towards dangerous misconstructions. So as to stay away from this difficult issue of deceptive metaphors, five

²¹ This phenomenon was part of the de-demonizing strategy of their political party.

distinct rules are provided by Osenga (2013: 42) to generate “good” metaphors, or to put it differently, metaphors that are “appropriate for educating the public”:

- I. The metaphor must resonate with the audience. It must be based on experiences common to the audience and be sufficiently interesting to capture its attention.
- II. The metaphor must take the abstract concrete. It must be subject to a limited range of interpretations, such that each individual in the audience understands it to mean essentially the same thing.
- III. The metaphor must be concise. The longer the metaphor, the less useful it becomes in capturing the audience’s attention.
- IV. The metaphor must be accurate for the purpose for which it is being offered.
- V. The metaphor must be neutral with respect to the issue for which it is being offered.

To be considered “appropriate”, metaphors have first to be built on common references; then, the listener needs to be capable of instantly understanding the elements that are described by the speaker. After that, the selected source domain must be concrete so that all members of the audience should similarly decipher the metaphor. Fourthly, the appropriate metaphor is brief; and, lastly, it needs to be suitable as well as unbiased: it cannot be a euphemism nor a dysphemism. Nevertheless, with the presence of the *highlighting-hiding* principle in all metaphors and as their connotations largely depend on the context, the fifth rule is almost impossible to follow. In addition, the third point is particularly relevant for this study; indeed, long and – by definition – extended metaphors are not considered appropriate because they do not “capture the audience’s attention”: so why do nationalist politicians very frequently resort to them, as demonstrated by Delouis (2014)? The first hypothesis is that they frequently use extended metaphors to deliberately disturb the audience’s attention: in any case, the metaphors they choose to frame IMMIGRATION can rarely be considered appropriate, as will be studied in Chapters 4 and 5. However, a said metaphor cannot be considered “good” or “bad” *per se*, it is only in context that we can retrieve its value (Jamet, 2008: 220). Additionally, the second rule

described by Osenga echoes Richards's (1936: 9) explanations about the polysemous feature of language: misconstructions usually emerge because of the shared conviction that a lexeme is a self-governing unit that has merely one denotation while there are usually as many interpretations as there are listeners because discourse is never compositional:

To account for understanding and misunderstanding, to study the efficiency of language and its conditions, we have to renounce, for a while, the view that words just have their meanings and that what a discourse does is to be explained as a composition of these meanings, as a wall can be represented as a composition of its bricks.

The meaning of a said word is context-dependent: a word does not have the same values when it is used in distinct linguistic environments. As stated by Schlanger (1971: 33), metaphors become significant in context: their meaning is essentially related to the intention of the speaker²². Even if it can usually be easy to identify the different meanings of a word when looking at its context, our ability may occasionally “fail”, thus generating misinterpretations. The importance of context²³ is one of the main tenets of corpus linguistics: meaning is always relative and can only be retrieved in a specific context, as opposed to dictionary meaning. Thus, because political figures have significant platforms in society, the metaphors they use are heard by many citizens. Moreover, since the use of inappropriate metaphors and the existence of misconstructions is inevitable, it is perhaps part of the linguists' duties to debunk and describe the potentially deceptive metaphorical conceptualizations. Considering that the main functions of metaphors are the cognitive and persuasive functions, it is unsurprising to find them in political speeches, usually with another primary role of metaphors: the evaluative function, which leads us to review the literature on the relationship between metaphors and political discourse.

²² « Le contexte du raisonnement est le milieu signifiant des métaphores. Leur signification est liée à l'intention qui guide leur emploi » in the original text (Schlanger, 1971: 33).

²³ This idea will be developed in section 1.3.

1.2. Review on metaphors in/and political discourse: persuasion and evaluation

1.2.0. Jakobson's functions of language

The fundamental assumption of this PhD thesis is that discourse constitutes politicians' work tool; language can be regarded as their raw material, since their goal is to influence the audience thanks to their discourses. Politicians deliberately select the terms they resort to, although they often hire speechwriters who are specialized in communication to write their speeches. The discourse of a political leader is inherently motivated since they plan to be elected, and when elected, their discourse remains motivated since they need to make sure that public opinion will support their measures: the metaphors they use are naturally persuasive because they are found in a political context.

Political discourse is intrinsically based on the conative function of language as defined by Jakobson (1963). The conative function is the most significant function in political speeches as its aim is to persuade the audience. Jakobson (1963: 213) distinguishes six separate characteristics of language, as illustrated in Figure 8:

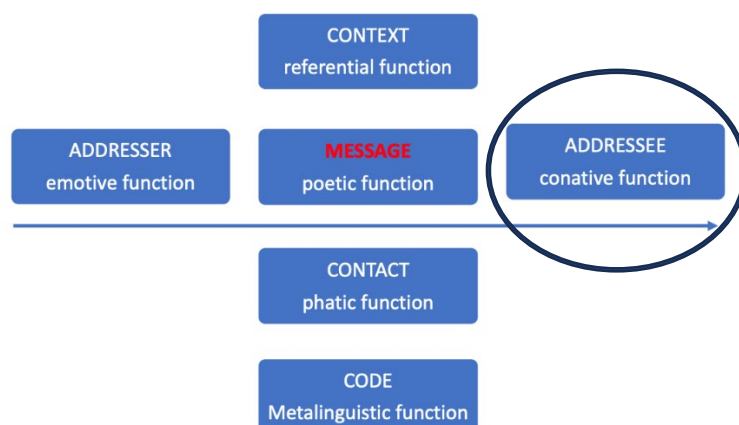


Figure 8. Jakobson's six functions of language (1963: 213)

Even if there are always more than one function that coexist in a message, the first characteristic of communication is its referential role, which refers to the context or simply provides factual information. Thanks to basic deictic features, the utterer depicts a definite event in a particular environment. This role is associated with the speaker, the receiver, the location as well as the moment when the event happens. With the referential function, which is the primary function of language, it is possible to answer basic questions such as *Who?*, *Where?*, *When?*, *How?*, etc. The intention of the speaker is only to inform the addressee. To illustrate this function, let us take the example when Donald Trump thanks the state of Georgia and thus specifies the location of the action with the referential function of language:

(24) Thank you very much, **Georgia**. This is like being at a **Georgia** football game. This is incredible. Wow. [US_Trump_2018_11_04]

The second characteristic corresponds to the emotive dimension, which is linked to the speaker only. With the emotive function, the addresser shares emotions with the addressee. This can typically be observed thanks to the addition of paralinguistic vocal elements in the transcripts of the speeches. For instance, it can correspond to the pitch, the tempo, the intonation or the timbre of the utterer's voice. In example (24), the interjection *wow* is part of the emotive/expressive function since it enables Donald Trump to show that he is impressed by the crowd: the emotive and referential functions coexist in this case.

This form of communication is automatically related to the poetic role of language: the poetic function refers to the message *per se*. Moreover, communication has to be established as well as sustained by a link between the speaker and the listener: this link corresponds to the phatic dimension. With this dimension, the utterer makes sure that the connection between them and the listener never ends. The objective of the phatic

function is to avoid silence between two speakers, which is why this function is mainly found in situations where politeness is at stake.

Communication also needs a code that is common to the utterer and the addressee. The metalinguistic role, which is related to the code, involves resorting to linguistic elements to study and depict linguistic elements themselves. Furthermore, so as to make the addressee perform a specific action, the conative characteristic, which has already been considered the most important function in studies about metaphors, impacts the listener, with the use of linguistic strategies, like the passive voice, metaphors, the imperative, etc. This major function is focused on the person who receives the message; its aim is to trigger the audience's reaction and, in the case of political speeches, the final action is the act of voting during election times or of simply having the support of public opinion. This function of language will be specifically examined in this study. The prototypical example illustrating the conative function could be the end of the now well-known speech that Emmanuel Macron delivered in December 2016. He said:

(25) Moi, je le porterai dans la durée, je le porterai jusqu'au bout. Mais maintenant, votre responsabilité, c'est d'aller partout en France, pour le porter, et pour gagner ! Ce que je veux gagner, c'est que vous, partout, vous alliez le faire gagner ! Parce que c'est notre projet ! Vive la république, et vive la France !²⁴

In excerpt (25), the conative and the expressive functions are central. On the one hand, the conative function can be observed thanks to the structure [I want you to + V] as well as the fact that the audience applauds: it demonstrates that they are indeed going to take action because of that speech. On the other hand, the expressive function becomes clear when watching the video: Macron shouts and then runs out of breath because of his enthusiasm.

²⁴ <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x54x5n3>.

Moreover, the French for “conative” is “impressive” and the “fonction *impressive*” is distinct from the *expressive* function. The pseudo-prefix *im-* therefore denotes a transfer from the outside to the inside and indicates that communication “goes through” the listener to impact them. The conative/impressive dimension is thus inherent to political language, and thus to metaphors in political discourse, since the aim of politicians is to encourage listeners to vote for them.

After having mentioned the main functions of language, let us define the notions of discourse and present the main studies about metaphors in political discourse.

1.2.1. Defining *discourse*, *political discourse* and *metaphors in political discourse*

The term *discourse* has already been mentioned several times, but needs to be further defined. Brown & Yule (1983: 1) write that the study of discourse consists in the examination of “language in use”. To put it differently, the noun “discourse” is related to all types of communication and interaction. Widdowson (2007: 6) demonstrates that the objective of the utterer is to convey information to “express ideas and beliefs, to explain something, to get other people to do certain things or to think in a certain way. We can refer to these complex communicative purposes as the discourse that underlies the text and motivates its production in the first place.” Thus, discourse is much more complex than a simple message: it is motivated. Widdowson (2007: 7) then goes further and writes that two different perspectives have to be taken into account: on the one hand, discourse involves the message which is carried by the utterer and, on the other hand, it also refers to what the listener receives and understands. The complexity and variety of discourse was also described by Fairclough (2013: 3):

[Discourse] might be seen as some sort of entity or ‘object’, but it is itself a complex set of relations including relations of communication between people who talk, write and in other ways communicate with each other, but also, for example, describe

relations between concrete communicative events (conversations, newspaper articles etc.) and more abstract and enduring complex discursive 'objects' (with their own complex relations) like languages, discourses and genres.

Political discourses may be considered tools with which the addresser is able to express their opinions to the addressees, similarly to any other type of discourses. Nevertheless, it is inaccurately accepted that political figures only, namely professionals who work in political parties or at local or national governments, use political discourse. Simpson & Mayr (2010: 42) write that "even the most everyday decision can be called political", since the principal ambition of any utterer is to influence the listener. Chilton (2004: 1) goes back in time and explains that the Greco-Roman custom also regarded human beings as individuals who could speak, on the one hand, and be part of a group, on the other hand. Those features of humankind are central to political discourse: indeed, political leaders frequently have a platform to have their opinions recognised publicly and to offer plans whose aim is to improve citizens' lives in society. This argument had been developed by Aristotle (1944) in his *Politics* (1253a): contrary to other species²⁵, humans are "political animals" because they can discuss about the world they live in and invent stories. Nonetheless, the adjective "political" is defined by the *OED* as being merely "connected with the state, government or public affairs": it is in this sense that *political* will be used in this study.

Political discourse has specific characteristics. Levinson *et al.* (1983: 239) describe political discourse with the following distinct features:

- i. The speaker makes a declaration about a future occurrence of which she/he is the agent.
- ii. The speaker honestly means to accomplish the occurrence.
- iii. The speaker believes she/he is able to accomplish the occurrence.

²⁵ For instance, Harari (2015) states that other animals are able to communicate but only about present time. Contrary to human beings, other species are not able to make plans for the future (which is the basis of political discourse) and/or to create fictions. It is the ability to master fiction that really differentiates human beings from other animals.

- iv. The occurrence is not believed to be likely to happen.
- v. The receiver of the promise wishes the occurrence.
- vi. The speaker proposes to put herself/himself under an obligation to accomplish the occurrence.

To exemplify Levinson's characteristics of political discourse, let us focus on example (26), extracted from the speech when Donald Trump announced that he was running for president for the first time, in 2015. In this excerpt, Trump's plan to erect "a wall" on the border between Mexico and the U.S. is described; the objective of this wall is to deter unlawful immigrants from coming to the U.S.:

(26) I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I'll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall. Mark my words. [US_Trump_2015_06_15]

In this excerpt, the use of the subject pronoun *I* proves that Donald Trump makes a statement "of which he is the agent" (i). Furthermore, this declaration is "about the future"; the modal auxiliary "will" and the counterfactual value of -ED is resorted to with "would" (i). After that, Donald Trump "honestly means to accomplish the occurrence", namely to erect the wall (ii): the construction is part of his political agenda. Besides, he thinks that he can construct it himself when he says "nobody builds walls better than me" (iii). Since Donald Trump is no stonemason and since Mexico won't entirely finance the erection of a U.S. wall, "the occurrence is not believed to be likely to happen" (iv). Then, the audience particularly wishes Donald Trump will erect the wall (v); in the live video²⁶, they show their enthusiasm regarding the occurrence, by cheering and yelling "yes" encouragingly. Ultimately, the Republican candidate "proposes to put himself under the obligation to" construct a wall when he says "mark my words" (vi). Excerpt (26) is thus a

²⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=apjNfkysjbM>: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Announcement Full Speech (C-SPAN).

prototypical example of political discourse and proved to be successful since the wall was indeed built a few years later.

Moreover, Fairclough (2013: 4), quoting Harvey (1996), emphasizes the link that exists between discourse and power. According to him, one cannot be without the other even if they are two distinct entities, as they overlap:

[Power] is partly discourse and discourse is partly power – they are different but not discrete, they ‘flow into’ each other; discourse can be ‘internalized’ in power and vice-versa; the complex realities of power relations are ‘condensed’ and simplified in discourse.

This leads us to wonder why discourse can be so powerful that it becomes power itself. In order to answer this question, it is necessary to give a brief overview of the different basic notions of rhetoric. However, before defining rhetoric, let us examine the importance of metaphor in political discourse and review the studies about metaphor in political discourse since metaphors are, as mentioned above, persuasive elements.

According to Reuchamps et al. (2019: 196), metaphor research in political discourse is flourishing and recent years have seen more and more studies whose purpose is to classify and examine the use of metaphors in politics. Nevertheless, they state that “recent developments in the analysis of political metaphors have demonstrated that one of the most distinctive features of metaphors in political discourse is their variation. That is, the same metaphor can convey different meanings and therefore can be used for very different purposes.” This last statement is particularly relevant for this study since many different conceptual domains can be used to refer to one target domain only (namely, immigration in that case) and one source domain can be resorted to so as to convey opposite ideas. In other words, in the corpus, some conceptual domains can be used to defend completely opposite ideas with different effects. Let us consider the following excerpts to illustrate this point:

(27) L'immigration était déjà gigantesque, on se souvient du quinquennat de Nicolas Sarkozy qui accueillit légalement, rien que légalement, un million d'étrangers supplémentaire. Record de la cinquième République. On se souvient que, sous son mandat, les demandes d'asile avaient déjà bondi de 85% en cinq ans. Mais **la vague n'était alors qu'en formation**. Tout a été fait pendant ce mandat Sarkozy et tout a été continué pendant celui de François Hollande pour que cette **vague grossisse, prenne du corps, se nourrisse de leur complaisance et déferle aujourd'hui à pleine vitesse sur notre pays**. [FR_Le Pen_2015_08_29]

(28) Je tiens à vous remercier militants, élus, qui êtes les fers de lance de ce formidable élan populaire qui traverse la France. Vous sentez se répandre le **parfum de la victoire**. Comme moi, vous sentez que **la vague est en train de monter**. Pour ne rien vous cacher, chaque jour qui passe me rend plus optimiste sur nos chances de victoire. [FR_Le Pen_2017_03_15]

In the first example, the WAVE metaphor is used to represent immigrants and is connoted quite negatively since it is used to criticize Marine Le Pen's political opponents, while in excerpt (28), the WAVE represents the potential victory of her party, which is reinforced by the semantic prosody of terms such as *optimiste*, *formidable*, *parfum*, etc., which are frequently found in positive contexts. The two occurrences show how metaphors in political discourse can vary and also illustrate the paradoxical dimension of some of the source domains. One of the main characteristics of metaphor is its variability (Musolff, 2015: 46):

Our principal finding is that metaphor understanding and interpretation is at least as variable as metaphor use and production, if not more so. Even for a centuries-old mapping such as that between the human body/person on the one hand and the (nation) state and society on the other, understanding is neither automatic nor universal but, on the contrary, variable and culture-specific/-sensitive.

Ounis (2021: 69) writes that metaphors usually "impose their structures on our political understanding and action". He demonstrates that metaphors also have an influence on how we define the opponents of our nation and how we interact with them and adds:

It is true that literal wars have been justified by metaphors, but metaphorical wars have never ceased. The latter include wars on poverty, crime, drugs, obesity, bureaucracy and so forth. It is only through metaphors that you can turn social problems into enemies. In reality, social policies normally require peaceful measures and not physical violence.

Thus, a so-called “social problem” such as immigration can easily be turned into an enemy by nationalist politicians with metaphors. As mentioned in section 1.1.5., according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 236), metaphors in politics could even incite “human degradation”. Like any metaphor, political metaphors hide some parts of reality and highlight others; however, while everyday metaphors may be heard by few listeners, political metaphors are able to reach many people. This idea had previously been developed by Locke in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding Book III*, in which he argued that figurative speech was an “enemy of truth” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Locke (2004: 827) wrote that figurative language only exists to distort reality and misinform the audience:

But yet if we would speak of things as they are, we must allow that all the art of rhetoric, besides order and clearness; all the artificial and figurative application of words eloquence hath invented are for nothing else but to insinuate wrong ideas, move the passions, and thereby mislead the judgment; and so indeed are perfect cheats: and therefore, however laudable or allowable oratory may render them in harangues and popular addresses, they are certainly, in all discourses that pretend to inform or instruct, wholly to be avoided; and where truth and knowledge are concerned, cannot but be thought a great fault, either of the language or person that makes use of them. What and how various they are, will be superfluous here to take notice; the books of rhetoric which abound in the world, will instruct those who want to be informed: only I cannot but observe how little the preservation and improvement of truth and knowledge is the care and concern of mankind; since the arts of fallacy are endowed and preferred. It is evident how much men love to deceive and be deceived, since rhetoric, that powerful instrument of error and deceit, has its established professors, is publicly taught, and has always been had in great reputation

Since metaphors are “perfect cheats” and since “politics in general is rife with conceptual metaphors” (Kövecses, 2002: 68), political speeches thus inherently “mislead the judgement” (Locke, 2004: 827). For instance, Kövecses (2002: 68) gives the example of a nation conceived as a person, which is particularly useful to describe immigration. Then, he writes that if a country can be a person, the adjacent countries can be considered “neighbours” and these neighbours can either be “friendly or hostile, strong or weak, and healthy or sick”, depending on the context. The “neighbours” are often seen as culturally

different, which can lead to adversarial structures (Goatly, 2007), although this is not the only way to respond to it. Fairclough (2003: 41-42) points out five possible answers to the conceptualization of the neighbouring notion:

- I. An openness to, acceptance of, recognition of difference; an exploration of difference, as in 'dialogue' in the richest sense of the term;
- II. An accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meaning, norms, power;
- III. An attempt to resolve or overcome difference;
- IV. A bracketing of difference, a focus on commonality, solidarity;
- V. Consensus, a normalization and acceptance of differences of power which brackets or suppresses differences of meaning and norms.

In this study, the purpose will be to determine which of Fairclough's five answers to neighbouring is prominent in the corpus; since I make the assumption that the second proposition, namely the "accentuation of difference", is hypothetically more relevant for politicians who support restrictive immigration policies. The accentuation of conflict by nationalist politicians will be particularly discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Furthermore, the second response resonates with Van Dijk's (2001) description of the *in-group/out-group polarization*, namely the dichotomy that is almost systematically created in political discourse (especially in discourse on immigration) and which will be developed in the next sections. One of the main purposes of this study will be to determine how politicians who support restrictive immigration policies stress this dichotomy; however, before applying the theories on metaphors mentioned in this part to the corpus, it is necessary to specify the context in which they appear and to give an overview of the cognitive dimension of metaphor in /and political discourse.

1.2.2. Cognitive dimensions of metaphors in/and political discourse

If we consider the features of political discourse described by Levinson (see previous section 1.2.1.), we can say that what leads the audience from element (iv)

(namely, “the occurrence is not believed to be likely to happen”) to characteristic (v) (namely, “the receiver of the promise wishes the occurrence”) is Jakobson’s conative function (1963: 213), in other words, the function that leads the listener to react. Langston (2016) and Van Dijk (2008) write that the utterer impacts the audience’s minds with their speeches; to put it differently, the addressees are affected: their upcoming deeds depend on the ideas that are expressed. According to Van Dijk’s (2008: 11) *Mind Control*, discourse relies on different cognitive processes: primarily, the discourse must be effortlessly comprehended by the listeners and has to be constructed on individual as well as common information. To impact the audience, political speeches must be built on shared knowledge: the objective is to have the audience picture the scene clearly. Van Dijk (2008: 11) states that in order to support certain ideologies, and especially those that intend to limit immigration, the politicians’ tactic is to construct a clear conceptual separation between two factions. Van Dijk calls this contrast the “in-group out-group polarization”; he writes that this strategy is ordinarily resorted to in sexist or racist speeches as it covertly allows the utterer to form two divergent classes (boys vs. girls, the young vs. the old, immigrants vs. citizens, etc.). In these – rather overlapping – classes, any human being is likely to be included or excluded, depending on definite social standards. For instance, the choice of the noun “army” instead of “crowd” in the metaphorical expression “An army of immigrants”²⁷ poses the following challenge for Widdowson (2007: 71): why do political figures resort to the term “army” to refer to unarmed expatriates? The answer is simple: the use of the metaphor ARMY builds an opposition between immigrants, on the one hand, and residents of the host nation, on the other hand. First, the metaphor implies that immigrants carry weapons, that they are prepared to

²⁷ Van Dijk (2008: 80) gives the example of the metaphor “Britain Invaded by an Army of Illegals” published as a title in *The Sun* in 1989.

fight and threatening; then, the noun “army” insinuates that the utterer’s group is under attack. Van Dijk (2008: 9) goes further and writes that political figures typically, with the use of “self-glorification”, highlight the positive features of their specific faction and the undesirable characteristics of the other category: there is a double penalty for the “other”. The objective is to make sure that the listeners imagine the other category with deprecating mental pictures. That tactic is condemned by Van Dijk (2008: 1): according to him, that stratagem enables politicians to abuse their authority and can result in inequity and discrimination.

Politicians control their own discourse as they are those who make decisions about the information they give to the audience. Chilton (2004: 62) writes that providing “less rather than more information” and hiding elements of truth is a political tactic. That is why metaphorical language in political speeches poses a challenge, since metaphors enable the utterer to refer to some notions implicitly. Following this idea, Simpson and Mayr (2010: 43) state that implicit language is generally used deliberately; it enables the addresser to give information indirectly: the responsibility of the interpretation then bears on the listeners. It is therefore the audience that has to interpret what the utterer said: the addressees are the instruments, whereas the speakers can deny their responsibility.

The notion of responsibility in political discourse echoes that of legitimacy. Politicians’ influence has to be justified if they want voters to believe in their arguments. The authority of political leaders consists in their faculty to rally encouragement “on the basis of legitimacy” (Simpson and Mayr, 2010: 47). However, how can it be legitimate to represent “the other” negatively? Concerning the concept of immigration, Van Dijk (2008: 98) states that the two groups (Us vs. Them) are related to antagonist notions, the group

of the “Us” is considered the “civilized” group while “Them” are related to “the Barbarians”. He goes further and writes that the public fight is consequently mentally conceptualized as well as increased by dichotomies, and conversationally nurtured and repeated by rejecting “the Others” from the society of the “Us, the civilized.” Thus, the rejection of immigrants is not only found linguistically but is “reproduced” and transferred to civilisation itself; hence the necessity to analyse political discourse. Cognition is the essential element that makes the link between society and discourse (Hart & Lukeš, 2007: 85). Political speeches can particularly influence how citizens conceptualise reality and can therefore influence the organization of societies themselves. If we go back to the groups (namely “Us” and “Them”) described by Van Dijk (2008: 98) and conceptualize two distinct categories, we are likely to reproduce this distinction in society, which can result in racism, sexism, xenophobia, homophobia, etc.

So as to illustrate the impact of discourse on society, Hart and Lukeš (2007: 86) theorized the structure of cognitive conceptualizations. According to them, cognition is composed of four singular sets and each of those sets impacts society. Set n°1 is composed of opinions and objectives, set n°2 consists in the pictures and developments, set n°3 includes cerebral and recollection constructions while the last category consists in estimations and feelings, as illustrated in Figure 9:

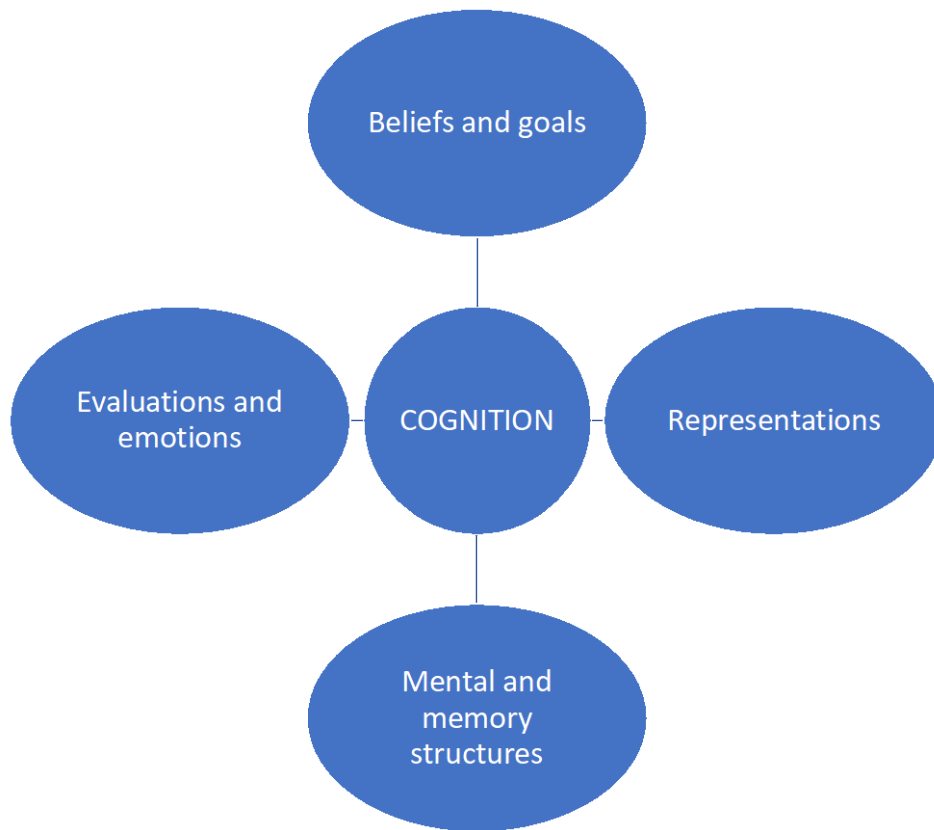


Figure 9. The categories of cognition by Hart and Lukeš (2007: 86)

This PhD thesis will mainly focus on *evaluations* (set n°4) and more particularly on the evaluative dimensions of IMMIGRATION metaphors. The different categories are themselves impacted by civilization; thus, there is a back-and-forth movement between discourse, societal structures, and cognition. In other words, the evaluation that is carried by the said IMMIGRATION metaphor will certainly be transferred to the treatment of immigration in society. Moreover, the categories are cerebral “models” (Hart & Lukeš, 2007: 87): they are considered the foundation of communication and understanding. This phenomenon is illustrated in Figure 10:

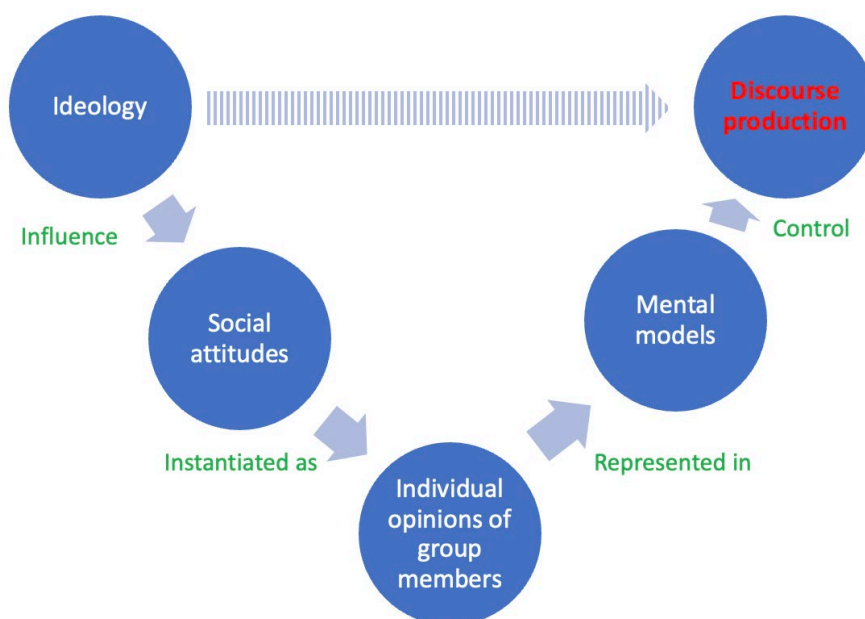


Figure 10. Links between discourse and society by Hart and Lukeš (2007: 87)

Figure 10 shows that opinions control discourse: most of the time, the speaker has a specific objective (see Jakobson's functions of language (1963: 213)). Ideology also encourages social attitudes: these attitudes are represented by individual thoughts, which are themselves symbolised by “mental models” (beliefs, memory, evaluation, etc.) that regulate communication. Thus, there is a matter of correspondence between discourse and civilisation: our opinions are influenced by daily discourse and daily discourse is influenced by our opinions. This argument has also been raised in the findings of linguists who rely on Critical Discourse Analysis²⁸ (CDA from now on). The fundamental principle of CDA is that discourse is power, and not only a tool to communicate. This idea is raised by Widdowson (2007: 69-70), who writes that generating discourse is not simply linked to the message the speaker intends to convey but to broader opinions or thoughts. According to him, linguistic forms offer an infinite reservoir for different phrasings: to describe the same elements, there is an infinity of syntactic or semantic possibilities. Thus,

²⁸ CDA will be developed in section 1.2.6.

in the framework of CDA, it is worth mentioning that language is certainly not selected arbitrarily but deliberately picked by the utterer among an unlimited variety of other options.

So as to convince voters, politicians have the possibility to rely on one of the most fundamental mental models, namely, memory. There are two singular categories of memory (Chilton, 2004): the “Long-Term Memory (LMT)” on the one hand, and the “Short-Term Memory (STM)” on the other hand. LMT is itself divided into two distinct types: it consists in the “Episodic Memory”, which relies on individual data and the “Semantic Memory”, which is built on discourse. STM consists in procedures of communication and comprehension, producing cognitive reservoirs of information and elements of the environment. “That is to say, representations are both stored and generated” (Chilton, 2004: 51). Memory becomes thus essential to cognition and can be regarded as the element that allows the audience to both memorise information given in a speech and generate associations amongst their own knowledge and the opinions they listen to. As a result, the audience is definitely impacted by the language politicians use.

Another essential element of political speeches is deixis. Chilton (2004: 58) conceptualizes the three deictic measurements (namely “time, space and modality”, which are fundamental to communication) with three singular scales, which are presented in Figure 11:

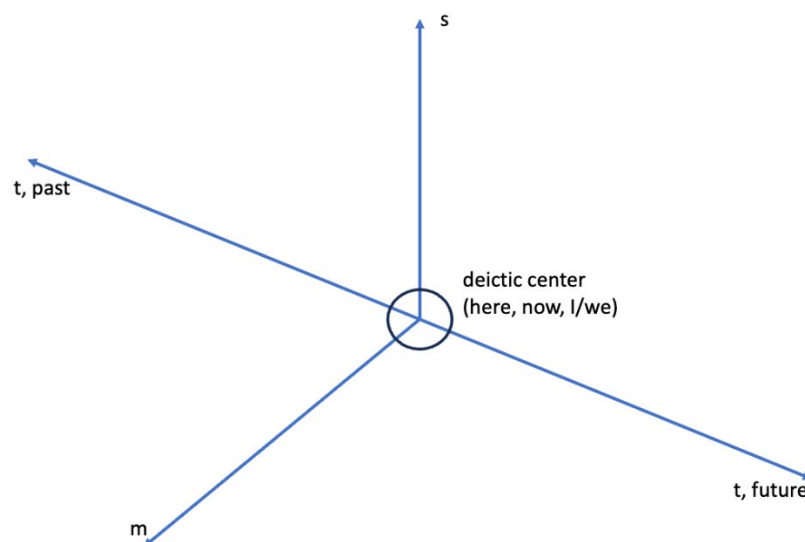


Figure 11. Deixis from Paul Chilton (2004: 58)

Following Chilton's model, the deictic elements of political speeches can be located on each axis, depending on the moment they were delivered, the place and the participants: the historical, social and geographical contexts are essential when analysing political speeches, or any type of communication. Most of the time, the terms that are resorted to are influenced by the listeners, the utterer, but also the theme, the period or the location. The axis of time (t) enables the utterer to mention distinct periods, for instance: nowadays, yesterday, three days ago, etc. This axis is also referred to as "temporal deixis". With the axis of space (s), the addresser refers to distance. This distance can have different dimensions, it may be a physical, metaphorical or even socio-political distance. As an example, the listeners are regularly put next to the utterer whereas the rivals are generally placed away from them (following the dichotomy "Us" vs. "Them"). The axis of modality (m) refers to levels of certitude, authorisation or obligation. The origin of these three distinct continuums is referred to as the "deictic centre", it corresponds to the coordinates (0,0,0) since it characterises "the self" ("I", modality is reduced to zero), the location of the utterer ("here", the distance between the speaker and the audience is reduced to zero), and the time of the speech ("now", present time). Therefore, politicians

are able to influence the audience with their speeches by shifting the pointer along the three scales. For instance, Simpson and Mayr (2010: 44) write that the “inclusive *we*” is tremendously valuable to assign the liability of controversial beliefs. The personal pronoun *we* shows very little socio-political distance between the speaker and the listener on the axis of space (s). This idea is similar to Van Dijk’s (2008) already cited notion of the “in-group / outgroup polarization”. Even if the personal pronoun *we* usually includes the audience, it may also exclude some citizens and build a separation between the “Us” and the “Them”. This is for instance what happens with politicians who support restrictive immigration policies, particularly when they highlight the separation between two distinct categories of people. Let us consider the following example:

(29) *We* will ensure that other countries take *their* people back when *we* order *them* deported. [US_Trump_2016_08]

In excerpt (29), Donald Trump creates a dichotomy between American citizens and people from foreign nations. He opposes the pronoun *we* to the possessive determiner *their* and to the personal pronoun *them*. *We* refers to the United States, which is the subject, the agent: America is active, whereas the citizens of “other countries” are objects²⁹ or passive. Here, does *we* not only enable Donald Trump to highlight two different categories of people, it also enables him to show America’s hegemony and thus despise other nations, conceptualizing them as second-rate countries. Deictic components, such as *we*, *them*, *us*, etc., are included in the referential function described by Jakobson (1963: 213). These elements give contextual material to the audience and are fundamental to create discourse: with them, the listeners can apprehend the speeches and relate more easily to the speaker. Metaphors in political discourse, and political discourse

²⁹ As the corpus analysis in Chapter 4 will show, the objectification of immigrants can be grammatical but also, and mostly, metaphorical.

in general, essentially have cognitive and persuasive functions but also, and mostly, evaluative functions since one of the goals of politicians is to give their *perceptions* on certain subject matters, which leads us to develop the notions of “axiology” and “semantic prosody”.

1.2.3. Axiology and semantic prosody

The study of axiology is essential when analysing discourse and more particularly metaphor in political discourse since metaphors are inherently evaluative and based on perception (see 1.1.1.): “In the Conceptual Metaphor Theory literature, it is widely agreed that metaphor is evaluative, persuasive and therefore potentially ideological” (Deignan, 2010: 357). As Auboussier (2019: 46) writes: “C’est [...] dans la répétition d’occurrences énonciativement situées que la valeur axiologique associée à la désignation ne cesse de se renforcer³⁰”. Thus, the entire evaluative dimension of IMMIGRATION cannot be retrieved without studying the axiology of its environment.

The *Encyclopedia Britannica*³¹ defines axiology as the “theory of value”. The term comes from Greek *axios*, “worthy”. The analysis of axiology is therefore equivalent to the study of evaluation. The axiology of one concept can either be positive or negative; although it can be subjective. One of the objectives of this study will be to determine how politicians “value” IMMIGRATION. Zerkina, Lomakina and Kostina (2015: 257) write:

Axiology is a philosophical discipline examining the category “value”, characteristics, structure and hierarchy of the world of values, ways of its cognition and its ontological status, as well as nature and a specific character of value judgments. Axiology studies issues related to the nature of values, their place in reality and the structure of the world of values, i.e. interrelation of different values, relations with social and cultural factors and the structure of the personality.

³⁰ (EN): It is with the repetition of enunciatively situated that the axiological value which is associated with the designated element cannot stop being reinforced.

³¹ Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. “axiology”. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 10 Jun. 2015, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/axiology>. Accessed 2 February 2024.

The interrelations of values with “social and cultural factors” are described by Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2009: 73). For instance, according to her, the axiology of one adjective is said to be positive or negative if this adjective is subjective and evaluative, as can be seen in the following figure:

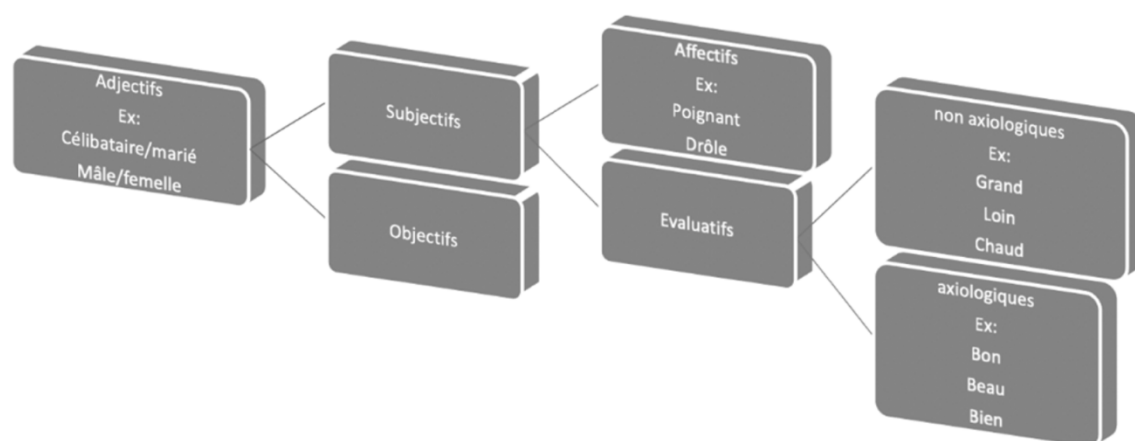


Figure 12. Axiology of adjectives, Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2009: 73) (Jamet & Lafandra, 2023)

Concerning the axiology of metaphors, Taylor (2022: 4) writes that they are never neutral because of their “very nature”: metaphors enable the speaker to offer their interpretation of the world. She talks about the “intrinsic evaluative potential” of metaphors “which makes [them] so well adapted to revealing discourses”. Hence, the significance of studying their evaluative dimension, especially when they are employed to conceptualize human beings such as IMMIGRANTS. Analyzing the axiology of IMMIGRATION metaphors particularly discloses how the speaker conceptualizes the notion: whether they intend to restrict immigration can be determined relatively quickly. However, Taylor (2021: 4) demonstrates that what is positive for the speaker is not necessarily positive for the person described, or for the listener³². For instance, the literature shows that the axiology of IMMIGRATION metaphors is mainly negative, but when immigrants are asked to

³² In this PhD thesis, the point of view of the speaker will mostly be analyzed but the fact that politicians speak to the audience so as to get more votes has to be kept in mind.

describe themselves, they use particularly positive metaphors, as explained by Catalano (2016). Taylor (2021) also discloses other exceptions to the negative axiology that is frequently attributed to IMMIGRATION: she showed that immigrants were sometimes conceptualized as BUILDERS (Taylor, 2020), in positive framings related to the economy in New Zealand (Salahshour, 2016) or in more neutral metaphors (KhosraviNik, 2010 and Nguyen & McCallum, 2016). For example, KhosraviNik (2010) demonstrated that the evaluation is neutral when a specific person's life-story is told and immigration seen as a fact, as in "He **immigrated** with his parents in 1895 and grew up on Long Island." (Cambridge English Corpus). Salahshour (2016: 77) states that sometimes immigrants are described positively as people who "provide 'support' for the housing market and 'relief' in terms of skills shortage", as in the following excerpt from the New Zealand Herald: "The net **inflow of migrants dried up** in December, providing no support for a sagging housing market and no relief for employers grappling with a scarcity of workers." (Salahshour, 2016: 77). The main purpose of this PhD thesis will be to similarly determine whether Biden, Clinton, Trump, Le Pen and Macron confirm the key use of negative axiology to conceptualize IMMIGRATION or not.

In order to do so, it is necessary to consider the axiological dimension of metaphor with the notion of semantic prosody. As demonstrated by Stubbs (2001) and Salahshour (2016), the recurrent usage of WATER metaphors in adjacent juxtaposition to immigration-related terms creates collocations that "together with their frequent occurrence construct particular semantic prosodies" (Salahshour, 2016: 75). Salahshour (2016: 75) goes further and writes that "[a]n understanding of the concept of the semantic/discourse prosodies of words is fundamental for interpreting the social impact of their representations". Semantic prosody is thus fundamental to study the evaluative dimensions of metaphor.

Semantic prosody is a phenomenon described by neo-Firthian scholars: it is one of the main principles of Corpus Linguistics and plays a central part in the representation of many concepts. Partington (2014) writes that “[t]he term *prosody*, borrowed from phonology, is used to describe a language phenomenon expressed over more than a single linguistic unit.”

As stated by Firth (1957) and Sinclair (2004), the meaning of a term can only be grasped when looking at its environment and does not exist in isolation. In other words, it is impossible to fully understand what a word means if it is isolated, which echoes Turner’s (1998: 57) description of meaning: “Meaning is not a deposit in a concept container. It is alive and active, dynamic and distributed, constructed for local purposes of knowing and acting.” For instance, since Trump mainly talks about *illegal immigrants* (as will be developed in Chapter 3), the noun *immigrant* will gradually acquire a negative semantic prosody each time it is used with or without the adjective *illegal*, which is criminalizing, and will not correspond to the dictionary definition. Jamet and Coupé (2024) follow this idea and write that “the meaning of words in actual occurrences of language is rarely the dictionary meaning, but a discursive meaning not generated by the sum of the words following one another, but rather by the interaction of those words together.” Morley and Partington (2009: 140) even go as far as writing that units of meaning never work alone: they “hunt in packs”. Semantic prosody is then defined as “a consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates” (Louw, 1993: 157).

Semantic prosody is also strongly related to the notion of *connotation*, that is to say to the suggestive meaning of a word (McEnery & Hardie, 2012); however, connotation and semantic prosody are not equivalent (Louw, 2000) since the “aura of meaning” in semantic prosody does not come from the term under study itself, but from its interaction

with the discursive context, which is why the notion of semantic prosody will be used in this PhD thesis. Also, it should not be confused with the notion of *semantic preference*, which is described by Stubbs (2001: 202) as follows:

If we want to keep the terms *semantic prosody* and *semantic preference*, we should reserve the term *semantic preference* for collocations of lexical items with (more or less specific) semantic subsets, and use the term *semantic prosody* for connotations of all kinds. *Semantic prosody* then refers to POS/NEG connotation as well as more complex attitudinal connotations affecting both simple words and larger units of meaning such as phrases, i.e., concerns both ‘traditional’ connotation (said to relate to single words) and ‘prosodic’ connotation (connotation that is “distributed prosodically across a textual sequence).

According to McEnery & Hardie (2012: 136), “words or phrases are said to have negative or positive semantic prosody if they typically co-occur with units that have a negative or positive meaning”. In other words, the lexemes around a specific term, and above all their connotations, have the ability to contaminate the meaning of this term if they are frequently found in collocation with it. It is very difficult to determine whether the evaluation of a concept is positive or negative without looking at its surrounding context. For instance, Taylor (2022) demonstrates that “migrants as victims or resources may indicate a positive attitude from the speaker, but neither is particularly positive for the people thus described”. This is why the analysis of semantic prosody and surrounding context is fundamental, although these two notions have to be distinguished: semantic prosody refers to the effect that is produced on a given term with the repetition of specific collocations, while the concept of “surrounding context” does not include the notion of repetition and does not correspond to an effect.

In this PhD thesis, I will follow Morley and Partington’s (2009: 156) statement and make the hypothesis that a word and its surrounding context impact each other and that a repeated word in new contexts will have an impact on the primary meaning — or “lexical priming”, according to Hoey (2005) — of this word. Salahshour states that “[e]xtending the concept of semantic prosody to immigration, it can be argued that the

frequent co-occurrence of words such as “migrants” or “refugees” with liquid metaphors like flood can lead to the construction of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as a threat which needs to be contained.” Moreover, according to Gabrielatos and Baker (2008), some evaluative metaphors that mention the notion of quantity are frequently resorted to so as to frame immigrants: this frequent use of quantity creates a negative semantic prosody for immigration-related terms. To illustrate these phenomena, let us consider the following extract from one of Marine Le Pen’s speeches:

(30) Au rassemblement national nous avons un plan d’action construit et rédigé qui n’attend que d’être mis en action pour juguler **ce processus destructeur d’immigration massive** et le non moins **destructeur processus** de **communautarisme** qui **fragmente** notre pays et en est la conséquence. [Le Pen 2019_10_07]

In example (30), the lexeme “*immigration*” is associated with lexemes that are connoted negatively, such as the adjective “*destructeur*” or the verb “*fragmenter*”. On the one hand, the surrounding context and the negatively connoted satellites of the node “*immigration*” define it and make it become negatively connoted consequently, which is why it is crucial to study concordances in a corpus and not just isolated occurrences. On the other hand, the notion of semantic prosody is also illustrated by the excerpt since Le Pen frequently resorts to the adjective *massive* in collocation with the noun *immigration* (as will be demonstrated in Chapter 3). With the negative connotations of *massive*, which echoes the domain of BURDEN, the noun *immigration* acquires a negative semantic prosody, which is reinforced by the notion of destruction in the surrounding context.

Analysing the surrounding context and semantic prosody when studying metaphors is also essential because of the problem of “naturalization” of metaphors, which is described by El Refaie (2002) in her article *Metaphors we discriminate by*. She gives the example of Kurdish immigrants and demonstrates that they are most of the time metaphorically portrayed with source domains such as WAR, ARMY or CRIME and that these

repeated metaphors “have become accepted as the ‘natural’ way of describing the situation”. Thus, because this naturalization process, which can be compared to the process of lexicalization, blurs the limits between metaphorical and non-metaphorical expressions, it is indispensable to look at the surrounding context of the said “natural” metaphor.

Corpus linguistics software and more particularly the keyword in context tool, also known as KWIC, can help linguists analyze semantic prosody. In any case, the co-occurrences of certain words can tell us how people conceptualize the world, and this is why corpus linguistics can be associated with a cognitivist perspective. Semantic prosody is linked to collocations and to the evaluative connotations that are generated by the coexistence of certain lexemes in discourse, which will be studied in Chapter 3. Stubbs (2001: 65) even talks about “discourse prosody” so as to insist on the discursive and contextual dimension of that phenomenon: “discourse prosodies express speaker’s attitude. [...] Since they are evaluative, prosodies often express the speaker’s reason for making the utterance, and therefore identify functional discourse units.” Stubbs’s quotation also focuses on the evaluative nature of semantic prosody, which shows the pragmatic dimension of such a phenomenon and accounts for its relevance in the analysis of axiology: it becomes essential to the analysis of metaphors in discourse. Following this idea, Partington (2014: 279) even prefers the denomination “evaluative semantic prosody”.

Finally, as demonstrated by Channel (2000: 38), the main pragmatic function of semantic prosody consists in enabling the speaker to implicitly express an evaluative, and usually negative, judgment:

The notion of semantic prosody (or pragmatic meaning) is that a given word or phrase may occur most frequently in the context of other words or phrases which are predominantly positive or negative in their evaluative orientation [...]. As a result, the given word takes on an association with the positive or, more usually, the negative,

and this association can be exploited by speakers to express evaluative meaning covertly.

The concept of semantic prosody is therefore particularly adapted to the analysis of IMMIGRATION metaphors within context and to discourse analysis in general. With the use of semantic prosody, politicians can persuade the audience by insisting on the evaluative dimension of a metaphor or of an entire speech: thus, semantic prosody is more largely part of rhetoric, which is dealt with in section 1.2.4.

1.2.4. Rhetoric

“‘[R]hetoric’ is often used to refer to written or spoken discourse that aims to be persuasive, especially in the context of politics.” (Hamilton, 2013: 43). Rhetoric is thus crucial in this study since one of the main functions of metaphors in political discourse is the persuasive function.

The analysis of political discourse is, of course, far from being new and one has to go back to Ancient Greece, more particularly to Aristotle’s treatise on rhetoric, to understand how discourse enables the addresser to persuade the addressee (Langston, 2016). In her lesson, Langston (2016) explains that Aristotle defined rhetoric as “the art of seeing the available means of persuasion”. Aristotle distinguished three different types of rhetoric: forensic, epideictic and deliberative. Forensic rhetoric is mostly descriptive, it is factual and primarily used to describe the past, it can be compared to Jakobson’s referential function of language. Epideictic rhetoric can also be called demonstrative rhetoric, it is used to make proclamations about present time. Finally, deliberative rhetoric is resorted to so as to talk about the future; therefore, it is this type that is the most frequently used by politicians and thus the type that is relevant for this study: it also corresponds to the first characteristic of political discourse described by Levinson *et al.*

(1983: 239). The main question, which is raised by Langston, is the following one: “what makes for good deliberative rhetoric, besides the future tense?” Aristotle distinguished once again three main categories, which consist in three different appeals: *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos*. *Ethos* is “the distinguishing character, sentiment, moral nature, or guiding beliefs of a person, group, or institution.”³³ It is “how you convince an audience of your credibility” (Langston, 2016). Let us consider the following example from the American corpus:

(31) Four years ago, in November, one of the last events I hosted at the Vice President’s residence was a Diwali reception. Here I was, an Irish Catholic Vice President opening my home for a holiday traditionally observed by Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs, and Jains, and that night joined by Muslims, Christians, and Indian Americans of various backgrounds representing the diversity of the diaspora. [US_Biden_2020_10_31]

In excerpt (31), Joe Biden mentions that he was Vice President and that he has Irish origins. Thus, discourse makes him appear as a trustworthy man (he knows how to govern) thanks to his former position and to the legitimacy to talk about diversity, since he considers himself an immigrant.

Aristotle distinguishes three constituents of *ethos* (Jamar, 2001: 69):

There are three reasons why speakers themselves are persuasive; for there are three things we trust other than a logical demonstration. These are practical wisdom [phronesis] and virtue [arete] and goodwill [eunoia]. (Jamar, 2001: 69)

The role of *ethos* is particularly significant for the audience. In the case of a presidential election, for example, people will be interested by “other attributes than knowledge of the subject matter” (Ounis, 2021: 57). For example, while fighting against what she calls “comfort abortions”, Marine Le Pen considers herself a feminist and did not hesitate to wear a skirt and strike a pose for her 2017 campaign poster³⁴. Macron’s *ethos* is the image

³³ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ethos>.

³⁴ <https://www.france24.com/fr/20170428-france-presidentielle-2017-le-vieux-truc-jupe-marine-le-pen>.

of a young and dynamic politician who became the youngest French president in history at the age of 39, while Trump was regarded as the successful businessman who owned casinos and luxury buildings. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that Jordan Bardella – Marine Le Pen’s protégé – probably won the 2024 European elections thanks to his campaign on social media, where he posted pictures of himself at the gym, creating a movement that was then called the “bardellamania”³⁵ in the press. Thus, the image of the politician is essential and “if people believe that a speaker has good sense, good moral character, and goodwill, they are more likely to believe what he or she says” (Ounis, 2021: 57). However, sometimes this is not enough to be elected and “one still needs logical argument to carry the day” (Jamar, 2001: 73). The second appeal, *logos*, consists in the use of logic, reason or facts, as in the following excerpt:

(32) We'll establish a board to set limits on the price of new specialty drugs that have no competition. An independent analysis found that my plan will slash the cost of prescription drugs by 60%. We will protect Social Security and increase benefits for millions of seniors, and I'll fight to protect your pensions, including fixing multiemployer pensions, that so many Floridians earned and deserve. [US_Biden_2020_10_13]

First of all, this example illustrates the deliberative rhetoric, with references to a future time thanks to the modal auxiliary “will”. In addition, *logos* is resorted to with the use of figures (*millions*) and percentages (*60%*). Joe Biden refers to an independent study which showed the profits of his plan; thus, the audience’s reason is targeted. According to Jamar (2001: 76), “in our culture, logic is often connected with math and science and has developed a sort of objective, outside-of-self aura” although, once again, it is not sufficient and must be combined to other appeals.

³⁵https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/02/10/jordan-bardella-les-dessous-d-une-politique-tik-tok_6215810_823448.html.

The final device is *pathos*. Even though pathos, logos and ethos often overlap, it is *pathos* that is particularly found in IMMIGRATION metaphors. *Pathos* plays on emotions: fear, sadness, anger, etc. Let us consider the following example:

- (33) And I'm going to make it my personal mission to bring opportunity, safety and prosperity to our very, very troubled inner cities. The Democratic Party has failed and betrayed the African-American community. Democratic crime policies, education policies and economic policies have produced only more crime, more broken homes and more poverty than we've ever had in those communities before. Nearly four in 10 African-American children live in poverty. Fifty-eight percent of African-American youth are not working. More than 2,700 people have been shot in Chicago since the beginning of this year alone. Violent crime has risen 17 percent, and in America's 50 largest cities it's only going one way, folks, and that's up. Homicides are up nearly 50 percent in Washington, D.C. and more than 60 percent from last year in Baltimore. [US_Trump_2016_08_24]

In this example, two different appeals are resorted to: *logos* and *pathos*. *Logos* is used thanks to figures and percentages while *pathos* can be recognized through the lexical field of criminality. Donald Trump's aim in this case is to trigger emotions and more particularly fear. In a speech, only one, two, or all of the appeals can be combined, but "the persuasive strength of these appeals derives from their influence on the listener and it is up to the rhetorician to activate the right appeal, at the right time and with the right audience" (Ounis, 2021: 55-56). According to Wróbel (2015: 409), Aristotle emphasized the importance of emotions in political discourse, but also the ability to trigger them:

Aristotle acknowledges openly political status of rhetoric and provides what seems three prerequisites to effecting persuasion. The speaker is to be able (1) to reason logically, (2) to understand human character and goodness in their various forms, and (3) to understand emotions – that is, to be able not only to name and describe them, but to derive their causes and the ways in which they can be excited.

All these different notions related to rhetoric will be occasionally used in this study in order to determine the appeal targeted by politicians with the metaphors. For instance, the use of *pathos* relies on the persuasive function of metaphor but also on its evaluative dimension as the emotions (fear, anger, sadness, etc.) triggered by pathos are inherently

negative. If we go back to Hart and Lukes's (2007: 87) cognitive models (see section 1.2.2), *pathos* relies on the category "evaluations and emotions". Thus, *pathos* relies on the three primary functions of metaphors in political discourse, namely the cognitive, persuasive and evaluative functions.

Moreover, it is worth mentioning that rhetoric is context-dependent, as explained by Turnbull (2017: 126):

Rhetoric is variable in regard to context and thus satisfies our demands for originality in each new communicative context, while permitting us to tacitly accept that underlying social relations have not been altered. The rhetorical thus expresses the seductive properties of discourse as a way of treating political differences without changing them, a means by which people can pretend they are critical citizens but are actually bystanders, precisely because they wish to avoid conflict. In this sense, rhetoric is political in that it can create the **appearance** of social change when none has truly occurred, an **appearance** that may indeed be intentionally manipulative, but may also incorporate a seduction in which the audience is active in its complicity.³⁶

Moreover, according to Turnbull, rhetoric includes a notion of "complicity" from the audience: it means that even if rhetoric superficially gives an original and critical dimension to discourse, listeners are still manipulated "bystanders" because of that superficiality. Thus, they still believe in representations that are presented as new but that have, in fact, become common and "natural". The phenomenon echoes El Refaie's (2002) notion of "naturalization": the rhetorical devices have been repeated so often that they are commonly accepted. The repetition of the noun "appearance" in Turnbull's quotation demonstrates that these rhetorical devices, and metaphors in particular, all rely on the *highlighting-hiding* principle: they possess apparent elements and hidden elements, which is the general basis of *framing*.

³⁶ My emphasis.

1.2.5. Framing Theory and metaphorical scenarios

It is necessary to mention that the dichotomy between discourse and reality does not really exist since discourse also enables us to build reality or at least shared representations. What must be kept in mind is that discourse systematically frames what it refers to: this relies on what is called the Framing Theory. This theory was first developed by Goffman (1974: 21):

When the individual in our Western society recognizes a particular event, he tends, whatever else he does, to imply in this response (and in effect employ) one or more frameworks or schemata of interpretation of a kind that can be called primary.

Nineteen years later, Entman (1993: 52) gave the following definition:

To frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem, definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described. Typically frames diagnose, evaluate, and prescribe.

Entman's definition is noteworthy for several reasons. Firstly, it echoes the highlighting-hiding principle since, with the use of the quantifier "some", he insists on the idea that only a certain quantity of elements is chosen by the speaker. Then, this idea is reinforced by the use of the comparative "more": some aspects are not only selected but also highlighted. Furthermore, the past participle "perceived" is once again resorted to so as to describe reality: even though elements of the world are described factually and as objectively as possible, those elements will generally be comprehended through the senses, which are not infallible, hence the significance of perception. The notion of evaluation is also crucial: framing has an inherent evaluative and thus axiological dimension. Using Entman's description, Brugman *et al.* (2019) summarize metaphorical framing as follows: "Metaphorical framing constitutes the idea that metaphors fulfill one or more functions of framing [...]: to emphasize specific problems, causal relationships,

moral evaluations, and/or solutions.” Let us consider the following example through the prism of Entman’s definition (1993: 52):

- (34) Le bilan de M. Hollande, et celui de M. Sarkozy avant lui est épouvantable. [...] Je lutterai contre ceux qui trichent, en toute impunité. Ce sont eux qui grèvent les déficits, qui sont aussi responsables de l’augmentation continue de vos impôts. La fraude sociale, c’est 8 milliards par an. L’évasion fiscale des grandes multinationales, c’est 15 milliards par an ! Nous y mettrons fin. Quitte à les priver de marchés publics en France si elles trichent avec l’impôt, puis je réduirai le coût toujours plus important de l’immigration. Oui, l’immigration de masse nous coûte une fortune, elle vous coûte une fortune. Parce que les étrangers ont accès sans restriction à notre très généreux système de protection sociale, à tous les minima sociaux, à la CAF, au RSA, à l’école gratuite, aux aides au logement, au logement social et parfois même aux transports en commun gratuits ! Oui, les étrangers ont plus souvent recours aux minima sociaux que les Français. Oui, les étrangers sont aujourd’hui prioritaires dans l’accès aux HLM car ils représentent 6 % de la population mais 12 % des attributions annuelles de HLM³⁷, quant à vous, aucun droit supplémentaire, si ce n’est celui de payer toujours plus. On augmente vos cotisations, on augmente vos impôts, on réduit vos aides, on dérembourse nos médicaments et on supprime vos services publics. Ce n’est pas juste. Alors moi, je vais remettre de l’ordre, je vais rétablir la justice. Je réduirai massivement l’immigration pour la porter à un solde annuel de 10 000. [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_13]

In excerpt (34), in the frame of scarcity (“déficit”, namely the lack of money in France, in this example), Marine Le Pen highlights certain elements with figures (tax evasion, immigration) as problems. Then, she identifies their source (François Hollande and Nicolas Sarkozy), offers moral judgments (criticizing frauds) and finally proposes specific solutions (re-establishing justice and stopping immigration). Therefore, there is the diagnosis, the evaluation and the prescription. This example is prototypical of nationalist discourse in the sense that their prescription to any type of problem (health, economic, educational or cultural problems) very often consists in limiting immigration.

³⁷ The figures that are given by Marine Le Pen have to be questioned. She does not make the distinction between foreigners and French citizens who have foreign origins, as explained in an article published in *Libération* : « [...] un ménage immigré ne peut être confondu avec un ménage « étranger » : sur les 7 millions d’immigrés que compte la France en 2021, 36 % sont en effet de nationalité française. ». (EN): “a foreign household is different from a migrant household: in the 7 million immigrants in France in 2021, 36% are French citizens.” https://www.liberation.fr/checknews/est-il-vrai-quun-tiers-des-immigres-occupent-des-hlm-comme-laffirme-le-rn-20220422_JMDJTIALM5GOLBTSX76TJCX6J4/.

Immigration is frequently framed as a problem and the political opponents as the cause of this problem. Fillmore (1976) defined a *frame* as the cognitive organisation that is used in conceptual metaphors: this organization is created by the addresser or the addressee thanks to the addition of different experiences concerning a specific subject. Since frames are based on experience, they are also based on perceptions and thus on subjectivity. In his “multilevel view of conceptual metaphor”, Kövecses (2020: 51-52) shows that *frames* are stored in the Long-Term Memory, which is why they are based on individuality: the memories stored are evidently different for each speaker or receiver. *Frames* are built on the accretion of these individual memories and eventually become collective by including some while excluding others.

Metaphorical frames can be compared to wooden frames for paintings: they only focus on some elements that they highlight. For instance, in the already mentioned example (23) “il y a un **cap** et je suis le **capitaine**”, the frame includes an entire scenario: Marine Le Pen is the **captain**, which means that France is a **ship** and that voters are the **passengers** of this ship.

According to Davie (2011), Framing Theory³⁸ “suggests that how something is presented to the audience (called “the frame”) influences the choices people make about how to process that information. Frames are abstractions that work to organize or structure message meaning”; thus, the frame is not without consequences. Goffman (1974: 22) distinguishes two different types of frameworks: natural frameworks and social frameworks. Natural frameworks are “purely physical” and not motivated; Goffman gives the example of the state of the weather given in a report. There is no intentionality behind it, this is only factual and descriptive: this type will not be analyzed in this study.

³⁸ <https://masscommtheory.com/theory-overviews/framing-theory/>.

On the other hand, “social frameworks [...] provide background understanding for events that incorporate the will, aim, and controlling effort of an intelligence, a live agency, the chief one being the human being. For instance, the newscast reporting of the weather relies on a social framework since “one deals with deeds, not mere events” (Goffman, 1974: 22). Furthermore, according to Matlock (2017): “Framing, how a message is worded to encourage particular interpretations and inferences, can influence the perception of political candidates.”³⁹ It is these particular interpretations and influences that will be studied in the corpus analysis.

Framing, as well as its evaluative dimension, are also essential to Musolff’s (2006: 28) notion of metaphorical scenario:

Scenarios appear to dominate public discourse not just in terms of overall frequency but also in that they help to shape the course of public debates and conceptualizations of political target topics by framing the attitudinal and evaluative preferences in the respective discourse communities.

A scenario is a “mininarrative” (Musolff, 2006: 23), a “scene” or “any kind of coherent segment of human beliefs, actions, experiences or imaginings” (Fillmore, 1975: 124). According to Musolff (2006: 27), scenarios “have *stereotypical* status” because they “include conventionally required assumptions, which may be revealed by experts to be empirically wrong but are still the default expectations that underlie the folk-theories held by nonexperts”: one of the roles of linguists is to try and expose the stereotypical scenarios. Fillmore (1975: 124) also relates scenarios to frames and writes that a frame is “any system of linguistic choices -- the easiest cases being collections of words, but also including choices of grammatical rules or linguistic categories -- that can get associated with prototypical instances of scenes.” The notions of “choice” and of “preferences” are

³⁹ <https://www.americanscientist.org/article/framing-political-messages-with-grammar-and-metaphor>.

essential in framing and account for the fundamental evaluative dimensions of metaphorical scenarios.

Deignan (2010) demonstrates that metaphors are “evaluative, persuasive and therefore potentially ideological” in four main cases:

- I. metaphors as stories
- II. metaphors which map evaluative connotations from source to target domain
- III. the deliberate choice of a source domain which resonates with particular groups
- IV. the use of metaphorical scenarios.

She particularly showed that the evaluative meaning is expressed contextually and pragmatically: the pragmatic approach will be developed in Chapter 5. The significance of context is particularly taken into account in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which focuses on the link between discourse and the speaker, “and the social and political contexts, structures, and practices in which it occurs” (Catalano & Waugh, 2020: 1). This will be the subject of the next subsection.

1.2.6. Critical Discourse Analysis

Fowler *et al.* (1979: 2) paved the way for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Their main aim was to contribute to “the unveiling of linguistic practices which are instruments in social inequality and concealment of truth”. The nouns “unveiling” and “concealment” show that there is some sort of disguise in language that must be uncovered. As explained by Ounis (2021), it must be noted that CDA relies on Halliday’s definition of language and its strong link with society. In this theory, language is indeed considered a social element *per se*:

[...] we should say that linguistic structure is the realization of social structure, actively symbolizing it in a process of mutual creativity. Because it stands as a metaphor for society, language has the property of not only transmitting the social order but also maintaining and potentially modifying it. (This is undoubtedly the explanation of the violent attitudes that under certain social conditions come to be held by one group towards the speech of others.) (Halliday, 1978: 186)

Fairclough (2013: 3) distinguishes three basic properties of CDA, “it is relational, it is dialectical, and it is transdisciplinary” and also writes to what extent CDA is critique (2013: 7):

It focuses on what is wrong with a society (an institution, an organization etc.), and how ‘wrongs’ might be ‘righted’ or mitigated, from a particular normative standpoint. Critique is grounded in values, in particular views of the ‘good society’ and of human well-being and flourishing, on the basis of which it evaluates existing societies and possible ways of changing them.

The inverted commas used with the expression ‘good society’ show the problematic dimension of this approach. Fairclough rightly states that considering a society as a good society is, of course, subjective since “people have very different ideas of justice, freedom and need” (2013: 7). However, it is this particular aspect of CDA that has been criticized. As Wilson writes in Schiffrin et al. (2001: 409), CDA can go too far and become itself political as well: “The issue here [...] is that some humans, like some systems, may be biased in their mode of interpretation from the start.”

Thus, critical discourse researchers may not always be impartial and may make presuppositions that will eventually mislead them in their work. Fairclough (2013: 8) insists on the fact that critical analysts will produce discourse themselves:

But the critical analyst, in producing different interpretations and explanations of that area of social life, is also producing discourse. On what grounds can we say that this critical discourse is superior to the discourse which its critique is partly a critique of?

Fairclough answers the question of critique by explaining that the superiority of the analysis relies on explanations. According to him, the clarifying authority of a discourse, “or a theory, which is a special sort of discourse”, is its capacity to offer justified clarifications “of as many features of the area of social life in focus as possible” (2013: 8).

He writes that “it is a matter of both quantity (the number or range of features) and quality (justification)” (2013: 8-9).

Catalano and Waugh (2020: 1) write that a set of approaches exists in CDA:

CDA emerged after a small symposium in Amsterdam as a loosely networked group of scholars in the 1990s and has since then developed into a broadly based international program with a set of approaches that explores the relationship between discourse (language use) and the people who create and use it, and the social and political contexts, structures, and practices in which it occurs.

They add that “even when the approaches are designated as the same, they are often referred to in somewhat different ways by different authors (e.g., ‘corpus-based approaches’ vs. ‘corpus linguistic approaches’)” (2020: 160).

According to McEnery and Hardie (2012: 133):

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) studies *discourse* in a very broad sense. A *discourse* in this sense is not merely a group of sentences, a text or a class of texts. It is also a *practice*: a characteristic type of language use found in a group of texts, or at large in the language of a community. Further, *discourses* are not only ways of talking about something, they are also a way of *thinking* about it. By studying language, critical discourse analysts aim to uncover how groups of people conceptualise themselves, their social setting, other groups of people and the issues that matter to them. Thus, CDA is an overtly sociological and political enterprise, with an acknowledged political (and typically left-wing) stance, as evidenced by a frequent concern with power relations among groups within society and the treatment, in particular, of relatively less powerful groups of people.

This quotation is relevant for several reasons. Firstly, it shows that the notion of “discourse” is not only linked to the way we talk but also, and most importantly, to the way we think. It also demonstrates that CDA has a social dimension; its main goal is to show the position the speaker has towards other groups of people, which is particularly useful when studying the discourse on immigration. Moreover, McEnery and Hardie state that CDA⁴⁰ is, to a certain extent, politicized since power relations are usually under study and most of all because the aim of many critical discourse analysts is to defend minorities,

⁴⁰ CDA also gave birth to Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004), which will be developed in section 2.3.5.

or at least “less powerful” people. In this study, the purpose is not to propose a politicized analysis, although it is impossible to carry out a totally neutral study since the theme of this PhD thesis concerns the representation of a minority, namely immigrants. Therefore, corpus linguistics has to be called upon so as to serve as a safeguard regarding biased analyses and, as Taylor (2021) puts it: “combining corpus linguistics and (critical) discourse analysis can make a vital contribution to understanding contemporary language in use.”

1.3. Review on corpus linguistics

Corpus linguistics is fairly complex to define since “it is certainly quite distinct from most other topics you might study in linguistics” (McEnery & Hardie, 2012: 1). The aim of this section is to give an overview of this subject and to explain the main theoretical and methodological issues related to it.

1.3.1. Defining corpus linguistics

Corpus linguistics is very different from any other subject matter studied in linguistics since “it is not directly about the study of any particular aspect of language” (McEnery & Hardie, 2012: 1). McEnery and Hardie write that corpus linguistics can be considered a methodology or “a set of procedures” to analyze language, although all schools do not agree with that idea and some linguists argue that it goes further than that⁴¹. Originally, corpus linguistics was the answer to the necessity of teaching English as a foreign language: “traditional dictionaries, with their focus on the single word in isolation, could not tell its users how to use a word. Corpus linguistics was an approach

⁴¹ “Corpus-driven linguistics rejects the characterization of corpus linguistics as a method and claims instead that the corpus *itself* should be the sole source of our hypothesis about language” (McEnery & Hardie, 2012).

that could remedy this deficiency” (Teubert, 2009: 8). Then, it was developed as a procedure “to find out things about a language in general, in order to help with the tasks of applied linguistics” (Teubert, 2009: 8). Baker (2010: 94) insists on the fact that corpus linguistics is based on concrete experience and not on some abstract examples:

Corpus linguistics is firmly rooted in empirical, inductive forms of analysis, relying on real-world instances of language use in order to derive rules or explore trends about the ways in which people actually produce language (as opposed to models of language that rely on made-up examples or introspection).

According to Teubert (2009: 18), corpus linguistics relies on a social dimension: “it is the linguistics not of the language system but of *la parole*, of the discourse”.

One of the main advantages of corpus linguistics is that it enables analyses that would not have been possible to carry out in a reasonable amount of time without machines and computers since the size of the corpora usually chosen “defies analysis by hand and eye alone within any reasonable timeframe” (McEnery & Hardie, 2012: 2); moreover, it is almost impossible to search large corpora manually without making mistakes. This idea was also developed by Biber (1993: 377) who writes that corpus linguistics “enables analyses of a scope not otherwise possible” and by Lindquist (2009: 45) who writes that “as you get above half a million words or so [...] you really need an automatic tagger, i.e. a computer program, to do the job”. Nevertheless, Taylor (2022) writes that the researcher is never “taken out of the equation in the process”; the objective of corpus linguistic tools is only to provide “replicable ways into the data” and transparency, that is to say to make the data easily available. Another advantage mentioned by Baker (2010: 94) is that of quantitative analysis; according to him, corpus linguistics enables researchers to “quantify linguistic patterns, providing more solid conclusions to be reached”. For instance, let us consider one hypothesis related to this very study: ‘Donald Trump talks about immigration more often than Joe Biden’. According

to Baker, corpus linguistics enables us not only to reject or confirm this hypothesis but also to show proportions and more particularly how often Donald Trump mentions immigration compared to his political opponent and in which context he does so. The importance of quantity in corpus linguistics is also explained by Raineri & Debras (2019); according to them, the major justification for relying on corpora is the exclusive opportunity they propose of using quantitative information in linguistic analysis. They add that “in usage-based linguistics frequencies of occurrences and co-occurrences of forms are key to elaborating theoretical models” (Raineri & Debras, 2019: 3). Nevertheless, they also write that qualitative analyses should evidently not be rejected; this is why this study combines quantitative and qualitative analyses. Corpus linguistic and its “inherently quantitative” dimension (Gries, 2015: 96) can therefore act as a safeguard against preconceived hypotheses since it enables linguists to quantitatively confirm or reject them; however, corpus linguists must always be careful and not systematically present their results “under the guise of ‘scientific’ rigor” since the results obtained are sometimes not exactly replicable (Doyle, 2005: 16).

Two main different approaches exist in corpus linguistics: the corpus-based and the corpus-driven approaches. Tognini-Bonelli (2001) writes that the term ‘based’ is quite vague and that all works actually “relate to and draw from a corpus”; therefore, the main difference between the two approaches is only a methodological difference:

The term *corpus-based* is used to refer to a methodology that avails itself of the corpus mainly to expound, test or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study. (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 65)

Corpus-based linguistics can be defined as the use of corpora so as to test or improve existing hypothesis taken from other sources while corpus-driven linguistics generally resorts to corpora in an inductive manner so as to formulate hypotheses about language,

“not making reference to existing linguistic frameworks” (Litosseliti, 2018). As Baker (2010) explains, the main issue concerning this distinction is that corpus-based linguistics has been criticized for disposing of inopportune evidence that does not correspond to the theory. According to McEnery & Hardie (2012: 14), this is called *confirmation bias*; it occurs when linguists “unintentionally focus on and pull out only the examples from the corpus that support their theory”. In other words, linguists who resort to the corpus-based approach would be used to finding a way to reject inconvenient results while corpus-driven researchers would be more trustworthy:

In a corpus-driven approach the commitment of the linguist is to the integrity of the data as a whole, and descriptions aim to be comprehensive with respect to corpus evidence. (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 85)

Nevertheless, it seems quite problematic to say that some linguists would be more honest than others, and that is why McEnery & Hardie (2012: 6) reject this dichotomy; according to them, the corpus itself cannot have a theoretical status and “*all* corpus linguistics can justly be described as corpus-based”. Thus, the idea that only the corpus-driven would show scientific honesty is itself rejected. However, even if the corpus does not have a theoretical status *per se*, it is obviously the key to corpus linguistics and must be defined precisely.

1.3.2. Corpora

Corpora are a natural source of data for cognitive linguists, since corpora, more than any other source of data, reflect “usage” – a notion which is often claimed to be of critical importance to the field of cognitive linguistics. Corpora are relevant to all the main topics of interest in cognitive linguistics: metaphor, polysemy, synonymy, prototypes, and constructional analysis.

(Newman, 2010: 521)

Teubert (2009: 8) defines a corpus as “a principled collection of real language data, of texts (or parts of texts) sampling and thus representing a given discourse”. Tognini-Bonelli (2001: 53) compared various definitions of what constitutes a corpus and she concluded that all linguists agree that corpora are collections of “language text, though not necessarily texts”. McEnery and Hardie (2012: 2) add that the noun *text* refers to a “file of a machine-readable data”. They specify that in corpus linguistics, these files “are textual in form, so that each file represents, for instance, a newspaper article or an orthographic transcription of some spoken language” (2012: 2); however, they are not necessarily originally textual and corpora “may encode language produced in any mode” (2012: 3) since there can be corpora of spoken language or written language. McEnery and Hardie (2012) also suggest that it is necessary to be careful with spoken language since it is usually time-consuming to collect and transcribe the texts but also because, when the transcriptions are not made by linguists, they cannot always be considered reliable data. This statement can, of course, be qualified and the transcriptions I use for this study are quite accurate and thorough – even interjections are transcribed – and even if the person who typed the transcript made mistakes, they are very unlikely to concern metaphors and the changes, when they exist, are limited to the details and do not impact the results of the study. As Raineri & Debras (2019: 2) write: “any form of transcription operates a drastic selection on the original spoken material”; however, this selection is not that significant for the study of metaphor. Nevertheless, it is necessary to keep in mind that corpora are constructed by linguists.

The first distinction made by McEnery and Hardie (2012) is the dichotomy between the monitor corpus approach, developed by Sinclair, who writes that *monitor corpus* has the capacity to “hold a ‘state of the language’” (Sinclair, 1991: 26), and the *balanced corpus* or *sample corpus* approach (Biber, 1993) (Leech, 2007). What

differentiates these two approaches is that more and more texts are added to a monitor corpus, for example the BoE (Bank of English) built by the University of Birmingham; it grows constantly and contains a diversity of materials, while a sample corpus reflects “language as it exists in a given point in time” (McEnery & Hardie, 2012: 6). In other words, the aim of the sample corpus is to attempt to characterize a specific type of language over a precise period of time. Sample corpora also encompass *snapshot* corpora. A snapshot corpus is defined as “a corpus which contains a fixed sample representing a specified form of the language at a specified time” by McEnery & Hardie (2012: 251); the best example of a *snapshot* corpus, which characterizes “a ‘snapshot’ of the standard written form of modern British English in the early 1960s” (2012: 9), is the LOB (Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen) corpus. The main objective of such a corpus, and of corpora in general, is to reach representativeness. This aspect, which I will develop in the next section, is essential for any corpus and must be associated with balance and comparability.

Finally, the majority of corpora are monolingual nowadays (McEnery & Hardie, 2012). Even if they contain a variety of occurrences in a specific language, they represent one language only. In this study, the goal was not to build a multilingual corpus but to compare two monolingual corpora, an English corpus and a French corpus, over a given period of time.

1.3.3. Representativeness

The very title of Leech’s article (2007), “New resources, or just better old ones? The Holy Grail of representativeness” speaks for itself: representativeness is what every corpus linguist should aspire to reach. As Raineri & Debras (2019: 2) put it: “collecting and analyzing corpus data in usage-based approaches to linguistic investigation relies on one major assumption, namely that the corpus is representative of the linguistic

phenomenon under scrutiny". For example, the main purpose of this study is to analyze immigration metaphors; therefore, the aim was to collect corpora that represented this lexical singularity. Raineri & Debras (2019) demonstrate that the main question is to know whether corpus representativeness can be reached at some point. According to McEnery & Hardie (2012: 10) it is a matter of degree: "Balance, representativeness and comparability are ideals which corpus builders strive for but rarely, if ever attain. In truth, the measures of balance and representativeness are matters of degree." If this quotation seems quite pessimistic, representativeness can still be achieved as long as the relevant criteria are chosen. Even if, as explained by Leech (2007), linguists generally agree to say that the corpus is more representative when it is large, size should not always be taken into account and a *representative* corpus does not necessarily mean a *large* corpus:

Typically researchers focus on sample size as the most important consideration in achieving representativeness: how many texts must be included in the corpus, and how many words per text sample. Books on sampling theory, however, emphasize that sample size is not the most important consideration in selecting a representative sample; rather, a thorough definition of the target population and decisions concerning the method of sampling are prior considerations. Representativeness refers to the extent to which a sample includes the full range of variability in a population. (Biber, 1993: 243)

Biber therefore insists on the importance of variability and Raineri & Debras (2019: 2) define this term as "the interaction between situational (e.g. format, setting, author, addressee, purposes, topics) and linguistic, distributional parameters (e.g. frequencies of word classes)". They go further and write that in a corpus the key element is never size but sampling. According to them, even some smaller corpora can be more representative than larger corpora if the sampling is done according to "linguistic-motivated decisions rather than convenience or some principle of authority" (Raineri & Debras, 2019: 4). Abiding by abstract and general rules concerning size will make linguists add artificial and, above all, useless material, which "has arguably no influence on [the] productive

linguistic system” (Raineri & Debras , 2019: 4), to their corpora. That is why only speeches about immigration were included in my corpora.

Finally, one of the essential objectives of corpus linguistics “is to show up language as is actually attested in real life use” (Váradi, 2001: 591); Leech (2007) uses that argument to demonstrate that even when representativeness is not reached, a corpus still enables linguists to show how language is used in real life.

1.3.4. Statistics

Statistics allow us to summarize complex numerical data and then, if desired, to draw inferences from them.

(Woods et al., 1986: 1)

The objective of this section is to show the different statistics that can be used for the analysis of political discourse and to present their limits. Although the use of statistics is not compulsory in corpus linguistics – one can simply verify if a given occurrence exists in a given language – statistics are quite useful when it comes to the analysis of frequencies since “frequency is not an all-or-nothing matter” (McEnery & Hardie, 2012: 48). They state that frequency “cannot be measured in an absolute sense” (2012: 48). To see how frequent a term is, linguists will tend to compare its frequency in a given corpus *relative* to its frequency in another corpus, which is the case in this study. To determine the frequency, linguists need statistics – descriptive and /or inferential – as it is necessary for them to understand how the two corpora can be mathematically normalized. According to Gries (2015: 96) the very basis of corpus linguistics relies on frequency:

By their very nature, corpus-linguistic studies have always been based on frequencies of occurrence of linguistic elements as well as frequencies of co-occurrence of linguistic elements with either other linguistic elements or the co(n)textual characteristics of these linguistic expressions.

Normalized frequencies (*nf*) based on occurrences per million words are the most usually found in the literature because corpus tools generally calculate them automatically as follows (McEnery & Hardie, 2012):

$$nf = \frac{\text{number of examples of the word in the whole corpus}}{\text{number of word of the corpus}} \times \text{base of normalization}$$

Let us take the example of the Trump corpus, which is composed of 849,900 words, to determine how often the noun “immigration” (644 occurrences) is likely to occur in a million word corpus (base of normalization):

$$nf = \frac{644}{849,900} \times 1,000,000$$

In this case $nf = 757.7$. However, as McEnery & Hardie (2012: 50) explain, although these statistics are useful, it would be irrational to think that the words of the corpus are well-distributed (the noun “immigration” does not occur at a regular interval, in some parts of the speech, the term is more “concentrated”) and that we would find 757.7 occurrences of it if the corpus was composed of one million words. Besides, it should be noted that when the base of normalization is 100, instead of 1,000,000, the normalized frequency is a classic percentage.

As explained by McEnery & Hardie (2012) linguists often compare several corpora. If two corpora are compared, a *ratio* (*r*) can be calculated as follows:

$$r = \frac{\text{larger } nf}{\text{smaller } nf}$$

For example, for the noun “immigration”, $nf_{MLP} = 7.3$ for the Marine Le Pen corpus while $nf_{EM} = 2.3$ for the Emmanuel Macron corpus. Therefore $r = 3.2$, which means that for every occurrence of the noun “immigration” in the Emmanuel Macron corpus the word occurs 3.2 times in the Marine Le Pen corpus. This ratio enables linguists to calculate a more specific type, which is called the *type-token ratio*, which is considered the basis of corpus

descriptive statistics. In addition, a *token* is defined as “any instance of a particular wordform in a text” and a *type* “is a particular, unique wordform” (McEnery & Hardie, 2012: 50). The *type-token ratio (ttr)* enables linguists to say how varied the vocabulary of a text is. So as to calculate it, the number of types must be divided by the number of tokens, as follows:

$$ttr = \frac{\text{number of types}}{\text{number of tokens}} (x100)$$

Usually, the result is multiplied by 100 in order to express a percentage: “the closer the result is to 100, the greater the vocabulary variation”. Let us consider the following examples:

Name	Language	Texts	Tokens	Additional information
AmE06	English	500	1,001,024	Types: 55,577 Lemmas: 48,689
TRUMP_Corpus	English	243	849,900	Types: 24,206 Lemmas: 22,838

For the AmE06 corpus, $ttr_{AmE06}=5.5\%$ while for the Trump corpus $ttr_{DT}= 2.8\%$, although these percentages cannot be compared in this case since the corpora are not exactly the same size. The absolute value 2.8%, which is observably quite low, only means that Donald Trump’s vocabulary is not extremely varied in this corpus. These statistics are therefore rather descriptive; nevertheless, it is possible to go beyond that by “testing the *significance*” of the differences that are found (McEnery & Hardie, 2012: 51).

McEnery & Hardie write that corpus linguists can evaluate whether a result is due to chance or not thanks to *significance tests*. For example, according to them, “if there is a 95 per cent chance that our result is *not* a coincidence” (2012: 52) then one can safely say that the result obtained is significant. However, if the result obtained is not significant, it

should not be seen as unexploitable but should rather be taken as a piece of information, which should lead the linguist to do further research or use a larger corpus, for example. Two significance tests are typically used in corpus linguistics: calculating keywords and collocations. Keywords are words that are more frequently found in a given corpus than in another reference corpus. McEnery and Hardie (2012: 51) write that to extract keywords, it is necessary to evaluate the significance of each word that occurs in a corpus and to compare their frequency in a reference corpus. A collocation can be defined as a lexical association of different terms, as a “co-occurrence relationship between two words” (McEnery & Hardie, 2012: 240). It is said that two words *collocate* if one of them is more frequently found in the presence of the other than in other contexts. When studying collocations, it is necessary to evaluate the significance of the co-occurrence of the term under study. Usually, this is done automatically with software tools. As explained by Schmid & Küchenhoff (2013: 532): “It has been a long-standing aim of corpus linguistics to measure the degree of mutual attraction between lexical elements in text.”

Schmid & Küchenhoff (2013: 532) write that interpreting the associations between lexemes was useful to interpret “the cognitive associations in the minds of language users” since the lexical associations reflect those of the mind to a certain extent. This idea was also developed by Stubbs (1995: 383): “If frequent associations are made between words, then this repetition makes some features of the world conceptually salient.” That is why the analysis of collocations is particularly noteworthy for this PhD thesis as they enable me to determine the different cognitive associations that are made by politicians concerning immigration, which will be developed in Chapter 3.

Furthermore, statistics can be particularly convenient since various tests exist to mathematically show whether a corpus is representative or not. Three of them are

common – the *chi-square* test, the *t-test* and the *log-likelihood* test – however some of these tests require conditions about the data and are sometimes misused:

Statistics based on the assumption of normal distribution are invalid in most cases of statistical text analysis unless either enormous corpora are used, or the analysis is restricted to only the very most common words (that is, the ones least likely to be of interest). This fact is typically ignored in much of the work in this field. Using such invalid methods may seriously overestimate the significance of relatively rare events. (Dunning, 1993: 71)

As explained by Dunning (1993: 71), some of these tests, for example the *chi-square* test, presupposes a “normal distribution” of the data. McEnery and Hardie (2012: 51) write that a “normal distribution” occurs when “most of the values cluster relatively tightly around a mean (average) value”, which can be easily pictured with a graph as a ‘bell-shaped’ curve. Nevertheless, this is absolutely not possible to observe this “normal distribution” with language since words are evidently not regularly distributed in a text, “rather they typically produce a markedly positive skewed distribution, with a pronounced ‘hump’ of very high-frequency words, followed by a very long tail of lots and lots of low-frequency words” (McEnery & Hardie, 2012: 52). Therefore, even if mathematical tests can be considered safeguards, corpus linguists who work on texts must still be careful when they use statistics and make sure they understand their limitations. Even if quantity matters, it should not put aside qualitative analyses, which is why Chapter 5 only focuses on qualitative analyses.

1.3.5. Different approaches

In the elaboration of corpus linguistics, different approaches have been influential. Various universities, such as University College London (UCL), Lancaster University, the University of Birmingham, the Université Catholique de Louvain, the University of

Nottingham or Northern Arizona University have been pioneers in the domain and have contributed to making corpus linguistics as it is today.

McEnery & Hardie (2012) give details about the neo-Firthian corpus linguistics approach, which relies on the works of J.R. Firth, as the name suggests. This approach is different from the others for several reasons, but more particularly on the definitional aspect of notions such as “collocation” or “discourse”. Furthermore, the concept of “semantic prosody” is deeply embedded in the way the neo-Firthian methodology analyses collocations with a concordance-based approach. The main specificity that must be noted is that the neo-Firthian approach to collocation relies heavily on the intuition of the linguist and rarely resorts to statistical techniques. Besides, they specify that even when statistics are used, the intuition of the linguist is still considered the last judge to decide whether a word is a collocate of another or not (McEnery & Hardie, 2012: 126).

The definition of “discourse” given by the neo-Firthian approach is also different from that of CDA (see section 1.2.5.) in the sense that it is more traditional and that it does not support a politicized approach to discourse, contrary to CDA, which clearly and openly admits a political bias in its analyses. According to McEnery and Hardie, this is not surprising since Sinclair, one of the most important figures of the neo-Firthian approach, began his research on discourse in the 1970s while CDA emerged in the late 1980s. It is obviously a difficult task to be objective when dealing with political issues since everyone has an opinion; however, a balance can be reached between the two. Even though linguists should admit that the approach to discourse analysis cannot be absolutely apolitical, one can still try to be as unbiased as possible and refrain from expressing their ideas overtly. Moreover, some neo-Firthian linguists (see Teubert), contrary to critical analysts, think that the way speakers talk does not necessarily reflect the way they think. In this PhD

thesis, this idea is rejected and the corpora are analysed with the conviction that the way politicians speak can tell us a lot about how they conceptualise certain notions.

Semantic prosody is also a specificity of the neo-Firthian approach, as explained by Firth (Firth, 1957), the meaning of a term can only be grasped when looking at its environment. In other words, it is impossible to fully understand what a word means if it is isolated, as developed in Chapter 1.

1.3.6. Cognitive linguistics, metaphor and corpora

The main common point between cognitive linguistics and corpus linguistics is that they are both usage-based. As Raineri & Debras (2019: 1) write, even if the cognitive linguists who belonged to the first generation were theory-driven (Fillmore 1982; Lakoff 1987; Talmy 2000), “the usage-based approach of language has been at the core of cognitive linguists’ work from the start” and the idea that “language use is central in the structure and organization of a speaker’s linguistic knowledge, and needs to be empirically investigated” has most of the time been prominent in cognitive linguistics. Nevertheless, according to McEnery & Hardie (2012: 186), “much work in CMT was based on intuition and the analysis of invented examples”. For instance, Deignan (2005: 157) also writes that in metaphor studies “empirical data is not usually given in support of statements about frequency”:

[F]or descriptive linguists, one difficulty with the work of Lakoff and Johnson and their followers is that most of the linguistic metaphors that they cite seem to have been elicited from informants, and there is a danger that informants may tend to produce examples that are rare in normal conditions. (Deignan, 2005: 27)

However, this has changed and today more and more cognitive linguists use CMT with a genuine corpus to exemplify their results. Nevertheless, it is currently not possible to

retrieve metaphors automatically with tools, which is why a manual analysis is necessary, although software can support the examination:

[T]he direction of investigation in corpus studies is from linguistic form through to meaning. It is not possible to use the corpus to proceed in the other direction, because there is currently no way of accessing general rules of language from a corpus. (Deignan, 2005: 85)

She writes that metaphor researchers who use corpora are faced with a great amount of resources, which are almost impossible to deal with manually, which is why they have to find other ways, corpus linguistics being one of these ways. Deignan (2005: 93) distinguishes different options to retrieve metaphors in a corpus. According to her, the first possibility is to “establish the existence of linguistic metaphors that realize a particular conceptual metaphor”; indeed, it is not possible for corpus linguistic tools to directly retrieve conceptual metaphors but they can identify their linguistic realizations easily, if a list has been established beforehand. She writes that thesaurus entries can be used, which is what has been done for this PhD thesis, since “if several thesauri are used, the researcher should be able to check a reasonably complete list of lexical items in the source and/or target domains being studied” (Deignan, 2005: 93). For instance, to study IMMIGRATION metaphors, quasi-synonyms or related words of “immigrants” such as “refugee”, “aliens”, “deported”, etc. are searched⁴² thanks to the software. As soon as these lexemes are retrieved by the corpus linguistic tools, the concordances enable the linguist to see the term in context, then the identification of metaphors is done manually and relies, of course, on the intuition of the researcher. The final step of this procedure consists in classifying the metaphors according to their degree of lexicalization, as seen in section 1.1.1.

⁴² This will be developed in section 2.3.5., i.e., the section devoted to the methodology.

Another possibility described by Deignan (2005: 93) is to use smaller corpora for the identification of metaphors⁴³ and then to concordance and generalize the results thanks to a larger corpus:

Because the small corpus or sample can be read in its entirety, most or all linguistic metaphors can be identified, and these, and their collocates, can be concordanced from the larger corpus for more generalizable linguistic observations.

In this study, it is in fact a combination of these two possibilities that has been used. Indeed, a list of synonyms of the search term “immigrant” was employed to find (with corpus tools) and then identify and classify (manually) metaphors, but smaller corpora were also used first, for my Master’s thesis (Lafiandra, 2018), and enabled me to identify some of the linguistic metaphors. The size of the corpus is therefore once again at stake with metaphor research; according to Cameron & Deignan (2003: 159), even if larger corpora evidently offer opportunities to observe configurations that would not be observable with smaller corpora, “much of the detailed information about context of use is lost” with large corpora.

1.4. Conclusion

The objective of this first chapter was to provide a summary of the distinct theories of metaphor, cognitive linguistics, political discourse and corpus linguistics. The different functions and characterisations of metaphors confirm that they are undoubtedly persuasive in political discourse and in communication, more generally speaking: the primary function of metaphors is its cognitive function, which includes the evaluative and persuasive functions. Metaphors are not just linguistic tools; they also structure our daily conceptual thoughts. Furthermore, because they are primarily based on the *highlighting-*

⁴³ Section 2.3.5. is devoted to the identification of metaphor.

hiding principle, they need to be studied carefully. This PhD thesis particularly follows what has been shown by Alduy and Wathier (2015) who compared Marine Le Pen's speeches to her father's and showed that the daughter used less explicit⁴⁴ terms than her father, which is probably why she managed to become more popular and persuade more voters than him.

This chapter also enabled me to present CMT and its expansion to DMT, which constitutes the theoretical framework of this study. I also introduced the basic notions concerning political discourse, the different functions of language and the essential elements that structure cognition: the main assumption is that any speaker impacts the listener's thoughts with discourse. CDA particularly shows that politicians judiciously pick the terms they resort to; thus, the analysis of someone's discourse may reveal how they conceptualize the world or frame certain concepts. Furthermore, candidates to presidential elections deliberately provide a certain evaluation, or axiology, of a concept to convince their audience and win more votes. The last part of this chapter finally enabled me to present the main assets of corpus linguistics in regard to this study. With corpus linguistics researchers have the possibility to work on a larger scale. Corpus linguistics enables quantitative analysis and can act as a safeguard concerning the interpretation of the results, although corpus linguists cannot reject qualitative analyses. The use of a corpus is essential in cognitive linguistics and more particularly in the study of metaphors; the purpose of the next chapter will be to describe the corpus I relied on to carry out analyses.

⁴⁴ For instance, Jean-Marie Le Pen overtly said that "races were not equal" in 1996, <https://www.ina.fr/ina-eclaire-actu/video/cac96047238/propos-racistes-de-jean-marie-le-pen>.

Chapter 2: Corpora and Methodology

2.1. Selection of the corpora

2.1.1. Political discourse

2.1.2. Immigration

2.1.2.1. *Immigration in the United States*

2.1.2.2. *Immigration in France*

2.2. Description of the corpora

2.2.1. Nature of the corpus

2.2.2. Location and date

2.2.3. Selection of politicians

2.2.3.1. American politicians

2.2.3.1.1. *Joe Biden*

2.2.3.1.2. *Hillary Clinton*

2.2.3.1.3. *Donald Trump*

2.2.3.2. French politicians

2.2.3.2.1. *Emmanuel Macron*

2.2.3.2.2. *Marine Le Pen*

2.3. Methodology

2.3.1. Construction of the corpus

2.3.2. Size of the corpus

2.3.3. Corpus linguistics software tools

2.3.4. Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP)

2.4. Conclusion

2.0. Introduction

Having introduced the main principles of CMT, as well as the definitions of political discourse and corpus linguistics, the objective of this second chapter is to present the methodology and corpora I used in order to make this study easily replicable and to then be able to illustrate the theories I have developed in chapter one. First, I will explain why I chose to include political discourses about immigration in the corpus. Then, it will lead me to describe and limit the corpus itself in the second part. I will justify the location, the dates and the politicians I have selected. Finally, I will provide the methodology I used to carry out the corpus-based analysis and mainly describe how I built the corpora, what tools enabled me to analyze them and how I identified the metaphors related to immigration.

2.1. Selection of the corpora

2.1.1. Political discourse

The corpora used in this study all consist in political discourses. These corpora have been chosen because political discourse is meant to be easily available to any citizen and because it usually has a significant impact on voters and therefore on society itself. Political discourse belongs to the category of public discourse and Lakoff (2008: 110) writes that “public discourse has an enormous effect upon the outcome of elections”. Thus, analyzing political discourse enables linguists to study language not only as a means to communicate but also as a means to shape society and history. Lakoff’s statement (2008: 110) according to which “public discourse has an enormous effect upon the outcome of elections” makes even more sense if the outcome of the 2016 American presidential election is taken into account; for many people, Trump’s victory came as a surprise, hence the necessity to study his speeches.

According to Van Dijk (1997: 12), scrutinising political speeches consists in analyzing “the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels”. To put it differently, Van Dijk initially regards political speeches as the texts produced by political figures and subsequently (1997: 13) describes the category of political figures as “the group of people who are being paid for their (political) activities, and who are being elected or appointed (or self-designated) as the central players in the polity”. Consequently, the fundamental role of political leaders is to embody their nations, kingdoms, towns, etc. In the quotation, the adjective “central”, which is resorted to by Van Dijk, demonstrates that the role of political figures is fundamental to civilisation: thus, this is why voters and the media

regularly scrutinize what politicians say. In other words, a political platform enables politicians to influence listeners. Concerning the corpus under study in this PhD thesis, one of the debates between Hilary Clinton and Donald Trump during the 2016 campaign was the “most-watched debate in American history⁴⁵”. It was scrutinised by more than 80 million people⁴⁶ on more than 10 distinct U.S. television channels. These records demonstrate that political speeches are meaningful to citizens and they are worth examining.

Nevertheless, media coverage is one thing, but the substance of political speeches also accounts for the necessity to analyze them. Political discourses were originally regarded as artistic creations, whose main objective was to influence citizens (Van Dijk, 1997: 34). Political speeches consist in a pool of linguistic devices, which might persuade the listeners. Van Dijk (1997: 36) writes that these strategies are structured along the conflict between meliorative “self-presentations” and derogatory “other-presentations”:

That is, we, our people and our actions and properties will tend to be described in metaphorical meanings that derive from conceptual fields with positive associations, whereas the opposite is true for the description of our political opponents or enemies. So, whereas our politicians or soldiers are characterizations as good (strong, valiant, brave, persistent) animals such as lions, tigers or bears, those of the Others will be preferably represented as cunning (foxes) or dirty (hyenas, rats, dogs, cock-roaches).

Consequently, examining political speeches is fundamental to identify the tactics of politicians. Unlike daily conversation, political speeches are not unplanned since they are generally created before⁴⁷ meetings and are generally not created by the politicians themselves. Speechwriters (or “Plumes de l’ombre”), typically advise political figures when they write their speeches (Neveu, 1992: 123). Political speeches are deliberate:

⁴⁵ <https://money.cnn.com/2016/09/27/media/debate-ratings-record-viewership/>.

⁴⁶ The Trump/Biden debate of 2020 was watched by 73 million people. <https://www.statista.com/chart/23075/estimated-tv-viewership-of-presidential-debates/>.

⁴⁷ <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/atd-fscj-publicspeaking/chapter/four-types-of-speeches/>.

words and grammatical structures are judiciously chosen. With a particular grammatical structure, politicians can consequently “topicalize” some terms so as to draw the audience’s attention. For instance, Van Dijk (1997: 34) takes the strategic case of passivation:

Active sentences will associate responsible agency with (topical) syntactic subjects, whereas passive sentences will focus on objects (e.g., victims) of such actions and defocus responsible agency by putting agents last in prepositional phrases, or leaving it implicit, as in the well-known headlines *Police killed demonstrators* vs. *Demonstrators killed by Police* vs. *Demonstrators killed*. Thus, as is true for semantic structures, syntactic structures are able to put more or less emphasis, focus or prominence on specific words, phrases or clauses, and thus indirectly contribute to corresponding semantic stress on specific meanings, as a function of the political interests and allegiances of the speaker or writer.

Moreover, certain lexemes are cautiously preferred and the selection, which is done by the politician or their speechwriters, usually highlights the dichotomy between meliorative “self-presentations” and derogatory “other-presentations”. To illustrate this idea, in Trump’s speeches⁴⁸, the choice of *illegal* as the most repeated adjective to represent immigration evidently demonstrates that derogatory lexemes are preferred in order to portray immigrants as rivals, as example (35) illustrates:

(35) “Likewise I am very critical of **illegal** immigration and the tremendous problems including crime, which it causes.” [US_Trump_2015_07_14]

Besides, in this excerpt, the negative dimension of the adjective *illegal* is reinforced by its linguistic environment: the nouns *crime* and *problems*, which is itself intensified with the adjective *tremendous*, are used to frame illegal immigration. The same phenomenon occurs in the French corpus since it is the adjective *massive* that is the most regularly used by Marine Le Pen when she describes immigration (Jamet & Lafiandra, 2023: 77-104), as can be seen in excerpt (36):

⁴⁸ This result is tackled in Chapter 3.

- (36) “La réalité est qu’une minorité agissante et hostile constitue le vivier des fondamentalistes. Une minorité qui s’est enracinée dans le communautarisme, lui-même rendu possible par l’immigration **massive** et incontrôlée.” [FR_Le Pen_2015_02_05].

This example also demonstrates that “the other” is described negatively with the adjective *hostile* or the past participle *incontrôlée* that reinforces her disapproval. Furthermore, Van Dijk (1997: 33) writes that the imperfections of the utterer are rarely revealed, but when they are, they are most of the time described euphemistically.

Conversely, our bad habits, properties, products or actions will usually tend to be described (if at all) by euphemisms, as when our bombs are called ‘Peace-maker’ and our killings of civilians among the Others as ‘collateral damage’.

Even if strategies such as metaphors, topicalization, negative other-presentation, etc. are used in daily communication, their effects are more serious in political speeches since politicians have the possibility to prepare their speeches beforehand as well as the possibility to touch many listeners. That is why analyzing discourses that can be watched, or listened to, by millions of citizens appeared indispensable.

The corpus under study, which will be described in section 2.2., is representative of Van Dijk’s (1997) definition of political discourse for several reasons that are developed by Reuchamps *et al.* (2019). In their bibliometric analysis of 172 articles, they found that the political discourses studied by linguists are predominantly composed of oral speeches (60,5%) and more particularly of their transcripts (91,3%). They show that the speeches are mainly delivered by professional political figures (62,8 %) who belong to the executive branch or who are candidates in a political election. They also write that these speeches are mostly monologues delivered in public in Europe or in North America. The corpus I selected matches all these criteria and deals with one of the main political domains: namely, immigration.

2.1.2. Immigration

The *New Academy Project* (1989: 5) writes:

Immigration and its consequences are among the most important social and political issues facing two of the world's oldest democracies: the United States and France. Both are countries that have traditionally welcomed immigrants. Both have received immigrants seeking economic opportunity, and both pride themselves on their hospitality to political refugees and dissidents. Both have experienced large immigrant flows in recent decades.

Scrutinising discourses on immigration and its representation by politicians has already been done many times in the past; for instance, Charteris-Black (2006), Hart (2011), Musolff (2011), O'Brien (2003), Semino (2008: 118-123), Taylor (2022), Van Dijk (2000), to name a few, have worked on this theme. The central objective of these scholars was to see if the representations are based on prejudices and if they influence the audience. For instance, Van Dijk (1997: 38) writes⁴⁹:

Assume that a **right-wing** member of parliament (and the same may be true for other MPs or for elites outside of parliament, e.g., in the media, for that matter) holds a speech about minorities or immigration (for a concrete example of such an analysis, see van Dijk 1993a). The **overt** content of that speech may not reveal any blatant anti-immigrant bias, but yet we (and MPs) feel there is something fishy with the *way* things are being said. That is, intuitively, we do know that the **covert** properties of the speech do have the function to express a xenophobic or racist point of view. At this point, we suggest, discourse analysis may **reveal** what these forms of covert racism are, and how exactly they function in that particular context (and how they may **influence** public opinion). This is a well-known *political* problem in Western-Europe, where right-wing or racist parties become increasingly bold, but often (try to) remain '**within the law**'. Apart from identifying covert racist structures and strategies in such a speech, another political (and legal) problem is how to combat such text and talk most effectively.

In this explanation, the terms *overt* and *covert* can refer to the *highlighting-hiding* principle. Van Dijk demonstrates that certain elements of truth are hidden when someone talks about immigration. Since people studying language know that the masked elements exist, it is one of their roles to reveal the mechanisms at stake. The final – but maybe

⁴⁹ My emphasis.

utopian – goal would be to make sure that voters are aware of these linguistic strategies. However, the problem is that covert strategies are difficult to condemn. They are lawful in spite of their “bold” dimensions; consequently, they have to be studied cautiously. Revealing the *covert* elements corresponds to the central objective of this study. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that freedom of speech is not regulated in the same way in France and in the U.S.: it is more limited in France than in common-law countries. What is regarded as “illegal” in France may be seen as “legal” in North America. Freedom of expression in France⁵⁰ “is enshrined in the law of 1881. But freedom has limits: racism, anti-Semitism, racial hatred, and justification of terrorism are not opinions. They are offences.” While in the American constitution, “Congress shall make no law [...] abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press” according to the first amendment and hate speech is not forbidden.

In nationalist discourse, immigrants are often depicted with offensive metaphors (see Chapter 1, section 1.1.3. (Allan & Burrige, 1991: 26)). O’Brien (2003: 33) demonstrates that the metaphors employed to describe immigrants contribute to a dehumanization process where immigrants are regarded as “a threat to social functioning”. Lakoff (2008: 46) writes that the use of collocations such as “illegal immigrants” in place of “illegal employers” or “illegal consumers” harm democratic principles. That is also why such uses have to be studied.

Many linguists have demonstrated that immigrants are frequently portrayed with derogatory metaphors, which allow politicians to recommend restrictive immigration measures, such as Donald Trump’s wall, Gerald Darmanin’s “loi immigration” or Rishi Sunak’s “Rwanda deportation bill”, to name a few. The corpus that has been chosen

⁵⁰ <https://www.gouvernement.fr/en/everything-you-need-to-know-about-freedom-of-expression-in-france>.

consists of speeches – and occasionally pictures – that represent immigration. The objective is to analyze how such representations, and mostly metaphors, might impact French and American voters and push them to elect nationalist politicians. However, before analysing these representations, I will focus on the reasons why I chose the topic of immigration as my area of research. Following Auboussier's work (in Calabrese & Veniard, 2017), the purpose of this study is not to determine whether the metaphors which are used by politicians offer a genuine representation of immigration policies but rather to see to what extent they can take aback voters and imprint themselves on their conceptualization of society.

2.1.2.1. Immigration in the United States.

John F. Kennedy (2008) referred to the U.S. as *A Nation of Immigrants* in his eponymous book written in the 1950s. In the history of America, many people came from all around the world: for instance, British settlers, French Protestants, African slaves, Jewish people, Irish people fleeing the great famine, or Mexicans, to name but a few. However, the U.S. has always implemented restrictive immigration laws: the 1790 Naturalization Act marked the beginning of immigration restrictions, allowing only free white people to obtain the American citizenship. Then, numerous regulations have been adopted to restrict the number of immigrants entering the U.S.; for instance, Dim and Masi (2019: 55) specify that the U.S. administration passed the first real restriction of immigration with the Page Act of 1875. This act regulated the number of immigrants coming from Asian countries. A few years later, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act was passed: its objective was to prevent Chinese workers from coming and is currently regarded as “the first major exclusionary immigration restriction on an entire nationality enacted by America” (Dim & Masi, 2019: 55). Then, immigration was allowed: more than

10 million immigrants came to the U.S. between 1865 and 1900 (Schlesinger, 1951) and more than 20 million between 1900 and 1920 during the “Great Wave.” (Dim & Masi, 2019: 56). Conversely, the First World War temporarily stopped immigration. Then, the John-Reed Act of 1924 was passed; its purpose was to stop immigration from Africa, Asia and eastern Europe, as explained by Dim & Masi (2019: 57):

In essence, the Johnson-Reed Act was designed to dispense with America’s “melting pot” and embraced a policy championing only new immigrants who looked, acted, and spoke like Americans. **This desire for sameness would prove to be a relentless American theme.** [...] Under the 1924 law, the number of immigrants admitted was officially slashed from 350,000 per year to 164,000 per year. Moreover, the Wall Street collapse in 1929 and the Great Depression, lasting through the 1930s, further slowed immigration.⁵¹

From 1933 to 1945, more than 200,000 immigrants came to the U.S.: mainly Jewish people and enemies of fascism (Dim & Masi, 2019: 58). Nevertheless, immigration was stopped once again in the late 80s; President Reagan passed the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, whose goal was to reinforce control at the border between the U.S. and Mexico. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks⁵², new restrictive immigration measures were taken. For instance, President George W. Bush validated the 2006 *Secure Fence Act*, which permitted the erection of more than 1,000 kilometres of supplementary fence alongside the Mexican border and employed 3,000 new Border Patrol agents⁵³. The construction of the fence began with President Clinton administration in 1990 while in the 2016 presidential election, Donald Trump’s central objective was to reinforce the existing fencing and to erect “a great wall” at the Mexican border. In addition, as soon as he entered the White House, Trump signed Executive Order n°13780, which prevented Iranian, Iraqi, Libyan, Somali, Sudanese, Syrian and Yemeni people from entering the U.S. In the text, the

⁵¹ My emphasis.

⁵² <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/muslim-americans-spike-hate-incidents-feels-reminiscent-post-911-islam-rcna122570>.

⁵³ <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/10/20061026-1.html>.

justification was: “These are countries that had already been identified as presenting heightened concerns about terrorism and travel to the United States⁵⁴.” Finally, Joe Biden did not stop the construction of the wall, as he had promised during his 2020 presidential campaign, “because funding for the construction was signed off on while Mr Trump was president⁵⁵”. This short historical background demonstrates that immigration has been at the centre of American political life and shows the necessity to analyze the linguistic framings of immigrants in contemporary American speeches.

According to Wroe (2008: 2) American voters do make the difference between *legal* immigration and *illegal* immigration. However, at the end of the 20th century, illegal and legal immigrations began to be considered in a negative way. Wroe (2008: 2) writes:

Some prominent Republican Party politicians utilized the antipathy to argue for a reduction in the level of legal immigration and for deep cuts in legal immigrants’ public benefit.

Many Republicans thus started to blame not only illegal but also legal immigrants for the predicaments of the country. Figure 13 exemplifies that phenomenon: a majority of Republican supporters regard immigrants as a “critical threat⁵⁶”:

⁵⁴ [https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states-2/#:~:text=\(j\)%20Among%20other%20actions%2C,travel%20to%20the%20United%20States](https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states-2/#:~:text=(j)%20Among%20other%20actions%2C,travel%20to%20the%20United%20States).

⁵⁵ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-68428154>.

⁵⁶ According to the Chicago Council Surveys: <https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/publication/lcc/republicans-and-democrats-different-worlds-immigration>.

Immigration as a Threat

Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next 10 years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all: **Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the US** (% critical threat)

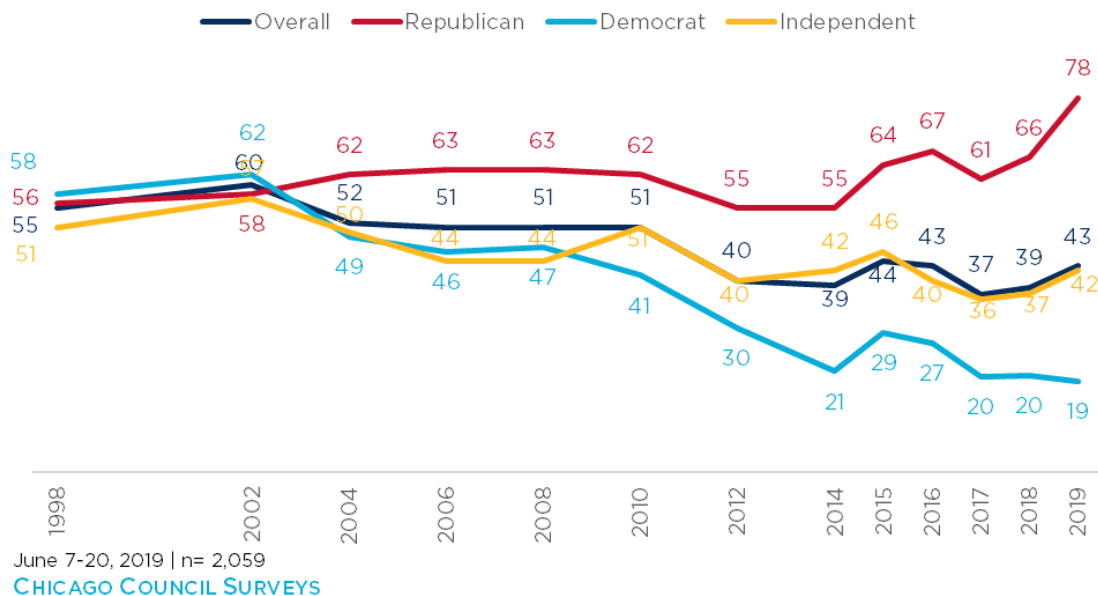


Figure 13. Immigration as a critical threat

In 2019, for example, more than three quarters of Republicans considered “large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming to the U.S.” as a “critical threat” whereas less than 20% of Democrat supporters believed so. This accounts for the fact that Republicans recommend immigration regulations more frequently than Democrats. For instance, the Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act was proposed in congress in 2001. The DREAM Act should have permitted illegal immigrant children to obtain permanent residency; however, the bipartisan bill was rejected in 2010. After that, the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals federal program (DACA) was designed in 2012 so as to allow illegal immigrant minors to live, study and work in the U.S. In addition, their deportation was postponed for twenty-four months. Thus, in the U.S., even when pro-immigration bills are proposed, they are very rarely ratified. Let us now see why immigration is a central subject in France too.

2.1.2.2. Immigration in France

La société française s'est en partie construite grâce à la migration : notre population se compose actuellement d'environ un quart d'immigrés de seconde génération ou plus.

(Paulin et Smadja, 2020)

The figures of immigration in France have also grown after World War II, mainly since workers were needed. McDonald (1969: 116) writes:

Labor migrations from the Mediterranean basin to Northwest Europe have been a major feature of the cultural geography of the continent in the years since World War II. In France, these movements have concerned permanent immigrants, occupied initially in agriculture and mining and later in construction and heavy industry, and seasonal immigrants, employed almost exclusively in agriculture, as well as Algerians, who customarily move freely between the two countries.

In France, the search for workers began very soon, in 1945, namely right at the end of the Second World War. McDonald (1969: 117) writes that with the Marshall Plan, monetary support existed; however, two main difficulties remained: the number of deaths as well as the falling birth-rate. The workers who reached France right after 1945 primarily consisted of Italian immigrants and in the fifties, the labour force originated from French colonies and more particularly from North Africa. However, the supposed “generosity” that could describe the French immigration policies at the time was also regulated. Cinalli & De Nuzzo (2018: 277) explain that obtaining the French citizenship became increasingly difficult:

As regards refugees, and immigrants more generally, there has been a similar worsening of policy protection (further reinforced with the economic crisis between the late 2000s and the early 2010s). The traditional generosity of the French system, both in terms of welcoming the displaced in the short term, and integrating them as full citizens in the long term, has been replaced by a series of restrictive twists. Accordingly, new ‘reforms’ have prevented immigrants from accessing the country by making it more difficult for them to attain citizenship.

Figure 14 demonstrates that the absolute number of immigrants⁵⁷ has kept increasing since the end of WWII. However, according to the United Nations⁵⁸, the percentage of immigrants remained stable among the global population (from 2,8% to 3,6%) between 1990 and 2020.

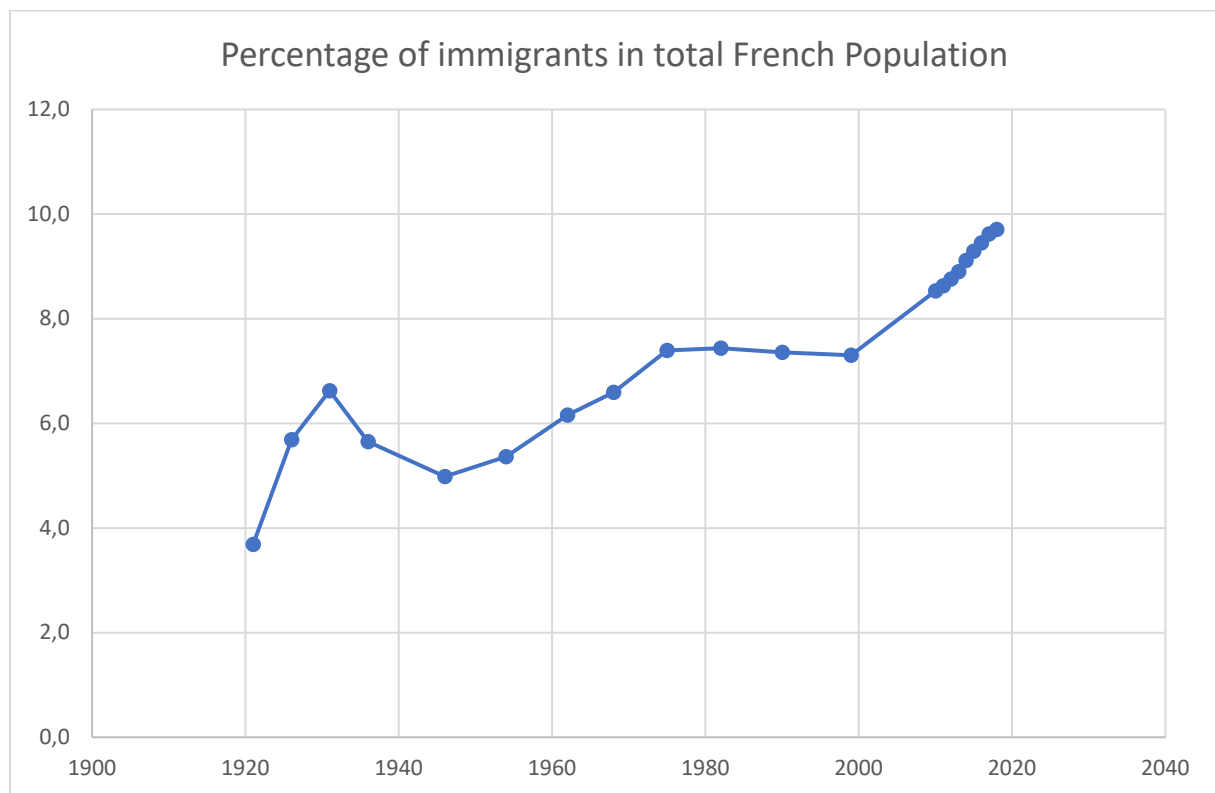


Figure 14. Number of immigrants in France from 1920 to 2020⁵⁹ (Insee.fr)

Between 1973 and 1974, France was in the middle of a crisis with a high unemployment rate; as a result, some French politicians started to resort to absolute figures and began to blame immigrants without considering the French population growth, as described by Gastaut (2004: 107):

Les effets des dépressions économiques sur les comportements racistes ont fait l'objet d'importants travaux chez les historiens, notamment pour la période des années 1930. La crise de 1973-1974 n'a pas dérogé à cette mécanique, suscitant un rejet des travailleurs immigrés fondé sur des arguments classiques. Pourtant,

⁵⁷ In this graph, *immigrants* is used for people who were not born on the French territory or who do not have the French nationality.

⁵⁸ <https://www.migrationdataportal.org/fr/themes/population-de-migrants-internationaux>.

⁵⁹ <https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/3633212#consulter>

contrairement à certaines convictions, la crise n'a pas constitué un point de départ, mais plutôt un révélateur d'une xénophobie déjà largement répandue dans l'opinion française. Elle a fourni des arguments, mis en lumière des modes d'expressions préexistants tout en développant un rejet spécifique, « **le racisme de crise**⁶⁰ »⁶¹.

Gastaut demonstrates that xenophobic biases habitually appear with economic disasters. This phenomenon partially accounts for the success of nationalist political leaders such as Marine Le Pen in France or Donald Trump in the U.S. Indeed, the success of Marine Le Pen coincided with the Syrian refugee crisis, whose strongest symbol in France was the “Calais Jungle” (Cinalli and De Nuzzo, 2018: 277):

As regards refugees, and immigrants more generally, there has been a similar worsening of policy protection (further reinforced with the economic crisis between the late 2000s and the early 2010s). The traditional generosity of the French system, both in terms of welcoming the displaced in the short term, and integrating them as full citizens in the long term, has been replaced by a series of restrictive twists. Accordingly, new ‘reforms’ have prevented immigrants from accessing the country by making it more difficult for them to attain citizenship (Cinalli 2017), while at the same time nurturing anti-immigrant discourses which push the idea that immigrants are a burden on society (*immigration subie*). Perhaps the strongest symbol of the immigration crisis has been the ‘Calais Jungle’, a camp near the Northern city of Calais.

In the French political spectrum, the Front National, today named Rassemblement National (RN), is the political party that has been blaming immigrants since its creation. The name⁶² and the logo were modified in 2018 after years of “de-demonizing” strategies: the noun *front* undoubtedly implied the notion of fight, which has been softened thanks to the euphemistic use of the noun *rassemblement*⁶³ (*rally*), so as to tone the violent history of the party down. The euphemistic dimension was even underlined by Marine Le

⁶⁰ My emphasis.

⁶¹ (EN): The effects of economic depressions on racist behaviors were targeted by many historians in their works, particularly in the 30s. The 1973-1974 crisis was no exception, triggering the rejection of immigrant works with traditional arguments. Yet, contrary to some beliefs, the crisis has never been a starting point, but rather a revealer of already largely spread xenophobic ideas in France. This idea provided arguments and highlighted preexisting modes of expression, while developing a specific exclusion, “crisis racism”.

⁶² In 2018 in Lyon, Marine Le Pen said: “Ce nouveau nom qui claque comme un cri de ralliement mais aussi comme une promesse d'unité à laquelle aspirent tant de Français, las des querelles, des divisions et des mésintelligences”.

⁶³ The adjective *rassemblement* does not connote war (unlike *front*); however, the sense of in-groupness here is paradoxically exclusive and refers to the in-group / out-group polarization.

Pen herself, who promoted the “feminine” and “curved” shape of the logo, in a speech she delivered in Lyon in 2018:

(37) Notre emblème se déclinera désormais dans une forme plus arrondie, moins anguleuse peut-être donc plus féminine et plus englobante [FR_Le Pen_2018_06_01]

However, in spite of the new logo, the nationalist discourse has not changed. Additionally, it is essential to analyze the RN’s speeches as it has become a very popular party. Its popularity really started in 2002, when Jean-Marie Le Pen won the first round of the presidential election; then, similar results happened more than 10 years later, when Marine Le Pen, his daughter, also became one of the top-two presidential candidates in 2017 and 2022, while more recently, Jordan Bardella, the RN’s new leader, won the 2024 European elections.

Nevertheless, immigration restrictions are not desired by nationalist political parties only. For instance, even if Prime Minister Jacques Chirac signed an executive order⁶⁴ that was supposed to enable family reunification in 1976, this decree did not concern everyone (Algerian families were excluded from the program) and President Valéry Giscard d’Estaing stopped economic migrations. Similar limits also occurred these last years; for example, President Emmanuel Macron supported immigration quotas⁶⁵ in 2019 and in January 2024, Gerald Darmanin’s “loi immigration” was adopted. Thus, immigration is a theme that is very often tackled in French and American politics, which is why the speeches related to it need to be analyzed. However, before studying these speeches, they have to be described, which constitutes the second part of this chapter.

⁶⁴ Décret n°76-383 du 29 avril 1976 RELATIF AUX CONDITIONS D’ENTREE ET DE SEJOUR EN FRANCE DES MEMBRES DES FAMILLES DES ETRANGERS AUTORISES A RESIDER EN FRANCE.

⁶⁵ This aspect is developed in 1.2.3.2.1.

https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2019/11/06/immigration-le-gouvernement-dresse-un-inventaire-de-mesures-pour-occuper-le-terrain_6018235_823448.html.

2.2. Description of the corpora

2.2.1. Nature of the corpus⁶⁶

A corpus is defined as a group of texts, which is structured by an internal coherence (Garric & Longhi, 2012: 3). In this PhD thesis, two distinct corpora (“groups of texts”) were built; the first corpus consists of American speeches and the second corpus is composed of French speeches. The American corpus is composed of a corpus of interest, which consists in Trump’s speeches (named US_Trump_year_day_month), and of a sample corpus that is composed of Hillary Clinton and Joe Biden’s speeches, while the French corpus is also composed of a corpus of interest, which consists in Marine Le Pen’s speeches (named FR_Le Pen_year_day_month), and of another sample corpus that is composed of Emmanuel Macron’s speeches. The sample corpora were collected to compare them to the corpora of interest and because they correspond to the speeches delivered by Trump’s and Le Pen’s main opponents. The French corpus was collected via official and institutional websites. The five corpora are essentially composed of official transcriptions. However, when it was relevant, posters or screenshots were occasionally added to the analysis. The sampling of transcriptions was built according to the occurrence of immigration-related lexemes. The requirement was as follows: to be included in the corpus, the transcription had to comprise immigration-related keywords so as to get a homogeneous corpus, as will be developed in the following sections. For the linguistic corpus, the transcriptions of each immigration-related speech were easily retrieved on the internet; nevertheless, it was more difficult to find the corresponding videos to study other modes and create a multimodal corpus. In political discourse, and in communication in general, even if persuasion is predominantly conveyed with

⁶⁶ The corpus is available at Corpus available at: <https://owncloud.univ-lyon3.fr/s/WJrQcRiEq89HqjS>

linguistic tools, it may also be emphasized by other modes such as sounds, pictures or gestures. However, I have decided not to conduct a multimodal study *per se*, but to sometimes analyse other modes when they were available and when they reinforce the politicians' discourses about immigration. Forceville & Urios-Aparisi (2009: 22) describe a *mode* as follows:

What is labeled a mode here is a complex of various factors. As a first approximation, let us say that a mode is a sign system interpretable because of a specific perception process. Acceptance of this approach would link modes one-on-one to the five senses, so that we would arrive at the following list: (1) the pictorial or visual mode; (2) the aural or sonic mode; (3) the olfactory mode; (4) the gustatory mode; and (5) the tactile mode.

They distinguish five singular modes: each of these modes is based on one of the senses: namely, vision, hearing, smell, touch and taste. They write that this categorization can be questioned since some categories overlap. In their classification, gestures and texts should therefore be included in the same group since they rely on sight and the spoken category should consist in "non-verbal sounds", "music" and "spoken language". To solve that problem, Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009: 2) created a new categorization with nine singular groups: "(1) pictorial signs; (2) written signs; (3) spoken signs; (4) gestures; (5) sounds; (6) music (7) smells; (8) tastes and (9) touch". This new categorisation enabled them to define multimodal metaphors (2009: 24). Contrary to metaphors that rely on one mode only, multimodal metaphors are based on at least two special modes; for instance, "gestures" are often associated with "spoken signs" and "written signs" are usually related to "pictorial signs". It predominantly happens with images that are designed for elections and that regularly show multimodal metaphors that are based on "written signs" (2) (a catchphrase, for instance) and on "pictorial signs" (1) (photographs or drawings). (1) + (2) thus mutually reinforce the effect of the metaphor. This phenomenon will be further exemplified in Chapter 5.

2.2.2. Location and date

One of the objectives of this PhD thesis is to compare the metaphorical occurrences that are used in different kinds of immigration-related political discourse, between the day when Donald Trump started his presidential campaign in June 2015 to the day when Joe Biden was elected in 2020, with a particular focus on the source domains chosen and semantic prosody. Concerning the French corpus, it consists of immigration-related speeches that have been delivered from 2015 to 2020 too. In the French political landscape, the starting point is also meaningful: 2015 corresponds to the year when the Front National⁶⁷ won a significant number of votes in the first round of the regional elections in France, but also to the beginning of the Syrian refugee crisis. Between 2015 and 2020, numerous immigration-related matters overtly emerged with nationalist politicians, like Marine Le Pen and Donald Trump, even if Le Pen and her ideology were part of the political landscape before that. Additionally, the rise of nationalist politicians and the refugee crisis coincided with the continuous development of social networks on the internet. With this phenomenon, political parties changed their way of communicating and reached more citizens.

The beginning and the end of the corpus correspond to years of presidential election campaigns because a significant number of discourses are produced in those periods. Finally, even if the analyzed time span is relatively limited, it is adequate since I have chosen not to carry out a diachronic analysis but to focus on the differences between political figures and languages.

⁶⁷ The party is now called the Rassemblement National, as mentioned previously.

2.2.3. Selection of politicians

Because the metaphorical occurrences which are resorted to in order to describe immigration are not automatically similar in different languages countries, the corpus has been selected to contrast English with French. So as to put the emphasis on the influential dimension of the speeches, I have merely included the discourses of the candidates who won the first round of presidential elections in France and the U.S. In fact, the selected contenders were politically successful. Thus, it is why it was essential to analyze *their* discourses and exclude the challengers who were less popular in these elections. As a result, in the analyzed time span, one political leader who inherently supports restrictive immigration policies emerged for each country: Le Pen and Trump. Their respective discourse corresponds to two corpora of interest. They were selected to be paralleled with the speeches of their political rivals – Clinton and Biden for the U.S. and Macron for France – who also reached the second rounds of the presidential elections and are not openly in favour of restricting immigration⁶⁸.

The objective of this selection of politicians is to determine if nationalist political leaders, namely Trump and Le Pen, more frequently resort to immigration-related metaphorical occurrences, as well as distinct source domains, than their political rivals.

2.2.3.1. American politicians

2.2.3.1.1. Joe Biden

Joe Biden became the 46th president of the United States after having defeated Donald Trump in 2020. He is a member of the Democratic party and served two terms as

⁶⁸ Whether Macron, Biden and Clinton support a restrictive immigration policy or not will not be developed. The objective is not to draw a political analysis but a linguistic analysis.

Vice President from 2009 to 2017, under the Obama administration. He launched his campaign for the 2020 presidential elections in April 2019 and chose Kamala Harris, who clearly promoted the DREAM act as senator of California, to form the Biden-Harris ticket in August 2020.

During his campaign, Biden promised to secure the values of the United States as a nation of immigrants⁶⁹. He said that he would:

- 1) Take urgent action to undo Trump's damage and reclaim America's values;
- 2) Modernize America's immigration system;
- 3) Welcome immigrants in our communities;
- 4) Reassert America's commitment to asylum-seekers and refugees;
- 5) Tackle the root causes of irregular migration;
- 6) Implement effective border screening.

These measures are, of course, much more progressive than Trump's; in addition, the main element to note is that Biden's immigration policy is firstly defined according to what has to be undone after Trump's term. Thus, it shows why using Biden's speeches to compare them to the corpus of interest is relevant in this study.

2.2.3.1.2. Hillary Clinton

Hillary Clinton was a U.S. Senate member between 2001 and 2009. Between 2009 and 2013, she was President Obama's Secretary of State and she was also First Lady of the U.S. between 1993 and 2001, when her husband Bill Clinton was president. Hillary Clinton stood for national elections in the U.S. in 2008, but lost the Democratic primaries at the

⁶⁹ <https://joebiden.com/immigration/>.

time, and in 2016, as Trump's opponent in the presidential elections, after having obtained the title of the first woman nominee at the National Convention. Considering that the American election system is an indirect one, even if she failed to win the elections, she still won the popular vote with 2.9 million more votes than Trump. Hillary Clinton is a progressive and liberal politician, who considers herself "a forceful champion for human rights, internet freedom, and rights and opportunities for women and girls, LGBT people, and young people all around the globe"⁷⁰. In the presidential election, her communication team described her immigration-related measures as follows:

Hillary has been committed to the immigrant rights community throughout her career. As president, she will work to fix our broken immigration system and stay true to our fundamental American values: that we are a nation of immigrants, and we treat those who come to our country with dignity and respect—and that we embrace immigrants, not denigrate them.

The semantic prosody of this quotation is clearly positive, with the use of the substantives "dignity", "respect", but also with "embrace" as a verb. This strategy highlights the hyperpolization between Trump and her. Consequently, she overtly defended a pro-immigration agenda at the time of the presidential campaign. Nevertheless, this apparently generous plan must be qualified, since, a few years later, Hillary Clinton stated that European countries should stop welcoming immigrants⁷¹:

I admire the very generous and compassionate approaches that were taken particularly by leaders like Angela Merkel, but I think it is fair to say Europe has done its part, and must send a very clear message – 'we are not going to be able to continue to provide refuge and support' – because if we don't deal with the migration issue it will continue to roil the body politic.

Her opinions about immigrants are thus paradoxical; indeed, the initial sentence of her statement demonstrates that she defends generosity towards immigrants (with the verb

⁷⁰ <https://www.hillaryclinton.com/about/>.

⁷¹ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/22/hillary-clinton-europe-must-curb-immigration-stop-populists-trump-brexit>.

admire); however, the conjunction *but* shows that she makes a compromising step backward.

2.2.3.1.3. Donald Trump

Donald Trump is an American producer and entrepreneur who was elected President of the United States in November 2016 as a Republican candidate. Before his political career, he was famous for having presented and funded the TV reality talent series *The Apprentice* broadcast on NBC channel. Although Trump's main job nowadays consists in politics and not in hosting TV games, he has never put staginess away and has been considered a performer most of the time. For instance, Milstein & Katovsky (2016: ix) depict Trump's launch remarks with the following mocking terms: "[it] was pure theatre—wacky, digressive, narcissistic, entertaining." After that, they categorize the five main patterns found in all his speeches:

- 1) Rude, boorish comments;
- 2) Clownish pokes in the ribs;
- 3) Statements of self-regarding conceitedness;
- 4) Impertinent put-downs;
- 5) Statements of macho arrogance or racism.

The speeches that have been chosen for this PhD thesis rely on the fifth pattern: in his first presidential campaign, Trump gave priority to his intention to limit immigration. Not only did Donald Trump stop certain immigrants from coming to the U.S. and erect his "Great Wall" at the Mexican border, but he questioned Barack Obama's birth certificate:



Donald J. Trump
@realDonaldTrump

An 'extremely credible source' has called my office and told me that @BarackObama's birth certificate is a fraud.

10:23 AM · Aug 6, 2012

For instance, this tweet illustrates several features of Trump's discourse: on the one hand, it demonstrates that Trump sometimes spreads misinformation on social media; on the other hand, it shows that he is willing to overtly express racist comments.

Theatricality almost defined his term, and the end of it was not an exception since he did not accept his defeat and also called the results of the 2020 elections "a fraud" and encouraged his supporters prior to the storming⁷² of the United States Capitol in January 2021, calling Joe Biden's victory a "theft", as can be seen in the following excerpt:

(38) All of us here today do not want to see our election victory **stolen** by a bold and radical left Democrats which is what they are doing and stolen by the fake news media. That is what they have done and what they are doing. We will never give up. We will never concede. It doesn't happen. You don't concede when there's **theft** involved. [US_Trump_2021_01_06]

Although Trump won 74 million votes in the 2020 United States presidential elections, which means that he was still very popular, he was finally beaten by Joe Biden. In an analysis on Trump's discourse on Twitter concerning his defeat, Sorlin (2021) demonstrated that "[i]n his persuasive rhetoric, Trump did manage to turn obvious facts into mere opinions, to transform defeat into imminent victory, to have his fans perceive Democrats' taking office as a suspicious rush, and to arouse their fear about a reinforced alliance between the Radical Left and the fake news media." As will be developed, the

⁷² This event led to Trump's second impeachment, this time for "incitement to insurrection". He became the first American president to be impeached twice, although he was acquitted at the end of these two political trials.

concept of immigration is no exception: Trump manages to turn vulnerable or hard-working immigrants into criminals.

2.2.3.2. French politicians

2.2.3.2.1. Emmanuel Macron

Emmanuel Macon became France's youngest president in May 2017. He became well-known in 2012 as deputy secretary general, before being hired as Minister of the Economy and Finance in the French government in 2014. He then stepped down from his ministerial role in 2016 so as to run for the 2017 presidential elections. He built a new, political party, *En Marche !*, which was then called "Ensemble" and which is named "Renaissance" nowadays. He won against Marine Le Pen in 2017 with more than 65% of the suffrage and therefore became president. Macron reiterated the achievement in 2022 with 58,55% of the votes after having called for a "barrage républicain" (republican dam) against his far-right political opponent.

When he was Minister of the Economy and Finance, Macron saw immigrants as a pecuniary advantage. For instance, he used to say that refugees did not leave their territory of origin because of economic motives but because of political uncertainty. According to him, an economically liberal policy could benefit from immigrants. In addition, it is worth mentioning that Macron resorts to the positive axiology of the substantive *dignité*, like Hillary Clinton:

- (39) Je crois que si cela est fait dans le bon ordre, de manière intelligente, c'est une opportunité pour nous. [...] C'est d'abord notre **dignité** et c'est aussi une opportunité économique car ce sont des femmes et des hommes qui ont aussi des qualifications remarquables. [...] Je veux faire ici la distinction il s'agit principalement de réfugiés, c'est-à-dire de femmes et d'hommes qui, pour des raisons politiques, fuient leur pays. Pas de migrants économiques. [Macron, interview on *i24 News*, 2015, not in the corpus]

Let us now list his immigration-related intentions⁷³ of the 2017 campaign:

Objectif 1 : Une priorité absolue, l'intégration.

Objectif 2 : Une immigration de la connaissance à promouvoir.

Objectif 3 : Une France qui assume sa juste part dans l'accueil des réfugiés tout en reconduisant plus efficacement à la frontière ceux qui ne sont pas acceptés.

Objectif 4 : Une Europe qui protège ses frontières dans le respect de ses valeurs.

In the 2017 manifesto, Macron paradoxically presents both welcoming measures and a nationalist method. This ambiguity can be illustrated by the use of the euphemistic expression “reconduisant” (*taking sb home*) instead of “expulsant” (*deporting*).

One year later, the “Loi Collomb” established new immigration rules⁷⁴. This act showed distinct paradoxical points; on the one hand, the aim was to limit the duration of inquiries for asylum seekers; conversely, the second objective was to strengthen resistance against illegal immigrants. After that, in 2019, the French government transformed the state medical assistance (Aide Médicale d'État) and limited the allowance for asylum seekers (Allocation pour Demandeurs d'Asile). More recently⁷⁵, in January 2024, as already mentioned, Emmanuel Macron's Home Secretary Gerald Darmanin passed a restrictive⁷⁶ law, called “Loi asile et immigration”. One of the objectives of this law was to deport foreign delinquents more easily, as can be seen in the following tweet, posted in early January 2024, on his X account:

⁷³ <https://en-marche.fr/emmanuel-macron/le-programme/immigration-et-asile>.

⁷⁴ The law was enforced in 2018.

⁷⁵ The corpus does not mention this law.

⁷⁶ One third of the measures of this bill were censored by the French *Conseil Constitutionnel*, more particularly the measures concerning quotas, students and family reunion. Even Marine Le Pen herself considered the law an “ideological victory” <https://www.lesechos.fr/politique-societe/politique/loi-immigration-marine-le-pen-revendique-une-victoire-ideologique-2042464>.



Thus, compared to the different measures taken during his two terms, Emmanuel Macron's discourse about immigrants can be regarded as welcoming *and* restrictive at the same time.

2.2.3.2.2. Marine Le Pen

Marine Le Pen is a French far-right politician. She was elected as a deputy in 2017 and was the Rassemblement National's (RN) president from 2011 to 2021. She was replaced by Jordan Bardella in September 2021. As already mentioned in Chapter 1, Marine Le Pen replaced Jean-Marie Le Pen, her father, in 2015⁷⁷ and began a softening campaign for the party. As a result, she made the decision to remove capital punishment from her manifesto for the 2017 presidential election, which was quite progressive considering her party's racist and anti-Semitic history. Between 2004 and 2017, Marine Le Pen also had a seat in the European Parliament and placed her party in third position, with almost 18% of the suffrage when she ran for president in 2012. Nevertheless, her real success occurred in 2014 when her party obtained more than one quarter of the seats for France in the European Parliament. In addition, the first round of the 2015 regional election⁷⁸ was also a triumph for Le Pen's party: they obtained more than one quarter of

⁷⁸ [https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Elections/Les-resultats/Regionales/elecresult_regionales-2015/\(path\)/regionales-2015/FE.html](https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Elections/Les-resultats/Regionales/elecresult_regionales-2015/(path)/regionales-2015/FE.html).

the votes. After that, her political success did not stop: she came second twice, in the 2022 and 2017 presidential elections.

Even if the leader, the name, and the logo of the RN has changed, Marine Le Pen still intends to prevent immigrants from coming to France, as can be seen in excerpt (40):

(40) Ceux qui n'ont pas le choix de fuir l'immigration vivent dans la détresse et nous portons leur cri de souffrance. Ils ont conscience que **l'immigration anarchique** est une **menace** pour leur vie quotidienne, leur mode de vie et même parfois leur vie tout court.⁷⁹ [FR_Le Pen_2019_10_07]

Excerpt (40) is prototypical and is a good illustration of Marine Le Pen's plan towards immigration. She victimizes French citizens, saying they are the ones who "flee" and "suffer" while immigrants are threatening French lives: she turns a blind eye on the fact that some immigrants flee their countries because they are threatened there.

Having introduced the different political leaders of the corpus and their main ideas about immigration, it is time to describe the methodology and specify how it was built so as to replicate the study, which constitutes the third section of this chapter.

2.3. Methodology

2.3.1. Construction of the corpus

Sinclair (2004) lists appropriate procedures to build a corpus. At least four of them are essential: a) the speeches have to be selected "according to their communicative function" (the objective of politicians is to persuade voters), b) the corpus has to be "as representative as possible of the language from which it is chosen" (here, it must represent political discourse on immigration), c) the sampling as to be as comprehensive

⁷⁹ My emphasis.

as possible, which is why the size of the different corpora may differ (for instance, Biden's corpus is far smaller than Trump's), d) linguists must keep records of the decisions they made concerning the construction of the corpus (which is the objective of this chapter).

The speeches collected were all delivered between 2015 and 2020. The transcripts of the French corpora were extracted from five institutional and official websites: <http://mesure-du-discours.unice.fr/> (Université Côte d'Azur), www.vie-publique.fr, the Rassemblement National's, the Assemblée Nationale's and the Elysée's websites. The American corpus was collected thanks to the American Presidency Project (UC Santa Barbara, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>) for Donald Trump's speeches and thanks to the Archives of Women's Political Communication (<https://awpc.cattcenter.iastate.edu/>) for Hillary Clinton.

However, all the speeches delivered between 2015 and 2020 were not selected and some were rejected. The speeches in which the theme of immigration was not mentioned at least once were not selected for this PhD thesis in order to favour homogeneity and thematic coherence. Consequently, in the French corpus, if the lemmas “*migr*”, “réfugié*”, “asile*”, “clandestin*”, “papier*” (for undocumented immigrants) and “étrang*” were not mentioned in the text, the latter was not retained in the constitution of the corpus of interest. The same procedure was followed for the American corpus and the lemmas⁸⁰ *migr*, refugee*, alien*, asylum, foreign*, undocumented and deport* were

⁸⁰ According to the Cambridge dictionary, a lemma is “a form of a word that appears as an entry in a dictionary and is used to represent all the other possible forms” <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/fr/dictionnaire/anglais/lemma>. For instance, the lemma *migr* represents “immigration”, “immigrant”, “immigrants”, “migrant”, “immigrate”, “immigrated”, “immigrating”, “migrating”, “migrated” etc.

Some of the lemmas used are based on those selected by Tony McEnery in a study he made on how refugees were represented in British tabloids. Lancaster University | Week 3 Lecture: Part 2, <https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/corpus-linguistics>.

looked for in the transcripts and those that did not contain at least one of those lemmas were rejected. However, the corpus retained a certain heterogeneity, which is essential (Garric & Longhi, 2012: 4), since the speeches were delivered by five different politicians. Garric & Longhi (2012: 4) even go as far as writing that the data of a corpus has to be heterogeneous since they enable linguists to update plural and larger contexts⁸¹.

The transcripts of the speeches, then in HTML format, were cleaned: I removed all images, paralinguistic elements or superfluous information (such as the names of the speakers, laughter, applause, questions, booing, etc.) in order to convert them into .txt format, label them according to the date of their delivery and to be able to analyse them with corpus linguistics software. For that reason, I kept only the “plain text” (Sinclair, 2004) and recorded the transcripts in .txt documents. Then, I labeled each text according to the following pattern: Country_Politician_Year_Month_Day and I searched IMMIGRATION metaphors thanks to the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) designed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007: 3), as will be developed later. In addition, immigration-connected keywords were studied so as to see the fields that are frequently associated with immigrants. The collocations with immigration-related lemmas were studied in order to see to what extent the key lemmas interact with their linguistic environment and to what extent they provide a certain framing of immigration. I resorted to the software or online platforms *#LancsBox*®, *Sketch Engine*®, *WMatrix*®, *AntConc*® as well as *Tropes*® to carry out this study. Immigration-related lexemes that are over or under used were extracted to occasionally make a comparison between political speeches and

⁸¹ (In French in the original text): « En d’autres termes, introduire une hétérogénéité maîtrisée des données peut permettre d’actualiser des contextes pluriels larges qui seuls sont susceptibles de délimiter les conditions d’une construction intertextuelle. » (Garric & Longhi, 2012: 4)

reference corpora available on the platforms and software, which will be further detailed in section 2.3.3.1.

2.3.2. Size of the corpus

Collecting a corpus that is as comprehensive as possible is, of course, ideal. Nevertheless, sometimes a small corpus can be more appropriate for the objective of the study. According to Cameron & Deignan (2003: 151), it is difficult to deal with tiny corpora because it is impossible to extrapolate the conclusions found with them. Cameron & Deignan (2003: 151) state that little corpora sometimes pose a problem of representativeness. Nevertheless, a huge corpus is not necessarily a flawless corpus. They show that big corpora are problematic for several reasons: on the one hand, it is impossible to consider the social, historical or cultural background of a text with a huge corpus; on the other hand, since it is still difficult to comprehensively isolate the metaphorical occurrences with software tools, it has to be done by linguists themselves and cannot be carried out in a small amount of time if the corpus is too vast.

This idea was confirmed by Sinclair (2004). According to him, the dimension of the corpus is only related to the object of study and to the procedure that is followed. Thus, the corpus under study is a relatively small one: firstly, because the linguistic material I study consists in metaphorical occurrences but also because it is nowadays almost impossible to isolate all metaphors automatically. However, the dimension of my corpus is satisfactory since I was able to isolate IMMIGRATION metaphors without tools in a limited amount of time and to create 5 corpora with thematic coherence around the concept of immigration. Moreover, I resorted to software so as to complement the traditional identification of metaphors and to study the way immigration is framed with metaphorical occurrences but also literally in the whole corpus.

In this study, the French corpus of interest (FR_Le Pen) is composed of 41 speeches (211 382 tokens). The French sample corpus (FR_Macron) consists of 14 speeches (79 742 tokens). The American corpus of interest (US_Trump) is composed of 241 speeches (846 473 tokens) and the American sample corpus (US_Biden) of 27 speeches (46 517 tokens) and 58 speeches (181390 tokens) for Hillary Clinton (US_Clinton). The American corpus is significantly larger, which can be explained by the fact that the speeches are almost systematically transcribed in the U.S. and also because Donald Trump used to take the floor very often. However, this does not constitute an issue since the study is mostly a qualitative one and since, when compared, the corpora were analyzed with tools that are able to normalize the sizes of the corpora. For instance, in the contrastive analysis, only the relative frequency was used and not the absolute frequency.

2.3.3. Corpus linguistics software tools

Firstly, *AntConc*®⁸² consists in a “freeware corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis”. I particularly resorted to the Concordance Tool to find Key Words In Context. I also used the N-Grams tool to look for frequent words in the corpora, as well as the Keyword List device to show the terms that were less recurrent than in reference corpora. For instance, *Antconc* enabled me to study the different lexemes that collocated with the lemma *migr* in 243 speeches delivered by Trump, as can be seen in Figure 15:

⁸² Anthony, L. (2019). *AntConc* (Version 3.5.8) [Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. Available from <https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software>.

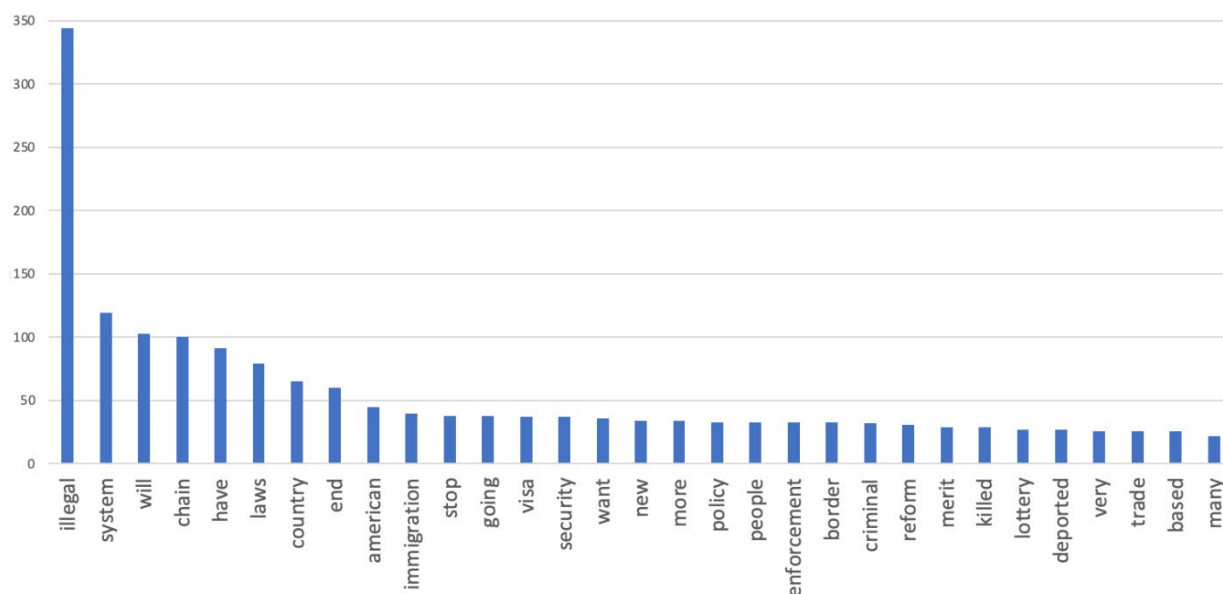


Figure 15. Collocates with *migr* in the Trump corpus, *AntConc*®

Even if the distinct platforms and computer devices sometimes share the same linguistic tools. I used several of them because of the multilingual dimension of the corpus and the variety of the speeches under study. For instance, *#LancsBox*® was also used because it is not possible to normalize corpora of different sizes with *AntConc*®, which was a tool I needed to compare the different corpora.

#LancsBox® consists of “a new-generation software package for the analysis of language data and corpora developed at Lancaster University” (Brezina, 2018). Similarly to the analysis that can be carried out with *AntConc*®, I could upload my corpus in *.txt* format so as to find the occurrences of immigration-related key lemmas and look at their linguistic environments thanks to the Key Word In Context tool. The function named GraphColl was particularly useful to find collocates of immigration-related terms. For example, the GraphColl tool was applied to a sample of fifteen transcriptions from the Trump corpus:

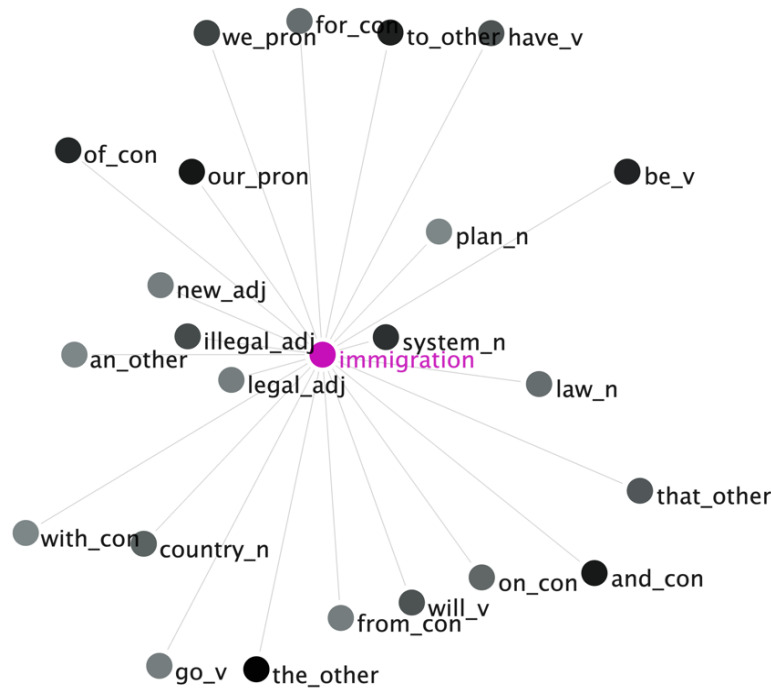


Figure 16. GraphColl for a sample of fifteen speeches in the Trump corpus, #LancsBox®

In Figure 16, “immigration” consists in the key lexeme under study. The GraphColl device displays the linguistic environment of this key lexeme; the terms that revolve around are the collocates of “immigration” in the sample. According to its developer⁸³ (Brezina, 2018), the words that closely revolve around the lexeme under study show that the collocation between them and the “node” is solid. The productivity of the collocations is illustrated by the shade of the dot (the darker the stronger) and its location around the term “immigration” corresponds to its place in the surrounding context. For instance, “illegal” is unsurprisingly placed on the left because it is mostly used as an attributive adjective. Furthermore, the dot is darker to demonstrate that the collocation between

⁸³ MOOC, Lancaster University | Wk2_video2, Brezina, V., Timperley, M., & McEnery, T. (2018). #LancsBox v. 4.x [software]. Available at: <http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/lancsbox>.

“illegal” and “immigrant” is repeated many times in the sample. The objective of Chapter 3 will be to reiterate this methodology for the whole corpus and all the politicians.

WMatrix® enables semantic analyses. It is available online, with a paid licence. Similarly to the previous software, *WMatrix*® has an Ngram tool, a collocation tool as well as a frequency and concordance tool. However, I mostly resorted to *WMatrix*® to find the most frequent semantic fields of the corpus because this function is not included in *AntConc*® or *#LancsBox*®. For instance, *WMatrix*®, used on the Trump corpus, generated the following key domain cloud, showing the different semantic domains that are frequently used in his discourse. In the domain cloud, the largest semantic domains are the most frequent in the corpus.

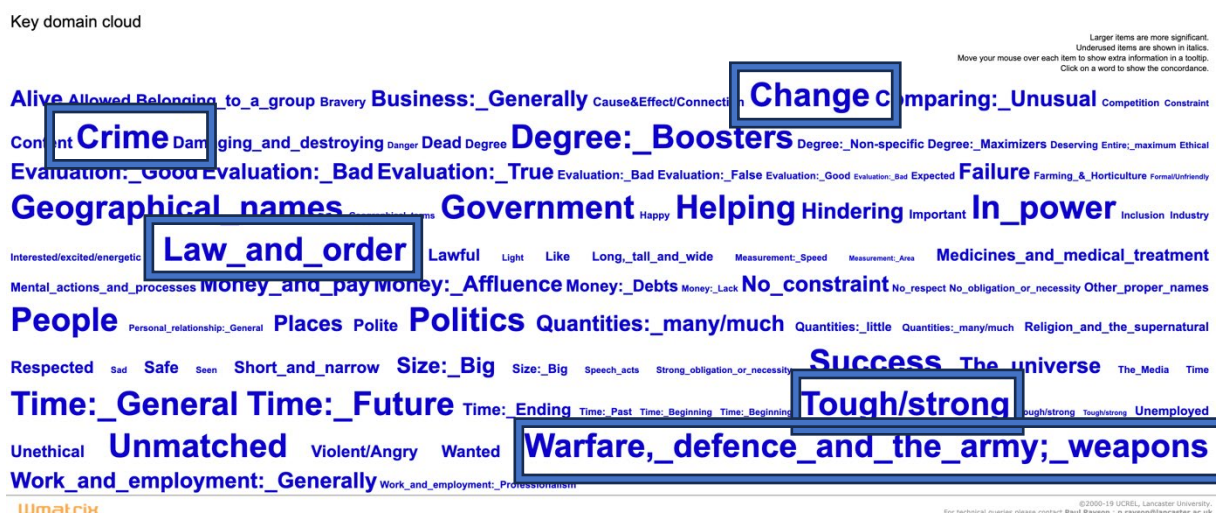


Figure 17. Key domain cloud for the Trump corpus, *WMatrix*®

For example, Figure 17 shows that Trump frequently uses semantic domains such as crime, war, strength, law and order, which will be developed in Chapter 3.

I also occasionally resorted to the platform *SketchEngine*®⁸⁴. Its main added value is that it consists of many large corpora in almost one hundred different languages. I thus used the platform to have access to reference corpora. Moreover, *SketchEngine*® helped

⁸⁴ <https://www.sketchengine.eu>.

me generate “word lists” depending on their grammatical category. Let us take the example of the substantive “immigration” in a sample from the Le Pen corpus. “Immigration” as a substantive was found more than 85 times in a sample of around eighty thousand terms. The analysis of the collocations with that noun demonstrated that verbs encoding a terminative aspect regularly co-occur with it, for instance, with verbs such as “stopper” or “arrêter” (*stop*). *SketchEngine*® displayed that the adjectives “massif” (*massive*) and “clandestin” (*undocumented*) are the most frequently used adjectives before the substantive “immigration” in the Le Pen corpus, as can be seen in Figure 18:

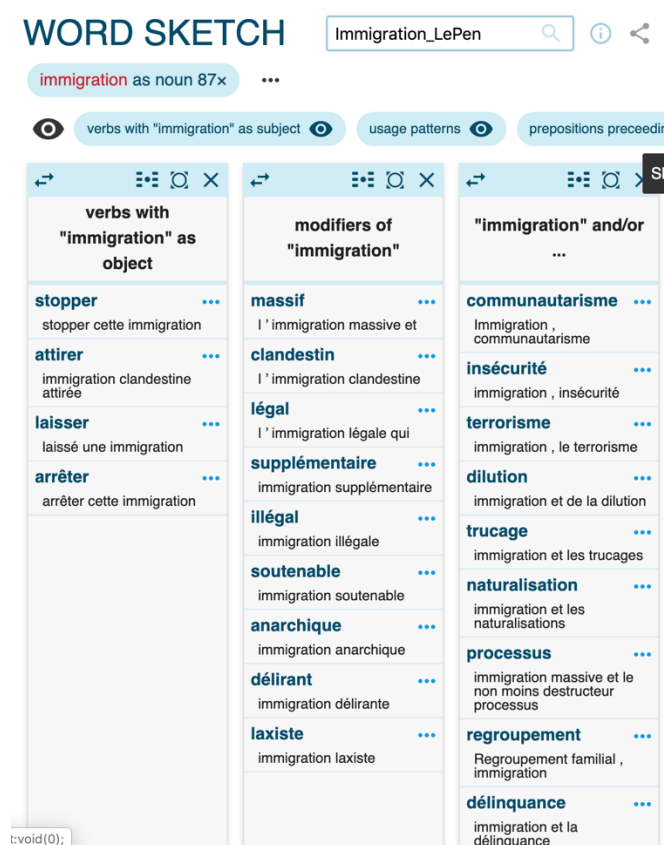


Figure 18. Modifiers of « immigration » in the Le Pen corpus, *SketchEngine*®

Finally, *Tropes*®, a software tool developed by Pierre Molette, Agnès Landré and Rodolphe Ghiglione, was used to carry out semantic analyses on the French corpus since it was not possible to do so with *WMatrix*®; the semantic tagging tool was not available in French at the time of the study. According to its developers, *Tropes*® is a tool that enables semantic classifications thanks to dictionaries. The software was mostly used for

the analysis of semantic domains in this study. It relies more particularly on Equivalent Classes. Equivalent Classes “constitute groups of closely related meanings (common nouns, proper nouns, trademarks, etc.) appearing frequently throughout the text. For example, “father” and “mother” are grouped together into the “family” class.”⁸⁵ In other words, *Tropes*’s classification is based on a hypernym-hyponym semantic relationship.

Let us consider the results of a previous study (Jamet & Lafiandra, 2023) concerning the analysis of the French corpus. *Tropes*® enabled us to generate the following graph showing the relationships between the “emigration” class, which includes “immigration”, and other equivalent classes in Marine Le Pen’s discourse.

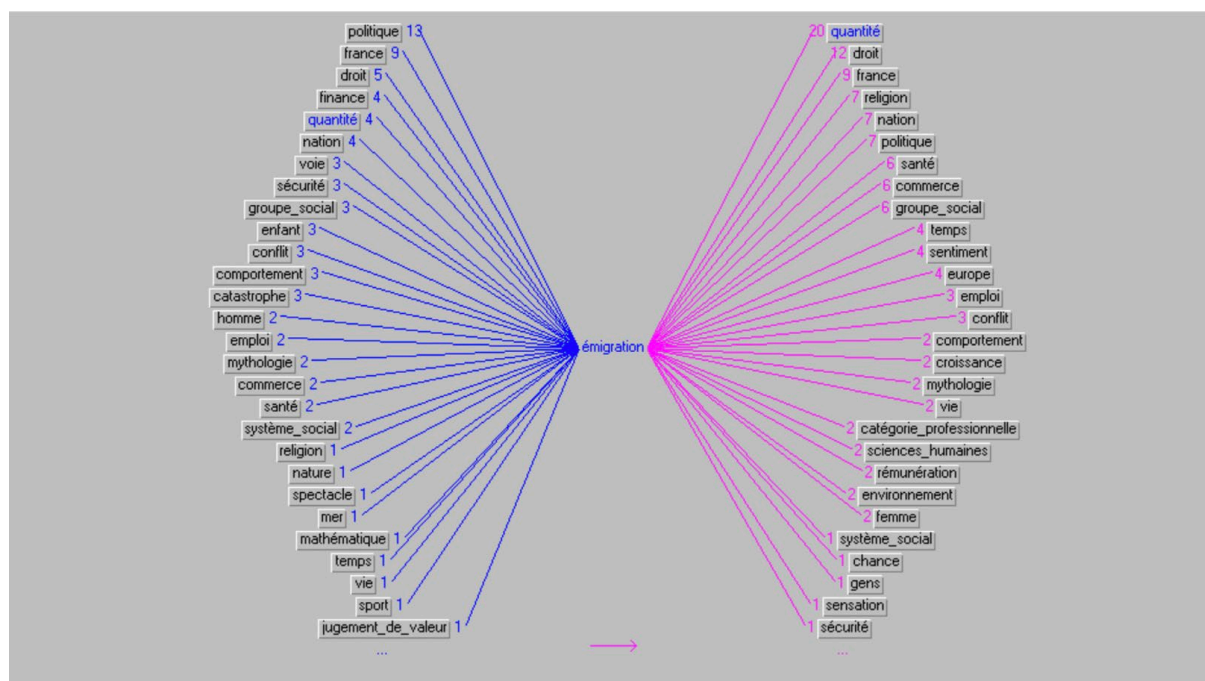


Figure 19. Semantic analysis of “émigration” in the Le Pen corpus (Jamet & Lafiandra, 2023)

The figures on the graph indicate the total numbers of relationships that exist between the related elements. The semantic analysis, illustrated by the graph, demonstrates two essential aspects about Marine Le Pen’s speeches. On the one hand, she uses a variety of semantic domains to talk about immigration: one can note domains such

⁸⁵ <https://cyberlexport.wordpress.com/produse/tropes-2/bibliografie/>.

as the environment, nature, mathematics, health, entertainment, disasters, politics, law, religion, etc. On the other hand, the semantic domain favored by the far-right candidate is that of quantity. The latter is found in both the context to the left and to the right, and the number 20, in the top right-hand corner, indicates that the semantic domain of quantity prevails in the context to the right.

2.3.4. Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP)

Corpus annotation is useful to supplement the corpora with interpretations or specific details (Leech, 2004). A well-known annotation consists in the addition of the grammatical category of a word. According to Leech (2004), corpus annotation should be regarded as an improvement and not as a burden, which is for example the case for Sinclair⁸⁶. With the annotation of corpora it is now possible to automate studies as well as to reiterate the methodology to answer other questions. Nowadays, annotating a corpus can be done automatically thanks to linguistic software tools, which is very convenient when studying a substantial corpus. Nevertheless, a metaphor cannot be automatically labelled yet and linguists must do so without tools: their interpretation is still essential. Besides, metaphors so strongly rely on shared knowledge and culture that it would be very difficult for a software tool to recognize them all. According to Steen *et al.* (2010: 3) the emergence and success of corpus annotation put the detection of metaphorical occurrences at the heart of linguistics.

In *Critical Metaphor Analysis*, Charteris-Black (2004: 35) also sees the detection of metaphorical occurrences as a priority for linguists. Before that, Low & Cameron (1999: 105) described this procedural necessity. According to them, “[a]ppplied metaphor studies

⁸⁶ http://icar.cnrs.fr/ecole_thematique/contaci/documents/Baude/wynne.pdf.

cannot avoid the issue of rigorous identification of metaphorical, in contrast to non-metaphorical, language". Moreover, the detection of a metaphor is biased and relative, especially when metaphors are lexicalized. According to Charteris-Black (2004: 35), the inevitable biased interpretation affects predominantly lexicalized or semi-lexicalized metaphors because the way they lexicalized themselves depends on each receiver. Consequently, the degree of lexicalization makes the detection of metaphors increasingly difficult. However, some solutions were found by Charteris-Black (2004: 35), who required different steps in the detection:

The first requires a close reading of a sample of texts with the aim of identifying candidate metaphors. [...] The second stage is a further qualitative phase in which corpus contexts are examined to determine whether each use of a keyword is metaphoric or literal.

The procedure designed by Charteris-Black (2004: 37) extracts the metaphorical occurrence during the identification phase but then focuses mostly on its linguistic environment for the interpretation. The analysis of the context therefore plays an essential role.

Following Deignan's work, several researchers (namely Cameron, Cienki, Crisp, Deignan, Gibbs, Grady, Kövecses, Low, Semino and Steen), also called the Pragglejaz group came up with a procedure to detect metaphorical occurrences. The method is the well-known MIP (for *Metaphor Identification Procedure*). The Pragglejaz Group (2007: 2) designed "an explicit, reliable, and flexible method for identifying metaphorically used words in spoken and written language" and distinguished different stages to properly identify a metaphor (Pragglejaz Group, 2007: 3):

1. Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text–discourse
3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.

(b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be

—More concrete [what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste];

—Related to bodily action;

—More precise (as opposed to vague);

—Historically older;

Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

(c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

This methodology can be summarised as Semino *et al.* (2018: 5) put it. According to them, an expression can be considered a metaphor if “(a) its ‘contextual meaning’ contrasts with a ‘basic meaning’ that is more physical and concrete (although not necessarily more frequent) and (b) where the contextual meaning can be understood via comparison with the basic meaning”. Steen *et al.* (2010) proposed an updated procedure, named Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit. It consists of a slightly different alternative, which is defined by Steen *et al.* (2010: 8) as follows:

Contrary to common practice in cognitive linguistics, the Pragglejaz Group do not aim to identify the precise nature of the underlying conceptual mappings between domains, such as argument and war, or emotions and temperatures, themselves. They identify the linguistic forms of metaphor, not its conceptual structures.

However, so have to obtain a more general overview and even if with the original MIP the interpreter is not able to categorize metaphorical occurrences with their “conceptual structures”. Thus, I used the MIP for the first part of the procedure, namely to detect the metaphors. After that, I relied on the MIPVU and classified the occurrences depending on their source domains and tried to determine their “underlying conceptual mappings”. More recently, Reijnierse (2019) developed the Procedure for Identifying Metaphors (PIM) in French; however, this method was not followed as more than half of my corpus is composed of American speeches. This is also why MIP was preferred: this methodology is more general and works on English and French texts. Fifteen different source domains

to frame IMMIGRATION were found: CONTAINER, LIQUID, FIGHT, CHAIN, BURDEN, ANIMAL, ATTRACTION, LOTTERY, DIRT, PLANT, BROKEN SYSTEM, DREAM, COMMODITIES, FOOD and DISEASE. Furthermore, after the use of *WMatrix*® and *Tropes*®, which enabled be to identify the semantic domains that prevailed in the description of immigration, it became easier to classify the metaphors. For instance, the semantic domain of *war* and *crime* were some of the most frequent domains found by *WMatrix*® in Trump's corpus (see Figure 17) and these domains are also more specifically found as major source domains in IMMIGRATION metaphors, as will be developed in Chapter 4. Thus, software tools are useful to pave the way to metaphorical studies and to define the scope of the corpus concerning one particular theme.

2.4. Conclusion

This second chapter displayed the methodology for the corpus analysis. Two different corpora of transcripts were created. There is one English corpus and a French corpus since the objective is to compare two languages. The English corpus is composed of speeches delivered by American politicians, namely Trump, Clinton and Biden. While the French corpus is composed of speeches delivered by Le Pen and Macron. For each corpus, the top-two candidates to presidential elections were selected because they were popular during the period under study. The speeches were collected according to the frequency of immigration-related terms thanks to the transcripts already available on the internet. They were then cleaned and converted into *.txt* format. If a speech did not include at least one of these terms, it was not added to the corpus, which is available at <https://owncloud.univ-lyon3.fr/s/WJrQcRiEq89HqjS>. The theme of immigration was chosen because both Le Pen and Trump put immigration at the centre of their respective political manifesto. Furthermore, 2015 corresponds to the year when Trump announced

that he was running for president as well as the start of the Syrian conflict that led some refugees to Europe. 2020 corresponds to the date when Trump was defeated by Joe Biden. The Le Pen corpus is composed of more than 200,000 tokens, the Macron corpus is composed of almost 80,000 tokens, the Trump corpus is composed of 800,000 tokens, the Biden corpus is composed of more than 40,000 tokens, and the Clinton corpus is composed of 100,000 tokens. Finally, I exposed the methodology I used for the identification of metaphor, namely the MIP developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007).

This chapter also presented the software I used for the textometric and semantic analyses available in chapter 3: I particularly used *AntConc*®, which is a corpus analysis tool-kit for concordancing, but also *#LancsBox*®, *WMatrix*®, *SketchEngine*® and *Trope*®.

Chapter 3: Textometric and Semantic Analyses of the Corpora

3.0. Introduction

3.1. Relative frequencies

3.2. Collocations

3.2.1. Collocations in the American corpus

3.2.4. Collocations in the French corpus

3.3. Semantic analyses

3.4. Comparisons: the American vs. the French corpus

3.5. Conclusion

3.0. Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to summarize and interpret the results of the textometric and semantic analyses of the corpora concerning the axiology of the representation of immigration. The sub-questions under study in this chapter are SQ1 and SQ5: How often do political leaders refer to immigration? What are the main semantic domains used in combination with immigration-related terms?

The term *textometry* was coined in France in the 1980s and refers to a field that relies on different techniques for the analysis of large bodies of texts. This field follows lexicometry and text statistical analysis and offers tools and methods: it is the analysis of digital texts with the help of computer science. As explained by Pincemin et al. (2008), it consists in the use of statistics to unfold some textual characteristics of a corpus. The purpose of this chapter is therefore to draw the specificities of the corpora used and to compare them. Pincemin et al. (2008) write that there are two types of characteristics revealed by the different tools.

Firstly, these characteristics can be related to phraseology or semantic fields; in other words, they are related to how words attract themselves in context. Then, these characteristics can be linked with the internal organization of the text. The authors also write that the results of the calculations are usually presented synthetically with lists of graphs. Finally, they add that the interpretation of the statistics is not only based on figures but also on the systematic analysis of the context, which is particularly relevant considering the impact semantic prosody can have. One of the purposes of this chapter is to present the results of a quantitative analysis, which was carried out with the help of the statistic tools provided by software tools, in order to have some patterns emerge. The goal of the textometric analysis is to offer new perspectives, with calculations that could not have been done manually, concerning how immigration is generally framed in each corpus.

The first part of this chapter will consist in a comparison of the sub-corpora, so as to draw the differences and invariants between nationalist politicians and their political opponents, with the use of relative frequency. The second part will show that the analysis of frequent collocations with immigration-related terms can be a way to identify *in praesentia* metaphors very quickly and paves the way for their studies in the corpus. Finally, I will present the similarities and differences between the French and American corpora concerning immigration.

3.1. Relative frequencies

The objective of this section is to quickly determine how central immigration is in each sub-corpus by comparing the number of times the noun *immigration* is used by each politician.

Figure 20 and Figure 21 show the relative frequency of the terms used in Donald Trump and Joe Biden's speeches. Relative frequency, contrary to absolute frequency, makes it possible to normalize samples of different sizes by relating the absolute frequency of a term to the total number of terms in the corpus. It works as if each corpus were composed of one million words. SketchEngine defines relative frequency as follows:

[relative frequency, frequency per million](#) (also called freq/mill in the interface) a number of occurrences (hits) of an item per million, also called i.p.m. (instances per million). It is used to compare frequencies between corpora of different sizes.

Relative frequency therefore has enabled me to compare the words which are the most frequently resorted to by Donald Trump and Joe Biden.

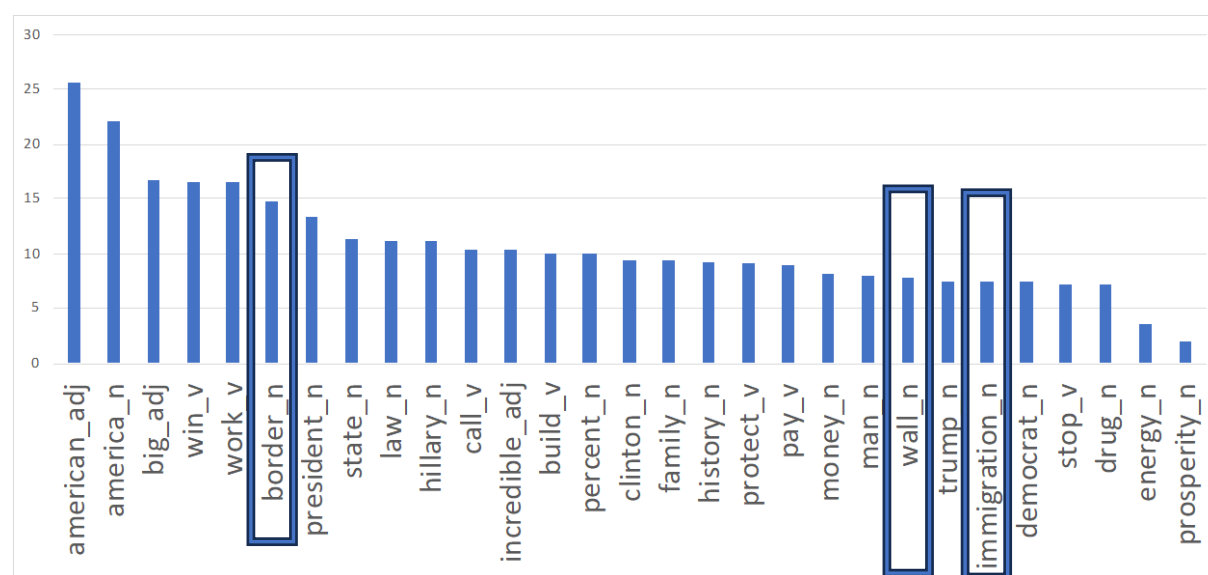


Figure 20. Donald Trump's wordlist (relative frequency)

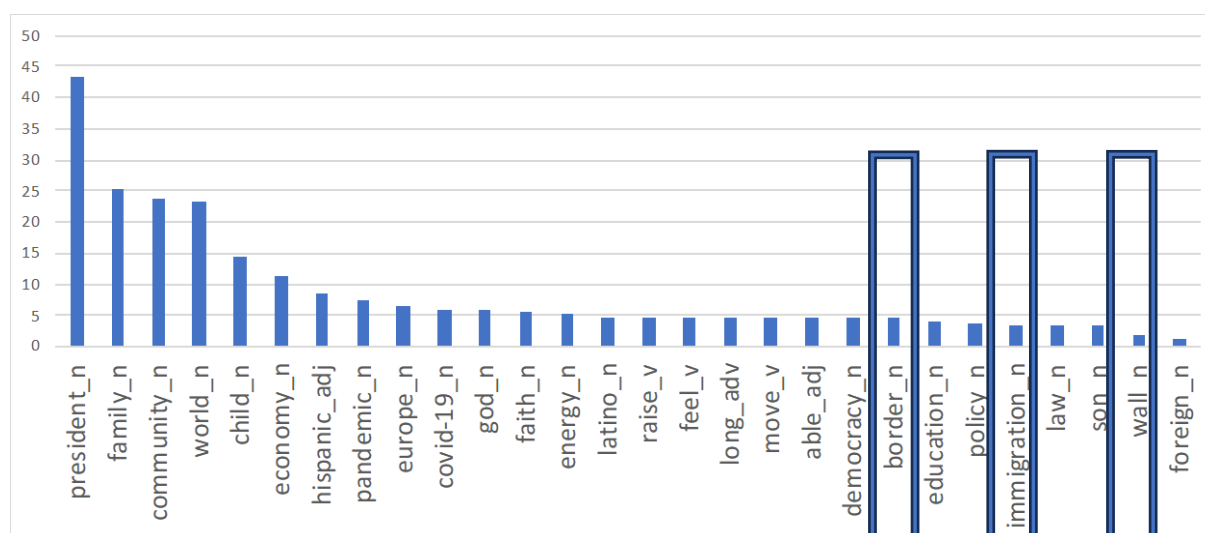


Figure 21. Joe Biden's wordlist (relative frequency)

For instance, the results concerning the relative frequency of the noun *immigration* show that Donald Trump resorts to this lexeme far more often than his opponent: 7.5 instances per million (i.p.m.) for Donald Trump against 3.4 i.p.m. for Joe Biden. This means that in one million words, the noun *immigration* occurs 7.5 times in the Trump corpus and 3.4 times in the Biden corpus. Thus, despite the fact that the corpora were selected according to the theme of immigration and key lemmas related to it, it is still Donald Trump who mentions the notion more often, although the context always needs to be examined to get the real axiology of the word, as developed in Chapter 4.

The main result from the comparison is that Donald Trump does talk about immigration more frequently than his opponent and repeats lexical terms associated with this theme (*border* 14.8 i.p.m; *wall* 7.7 i.p.m for Trump against 4.5 and 1.9 i.p.m for Biden), although the two corpora were supposed to mention the notion of immigration at least once. This means that Trump uses the repetition of immigration-related lexemes far more often than Biden and confirms that he did focus his campaign on immigration policies and more particularly on his promise to build a wall between the U.S. and Mexico.

Furthermore, the comparison of the key lemmas with #Lancsbox® has shown that **migr**, which is the most prototypical immigration lemma, is overused by Donald Trump,

as can be seen in Figure 22. The graph presents the dispersion of the lemma **migr** in the reference corpus AmE06⁸⁷ compared to its dispersion in the corpus of interest. As developed by the analysis on #Lancsbox@: “the t-test ($t(253.14) = -7.81, p < 0.001$) revealed a statistically significant difference between the corpora with regard to the linguistic variable **migr**.” The t-test “compares the values of the linguistic variable in two corpora and takes into consideration the internal variation in each group expressed as variance”. In other words, in Figure 22, the dispersion is illustrated by the two different error bars. The bar that corresponds to the use of **migr** in AmE06 is far smaller and lower than the bar which represents the dispersion in the TRUMP_Corpus, which proves the corpus of interest is representative of immigration speeches, which is no surprise considering it was one methodological criterion:

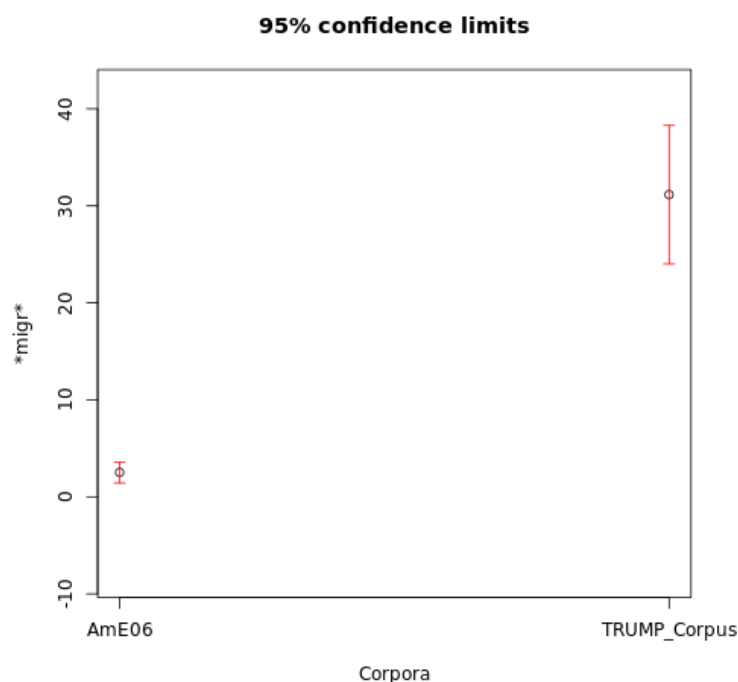


Figure 22. Error bars plot for **migr** in AmE06 and TRUMP_Corpus

⁸⁷ “The AmE06 Corpus is a one-million-word corpus of published general written American English” and is included in #Lancsbox <https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/linguistics/about/people/paul-baker>. It is composed of 500 texts, 1.001.024 tokens and 48.689 lemmas.

The same analysis was carried out on Clinton's speeches. Figure 23 shows an example of the relative frequency of Hillary Clinton's most frequently used terms.

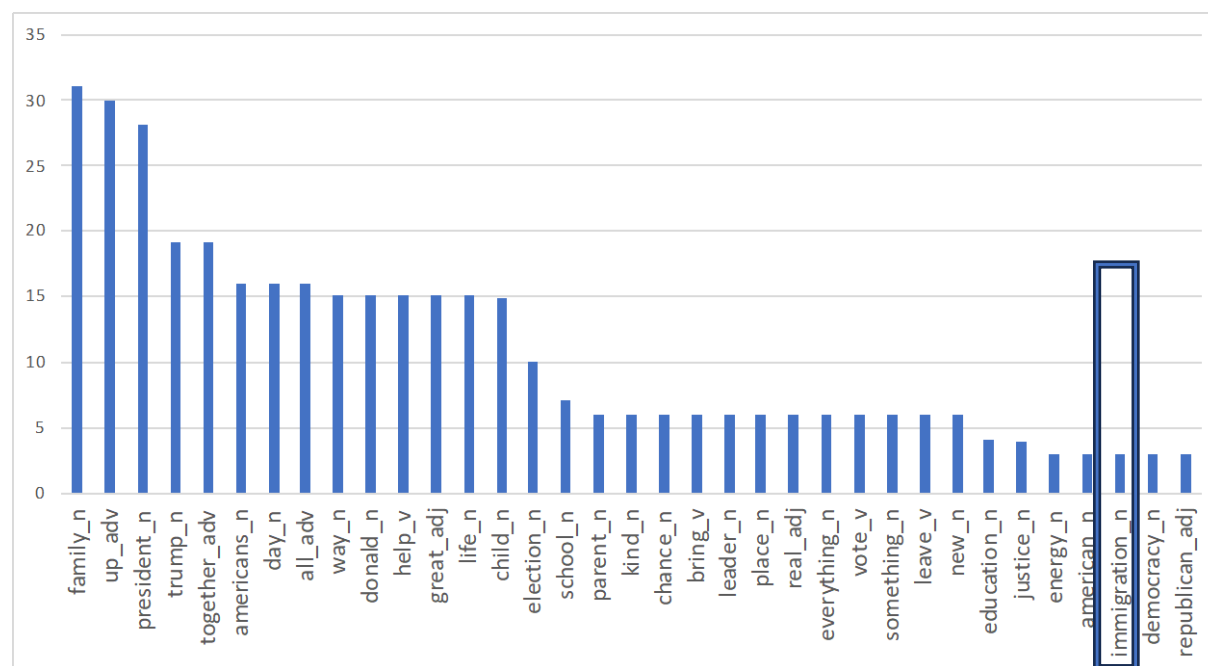


Figure 23. Hillary Clinton's wordlist (relative frequency)

The analysis of relative frequency shows that Hillary Clinton repeats the patronyms of her political opponent (namely Trump) even more than Joe Biden does. As will be developed in Chapters 4 and 5, Clinton's political strategy is to blame her opponent by referring to him and to make metalinguistics comments about how he talks about immigrants. The relative frequency for the proper noun *Trump* is 19 i.p.m and 15 i.p.m for *Donald* (while it is 10,9 i.p.m for Joe Biden) against 11 i.p.m for *Hillary* in Donald Trump's speeches. When she resorts to the patronyms, it is to mock Donald Trump, to criticize his manifesto or to defend herself against what he has said about her, women or immigrants. Let us consider the following example:

- (41) Now republicans don't want to care about any of these things. Their **flamboyant front-runner** has grabbed a lot of attention lately but if you look at everyone else's policies they're pretty much the same. They're **Trump** without the pizzazz, or **the hair** [laughter]. You know a lot of people have said a lot of things about **my hair** over the years, so I do kind of know what **Donald** is going through [laughter]. And if anyone wonders if mine is real, here's the answer, the **hair** is real, the color isn't [laughter and applause]. Come to think of it I wonder if that's true for **Donald** too

[laughter]. Look you hear Mr. **Trump** say **hateful things about immigrants**, even about their babies. How many others disagree with him, or support a real path to citizenship, or draw the line at repealing the 14th amendment. Today the party of Lincoln has become the party of **Trump**. Think about it. Now, of course, Mr. **Trump** also **insults** and **dismisses** women, and by the way just yesterday he **attacked** me once again and said I didn't have a clue about women's health issues. Really? I mean you can't make this stuff up folks. **Trump** actually says he would do a much better job for women than I would. Now that's a general election debate that's going to be a lot of fun. [US_Clinton_2015_09_01]

In example (41), Hillary Clinton's strategy to seduce voters firstly relies on humor and irony, for instance when she uses the periphrasis *flamboyant front-runner* to refer to Donald Trump. The humorous tone of the excerpt is based on self-deprecation about her hair and her age, which makes the audience laugh. This strategy can be considered a concession as she even says she understands what Donald Trump has to go through, with the use of the emphatic auxiliary *do* in the structure *I **do** kind of know what Donald is going through*. The tactic enables her to erase the dichotomy her opponent intends to create so as to then criticize him even more, not on superficial but on tangible social issues such as discrimination or women's rights. Excerpt (41) is also prototypical concerning the topic under study as Hillary Clinton denounces what Donald Trump says about immigrants using the negatively connoted adjective *hateful* which modifies the hypernym *things* in a metalinguistic comment about her rival's discourse on immigrants. Her goal is to show that she entirely disagrees with Trump's framing of immigration.

The results found thanks to the analysis of relative frequency were predictable: the noun *immigration* is more frequently resorted to by Donald Trump (7,5 i.p.m) than by Hillary Clinton (3,0 i.p.m) or Joe Biden with 3,4 i.p.m). As for the noun *refugee*, the results are similar with 1,6 i.p.m in the Trump_corpus and 2,0 i.p.m in the Clinton_corpus, although the slight difference illustrates the fact that Donald Trump considers immigrants as people who are going to harm the U.S. and who need to be deported, while Hillary

Clinton describes them as people who need help because they are fleeing the conflicts of their home countries, as can be seen in the following examples:

- (42) Like Benjamin Franklin, who formed the first volunteer fire department because he figured out if your neighbor's house is on fire, it's your problem, too. Americans join clubs and civic organizations and congregations and political parties, and that volunteer spirit made America's great democratic experiment possible. And what's the 2019 version of that? Well, it's going to Puerto Rico to help rebuild after the hurricane, as some of you have done. It's volunteering at the local women's shelter or helping refugees who just moved in settle down the block, as some of you have done that, too. [US_Clinton_2019_05_29]
- (43) One of the biggest issues for Minnesota in this election is the subject of refugees. This is a matter of National Security. To protect our country, I suspended the entry of refugees from foreign nations compromised by terrorism – including from Syria, Somalia and Yemen. We are keeping Radical Islamic Terrorists out of our country! Biden has pledged a staggering 700 percent increase in refugees from the most dangerous and violent terrorist hot spots on earth. He has also vowed to terminate our national security travel bans, allowing for unlimited migration from war zones, and terrorist havens. Biden's deadly migration policies will overwhelm taxpayers and open the floodgates to terrorists, jihadists, and violent extremists. Under my Administration, the safety of our families will always come FIRST. [US_Trump_2020_10_30]

Examples (42) and (43) demonstrate that the noun *refugee* can acquire a very different axiology, depending on semantic prosody. Excerpt (42) illustrates that Clinton generally refers to refugees by insisting on the help they should receive: the surrounding context of the word includes the notion of altruism with the verbs *help* and *volunteer*. While in example (43), the term refugee acquires a negative axiology with semantic prosody: Trump repeatedly resorts to terms that refer to *violence* or *death*, for instance with the adjectives *deadly* and *dangerous*, as well as the noun *terrorists*, which is repeated three times.

Let us now determine whether that phenomenon is similar in the French corpus.

Figure 24 and Figure 25 present Le Pen's and Macron's wordlists after the normalization of the corpora's sizes:

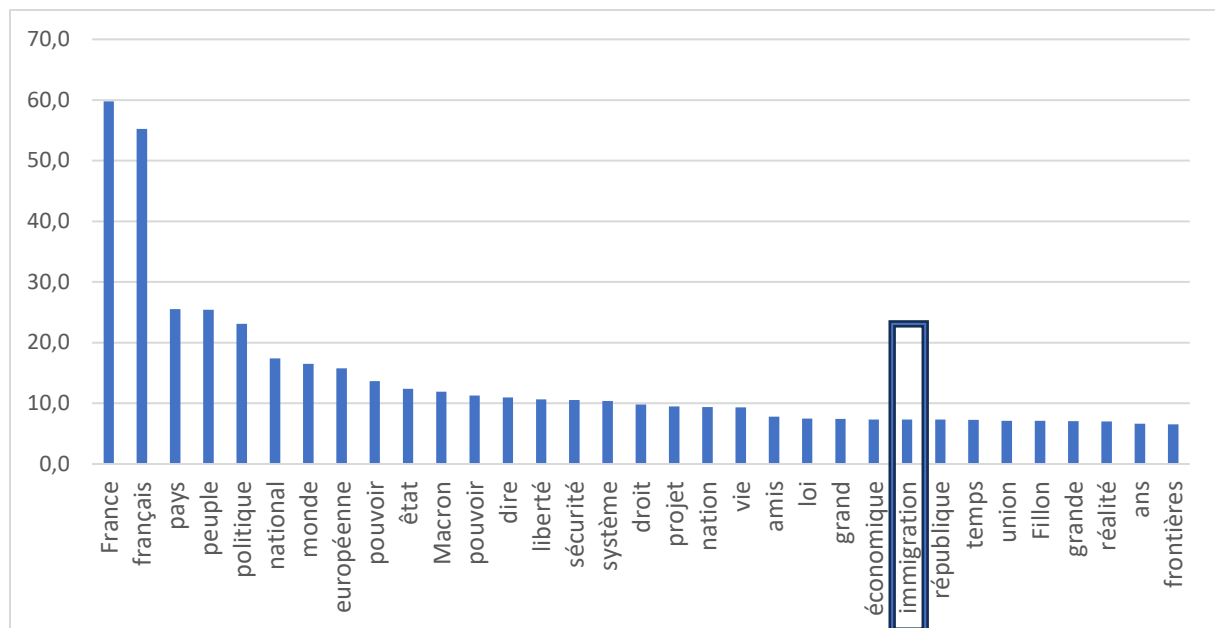


Figure 24. Marine Le Pen's wordlist (relative frequency)

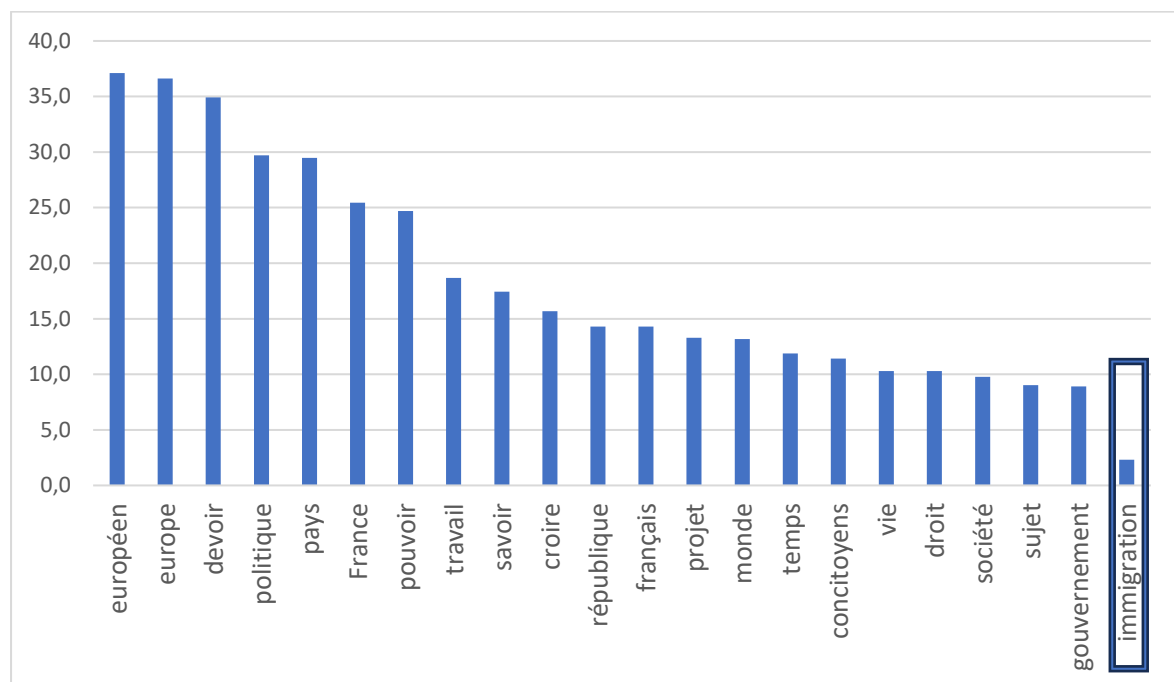


Figure 25. Emmanuel Macron's wordlist (relative frequency)

The analysis of relative frequencies in the French corpus shows that there are three times as many occurrences of the noun *immigration* in Marine Le Pen's speeches (7.3 i.p.m. against 2.38 i.p.m for Emmanuel Macron) despite the fact that the transcripts were selected only if they contained one keyword related to the theme in both cases. It confirms that Marine Le Pen uses lexical repetitions as a strategy to prove her point, namely the need for more restrictive immigration policies. This strategy is clearly similar to Trump's

in the sense that they both repeat that they want to stop immigration, as can be seen in the following examples:

(44) N'ont-ils pas assez travaillé, et travaillé encore, pour payer des impôts qu'on ne cesse d'augmenter, quand on ouvre grand les portes à tous ceux, légaux ou illégaux, qui veulent venir s'installer en France ? Stop ! Le système veut-il prendre aux Français jusqu'à leur dernier sou ? Rendons leur argent aux Français ! [FR_Le Pen_2017_03_11]

(45) I am going to end illegal immigration, stop the massive inflow of refugees, keep jobs from pouring out of our country, renegotiate our disastrous trade deals, and massively reduce taxes and regulations on our workers and our small businesses. [US_Trump_2016_10_04]

Excerpt (44) and (45) demonstrate Trump's and Le Pen's frequent strategy: they repeatedly claim that their goal is to put an end to immigration, for instance with the verbs *stop* or *end*. The main difference between the two examples is that Le Pen talks about legal and illegal immigrants while Trump refers to illegal immigrants and refugees only.

At the scale of the whole corpus, the relative frequencies concerning immigrant-related terms follow the continuum of the global political range: Trump repeats the noun *immigration* more often than the other politicians (7.5 i.p.m). He is then followed by Le Pen, with a comparable relative frequency of 7.3 i.p.m, while Biden, Clinton and Macron are far behind and use the term with a similar relative frequency, respectively 3.4; 3.0 and 2.38 i.p.m.



Figure 26. Relative frequencies of the noun "immigration" in the corpus

As expected, the study of relative frequencies demonstrates that there are two categories of politicians in the corpus: those who very often talk about immigration (Le Pen and Trump) and those who talk about it but who do not necessarily repeat the lexical terms related to it.

However, the high frequency of a term does not mean anything concerning its evaluative dimension. In order to draw conclusions about the axiology of the noun “immigration”, it is absolutely necessary to look at the context. Although reading the texts or listening to the speeches remains the most accurate method, some linguistic tools can give us insight thanks to the automatic analysis of collocations.

3.2. Collocations

In this section, the close⁸⁸ context of the key search lemmas will be analyzed for each sub-corpus so as to determine whether the axiology associated with immigration is rather positive or negative. This section is based on the notion of semantic prosody – in other words, immigration-related terms will have a positive or a negative semantic prosody if their collocates are respectively connoted positively or negatively.

3.2.1. Collocations in the American corpus

3.2.1.1. Collocations in Donald Trump's speeches

In the Trump corpus, the search term *asylum* occurs 46 times (0.541 per 10k), in 20 out of 243 speeches, the search lemma **migr** occurs 1065 times (12.531 per 10k) in the corpus, in 233 out of 243 speeches, the search term *alien** occurs 48 times (0.565 per 10k) in the corpus, in 28 out of 243 speeches. The search term *foreign** occurs 365 times. The search term *refugee** occurs 148 times in the corpus, in 62 out of 243 speeches, and there are 13 occurrences of the search term *deport** (0.153 per 10k) in 13 out of 243 transcripts, while there was no occurrence of the search term *undocumented*. In order to

⁸⁸ The span was 5-5: five words on the left of the key lemma, five on the right.

find the collocates of these search terms, the filter */*_(n/v/adj/adv)/* was added so as to keep only lexical collocates with the graphcoll tool on #Lancsbox®.

3.2.1.1.1. **migr**

The analysis was carried out thanks to #Lancsbox®, which generated the following table regarding the collocates with the lemma **migr**.

L	illegal_adj	344
R	be_v	316
R	have_v	144
R	system_n	119
R	will_v	103
L	chain_n	96
R	law_n	84
L	end_v	69
R	country_n	67
R	policy_n	53
R	border_n	52
L	want_v	51
L	stop_v	46
L	go_v	45
L	immigration_n	39
R	security_n	38
R	visa_n	38
R	american_adj	37
R	come_v	34
R	enforcement_n	34
R	people_n	33
R	deport_v	32
L	new_adj	32
R	criminal_adj	31
R	lottery_n	31
L	kill_v	30

The letters L and R stand for Left and Right, which indicate the position of the collocates in relation to the keyword. However, in this study the position of the collocate is not taken

into consideration; only frequency matters. In the following graph (Figure 27), the collocates of **migr** are categorized according to their frequency in the corpus:

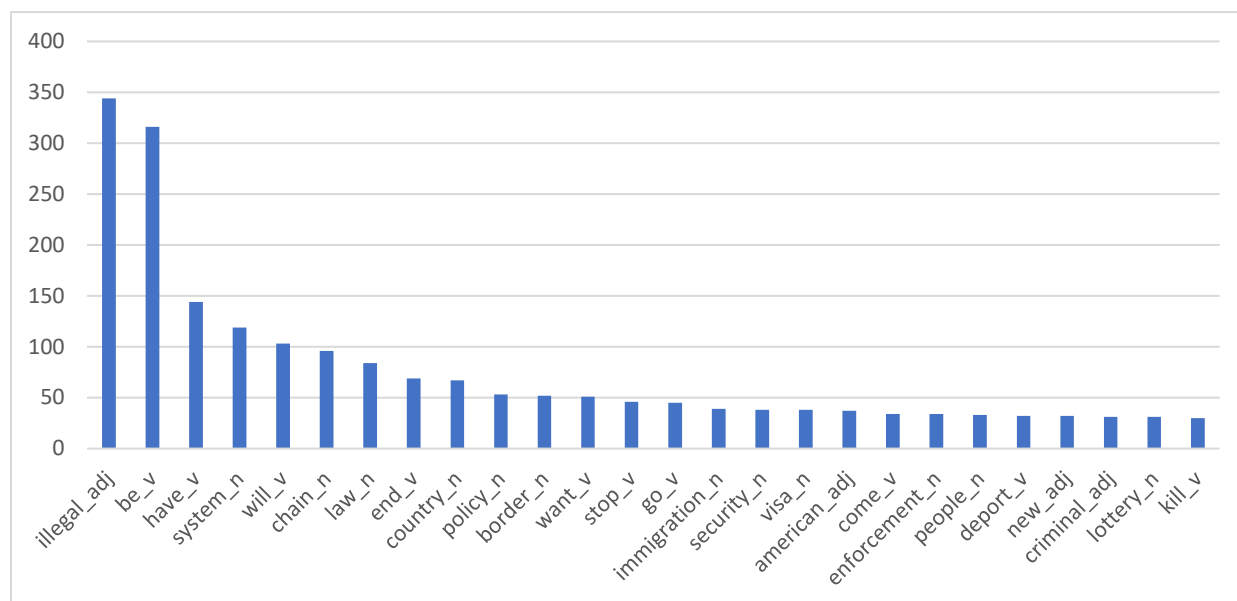


Figure 27. Collocates of **migr** in the Trump corpus

The lexeme that is the most frequently used with **migr** is the adjective *illegal*, with 344 occurrences of this collocation, such as in the following examples:

- (46) This decision occurred in the same sanctuary city that released the 5-time deported **illegal immigrant** who gunned down innocent Kate Steinle in her father's arms. [US_Trump_2017_04_25]
- (47) Instead, I'm going to deliver a detailed policy address on one of the greatest challenges facing our country today, **illegal immigration**. [US_Trump_2016_08_31]

In example (46), the collocation *illegal immigrant* is itself associated with a tragic event and with a negatively connoted relative clause and more particularly the verb *gunned down*, which refers to violence. A dichotomy is created since the name of the victim is modified by the positively connoted adjective *innocent*. The supposedly “violent immigrant” is opposed to the harmless American victim, which is a trend in Trump’s speeches: he turns the noun *immigrant* into an axiologically negative lexeme. This phenomenon constitutes the main framing of immigration in Trump’s speeches.

Following Entman's definition of a frame, there is Trump's diagnosis (an illegal immigrant killed a woman), his evaluation of the situation (illegal immigrants are violent) and the prescription (illegal immigrants should be deported). The frequent repetition of this frame then applies to immigrants as a whole (and not only illegal ones), who are then regarded as violent. Example (47) illustrates that Donald Trump thinks that illegal immigration is a major problem with the superlative *greatest*. Immigrants are thus often associated with unlawfulness and the adjective *illegal* is by definition regularly associated with negatively connoted contexts. Furthermore, *illegal* is not the only adjective that refers to the notion of criminality: the graph also shows that **migr** frequently collocates, for example, with the adjective *criminal* (31 occurrences) or the verb *kill* (30 occurrences) to emphasise immigrants' violent behaviours. For instance, in example (48), Donald Trump repeats the lemma *kill**, first with the past participle *killed* and then with the noun *killing*. With the analysis of semantic prosody in this excerpt, it is possible to say that immigration acquires a negative axiology because it is very frequently associated with negatively connoted terms such as the verb *murder* and the noun *death*. There is a repeated pattern: immigration is recurrently associated to illegality. Incidentally, Donald Trump blames his opponent for this predicament: in excerpt (48), the crime is President Obama's fault.

- (48) We are going to shut down the Sanctuary Cities that have led to the preventable **deaths** of so many. Cases like Kate Steinle, **murdered** in San Francisco by a 5-time deported **illegal immigrant**. Or cases like Sarah Root, **killed by an illegal immigrant** released at the border by President Obama – and then released again after the **killing**.
[US_Trump_2016_10_03.txt]

Example (49) shows the context of the adjective *criminal*, which is itself associated with immigration. Once again, the negative collocation is not isolated since it is associated with the verb *threaten*, which is opposed to the adjective *peaceful* that modifies the noun

citizens. It reinforces Donald Trump's will to create a dichotomy between violent immigrants, on the one hand, and calm American people on the other – thus confirming Teun A. van Dijk's theories described in Chapter 1:

- (49) Nearly **180,000 illegal immigrants with criminal records**, ordered deported from our country, are tonight roaming free to **threaten peaceful citizens**. [US_Trump_2016_07_21.txt]

Furthermore, Donald Trump's restrictive immigration policies, and more specifically the construction of the wall, not surprisingly echo his rejection discourse when he resorts to several terminative verbs such as *end* (69 occurrences) or *stop* (46 occurrences) to talk about immigration. His main desire is to put an end to it, as can be illustrated in excerpt (50):

- (50) We are going to build a great border wall to **stop** illegal immigration, to **stop** the gangs and the violence, and to stop the drugs from pouring into our communities. I have been honored to receive the endorsement of America's Border Patrol Agents, and will work directly with them to protect the integrity of our lawful, lawful, lawful immigration system. Lawful. By **ending** catch-and-release on the border, we will **stop** the cycle of human smuggling and violence. Illegal border crossings will go down. We will **stop** it. [US_Trump_2016_07_21.txt]

Moreover, the analysis of collocations uncovered two *in-praesentia* IMMIGRATION metaphors which are frequently resorted to by Donald Trump in collocation with immigration: the CHAIN (96 occurrences) and the LOTTERY metaphors (31 occurrences), which are both negatively connoted and which will be developed in Chapter 4. Finally, this textometric analysis shows that according to Trump, immigration is systematically equivalent to *illegal* immigration, which encodes a negative axiology. In this case, it is the process of semantic prosody, namely the repeated use of the adjective *illegal* with the noun *immigration* that makes *immigration* become a negatively connoted term in all the speeches of Donald Trump.

3.2.1.1.2. *Alien** and *refugee**

The collocates with *alien** and *refugee** are similar to those frequently used with **migr**, as can be seen in Figure 28 and Figure 29.

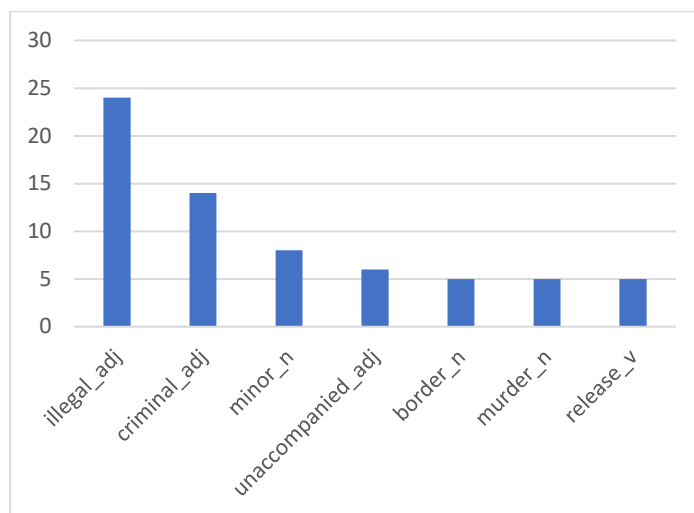


Figure 28. Collocates of *alien** in Trump's speeches

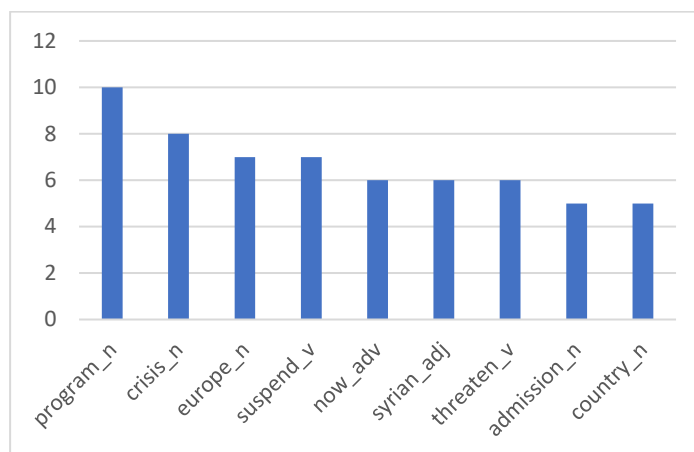


Figure 29. Collocates with *refugee** in Trump's speeches

The collocates of *alien** and *refugee** are very often related to the semantic field of violence, for instance with the verb *threaten* (6 occurrences), the noun *murder* (5 occurrences) or the adjective *criminal* (14 occurrences) and are also regularly resorted to with terminative verbs such as *suspend*, which can be illustrated by the following examples:

- (51) ISIS controls large portions of territory. A **refugee** crisis now **threatens** Europe and the United States. [US_Trump_2016_08_15]
- (52) I will reform visa rules to give American workers preference for jobs, and I will **suspend** reckless refugee admissions from terror-prone regions that cost taxpayers hundreds of billions of dollars. [US_Trump_2016_10_26]
- (53) In Georgia, an illegal **alien** was recently charged with **murder** for killing. [US_Trump_2019_01_08]
- (54) Freed by the city, the same **criminal** alien allegedly raped, brutalized, and murdered a 92-year-old. [US_Trump_2020_01_24]

Although the objective is not to carry out a comprehensive diachronic analysis, it can also be mentioned that no matter the status of the politician, candidate or president, Trump's strategy has not changed between 2015 and 2020: in speeches delivered in 2016, 2019 or 2020, one can perceive the use of verbs that denote a terminative aspect and the lexical field of criminality, for instance. The systematic repetition of the collocations is what enables Donald Trump to develop and nurture restrictive immigration policies that may have seduced voters in the 2016 presidential election. The repetitions of these collocations related to criminality are therefore part of the semantic prosody that assigns a negative axiology to the very notion of immigration but voters do not necessarily realize that it is the frequent exposure to these derogatory expressions that may influence them.

3.2.1.1.3. *foreign**

The key lemma *foreign** is often used to talk about foreign policies or foreign leaders and not necessarily about immigration, which is why I will only briefly allude to it. However, when used with the theme of immigration, *foreign** refers to chain migration, as can be seen in excerpt (55):

- (55) Under chain migration, **foreign nationals** can come to the United States and bring in unlimited numbers of **foreign relatives**. A single immigrant

can begin a chain that could ultimately bring in dozens of increasingly distant relations. [US_Trump_2017_12_16.txt]

Like the other key terms, the lemma *foreign** is therefore also included in collocations that contribute to the derogatory aggregation and dehumanization processes, but only to describe what Trump metaphorically calls “Chain Migration”. This will be further studied in Chapter 4.

3.2.1.1.4. *deport**

Finally, the key lemma *deport** also mainly collocates with crime-related terms: there are 6 occurrences with the adjective *criminal*, 5 occurrences with the noun *alien* and 5 occurrences with the adjective *illegal* in the Trump corpus, as illustrated in Figure 30 and in excerpt (56).

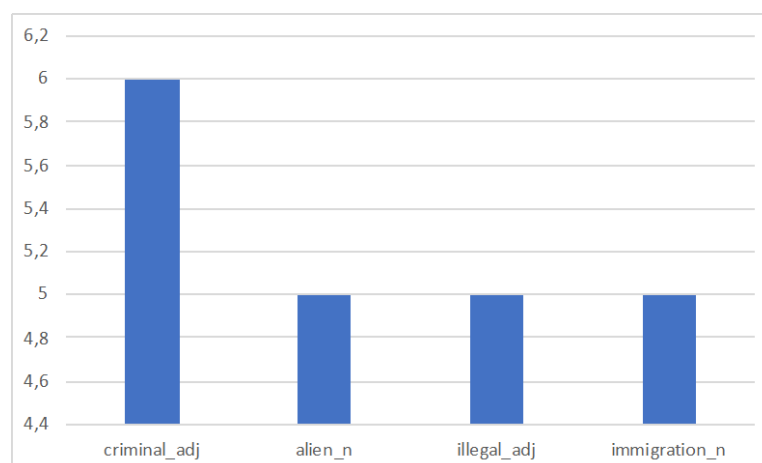


Figure 30. Collocates of *deport** in Trump's speeches

- (56) Also in California, my good friend, Jamiel Shaw, lost his amazing son at the age of 17 – he was viciously shot and killed by an illegal immigrant with three gun charges, as well as battery of a police officer – but despite these previous crimes, he had not been **deported**. [US_Trump_2016_10_04]

In example (56), the lemma *deport** once again contributes to nurturing the dichotomy between “violent immigrants” and “nice American victims”. *Jamiel Shaw's* linguistic environment is particularly positive: one can note the adjectives *good* and *amazing*, as

well as the noun *friend*. Conversely, the immigrant is associated to the adjective *illegal*, the adverb *viciously*, the verb *kill*, and the nouns *battery* and *crimes*. According to Trump, the only solution would have been to *deport* that felon⁸⁹.

Therefore, the analysis of collocations shows that criminality remains the main notion associated with immigration in Trump's speeches.

3.2.1.2. Collocations in Joe Biden's speeches

For all the key lemmas, **migr** (63 occurrences, 13.54 per 10k), *alien** (0 occurrence), *foreign** (18 occurrences, 3.87 per 10k), *refugee** (19 occurrences, 4.08 per 10k) and *deport** (5 occurrences, 1.07 per 10k), the main collocations found by the software #Lancsbox® in Biden's speeches are collocations with grammatical words: very few lexical words are frequently associated with the key lemmas. For instance, Figure 31 shows all the collocates that combine with the lemma **migr** in Joe Biden's corpus:

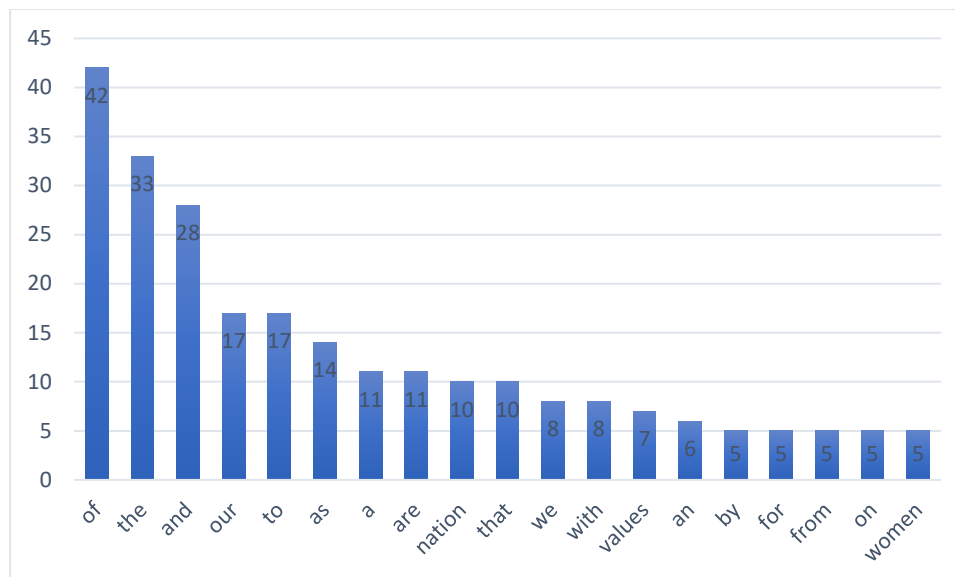


Figure 31. Collocates of **migr** in Joe Biden's speeches

⁸⁹ In 2024, Trump announced that he wanted "the largest domestic deportation operation in American history." <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2024/02/20/trump-mass-deportations-immigration/>.

The collocates with the prototypical lemma **migr** are mostly grammatical words: *an, and, for, that, from, of, with, we, by*, etc. Only three lexical words can be noted: *nation, values* and *women*. These results account for the very small size of this section: Biden does not talk about immigration very often and, when he does, he talks about it with positivity. If we look at the axiology of the lexical terms in context, it is most of the time positively connoted, as can be illustrated by the following excerpts:

(57) Hispanic Heritage Month is also an important reminder of just how much **strength** we draw as a **nation** from our immigrant roots, and our **values** as a **nation of immigrants**. [US_Biden_2020_09_15_FLORIDA.txt]

(58) The Trump Administration's anti-immigrant agenda **does not** represent our **American values**. [US_Biden_2020_10_30.txt]

(59) I'll send to Congress a bill that will provide a roadmap to citizenship, not only for Dreamers, but for the 11 million undocumented immigrants who are living in and **enriching** our country every day. And, I'll offer immediate relief to Temporary Protected Status holders **threatened** by the Trump administration's efforts to terminate TPS. [US_Biden_2020_11_01.txt]

In these prototypical examples, Joe Biden's strategy is twofold as he not only emphasises the positive elements brought by immigrants with positively connoted terms such as the noun *strength* or the verb *enrich*, but also criticizes Donald Trump's restrictive immigration policy with negative structures to oppose America's values to Trump's. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the origin of the threat has shifted, with the use of the verb *threaten*: the lexical field of danger is not associated with immigrants, like in Trump's speeches, but with the Trump administration. The comparison of the collocates can be illustrated by the following graphs (Figure 32):

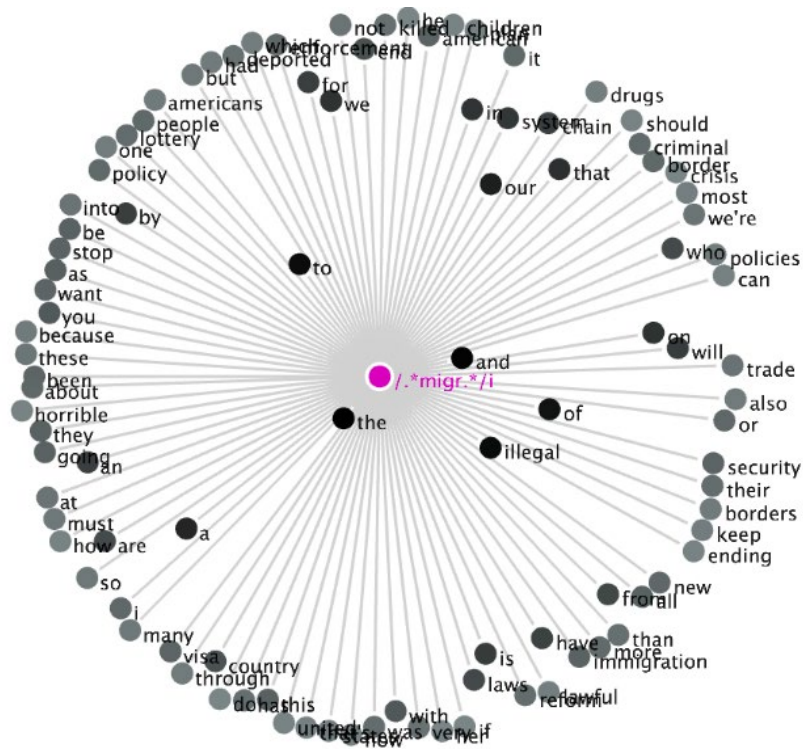


Figure 32. Collocates of *migr* in the Trump corpus

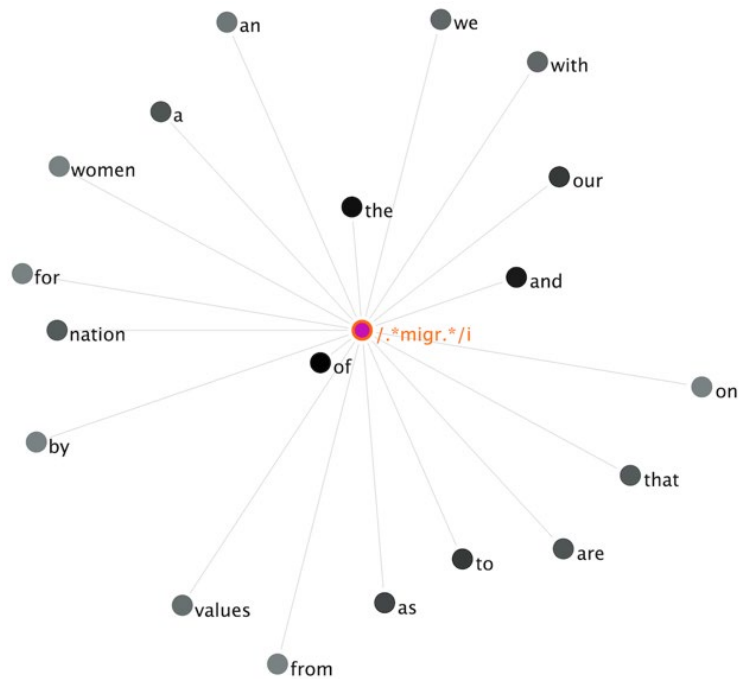


Figure 33. Collocates of *migr** in the Biden corpus

Figure 32 confirms that Donald Trump tends to resort to many different collocates, usually derogatory ones (namely, *criminal*, *alien*, *illegal*, as mentioned in the previous section) while Joe Biden uses few different terms, which are axiologically positive.

Furthermore, it is necessary to mention that the vocabulary used by Joe Biden echoes his immigration policy⁹⁰ since one of the first measures he took upon entering the White House was to sign the executive order to repeal Donald Trump's "Travel ban" and he put an end to family separations which had been, according to him, a "moral and national shame"⁹¹. The same phenomenon, i.e., the use of lexemes related to criminality by Donald Trump and to positive values by Democrats to describe immigrants, had already been noticed by Winders (2016: 294) when he compared the different candidates during the 2016 presidential election. He writes:

Trump also calls for the mandatory return of "all criminal aliens". Here, not surprisingly, we see a shift in language— "immigrants," "families," and "workers" for Sanders and Clinton, "illegal aliens" and "criminals" for Trump. Where Sanders calls to end the collusion of local law enforcement and federal immigration control, Trump calls for more in the context of local gang task forces, making another discursive link between immigration and crime.

While Donald Trump insists on the creation of dichotomies between immigrants and American citizens, the Democrats' strategy is thus confirmed by Joe Biden's discourse: the sense of in-groupness is the key in his speeches on immigration. As for the collocations with the lemma *refugee**, they are similar to those described for **migr**: they all emphasize the positive values of refugees and depict them as vulnerable people (*women, children, orphans, survivors of torture*) who need to be helped and welcomed by Americans (unlike Trump who portrays Americans as the victims of immigration). The collocations with the lemmas *deport** and *foreign** work differently. The lemma *deport** is always used to criticise Donald Trump's restrictive policies – hence the necessity to always look at the context, as illustrated by the following examples.

(60) President Trump and his administration choose **cruelty and exclusion** at every turn, whether you are fleeing the brutal, socialist Maduro

⁹⁰ Although Biden's policy cannot be totally considered pro-immigration since he pursued the construction of the wall between Mexico and the U.S., as previously mentioned.

⁹¹ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-68428154>.

regime in Venezuela hoping to receive Temporary Protected Status that Trump and Senate Republicans continue to deny, or a Dreamer who has never known any country other than the United States that the Trump Administration is seeking to **deport**, or one of the thousands of children who were ripped from their parents' arms at our southern border by this Administration with no plan to be reunited. [US_Biden_2020_10_30.txt]

(61) And while Donald Trump has **deported** thousands of Cubans and Venezuelans back to **ruthless** dictatorships – I'll make sure asylum seekers receive a fair hearing and grant TPS to Venezuelans fleeing the **oppressive** Maduro regime. [US_Biden_2020_11_01.txt]

In excerpts (60) and (61), the verb *deport* enables Joe Biden to condemn his opponent's immigration agenda, emphasizing immigrants' vulnerability and passivity, which is reinforced by the use of the same lexical field of violence to describe both the Trump administration's *cruelty* and the *brutality* of the Cuban and Venezuelan dictatorships. The sense of in-groupness highlighted by the Democrats is thus opposed to the Republicans' objective of *exclusion*, more particularly in the second excerpt with the conjunction *while* that stresses this phenomenon.

Finally, the results found for the collocations with the key lemma *foreign** do not correspond to the representation of immigration since *foreign** is most of the time located in expressions that refer to policies, like *foreign policy*, *foreign leader*, *foreign affairs*, *foreign companies*, *foreign capital*, *foreign investment*, *foreign money*, etc. Moreover, there is no occurrence of the noun *foreigner** in his speeches. The hypothesis could be that Biden considers immigrants new potential American citizens rather than foreigners but no real conclusion can be drawn from this particular result without further research.

The comparison of the collocates has enabled me to show that there are more different collocations with immigration-related terms used by Donald Trump than by Joe Biden. Furthermore, the collocations are frequently derogatory, and focused on criminality, for the Republican politician, while they are much more axiologically positive

for the Democrat. Although it is impossible to guarantee that there is a direct link between the electoral success of a candidate and the words they use, there is no denying that the systematic repetition of the collocation certainly influences the way voters conceptualise the notion of immigration; however, having a look at the collocations is not enough and the analysis of the whole context is necessary.

3.2.1.3. Collocations in Clinton's speeches

In the Clinton corpus, the search term *asylum* occurs 3 times, the search term **migr** occurs 154 times, the search term *alien** occurs 3 times. The search term *foreign** occurs 26 times. The search term *refugee** occurs 12 times, the term *undocumented* 23 times and there are 28 occurrences of the search term *deport**. There are lexical collocations only with **migr**, *foreign**, *deport** and *undocumented*. Figure 34
Collocates of **migr** shows the most recurrent lexical collocations with **migr**:

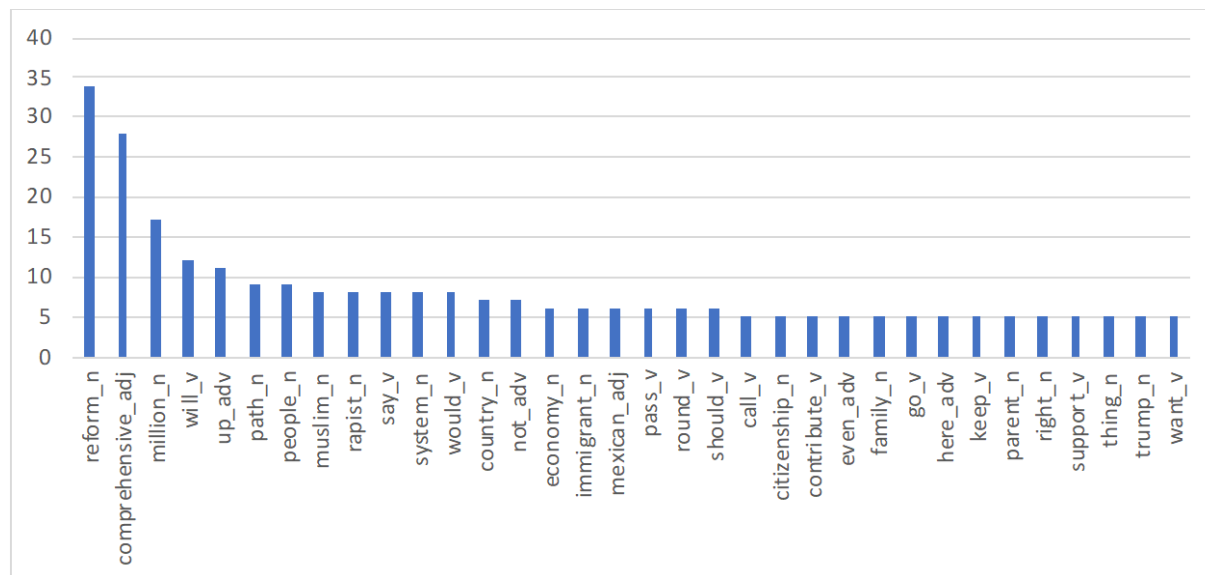


Figure 34. Collocates of **migr** in the Clinton corpus

The most frequent collocations with **migr** are with the nouns *reform* and *million* (respectively 34 and 17 occurrences) and with the adjective *comprehensive* (28 occurrences), such as in the following example:

- (62) And I know it's not always how we think about this, but another **engine of strong growth** should be **comprehensive immigration reform**. I want you to hear this. **Bringing millions of hardworking people** into the formal economy **would increase our gross domestic product** by an estimated **\$700 billion** over 10 years. [US_Clinton_2015_06_13]

The analysis of the semantic prosody in excerpt (62) shows that the axiology of the collocation *comprehensive immigration reform* is extremely positive. If we look at the surrounding context, there is the metaphor of the *engine*, which connotes efficiency, in the first part of the excerpt, as well as the UP IS GOOD orientational metaphor with the noun *growth*, which is reinforced by the adjective *strong*, and the verb *increase*. Hillary Clinton's main aim in this excerpt is to support her reform by highlighting the positive profit immigrants could bring to the American economy, conceptualizing immigrants as *hardworking people*.

Figure 34 also shows the frequent use of the metaphorical collocation with *path* (9 occurrences), which usually occurs in the structure *path to citizenship* (17 occurrences in total), as can be seen in the following example:

- (63) **We will not build a wall**. Instead, we will build an economy where everyone who wants a good job can get one. And **we'll build a path to citizenship for millions of immigrants** who are already contributing to our economy! We will not ban a religion. [US_Clinton_2016_05_26]

Excerpt (63) shows that the collocation of **migr** with the noun *path* and the metaphorical expression *build a path to citizenship* is systematically used in opposition to Donald Trump's intention to literally build a wall, with the use of negation in *we will **not** build a wall*. Hillary Clinton's metaphor of the *path*, which is highlighted by the verb *build*, could be included in the structural metaphor IMMIGRATION IS A JOURNEY: *citizenship* is the final objective of the journey. As explained by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the goal of a structural metaphor is to delineate the target domain; here, it enables Hillary Clinton to structure the domain IMMIGRATION so that the audience may understand her aim. Bringing

structure to IMMIGRATION clearly contradicts nationalist discourse which depicts it as out of control and uncontrolled. This collocation opposes the concrete erection of the *wall* to the abstract construction of a *path*, although the verb *build* is used in both cases. The use of a similar structure but with a change from concrete to abstract enables Hillary Clinton to criticize her opponent even more. In addition, the axiology of the nouns *wall* and *path* are diametrically opposed as the *wall* is the element that prevents the JOURNEY from happening, it is what stops immigration, while the *path* is what enables immigrants to come: with *path to citizenship*, the JOURNEY is complete. Like Biden's, the axiology of Clinton's discourse on immigration is much more positive than Trump's.

Furthermore, the adverb *up* is frequently used in collocation with **migr** in Clinton's speeches, especially to denounce Donald Trump's plan for immigrants with the phrasal verb *round up*, as illustrated in example (64):

- (64) But what Americans are hearing on the campaign trail this year is something else entirely: encouraging **violence**, playing coy with **white supremacists**, **calling for 12 million immigrants to be rounded up and deported**, demanding we turn away refugees because of their religion, and proposing a **ban on all Muslims** entering the United States.
[US_Clinton_2016_03_21]

According to Hillary Clinton, her opponent's plan is dreadful. She emphasizes this idea with a negatively connoted axiology with terms such as *violence*, *deported*, *ban*, *coy*, etc. The phrasal verb *round up* is itself extremely derogatory in the sense that it is usually used to talk about animals such as sheep or cows in the farming domain. The framing is thus extremely violent and dehumanizing, which is mimetic of her opponent's project for immigrants.

Therefore, when she does not defend her comprehensive reform project, her objective is to criticize what Donald Trump intends to do, emphasizing his prejudiced ideas:

- (65) What happens to the moral example we set—for the world and for our own children—if our President engages in **bigotry**? And by the way, Mr. Trump—every time **you insult American Muslims or Mexican immigrants**, remember that plenty of Muslims and immigrants serve and fight in our armed forces. [US_Clinton_2016_06_02]

In example (65), Hillary Clinton starts with an accusation under the form of a rhetorical question in which she uses the negatively connoted noun *bigotry* and the verb *insult*. Then, she directly addresses Donald Trump with the personal pronoun *you* and with the imperative form *remember*, which is opposed to the verbs *serve* and *fight* that refer to the sacrifices the populations made for the U.S. This is why the collocations between **migr** and *Muslim* (8 occurrences) as well as between **migr** and *Mexican* (6 occurrences) are relatively frequent in the corpus. Besides, Hillary Clinton frequently comments on what Donald Trump says, quoting him and adding what could be compared to metalinguistic elements, which is why the collocation between **migr** and *rapist* occurs 8 times in the Clinton corpus. Let us consider the two following examples:

- (66) He **started** his campaign by **describing Mexican immigrants as “criminals” and “rapists”**. He **retweets** white nationalists. He **says** a distinguished judge can’t be trusted because he is of Mexican heritage. [US_Clinton_2016_08_05]

- (67) All these years later — his teacher still treasures his memory. And this teacher wanted me to know — he wanted me to know that **despite what Donald Trump may say, immigrants are not rapists and criminals**. [US_Clinton_2016_09_15]

In excerpt (66), Hillary Clinton uses reported speech to merely repeat what Donald Trump says about immigrants while, in excerpt (67), she uses the negative form with the adverb *not* to oppose her rival’s ideas. When she does not talk about her reform, which is her main strategy, she tends to refute her opponent’s discourse, directly quoting or addressing him with negations, and more particularly the adverb *not* (7 occurrences in collocation with **migr**).

Studying collocations also established general results for the whole corpus, namely how important the notion of *family* is to Hillary Clinton and its link with *immigration* (5 collocations of **migr** with *family* and 5 with *parents*), as can be seen in the following example:

- (68) **Our kids** are actually **scared** that they are going to be sent out of the country because their **parents are immigrants** or **they're immigrants**. They're **scared** if they are Muslim or they have a disability. [US_Clinton_2016_10_27]

In excerpt (68), the axiology is negative when Hillary Clinton relies on *pathos* to generate fear towards Donald Trump's immigration program with the past participle *scared*, which is repeated twice. Conversely, the axiology is positive when collectiveness is highlighted: the importance of *family* is indeed reinforced by the possessive determiner *our*, by the noun *kids* as well as by the noun *parents*. Her strategy is to create a sense of in-groupness with immigrants, who belong to families that are the victims of Donald Trump's violent political campaign; this approach is thus similar to Biden's.

The final collocations with **migr** that emerge and that are entirely opposed to Donald Trump's arguments are the collocations with the verb *contribute* (5 occurrences) and the noun *economy* (6 occurrences). Let us consider the following example:

- (69) I believe that when we have millions of **hardworking immigrants contributing to our economy**, it would be self-defeating and inhumane to kick them out. [US_Clinton_2016_07_28]

The positive axiology of the notions of work and contribution are clearly opposed to the notion of deportation that is described with the adjectives *inhumane* and *self-defeating* to implicitly refer to Donald Trump's will. Moreover, her argument fully contradicts the Republican politician's defense with the cost of immigration, as will be developed later in examples (78), (79) and (80). On the one hand, Hillary Clinton says immigrants bring money to the economy while, on the other hand, Donald Trump asserts immigration costs

billions of dollars. Furthermore, her emphasis on immigrants' economic contributions is significant since the collocation is also noticeable with the search lemma *foreign**, as can be seen in Figure 35:

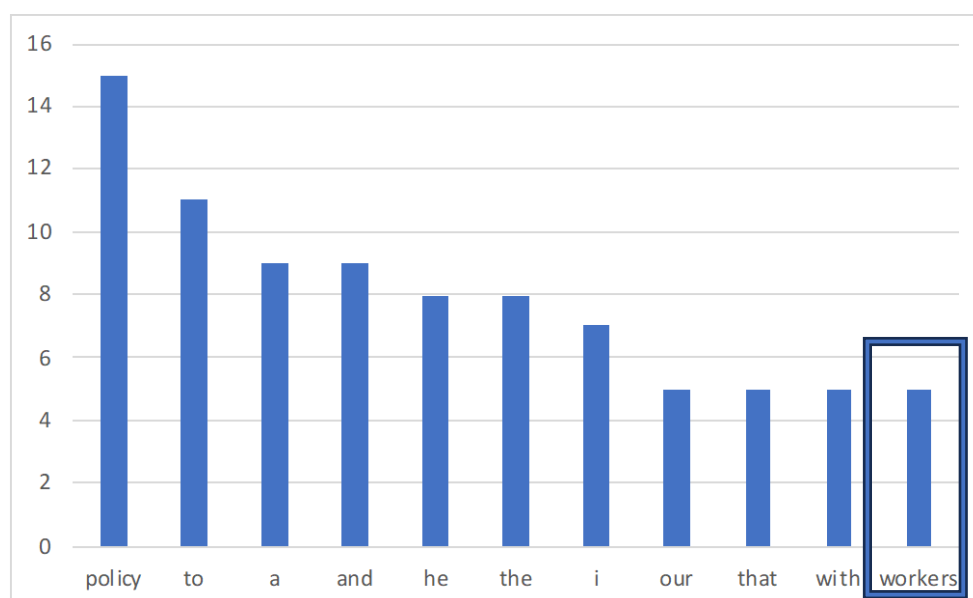


Figure 35. Collocates of *foreign** in the Clinton corpus

Figure 35 shows that there are only two noteworthy lexical collocations with *foreign**, namely with *policy* and *workers*. These results are similar to the ones obtained for Biden. The collocation *foreign policy* is not related to immigration and will not be developed. The collocation *foreign workers* (5 occurrences) is used, once again, to criticize her political opponent. Let us consider the following prototypical example:

- (70) And then just today we learn, once again, he's asked for visas to employ **foreign workers** at his country clubs because he says he can't find any American workers. **Shame on you, Donald Trump. Shame on you.**
[US_Clinton_2016_07_31]

As can be observed in excerpt (70), Hillary Clinton uses the collocation *foreign workers* to highlight her opponent's contradictions. According to her, Trump only asks for visas when it is in his interest. To further reinforce the criticism, she repeats the structure *shame on you*, directly addressing him once again with the pronoun *you*.

The same pattern has been witnessed with the search term *undocumented*:

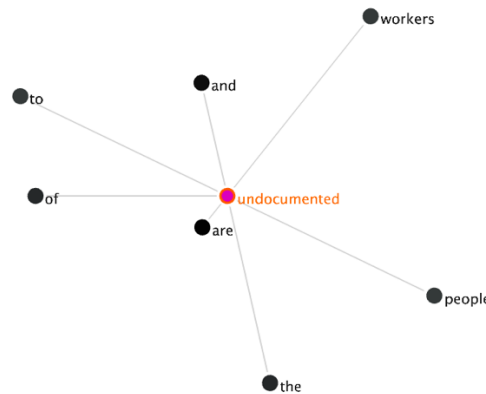


Figure 36. GraphColl, collocations with "undocumented" in the Clinton corpus

As can be seen in Figure 36, there are only two lexical words that collocate with *undocumented* in Clinton's speeches: the nouns *people* (5 occurrences) and *workers* (5 occurrences). Once again, the Democratic candidate's objective with that collocation is to emphasize how immigrants contribute to the American economy. For instance, Clinton resorts to the specific amounts of money undocumented immigrants bring to society, as can be observed in example (71):

- (71) We could shore up Social Security because right now, **undocumented workers** contribute 12 billion dollars a year and if we have comprehensive immigration reform, it's projected to go up to 20 billion.
[US_Clinton_2016_01_07]

Finally, two lexical collocations exist with the search lemma *deport**, as illustrated in the following figure:

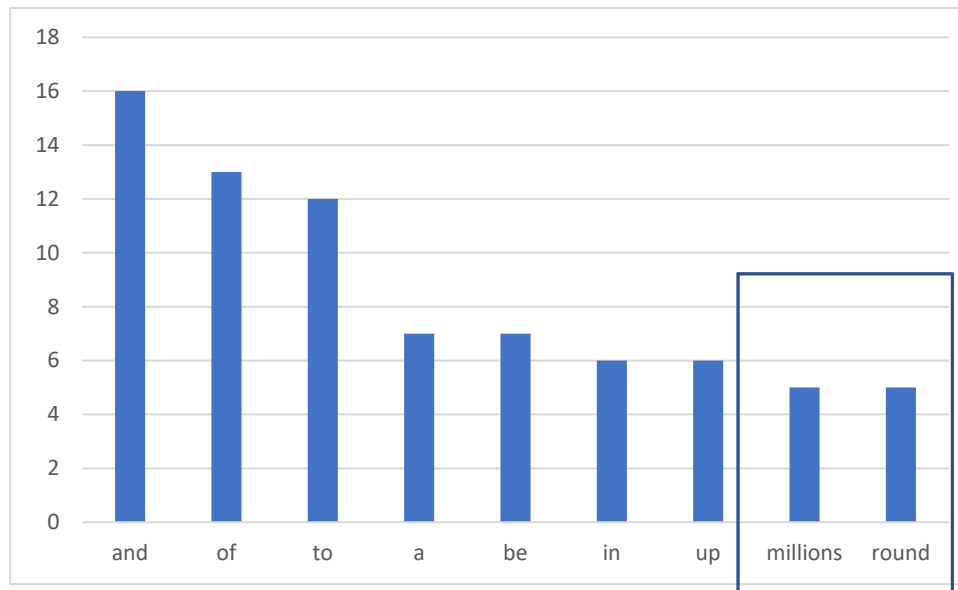


Figure 37. Collocates with *deport** in the Clinton corpus

Figure 37 demonstrates that *deport** collocates with *millions* in 5 occurrences and with *round* in 5 occurrences as well.

- (72) Candidates for president are calling immigrants **drug** runners and **rapists**. They promise if elected to **round up** and **deport millions** of people, build a **mammoth wall**, **militarize** the border, **tear families apart**. [US_Clinton_2015_12_14]

Excerpt (72) confirms that the phrasal verb *round up*⁹² is used to insist on the Republicans' strategy to dehumanize and aggregate immigrants (Khosravinik, 2010). Furthermore, the metaphor of the *mammoth* is used to describe the gigantic size of the wall Republicans intend to build; in 2015, Donald Trump was not Hillary Clinton's main opponent yet, as the Republican party primaries took place in 2016. The violence of the whole excerpt is also reinforced by the notion of war/violence, with the verb *militarize*, the nouns *drug* and *rapists*, as well as the use of pathos with the phrasal verb *tear apart* to refer to what nuclear families will have to endure if a Republican candidate is elected. All in all, the excerpt is axiologically negative and attacks the Republicans' opinions on immigration.

⁹² The analysis of the verb *round up*, which usually refers to animals, will be developed in Chapter 4.

Furthermore, it is worth observing that the notion of quantity (with the frequent use of *millions*: 17 occurrences with **migr**, 5 with *deport**) does constitute an essential element in Hillary Clinton's speeches. But contrary to Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton never uses *millions* to refer to the quantity of immigrants entering the U.S., but to refer to what they could bring to the economy or to emphasize the number of immigrants Republicans plan to deport, hence the necessity to analyze the context of the collocations as well as their semantic prosody.

The textometric analysis on the American corpora showed that Hillary Clinton explicitly opposes Donald Trump concerning his framing of immigration. This pattern was not necessarily the case with Joe Biden, who "only" assigned positive values to immigrants without directly attacking Donald Trump on that subject, or said he would include them in the economy. One possible interpretation that would require further study can be mentioned: the 2020 political campaign was deeply marked with the covid-19 pandemic; Joe Biden made health his priority⁹³, setting immigration aside in his discourse, although he soon repealed Donald Trump's travel ban. The Clinton corpus also constitutes a perfect example of the limits of textometry and the necessity to also read and analyze the corpora manually. For instance, the software tools show that Hillary Clinton frequently resorts to the noun *rapist* to refer to immigrants and it is only the reading of the corpus that proves the collocation is used to criticize Donald Trump's descriptions thanks to reported speech.

Let us now determine whether the collocations and strategies are the same in the French corpus.

⁹³ The Biden-Harris administration's first priority was indeed covid-19, before climate, racial equity or even economy, as mentioned on the White House's website. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/priorities/#:~:text=President%20Biden%20will%20move%20quickly,hard%20hit%20by%20this%20virus.>

3.2.2. Collocations in the French corpus

The analysis of collocations on the platform SketchEngine®, with the Wordsketch tool, enabled me to draw the most frequent modifiers of the noun *immigration* in the Le Pen corpus, as illustrated in Figure 38:

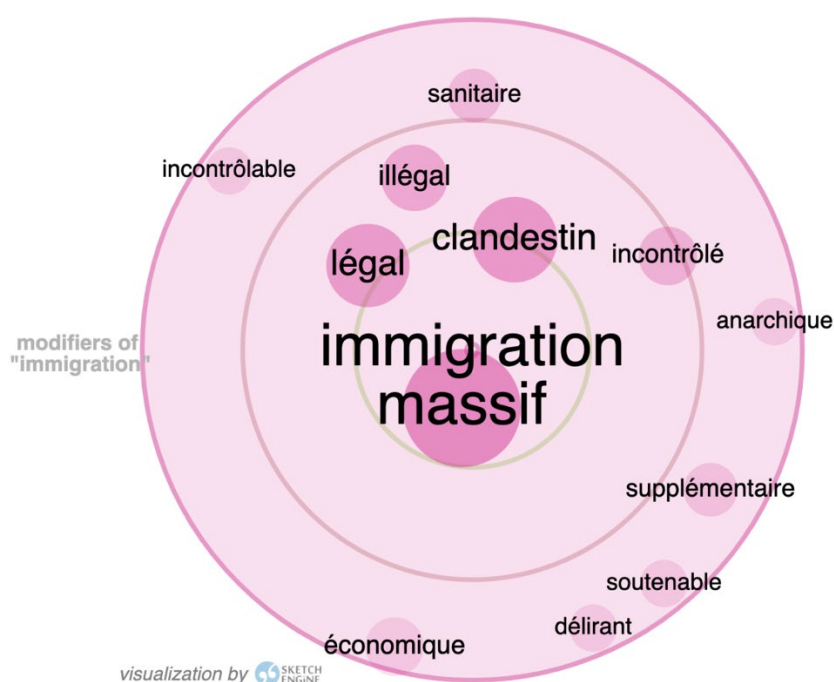


Figure 38. WordSketch with “immigration” in the Le Pen corpus

In Figure 38, the bigger the dot, the stronger the collocation is: it shows that the most frequent collocation in Le Pen’s speeches is *immigration massive*. The other modifiers are mostly negatively connoted, for instance with the adjectives *délirante*, *anarchique*, *illégale* and *incontrôlable*. However, SketchEngine® does not offer a tool where words can be lemmatized, which is why I also carried out collocation analyses with the key lemma **migr** in #Lancsbox® so as not to miss collocations with *immigré.e.s*, *migrant.e.s*, *migratoire*, etc. There are 384 occurrences of the lemma **migr** in the Le Pen corpus and 99 occurrences in the Macron corpus. The most frequent collocations with the lemma **migr** are presented in the following figures (the verbs *être* and *avoir* were not included):

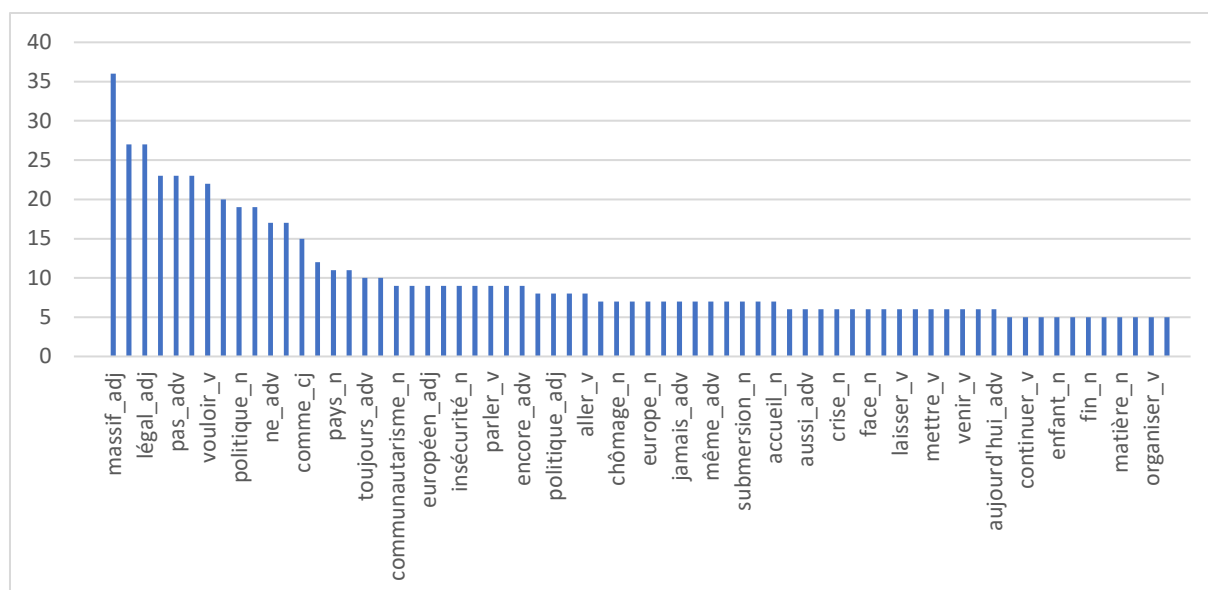


Figure 39. Collocates with *migr* in the Le Pen corpus

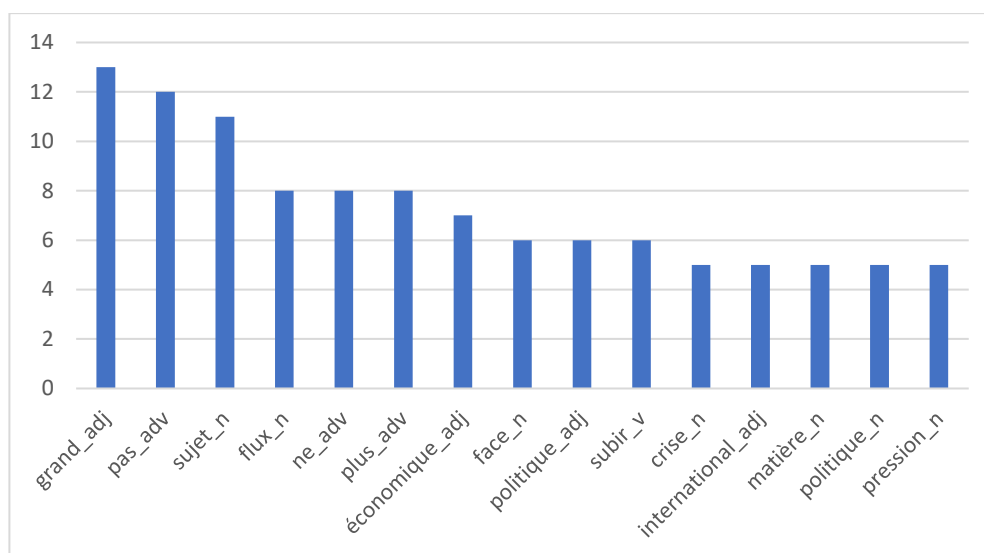


Figure 40. Collocates with *migr* in the Macron corpus

The analysis on #Lancsbox® confirmed that the most frequent collocation with **migr** is with the adjective *massif* in Marine Le Pen's speeches (36 occurrences of this collocation). The adjective *massive* or the prepositional phrase *de masse* are used to highlight the supposed pressure migration imposes to France. Let us consider the following examples:

- (73) Cette guerre, inspirée à Nicolas Sarkozy par sa muse BHL assoiffée de gloire médiatique, et dont l'issue a porté au pouvoir les islamistes, a eu un résultat : **le chaos**. Alors ce n'est évidemment pas de ces gens-là que viendra la réponse au problème de **l'immigration massive** qui **s'abat physiquement** sur nos côtes. [FR_Le Pen_2015_05_01]

- (74) Cette élection est donc aussi une consultation des Français sur **l'immigration massive**. **Immigration massive, stop ou encore ? Stop ! Stop ! Stop**, mes chers amis, mais pas par manque de générosité, mais par simple **réalisme**. [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_27]

Example (73) presents a criticism of Marine Le Pen's political opponents. The collocation *immigration massive* is associated with the negatively connoted noun *chaos* to create a sense of fear which is stressed by the verb *s'abattre*, reinforced by the adverb *physiquement* so as to show that the threat is real. In example (74) there is also the notion of realism that is defended and the collocation *immigration massive* is not only repeated twice but also highlighted with the anadiplosis (the expression *immigration massive* marks the end of the first sentence and the beginning of the next one). Furthermore, the repetition of the terminative verb *stop* underlines Marine Le Pen's will to put an end to immigration. In Marine Le Pen's corpus, like in Trump's (see section 3.2.1.), **migr** is often used in collocations with verbs encoding a terminative aspect such as *réduire* (9 occurrences) and *arrêter* (7 occurrences). As for the verb *accueillir* (6 occurrences), it is always used with negations, such as in the following example:

- (75) S'ajoute à cela le poids du **chômage** de masse, que l'immigration ne fait qu'aggraver. Avec 6,1 millions de **chômeurs** et 9 millions de pauvres, la France **n'est plus en capacité d'accueillir** de nouveaux migrants. [FR_Le Pen_2015_02_05]

Excerpt (75) also illustrates that Marine Le Pen combines unemployment⁹⁴ and immigration (7 occurrences of *chômage* in collocations with **migr**) to justify the implementation of restrictive immigration policies. The frequent use of the collocation *immigration massive* could correspond to the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRATION IS A

⁹⁴ This discourse is not new and dates back to the 70s and more particularly to the 1978 legislative elections, when the slogan of the FN was "1 million de chômeurs, c'est 1 million d'immigrés en trop" <https://www.radiofrance.fr/franceinter/podcasts/jean-marie-le-pen-l-obsession-nationale/la-national-populisme-1976-1986-8704087>.

BURDEN, which will be developed in Chapter 4. In addition, the frequent association of economic problems, in this case unemployment, with immigration creates a prototypical frame. Once again, following Entman's definition, there is the diagnosis (the unemployment rate is high), the evaluation (immigration worsens unemployment) and the diagnosis (the limitation of immigration: "la France n'est plus en capacité d'accueillir"). Thus, the nationalist frame according to which immigrants are responsible for economic problems emerges.

The most frequent collocation with **migr** in Emmanuel Macron's speeches is with the adjective *grand* (13 occurrences) as in *grandes migrations*, which still refers to the notion of great quantity but does not denote the notion of burden, although he does use the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRATION IS A BURDEN with one frequent collocation with **migr**, namely *pression migratoire* (5 occurrences), as can be seen in example (76):

- (76) On voit donc que face à cette **pression migratoire** le système actuel n'est plus satisfaisant. J'ai donc demandé une réforme en profondeur du système d'asile en France, pour le déconcentrer et pour accélérer considérablement les délais d'instruction des demandes d'asile. L'objectif est que nous divisions ces délais moyens par deux, en passant à six mois toutes procédures comprises. [FR_Macron_2017_06_22]

The analysis of the semantic prosody is essential here since the context of the expression *pression migratoire* is different from Marine Le Pen's speeches, although the very collocation insists on the quantity of immigrants. In excerpt (76), Emmanuel Macron mentions pressure so as to show the system has to be improved while Marine Le Pen uses the collocation to explicitly justify her will to stop immigration. Nevertheless, the main difference between the two politicians on that point is that Marine Le Pen always goes further than her opponent, which echoes Charteris-Black's results (2006: 578) concerning the distinctions between right-wing and extreme right-wing immigration discourse, which will be developed in Chapters 4 and 5.

The analysis of collocations also showed that the lemma **migr** is very often associated with terms that resort to the semantic field of WATER in both corpora. In Marine Le Pen's speeches, Figure 39 shows that there are 11 occurrences with *flux* and 7 with *submersion*. In Emmanuel Macron's speeches, Figure 40 indicates that the collocation of **migr** with *flux* occurs 8 times. As a preliminary interpretation, one can note that although Emmanuel Macron does frequently resort to figurative language, and more particularly WATER metaphors with the collocation *flux migratoires*, Marine Le Pen goes further, using the collocation *submersion migratoire* regularly.

In the Le Pen corpus, the analysis of other lemmas, such as *étrang** for *étranger.s/étrangère.s* (equivalent of *foreign**) presents relevant collocations with lexical items, when no collocations with *étrang** were found in the Macron corpus. The other lemmas (*clandestin*, *asile*, *papier*) did not show any relevant collocation to study but collocations with **migr** itself. Let us consider the following graph on the collocations with *étrang**:

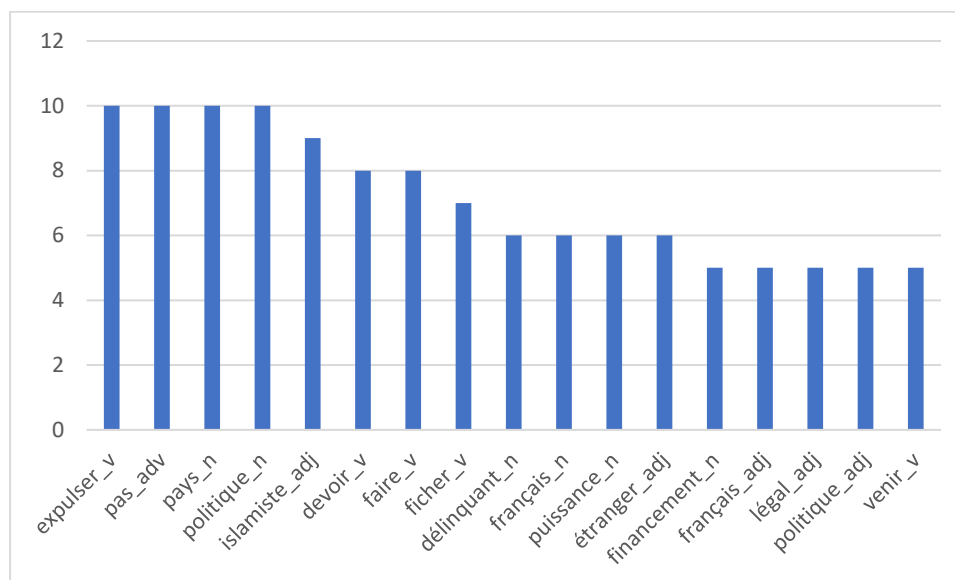


Figure 41. Collocates of *étrang** in the Le Pen corpus

Figure 41 illustrates Marine Le Pen's support for restrictive immigration policies since the most frequent collocation with the lemma *étrang** is with the verb *expulser* (10

occurrences of that collocation in the corpus, equivalent of the verb *deport*). Furthermore, the collocation is regularly associated with terrorism and with another collocation between *étrang** and the adjective *islamiste* (9 occurrences) or the collocation *état islamique*, as can be seen in example (77):

- (77) Revoir les conditions de l'asile afin d'éviter les **risques d'infiltration**. Rendre obligatoire l'utilisation du français pour les prêches. **Expulser tout étranger** qui exprime des sympathies pour **l'État islamique**. Déchoir de la nationalité française tout binational parti vers **l'État islamique**. [FR_Le Pen_2015_05_01]

The repetition of *état islamique* as well as the systematic association of foreigners to the necessity of deportation relies on pathos and contributes to creating a sense of fear, which is reinforced by the liquid metaphor included in the notion of *infiltration*.

The analysis of collocations related to immigration in the French corpus firstly demonstrates that Marine Le Pen tends to frequently use collocations that resort to axiologically negative conceptual metaphors relying on *pathos* and generating a sense of fear such as IMMIGRATION IS A BURDEN OR IMMIGRATION IS A NATURAL CATASTROPHE, which are developed in Chapter 4. It also shows that Emmanuel Macron does use collocations relying on conceptual metaphors such as IMMIGRATION IS A BURDEN to justify restrictive immigration policies. However, the main difference between the two candidates consists in the fact that Marine Le Pen always goes further to overtake the critical point described by Charteris-Black (2006: 578) as the major distinction between right-wing and extreme right-wing discourses. Moreover, the analysis of collocations confirmed that Marine Le Pen supports restrictive immigration policies when she relies on the repetition of terminative processes with verbs such as *arrêter* or the use of negation with the collocation *ne plus accueillir*.

The objective of the textometric analysis was to draw these preliminary patterns. Let us now determine if they are confirmed by a semantic study focusing on the most frequently used semantic domains.

3.3. Semantic analyses

In order to retrieve the semantic domains that are frequently used to refer specifically to immigration and to pave the way for the study of IMMIGRATION metaphors, each sub-corpus was analyzed with the software tool Tropes®, and more particularly with the star graph tool, included in the tab “univers de références”. As explained in Tropes’ manual: “The Star graph displays the Relations between References, or between a Word category and a Reference. The figures shown on the graph give the number of Relations (co-occurrence frequency) existing between the various References. These graphs show the Relations between the References. They are oriented: the References on the left of the central Reference are its predecessors, those on the right its successors.”

Let us first focus on the immigration-related semantic domains frequently used by Trump:

Context to the LEFT				Context to the RIGHT
system	14		86	system
hillary_clinton	13		65	law
democrat	12		41	policy
country	12		25	enforcement
usa	11		24	country
american	10		17	american
plan	10		16	reform
worthiness	9		16	usa
security	9		16	worker
administration	9		15	security
boundary_line	9		12	rule
trade	9		11	cost
end	9		10	terrorism
president	8		9	money
state	8		8	wage

hillary	8	IMMIGRATION	7	billion
enforcement	7		7	plan
congress	7		7	puts
senate	7		7	military_officer
legislation	7		6	history
time	7		6	customs
issue	6		6	place
people	6		5	proposal
military_officer	6		5	needs
year	5		5	boundary_line
law	5		5	drug
mexico	5		5	migrant
community	5		5	people

Figure 42. Star Graph: immigration in the Trump corpus

Figure 42 demonstrates two key elements. Firstly, it shows that Donald Trump uses many different semantic domains to refer to immigration and that many of these domains convey a negative axiology. The results confirm the textometric analysis since many fields are related to that of criminality, such as *drug* or *terrorism*, or to the idea that immigration has to be stopped with *security*, *enforcement* or *end*, which contributes to a process of exclusion. Furthermore, the results also corroborate the importance of the use of patronyms, more particularly Hillary Clinton's, so as to once again reinforce the dichotomy US v. THEM. However, the semantic analysis revealed an element that had not been observed with the textometric analysis: Donald Trump frequently resorts to the semantic field of money, with *cost*, *money*, *trade*, *wage*, *worthiness*, when he depicts immigrants, as can be illustrated by the following examples:

(78) On top of that, illegal immigration **costs** our country more than \$113 billion dollars. [US_Trump_2016_08_31]

(79) Academy of Sciences, our current immigration system **costs** American taxpayers many billions of dollars. [US_Trump_2017_02_28]

(80) What the hell is going on? Illegal immigration **costs** our country hundreds of billions of dollars. [US_Trump_2018_06_20]

In examples (78), (79) and (80), the semantic analysis shows that Donald Trump frames immigration in terms of profit and loss and that he particularly uses economic arguments referring to quantity to describe it, such as *\$113 billion dollars*, *many billions of dollars* or *hundreds of billions of dollars*. Furthermore, Trump turns a blind eye on the fact that economists proved immigrants are actually strengthening the American economic growth⁹⁵. Following the diagnosis/prescription structure, Trump means that immigration costs money, which is why it should be limited. Thus, he contributes to framing immigration as an economic problem. Let us consider another multimodal example published on the official website of the White House during Donald Trump's term:

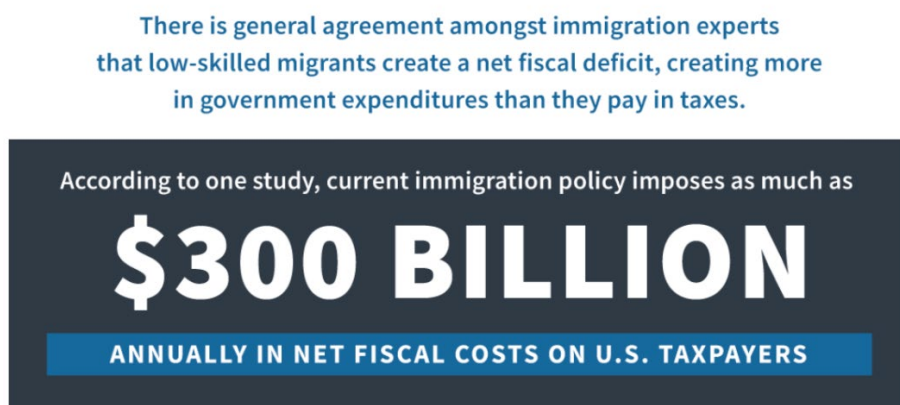


Figure 43. Immigration and Economy, December 15, 2017⁹⁶

The configuration of the texts was arranged so that onlookers should straightforwardly perceive the number *300 billion* written in capital letters and the dollar sign, which is associated with it; furthermore, the dark background emphasizes the economic disaster. Nonetheless, the rest of the text, which is above and typed in a smaller font, is ambiguous.

⁹⁵ <https://apnews.com/article/immigration-north-america-donald-trump-ap-top-news-politics-7eb07814117f46a098bed1f3466f4775>.

⁹⁶ <https://www.whitehouse.gov/articles/time-end-chain-migration/>.

The figure that is provided only relies on *one study*. The determiner *one* suggests that one study was isolated from a collection of other papers and the specific title of the research institute is not even cited: it is difficult to identify who carried out the research and the single piece of information that is offered is that the number (namely, \$300 billion) relies on a “general agreement of experts”. Thus, the main purpose of this image is to make people focus on budget and perceive the American economic scarcity as the direct result of immigration.

The same semantic analysis was then carried out on Joe Biden’s speeches and Tropes® generated the results displayed in the following table:

Context to the LEFT				Context to the RIGHT
state	3	IMMIGRATION	4	policy
work	2		4	system
dangerousness	1		1	people
legal	1		1	decision
value	1		1	community
shape	1		1	reform
president	1		1	refugee
family	1		1	leader
justice	1		1	power
community	1		1	economy
right	1		1	benefit
scare	1		1	courage
charge	1		1	path
seller	1		1	way
number	1		1	boundary line
years	1		1	south
response	1		1	usa
core	1			
country	1			
korea	1			
2002	1			
unfortunate	1			

Figure 44. Star Graph, immigration in the Biden corpus

Figure 44 confirms the textometric analysis in the sense that Joe Biden resorts to neutral domains such as *work*, *policy*, or *system* and never uses derogatory semantic domains to

frame immigration. Positive domains such as *community*, *family*, *courage* or *value* are used instead, as can be seen in excerpt (81):

- (81) I've fought my whole career to support **hard-working immigrant families** who came to America to build a better life.
[US_Biden_2020_10_30_KOREA]

This example not only confirms that Joe Biden perceives immigration as a necessary process for the country but also demonstrates that it is inherent to the nation's identity, emphasizing, once again, a sense of community. Furthermore, when Joe Biden resorts to negatively connoted domains, such as that of *dangerousness*, in the top left-hand corner of Figure 44, it is never to describe immigration *per se* but more to attack his opponent's policy and language towards immigrants, as well as the potential danger of white supremacists, as can be observed in example (82):

- (82) We also believe America is a land of opportunity. But it's likely you and your family have been caught in the middle of President Trump's crackdown of legal immigration and pathways to permanent residency and citizenship and his decisions on the H-1B visa program. And his **dangerous** rhetoric about immigrants has empowered white supremacists and even fueled hate crimes against Indian Americans.
[US_Biden_2020_10_31]

Besides, when Joe Biden associates the notion of dangerousness to that of immigration, it is only to describe the difficulties of the journey refugees take and highlight their vulnerability and the fact that they have to be helped, hence the necessity to also analyze the context without tools:

- (83) And we want to continue to work with you in a humane and decent way to deal with this issue. And the way to do that is to build your economy, build your security, build your country so [people] have no desire to take a **dangerous journey** with an organized gang in a difficult circumstance risking the lives of children and others. [US_Biden_2016_01_14]

In excerpt (83), when Joe Biden combines the notions of *danger* and *immigration*, his objective is to prove that policies have to be implemented to help immigrants and facilitate their crossing of the American border so that they should not be tempted to contact illegal gangs that exploit and make money from immigrants. He emphasizes the role American institutions have to play with the verbs *work* and *build* and the adjectives *decent* and *humane* while highlighting immigrants' courage with the adjective *difficult* and the verb *risk*.

As a result, both the textometric and semantic analyses showed that Donald Trump's discourse nurtures and justifies his restrictive immigration policies. From a lexical perspective, dehumanizing ideas are developed with the use of many repetitions, which echoes the *hammering effect* (Jamet and Lafiandra, 2023: 20), and more particularly of frequent derogatory or axiologically negative collocations with the lexical field of criminality as well as the notion of limitation, with the use of verbs that encode a terminative aspect. The *hammering effect* could be compared to a geological phenomenon described by Ovid in his *Letters from the Black Sea* (Epistulae ex Ponto, IV, 10, 5): the drop digs into the stone, not by force but by falling off frequently (*gutta cavat lapidem non vi, sed saepe calendo*). Thus, repeatedly resorting to a term that seems to be insignificant is much more powerful than using a violent representation only once.

Moreover, the semantic analysis showed that Donald Trump tends to justify his restrictive immigration policies with economic arguments, which also contributes to dehumanization. On the contrary, Joe Biden does not reject *others* but tries to include them, emphasizing a sense of community and his Irish roots and using only collocations with positive connotations when he refers to immigrants. Let us now compare these results to the ones found for Clinton's speeches and determine the semantic domains used by Hillary Clinton to refer to immigration.

Context to the LEFT				Context to the RIGHT
election	2	IMMIGRATION	21	reform
legislation	2		7	path
national income	2		6	system
billion	2		2	detention
proposal	2		1	william ⁹⁷
american	2		1	alliance
hundred	2		1	plan
job	2		1	citizenship
money	2		1	disability
growth	1		1	keep
engine	1		1	opportunity
partnership	1		1	issue
people	1		1	stake
guess	1		1	greeting
patriotism	1		1	warning
creation	1		1	part
luck	1		1	measure
materiality	1		1	people
politician	1		1	officer
supporter	1		1	status
motion	1		1	movement
one	1		1	congress
question	1		1	legislation
reason	1			
economy	1			
misery	1			
idea	1			
debate	1			

Figure 45. Star Graph, immigration in the Clinton corpus

The study with Tropes® confirms all the main elements of the textometric analysis. Hillary Clinton frequently talks about immigration in terms of *reform*, *system* or *path* and refers to the *economy* as well as *employment*⁹⁸ when she talks about immigration. Figure 45 also shows that she resorts to domains with a negative axiology (such as *detention*, *warning* or *misery*), but the analysis of the surrounding context demonstrates that these

⁹⁷ As for the patronym William, which had not emerged with the textometric analysis, it is used to refer to the time when her husband, Bill Clinton, was president but the occurrences are not relevant for the analysis as she mentions his name essentially to thank him.

⁹⁸ Unlike Trump, Clinton recognizes what many economists have proved so far, namely that “immigration boosts” the economy, as exemplified by Boston University economists’ research <https://www.bu.edu/articles/2024/do-immigrants-and-immigration-help-the-economy/>.

are used to criticize Republicans. For instance, excerpt (84) illustrates the case of *detention*:

- (84) And we absolutely must **end family detention, close private detention facilities**, stop the raids and round-ups. These actions are not consistent with our **values**. Too many **children** in our country say goodbye to their **parents** every morning, not knowing if **Mom** or **Dad** will be there when they get home. I know how important **family** is, and I want to do everything I can as President to keep **families** together. That's one of the many reasons to finally **get immigration reform through**. There's nothing more important to these **families** that live in fear and anxiety.
[US_Clinton_2016_07_14]

The negative axiology of *detention* and the use of terminative verbs such as *end* or *close* coexist with the positive axiology of the *family* semantic field, with terms such as *children*, *parents*, *mom* or *dad*. It clearly indicates that Clinton plans to stop the detention of immigrants, which confirms that she does not support a restrictive immigration policy, at least in her discourse.

The results of this semantic and textometric comparison between how Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton frame immigration reflect the results found for the comparison between Biden and Trump on many aspects and emphasizes even more the fact that Donald Trump's language is axiologically negative when he refers to immigration since Hillary Clinton tends to position herself against him when she talks about immigration. From a lexical point of view, she repeats terms that give a sense of in-groupness, with the importance of family reunification, while Donald Trump highlights divisions and wishes to deport millions of immigrants, sending parents away from their children. Moreover, while the Republican candidate resorts to verbs that encode a terminative aspect to explain that he plans to stop immigration, Hillary Clinton uses the same type of verbs to say she plans to put an end to inhumane practices. From a cognitive point of view, the axiology is extremely positive when Hillary Clinton talks about immigration, with the emphasis on the notions of *work*, *values*, and *economic contributions*. The axiology is

negative when she talks about her opponent's strategy. Moreover, she uses metaphors to refer to Donald Trump's cruel migratory policies, particularly with the collocation *round up* that dehumanizes immigrants, associating them to animals, as will be developed in Chapter 4. The second metaphor that emerged thanks to this analysis is that of the *path to citizenship* that is encompassed in the structural metaphor IMMIGRATION IS A JOURNEY and which is opposed to Donald Trump's wall project. The use of metaphors is more specifically dealt with in Chapters 4 and 5. From a rhetorical point of view, Hillary Clinton uses many metalinguistic elements to comment on her rival's language and criticize him. She does not create dichotomies; on the contrary, she intends to include everyone but often relies on *pathos*, underlining the suffering of immigrant children and the violence the Republicans' strategies, so as to generate fear towards Donald Trump's plan.

Donald Trump's framing of immigration is therefore very different from that of his Democratic opponents: he considers immigrants criminals and tends to dehumanize them through some derogatory metaphors. The analysis showed that some differences do exist between Joe Biden and Hillary Clinton; however, they will not be developed in depth since the objective is to compare nationalist politicians with their main opponents during presidential elections. What can still be noted is that Hillary Clinton's pro-immigration program was more explicit than Joe Biden's, probably because the 46th president of the U.S. centered his campaign on covid management, as already mentioned.

One of the objectives of this section is also to compare these results to those of the French corpus. The following table was obtained for Le Pen's speeches:

Context to the LEFT				Context to the RIGHT
politique	13		20	quantité
france	9		12	droit
droit	5		9	france
finance	4		7	religion
quantité	4		7	nation
nation	4		7	politique

voie	3	IMMIGRATION	6	santé
sécurité	3		6	commerce
groupe social	3		6	groupe social
enfant	3		4	temps
conflit	3		4	sentiment
comportement	3		4	europa
catastrophe	3		3	emploi
homme	2		3	conflit
emploi	2		2	comportement
mythologie	2		2	croissance
commerce	2		2	mythologie
santé	2		2	vie
système social	2		2	catégorie professionnelle
religion	1		2	sciences humaines
nature	1		2	rémunération
spectacle	1		2	femme
mer	1		1	système social
mathématique	1		1	chance
temps	1		1	gens
vie	1		1	sensation
sport	1		1	sécurité
jugement de valeur	1			

Figure 46. Star Graph, immigration in the Le Pen corpus

Figure 46 shows two essential results. Firstly, it illustrates that Marine Le Pen resorts to a plurality of semantic domains to talk about immigration. For instance, she combines immigration to the domains of *nature*, *catastrophes*, *environment*, *health*, *law*, *religion*, etc. It confirms that she tends to mention immigration – and consider immigrants responsible for any type of problem – even when the subject is not related to it.

The very notion of immigration is blurred and the extreme variety of domains may mislead voters, which echoes Alduy and Wahnich's thesis (2015) according to which Marine Le Pen's discourse is characterized by its opacity. Such a variety of combinations can contribute to the creation of *pathos* since, in her speeches, the notion of *immigration* is never defined with the same characteristics and thus belongs to the domain of the unknown, which can produce fear. The use of a multiplicity of domains enables Marine Le Pen to mimetically recreate the threat that immigration supposedly represents for France – a threat that is coming from everywhere, and by extension nowhere, according to her.

Moreover, the most salient domain she uses is that of *quantity*, as can be seen in example (85) with the emphasis on *number*, which is isolated between two commas and thus between two pauses orally:

- (85) Les frontières sont effacées, comme avec Schengen, pour faire de nos pays des halls de gare où tout un chacun est libre de venir et de rester et, **par le nombre**, participer au nivellement des protections sociales et la baisse des salaires ainsi qu'à la dilution culturelle dans un plus petit commun dénominateur mondial. [FR_Le Pen_2017_02_05]

The stress on quantity echoes the results found in the textometric analysis, specifically the most frequent collocations with **migr**, *immigration massive* or *immigration de masse*, which are salient in Le Pen's speeches.

The domains that are the most frequently resorted to by Macron are less varied and less negatively connoted, as illustrated in Figure 47:

Context to the LEFT				Context to the RIGHT
droit	4	IMMIGRATION	1	politique
afrique	1		1	voyage
conflit	1		1	europe
organisation	1		1	temps
voyage	1		1	droit
langue	1		1	nation
média	1			

Figure 47. Star Graph, immigration in the Macron corpus

Figure 47 demonstrates that Emmanuel Macron only resorts to 11 different domains to talk about immigration (vs. more than 50 for Marine Le Pen). Furthermore, the domains he resorts to are more consistent with the notion of migration than those resorted to by his opponent in the sense that they are almost all inherent to the very definition of immigration, for instance domains such as *journey*, *law*, *language* or *politics*. For instance, in example (86), Emmanuel Macron considers immigration a challenge:

- (86) Dans les années qui viennent, l'Europe doit assumer qu'il y a là son **défi majeur**. Et nous n'avons qu'un choix, qu'une alternative : le repli sur nos frontières, qui serait à la fois illusoire et inefficace, ou la construction d'un espace commun des frontières, de l'asile et de l'immigration. C'est pourquoi je souhaite que soient adoptés dans l'année qui vient les différents textes en discussion qui réforment notre **politique migratoire**. [FR_Macron_2017_09_26]

He talks about immigration in terms of policies and legislature. According to him, withdrawal ("le repli" in French) is not the solution: in addition, he resorts to positively connoted lexemes such as *commun* or *discussion* that contribute to creating a sense of ingroupness, while Marine Le Pen considers immigration as a problem and not a challenge, as illustrated in example (87):

- (87) L'immigration, c'est un problème pour les Français, c'est un immense problème pour la laïcité, c'est un problème pour la sécurité, c'est un problème pour nos comptes publics. Mais ce n'est pas un **problème** pour les amis de Monsieur Macron, ce n'est pas un **problème** pour l'ami de Monsieur Fillon [...]. [Le Pen 2017_03_09]

In this excerpt, the noun *problème* is repeated six times; four times in affirmative structures and twice in negative ones to criticize her opponent, especially because the latter does not consider immigration a problem. This example can be considered a prototypical one in the sense that the hypernym *problem* includes all the other derogatory framings of immigration she makes in her discourse. It also illustrates the fact that Marine Le Pen tends to combine immigration to many other domains such as *identity*, *secularism*, *security* or *economy* with the structure "it's a problem for + DOMAIN" repeated four times. Once again, the opposition US v. THEM can be noted and it is emphasized by the repetition of the negative structure "it is not a problem for + THE OPPONENT'S PATRONYM".

Marine Le Pen also uses domains one would not intuitively associate with immigration. In Chapter 4 for instance, I will consider the domains that had already been brought out by the textometric analysis, i.e., the domains of NATURAL CATASTROPHE, and

more specifically WATER and the domain of PRESSURE; but before that, I will summarize the main similarities and differences found between the two languages.

3.4. Comparisons: the American vs. the French corpus

The necessity to put Marine Le Pen's and Donald Trump's speeches closer and consider them both as corpora of interest can be explained by the fact that the two politicians supported and congratulated each other during the 2016/2017 presidential elections in their respective countries:

(88) Nous espérons avec l'élection du Président Donald Trump une **inflexion majeure**, presque **un changement de logiciel** qui sera non seulement positif pour le monde mais également aux États-Unis. Je salue son **réalisme** et sa **volonté de changement**. [FR_Le Pen_2017_02_23]

In excerpt (88), Marine Le Pen considers Donald Trump's election a beacon of hope for the world. She uses the semantic field of change, with *inflexion* and *changement*, as well as a technological metaphor conceptualizing the political change in terms of software in the expression *changement de logiciel*. The whole example contains a positive axiology with the adjective *positif* specifically and the noun *volonté*. Reciprocally, in an interview to the Associated Press⁹⁹, Donald Trump said that Marine Le Pen was the “**strongest** on borders, and [...] the **strongest** on what's been going on in France. [...] Whoever is the **toughest** on radical Islamic terrorism, and whoever is the toughest at the borders, will do well in the election,” praising the candidate who would make the fight against terrorism and immigration a priority. One can note intensifiers and the superlatives *strongest* and *toughest* more specifically. Furthermore, in March 2018, Steve Bannon, Donald Trump's controversial White House Chief Strategist and Senior Counselor, supported Marine Le Pen for the 2019 European elections and even participated in the last congress of the

⁹⁹ <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/apr/21/donald-trump-marine-le-pen-french-presidential-election>.

Front National – delivering an extremely provocative speech to the members of the French far-right party, saying that they should be proud of defending xenophobic ideas: “Let them call you racist. Let them call you xenophobes. Let them call you nativists. Wear it as a badge of honor. Because every day, we get stronger and they get weaker” [US_Bannon_2018_03_10].

In a tweet¹⁰⁰, this racist discourse was even considered *instructive* and *exciting* by Marine Le Pen. According to her, it was “a real pleasure” to welcome him: “Merci à Steve Bannon pour sa venue à notre #CongrèsFN2018, et pour son discours instructif et enthousiasmant ! Un vrai plaisir et un honneur d’écouter celui qui a inspiré la campagne de Trump en 2016” [FR_Le Pen_2018_03_10_Twitter]. Despite the manifest cultural differences between Donald Trump and Marine Le Pen, these events reinforced the ideological links between the two politicians, hence the need to compare their discourse¹⁰¹.

As explained by Ivaldi (2019: 14), Donald Trump and Marine Le Pen’s political strategies rely on the same three-cornered pattern:

[L]e FPÖ, le FN, la Lega italienne et les populismes de Viktor Orbán en Hongrie ou de Donald Trump aux États-Unis, [t]ous partagent ce triptyque organisé par les trois volets de défense de la nation – contre l’immigration et les forces supranationales –, d’affirmation de l’autorité – exprimée dans un programme de la loi et de l’ordre – et de populisme – au travers de l’appel au peuple et de la critique de l’« establishment »¹⁰².

¹⁰⁰ https://x.com/mlp_officiel/status/972586245615423489.

¹⁰¹ It is worth mentioning that Le Pen herself praises Trump’s “Make America great again”:

« Nous savons que nous sommes les héritiers d’une histoire magnifique, les enfants d’une civilisation helléno-chrétienne qui a éclairé le monde et doit continuer d’irradier.

C’est avec fierté que nous devons continuer à porter ce flambeau, parce que le monde l’attend.

M. Macron se présente comme moderne ; il marche ou plus exactement il rame à contre-courant de l’histoire.

Les USA proclament « America great again » et retrouvent leurs frontières ;

La Chine s’affirme de nouveau comme l’Empire du milieu c’est-à-dire le pays autour duquel tout doit tourner ;

L’Inde retrouve son identité indienne ;

La Russie partisane d’un monde multipolaire n’a pas attendu pour faire entendre sa voix de nation indépendante et soucieuse de ses légitimes intérêts. » [FR_Le Pen_2018_01_15]

¹⁰² (EN): The FPO, the FN, the Italian League and the populisms of Viktor Orbán in Hungary or Donald Trump in the United-States all share a triptych organized by the three features of the nation’s defense

According to him, Marine Le Pen and Donald Trump, as well as other nationalist European politicians, mostly work on the notion of national defense that they divide into three main elements: firstly, the fight against immigration and globalization, then the importance of order and authority and finally the criticism of the elite through populist strategies. In this section, the comparison mainly focuses on the first point, namely how the two politicians linguistically fight against immigration, although the three elements of the triangle interact.

Let us start with the invariants before interpreting the differences. Firstly, both of them lexically repeat terms related to the theme of immigration more often than their main opponents. The relative frequency of the noun *immigration* is very similar in the two nationalist corpora with 7.3 for Marine Le Pen and 7.5 for Trump (against 3.4 for Joe Biden, 3.0 for Hillary Clinton and 2.3 for Emmanuel Macron). Thus, the relative frequency confirms the necessity to create two groups with, on the one hand, nationalist politicians and, on the other hand, their opponents during the presidential elections. Furthermore, the axiology associated with these repetitions is negative for Donald Trump and Marine Le Pen while it is rather positive for the other politicians under study. In a rhetorical perspective, they both create dichotomies (Us vs. Them) to nurture their populist strategies and overuse the patronyms of their opponents to criticize them systematically. Furthermore, they both rely on pathos, generating fear when talking about immigrants. Cognitively speaking, they both insist on the notion of quantity and use dehumanizing and aggregating conceptual domains in derogatory conceptual metaphors¹⁰³ to describe immigrants. Their strategies for the fight against immigration therefore relies on the same

(against immigration and supranational forces), of authority (expressed in an agenda of law and order) and of populism, with a call for the people and the criticism of “establishment”.

¹⁰³ This will be developed in Chapter 4.

patterns, although the language is not the same. Nevertheless, differences do exist between them. The effect of the dichotomies they create is singular. While Donald Trump resorts to the dichotomy Us vs. Them to praise the United States, Marine Le Pen's objective is more to victimize her political party, insisting on her belief that everyone is against the FN/RN. The main distinctions were found in the collocations and the conceptual domains they use. The semantic analyses showed Marine Le Pen resorts to many different domains to frame immigration, such as *natural catastrophes*, *health*, etc., while it is not the case with Donald Trump who essentially relies on criminality and law enforcement. If Marine Le Pen focuses more on the characteristic fact that immigrants are foreigners, Donald Trump highlights the idea that many of them came to the US *illegally*¹⁰⁴. As explained by Ivaldi (2019: 14), the cultural dimension is essential in nationalist discourse about immigration:

Nous le verrons, les formations de droite radicale populiste se distinguent généralement par l'emphasis qu'elles font porter dans leurs programmes politiques sur un petit nombre de questions « culturelles », au premier rang desquelles l'immigration. Cette surmobilisation des enjeux culturels répond à une stratégie de « niche » au travers de laquelle ces acteurs se différencient, notamment, des grands partis traditionnels, pour exploiter toutes les formes d'anxiété liées à l'immigration ou au multiculturalisme¹⁰⁵. (Ivaldi, 2019: 14)

This quotation entirely illustrates the essence of Marine Le Pen's strategy towards immigration. According to her, there is a cultural issue that could affect the French identity, hence the emphasis on religion when she talks about immigrants. However, this is not the case for Donald Trump. The phenomenon can be explained by the idea that he

¹⁰⁴ While this statement is wrong; according to the Pew Research Center: "Most immigrants (77%) are in the country legally" [https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2020/08/20/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants/#:~:text=Most%20immigrants%20\(77%25\)%20are,were%20temporary%20residents%20in%202017.](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2020/08/20/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants/#:~:text=Most%20immigrants%20(77%25)%20are,were%20temporary%20residents%20in%202017.)

¹⁰⁵ (EN): As we shall see, populist radical right-wing formations are generally distinguished by the emphasis that they place in their political programs on a small number of "cultural" issues, foremost among them immigration. This overemphasis on cultural issues is part of a "niche" strategy by which these players differentiate themselves from the traditional mainstream parties, exploiting all forms of anxiety linked to immigration or multiculturalism.

The most frequently used metaphors, found thanks to the analysis of collocations, are also different. While Marine Le Pen focuses on WATER and PRESSURE metaphors to frame immigration, Donald Trump frequently uses the metaphors of the CHAIN and the LOTTERY. This aspect is developed further in the next chapter so as to determine whether Marine Le Pen resorts to metaphors more often than Donald Trump and to what extent they are different. The last main difference between the two consists in how they reinforce their nationalist discourse. On the one hand, Donald Trump's strategy is to use intensifiers: he systematically uses superlatives, adjectives such as *tremendous* or *great* or even the onomatopoeia *wow*. These elements are called *boosters* by Wmatrix®. As can be seen in Figure 48, boosters are very frequently used by Trump as the size of the font is bigger:



This result was corroborated by the keyness analysis, which consists in the extraction of keywords that are overused by a speaker. The Trump corpus was thus compared to the reference corpus AmE06, available on #Lancsbox® to generate the following table:

1/1862	Keywords +
1	we be_pron v
2	thank_v
3	they be_pron v
4	hillary_n
5	incredible_adj
6	country_n
7	we have_pron v
8	great_adj
9	our_pron
10	trump_n

Figure 49. Overused keywords, Trump vs. AmE06

Figure 49 points out that Donald Trump overuses emphatic adjectives / intensifiers such as *great* or *incredible*, which is no surprise since Donald Trump’s slogan was “make America great again” and as Winders (2016: 293) writes “immigration reform, for Republic frontrunner Donald Trump, ‘will make America great again’, which is another way of saying that immigration has made America bad”. As for the adjective *incredible*, it is generally used to praise the audience or working people, and more particularly people whose job is to prevent immigrants from entering the country, such as border patrol agents, as illustrated in the next quotation:

- (89) We are fighting the opioid epidemic, and we are proudly supporting the men and women of law enforcement, including our wonderful ICE¹⁰⁶ officers and Border Patrol agents. These are **incredible** people who endorsed me during the campaign, and they are **incredible**. They’re doing a **great** job at the border, by the way. We are going to end chain

¹⁰⁶ Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

migration, we are going to end the lottery system, and we are going to build the wall. [US_Trump_2018_01_08.txt]

In example (89), Donald Trump's main aim is therefore to prove that his restrictive immigration policy is working and that people who are fighting immigration are astonishing. The keyness analysis demonstrates that the dichotomies are both exaggerated and diverse. Two different dichotomies exist: on the one hand, the incredible American working class is opposed to the illegal immigrants and, on the other hand, the left-wing group is opposed to Donald Trump and his voters, which recreates the existing hyperpolarization between the Republicans and the Democrats.

Furthermore, Trump's vocabulary is rather simple and not very varied and Figure 48 confirms that *crime* is a major notion in his speeches, especially when he describes immigrants, as already mentioned in the textometric analysis.

On the other hand, Marine Le Pen resorts not only to several source domains but also to several forms of the same source domain, creating complex metaphorical scenarios and overtaking the critical point which is what differentiates right wing from nationalist discourse. The two politicians thus use hyperbolic schemas but with different linguistic or rhetorical forms.

Although it does not constitute the central element of this study, as they are only sample corpora, the analysis showed that the speeches of Hillary Clinton, Joe Biden and Emmanuel Macron also contained many differences, even if the frequency of the theme under study is equivalent for the three politicians. Besides, the three candidates congratulated each other when they won the elections against nationalist opponents, emphasizing the importance of democracy, as can be seen in the following tweets:

 **Emmanuel Macron** 
@EmmanuelMacron

The Americans have chosen their President. Congratulations @JoeBiden and @KamalaHarris! We have a lot to do to overcome today's challenges. Let's work together!

[Traduire le Tweet](#)

7:00 PM · 7 nov. 2020 · Twitter for iPhone

 **Hillary Clinton** 
@HillaryClinton

Victory for Macron, for France, the EU, & the world.

Defeat to those interfering w/democracy. (But the media says I can't talk about that)

[Traduire le Tweet](#)

10:32 PM · 7 mai 2017 · Twitter for iPhone

 **President Biden** 
@POTUS · [Suivre](#)
United States government official

Congratulations to @EmmanuelMacron on his re-election. France is our oldest ally and a key partner in addressing global challenges. I look forward to our continued close cooperation — including on supporting Ukraine, defending democracy, and countering climate change.

12:50 AM · 25 avr. 2022

 **Hillary Clinton** 
@HillaryClinton

The voters have spoken, and they have chosen @JoeBiden and @KamalaHarris to be our next president and vice president.

It's a history-making ticket, a repudiation of Trump, and a new page for America.

Thank you to everyone who helped make this happen. Onward, together.

[Traduire le Tweet](#)

The textometric analysis, and more specifically the study of collocations with terms related to immigration, revealed that Emmanuel Macron was the only one who used derogatory source domains, such as that of PRESSURE or WATER, although the metaphors were not necessarily associated with a negative axiology in their context of use¹⁰⁷. Joe Biden did not resort to metaphors in the frequent collocations, and those used by Hillary Clinton were used essentially to denounce Donald Trump's immigration policies. It also showed that, just like Marine Le Pen's or Donald Trump's, Hillary Clinton's discourse frequently relied on what could be considered "reversed pathos" in the sense that she defends her pro-immigration reform by generating fear towards Donald Trump, who plans to separate immigrant children from their parents with deportations. Expected WATER metaphors did not emerge with textometry in the American corpus, hence the necessity to have a closer look at the corpus and look for the metaphors manually, but with the MIP, which is the objective of the next chapter.

¹⁰⁷ This result will be further developed in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.5. Conclusion

The main objective of Chapter 3 was to draw the key characteristics of the different corpora concerning immigration, so as to pave the way for the analysis of IMMIGRATION metaphors *per se*. Another essential aim was to compare discourse about immigration delivered by nationalist politicians to their opponents' speeches using statistical tools on two corpora of interest. The results showed expected results, namely that nationalist candidates do resort to immigration-related terms more often than their political opponents, more particularly with frequent collocations, which are connoted negatively. For instance, Trump's most frequent collocation that includes immigration-related terms is [*illegal immigration*] and Le Pen's is [*immigration massive*]. The recurrent use of axiologically negative adjectives such as *massive* or *illegal* in collocation with *immigration* in nationalist discourse makes the concept *immigration* acquire a negative axiology, even when found in other contexts. Thus, this chapter also demonstrated the importance of semantic prosody in the analysis of metaphors or collocations in general. The results show that nationalist candidates' main strategies are to create dichotomies and to dehumanize immigrants. Another central pattern, which is shared by everyone except Emmanuel Macron, is the fact that the politicians of the corpus tend to blame their opponents for their migratory policy: for instance, Clinton and Biden criticize Trump for not protecting immigrants, while Trump criticizes Clinton and Biden for their "open-door policy". Moreover, the source domains the five politicians frequently resort to are also different and the textometric analysis enabled me to find only some of them (namely LOTTERY, BURDEN or CHAIN). One of the main purposes of the next chapter is to determine what source domain is the most frequent for each politician in the conceptualization of immigration, with the MIP, and to study the axiology of each source domain.

Chapter 4: Analysis of the source domains used to conceptualize IMMIGRATION: results and discussions

4.0. Introduction

4.1. Data and preliminary general results

4.2. Axiology of the source domains *per se*

4.2.1. CONTAINER and PRESSURE FROM THE INSIDE

4.2.2. LIQUID/WATER

4.2.3. FIGHT

4.2.3.1. INTRUDERS

4.2.3.2. Protection

4.2.3.3. Direct attacks

4.2.4. BURDEN, WEIGHT and PRESSURE

4.2.4.1. MASS* and WEIGHT (poids, peser*, lourde*)

4.2.4.2. BURDEN

4.2.4.3. Strain and PRESSURE

4.2.5. ANIMALS

4.2.5.1. Real animals

4.2.5.2. Groups

4.2.5.3. Inhuman movements / behaviors

4.2.5.4. Control

4.2.6. ATTRACTION

4.2.7. DIRT

4.2.8. PLANT

4.2.9. DISEASE

4.2.10. Miscellaneous

4.2.10.1. OBJECTS

4.2.10.2. FOOD

4.2.10.3. DREAMers

4.3. Conclusion

4.0. Introduction

The preliminary analysis of collocations, studied in the previous chapter, showed that some *in-praesentia* metaphors were used by politicians to represent IMMIGRATION. However, the metaphors collected thanks to corpus linguistic software correspond to a minority of them: it is necessary to identify them manually so as to obtain a comprehensive overview of all the categories of IMMIGRATION metaphors. This chapter aims to study the axiological dimension of the source domains which are used to frame IMMIGRATION in the corpus, within the theoretical framework and methodology which have been developed in the first three chapters. The IMMIGRATION metaphors, namely the

metaphors that conceptualize immigration or its participants (host country, country of origin, means of transportation, immigrants, etc.), have been categorized according to their respective source domains, following the *Metaphor Identification Procedure* described in the methodology section (see section 2.3.5).

This chapter intends to show the evaluative dimension of each source domain used to frame IMMIGRATION, relying on several studies that have been carried out on IMMIGRATION metaphors so far and on the fact that metaphors are based on the idea of *perception* and thus on the notion of *evaluation*. The general results and data concerning IMMIGRATION metaphors for each sub-corpus will first be discussed. Then, the intrinsic axiology of each source domain will be studied, so as to pave the way for Chapter 5 and the analysis of the interaction between metaphor, the surrounding context and semantic prosody since metaphors cannot acquire their *full* evaluative dimension without context. The goals are to answer SQ2, SQ3 and SQ4: Do nationalist political leaders use more metaphors than their opponents? What are the most frequently used source domains to conceptualize IMMIGRATION? What is the axiology of the most frequently used source domains? Are they different depending on languages and political figures?

4.1. Data and preliminary general results

The objective of this section is to give an overview of the general results concerning the main source domains used by each political figure to frame IMMIGRATION. The specificities of each source domain will be described and discussed in the following sections. 888 metaphors related to immigration were found in the corpus: 69% for Trump, 19% for Le Pen, 5% for Clinton, 4% for Macron and 3% for Biden¹⁰⁸, as can be

¹⁰⁸ With 29 metaphorical occurrences for Biden, 37 for Macron, 41 for Clinton, 172 for Le Pen and 609 for Trump.

seen in Figure 50. Although the distribution could be done differently since some domains overlap, 15 different source domains were noted in the corpus (CONTAINER, LIQUID, FIGHT, CHAIN, BURDEN, ANIMAL, ATTRACTION, LOTTERY, DIRT, PLANT, BROKEN SYSTEM, DREAM, COMMODITIES, FOOD and DISEASE). Table 1 shows the number of occurrences for each source domain and each politician of the corpus.

	Biden	Clinton	Le Pen	Macron	Trump	Total
CONTAINER	5	8	38	6	156	213
LIQUID	5	1	60	12	101	179
FIGHT	3	6	13	7	90	119
CHAIN	0	0	0	0	96	96
BURDEN	2	0	34	5	38	79
ANIMAL	2	14	6	1	42	65
ATTRACTION	0	0	9	0	23	32
LOTTERY	0	0	0	0	31	31
DIRT	1	1	4	0	12	18
PLANT	5	1	1	1	4	12
BROKEN SYSTEM	1	4	0	0	7	12
DREAM	5	4	0	0	2	11
COMMODITIES	0	0	0	1	7	8
FOOD	0	0	4	3	0	7
DISEASE	0	2	3	1	0	6
	29	41	172	37	609	888

Table 1. Number of occurrences for each source domain per politician

Table 1 demonstrates that the first two most productive domains are CONTAINER (213 occurrences) and LIQUID (179 occurrences). These results are not surprising *per se* since they correspond to the domains Charteris-Black (2006: 569) described as the main domains related to immigration.

In the corpus, the different metaphors are distributed as follows:

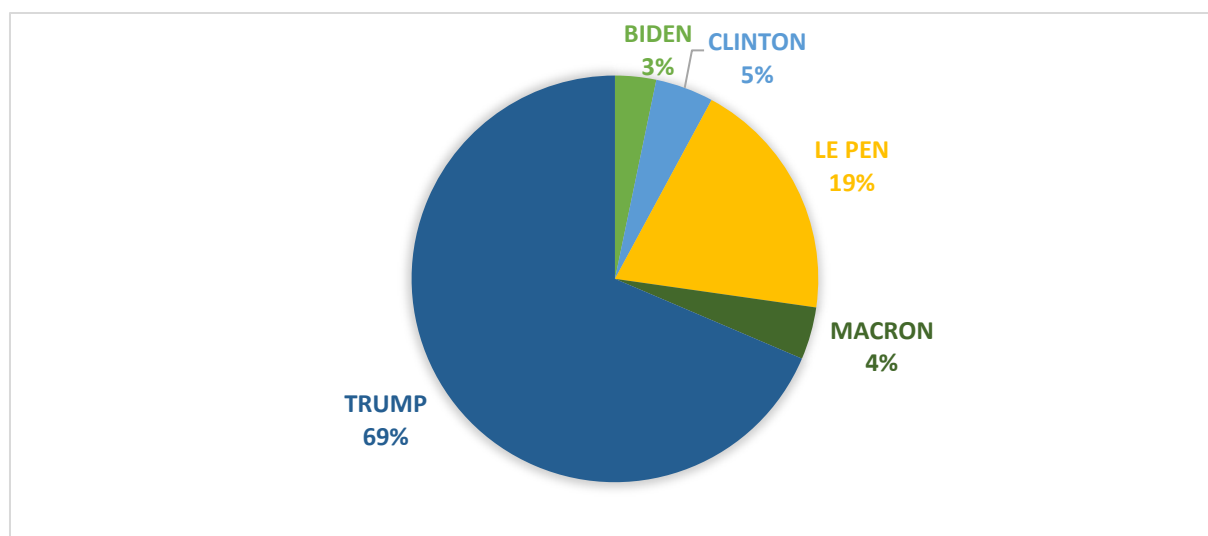


Figure 50. Percentage of IMMIGRATION metaphorical occurrences per politician

Figure 50 shows that Trump uses many more IMMIGRATION metaphors than the other politicians of the corpus: more than 60% of the metaphors related to IMMIGRATION are used by Trump. In addition, Figure 50 confirms the hypothesis according to which nationalist politicians resort to more IMMIGRATION metaphors than others (Delouis, 2014: 1): “Far-right discourse is peppered with multiple metaphors such as in the example above. Perhaps even more so than their left-wing counterparts, nationalist and xenophobic politicians need to resort to tropes in order to illustrate their worldview which they construe as a radically different counter-model to mainstream understandings.” The sum of Le Pen’s plus Trump’s IMMIGRATION metaphors unsurprisingly corresponds to 88% of all the IMMIGRATION metaphors of the corpus in absolute.

As each corpus has a different size, if the relative immigration metaphors per ten thousand tokens are considered for each corpus, Le Pen and Trump are also in the lead. Biden uses 6‰ of IMMIGRATION metaphors, Clinton 2 ‰, Le Pen 8 ‰, Macron 4 ‰ and

Trump 7 ‰¹⁰⁹. Thus, it is Marine Le Pen who resorts to more IMMIGRATION metaphors than the other political leaders, just before Donald Trump, as can be seen in Figure 51:

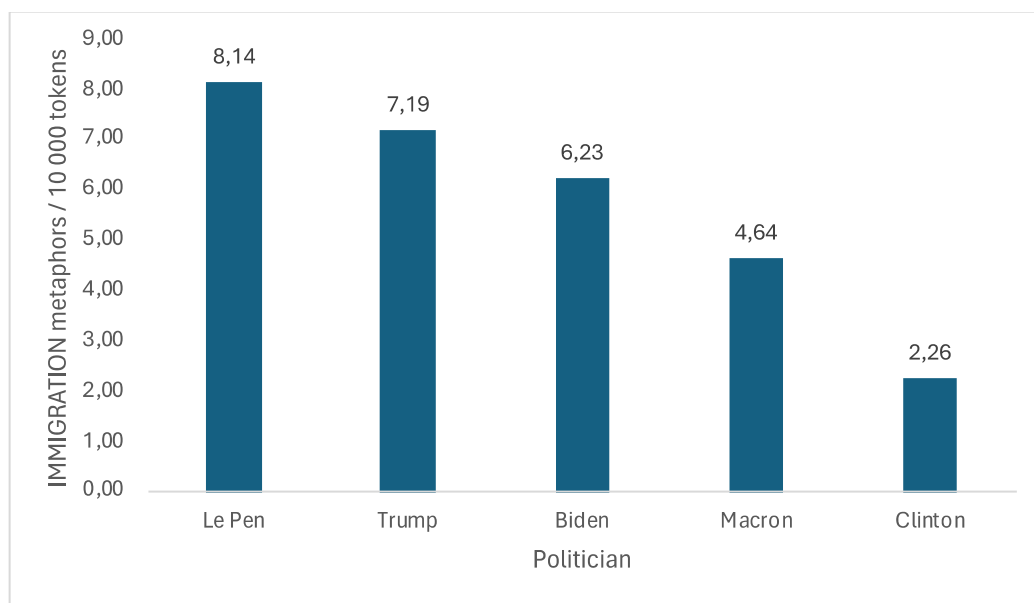


Figure 51. Number of IMMIGRATION metaphors per ten thousand tokens

For instance, the results concerning the relative frequency of immigration metaphors in each corpus demonstrate that Le Pen uses 8 IMMIGRATION metaphors in 10,000 tokens while Clinton resorts to 4 times fewer IMMIGRATION metaphors with only 2 per 10,000 tokens. Let us now consider the proportion of the different source domains for each leader.

¹⁰⁹

JB : 29 IMMIGRATION metaphors / 46 517 tokens. (=0,0006) ;
 HC : 41 IMMIGRATION metaphors / 181 390 tokens. (=0,0002) ;
 MLP : 172 IMMIGRATION metaphors / 211 382 tokens. (=0,0008) ;
 EM : 37 IMMIGRATION metaphors / 79 742 tokens. (=0,0004) ;
 DT : 609 IMMIGRATION metaphors / 846 473 tokens. (=0,0007).

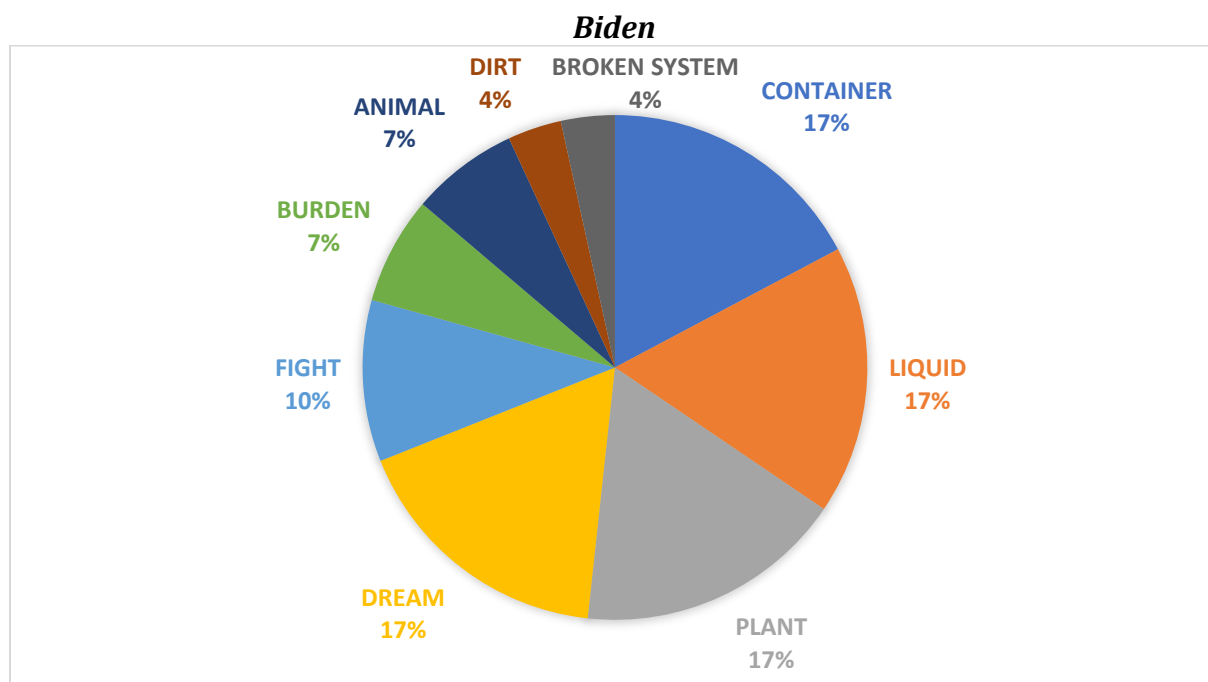


Figure 52. Percentage of each source domain in the Biden corpus

Figure 52 demonstrates that Biden resorts to only 9 of the 15 source domains found in the whole corpus. He does not use CHAIN, ATTRACTION, LOTTERY, COMMODITIES, FOOD and DISEASE. No domain emerges, as CONTAINER, LIQUID, PLANT and DREAM metaphors are all used equally.

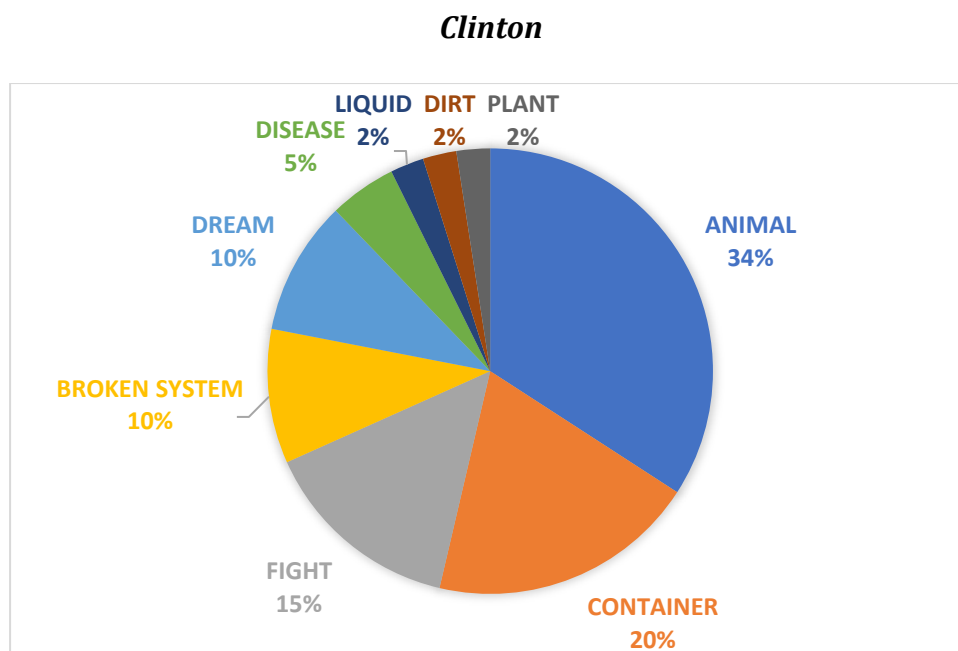


Figure 53. Percentage of each source domain in the Clinton corpus

Clinton, like Biden, uses only 9 out of 15 source domains to talk about IMMIGRATION. However, she does resort to the ANIMAL domain more often than the other politicians

under study. Furthermore, LIQUID metaphors are relatively rare in her speeches since they correspond to 2% of the occurrences only, while they are very frequent in the other politicians' discourses.

Trump

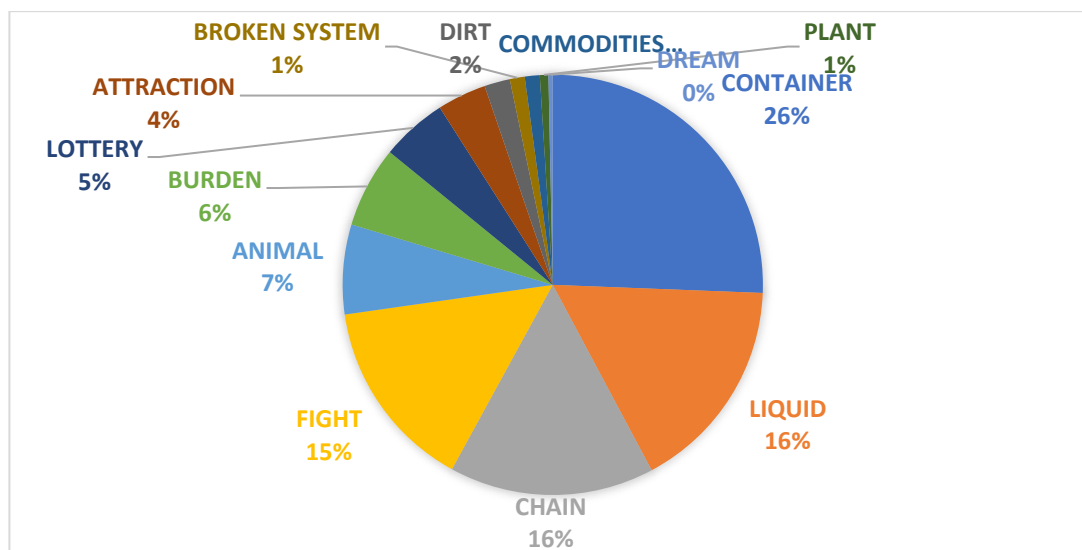


Figure 54. Percentage of each source domain in the Trump corpus

Figure 54 demonstrates that Trump resorts to 13 of the 15 source domains. He predominantly uses CONTAINER metaphors (26%) as well as FIGHT (15%) and employs LIQUID and CHAIN metaphors equally.

Le Pen

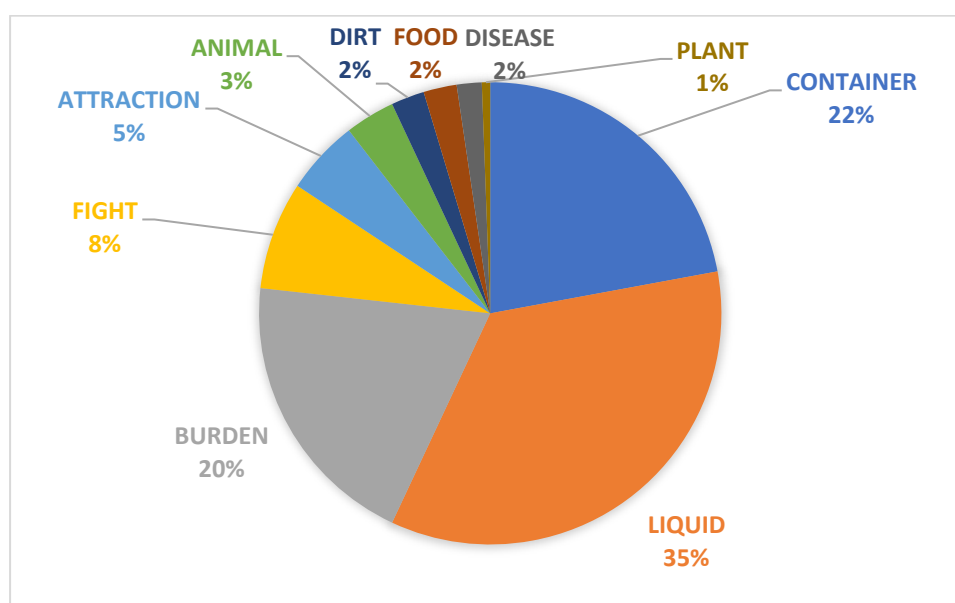


Figure 55. Percentage of each source domain in the Le Pen corpus

Le Pen uses 10 out of the 15 source domains and predominantly resorts to LIQUID metaphors to conceptualize IMMIGRATION: the LIQUID domain represents 35% of all her IMMIGRATION metaphorical occurrences. CONTAINER comes second (22%), just before BURDEN (20%). FIGHT represents 8% of her IMMIGRATION metaphors.

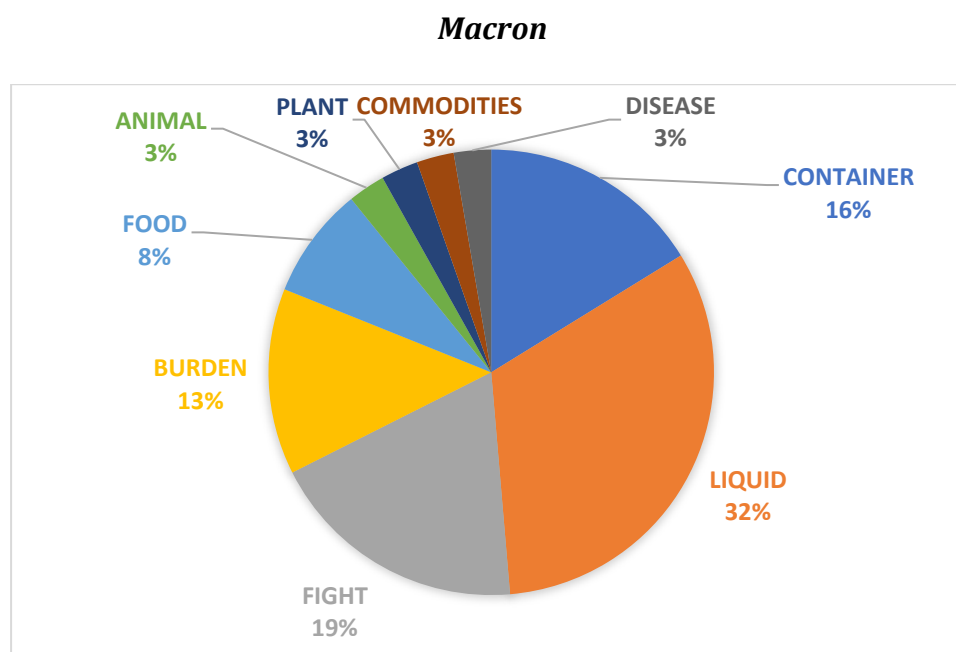


Figure 56. Percentage of each source domain in the Macron corpus

Similarly to Biden and Clinton, **Figure 56** illustrates that Macron uses 9 out of 15 of the source domains. However, like Le Pen, Macron primarily resorts to LIQUID metaphors (32%). The second most productive domain in his speeches is FIGHT and the third one CONTAINER.

The first salient, although not surprising, result consists in confirming that Trump uses many more metaphors (more than 60%) than the other politicians of the corpus. Furthermore, the data also confirms that nationalist politicians resort to many more IMMIGRATION metaphors than others since Trump and Le Pen produced more than 80% of them. Furthermore, Trump and Le Pen resort to a larger variety of source domains (more than 10 out of 15) than their political opponents to frame IMMIGRATION; this result echoes

the semantic analysis and the plurality of semantic domains that are associated with immigration in their speeches.

Concerning the differences between French and English, the general results show that the LIQUID domain is more salient in French while CONTAINER is the most productive domain in the American corpus. One possible hypothesis could be that French people are more likely to use and understand WATER metaphors than American people considering the proximity of the Mediterranean Sea and the fact that many refugees have arrived in France on boats recently. However, as Bernardot (2016) writes, this is a preconceived idea since the majority of immigrants come by plane.

Finally, ANIMAL as the most productive source domain in Clinton's speeches is surprising considering its inherent dehumanizing and derogatory dimension which contradicts the results of the collocation analysis, which was rather axiologically positive. Nevertheless, the source domain cannot be interpreted out of context, which is why the objective of the next section is to exemplify and discuss each source domain so as to overcome the limits of the general results and determine to what extent these source domains are axiologically negative.

4.2. Axiology of the source domains *per se*

In this section, each source domain will be analyzed independently. The purpose is to show the characteristics of these domains, with the use of the already existing literature. Although the domains will be presented according to their productivity in this chapter, the objective is not to offer a quantitative analysis, given that the corpus is relatively small and that the interpretation of a metaphorical occurrence is context-dependent, but rather to show how IMMIGRATION is metaphorically, and mainly negatively, framed in recent political discourse. In order to do so, different examples will be detailed

in each part. A list of all the metaphorical occurrences will be summarized in a table at the beginning of each section.

4.2.1. CONTAINER and PRESSURE FROM THE INSIDE

Ainsi, par exemple, le réseau qui s'organise autour du concept des liquides contenus, versés, répandus, etc., se rattache aux conceptions de pureté, de sang, de noblesse, et en même temps il fait partie du réseau spatial de l'espace clos, donc des concepts de territoire, et de sol.¹¹⁰

(Chilton, 1994: 591)

The CONTAINER domain is the most productive one in the corpus. 213 CONTAINER metaphors¹¹¹ related to immigration were found (2% for Biden, 3% for Macron, 4% for Clinton, 18% for Le Pen and 73% for Trump), which makes this source domain the most productive in total. CONTAINER metaphors usually highlight the notion of *border* and imply that host countries have limited spatial capacities. As the most productive source domain, it acts as an umbrella domain as CONTAINER encompasses or combines with many other domains such as WATER, WAR, HOUSE, FAMILY HOME or GUESTS, as will be developed. The different linguistic forms of the CONTAINER metaphors found in the corpus are listed in Table 2¹¹²:

Politician	CONTAINER linguistic occurrences
Biden	<i>Shut</i> (2), <i>gate</i> (1), <i>bridge</i> (1), <i>door</i> * ¹¹³ (1)

¹¹⁰ (EN): Thus, for example, the network that organizes itself around the concept of contained, poured and spread liquids is related to the conception of purity, blood, nobility, while it is part of the special network of closed space, so of the concepts of territory and ground.

¹¹¹ 5 for Biden, 6 for Macron, 8 for Clinton, 38 for Le Pen and 156 for Trump.

¹¹² The different colors correspond to the distinct categories that could be created among the same conceptual metaphor.

¹¹³ The terms of the table were lemmatized; here is the list of each word they include:

Door / doors

Fermeture / fermer

Open / opened / opens / opening

Ouverture / ouvrir / ouvert

Effacées / effacement

Entre / entrent / entrer / entrouvrir

Macron	<i>Porte</i> (1), <i>maison</i> (1), <i>impasse</i> (1), <i>ferme</i> * (2), <i>cadre</i> (1), <i>pression</i> (3)
Clinton	<i>Barriers</i> (6), <i>open</i> *(2),
Le Pen	<i>Ouv</i> * (13), <i>dehors</i> (1), <i>invité</i> (1), <i>efface</i> * (2), <i>hall</i> (2), <i>entre</i> * (3), <i>porte</i> *(2), <i>fermer</i> (5), <i>disparaître</i> (2), <i>mur</i> (1), <i>levées</i> (1), <i>clefs</i> (1), <i>rideau</i> (1), <i>explose</i> * (2), <i>maison</i> (1)
Trump	<i>Open</i> * (75), <i>sanctuary</i> (69), <i>caps</i> (1), <i>cycle</i> (2), <i>door</i> (4), <i>havens</i> (2), <i>erase</i> (2), <i>stretch</i> (1)

Table 2. List of all the different linguistic forms of CONTAINER metaphors according to the political figure

Green corresponds to the notion of *borders as limits*, red to the notion of *pressure* on the CONTAINER, blue to closed *buildings*, yellow to the notion of *guests* and purple to the *absence of border*, as illustrated by the following examples:

(90) Nous sommes propriétaires de notre territoire, nous devons **avoir les clefs de la maison France pour ouvrir, entrouvrir, fermer la porte**, c'est là une question de bon sens. Je ferai respecter la loi. Cela veut dire tout d'abord qu'aucune, je dis bien aucune, installation sur le sol français ne sera possible sans respecter les règles d'entrée et de séjour dans notre pays. Cela signifie que tous les clandestins seront expulsés. [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_05]

(91) Sanctuary cities, like San Francisco, block their jails from turning over criminal aliens to Federal authorities for deportation. These cities are engaged in the dangerous and unlawful nullification of Federal law in an attempt to **erase** our borders. [US_Trump_2017_04_25]

In example (90), Le Pen deliberately resorts to the metaphor of the HOUSE and extends it by mentioning French people should have the keys of the door. She quotes all the functional possibilities of the doors (*open, half-open or closed*) but the last part of the excerpt clarifies the option she would choose would be closing the door. One can see that with the negations, the repetition of *aucune*, as well as the verb *expulser*, which inherently refers to the binarity of the CONTAINER metaphor with the Latin word-forming *ex-* meaning “out of”. Moreover, the metaphor of the HOUSE can be considered the equivalent of the

Exploser / explosion
Portes / porte

FAMILY HOME metaphor. Burke (2002: 61) states that “this image mobilises well-established iconic representations—old residents welcoming new neighbours; the family home as a refuge from the external world; and the family home as a front to the world but also the barrier that is penetrated by visitors.” In excerpt (91), Trump criticizes the deletion of borders with the verb *erase*. The whole example is reinforced by a negative axiology (*criminal, dangerous, unlawful* etc.) to denounce Democrats who run sanctuary cities. According to him, no border is equivalent to more criminals in the United-States. Thus, he highlights the importance to maintain the host country as a CONTAINER, with the inside only reserved to American citizens.

Different metaphorical types of containers were found in the corpus. Although they all refer to enclosed spaces, they are used for various purposes. For instance, Le Pen highlights the comings and goings of people by redefining the country as a station concourse, as illustrated in excerpt (92):

(92) Les frontières sont effacées, comme avec Schengen, pour faire de nos pays des **halls de gare** où tout un chacun est libre de venir et de rester et, par le nombre, participer au nivellement des protections sociales et la baisse des salaires ainsi qu’à la dilution culturelle dans un plus petit commun dénominateur mondial. [FR_Le Pen_2017_02_05]

With the metaphor of the train station, Le Pen frames the country as a CONTAINER, but with fading borders. She associates the metaphor to economic arguments saying that people will earn less money with the absence of a CONTAINER, or with a CONTAINER that does not correspond to the country anymore but to the whole world. Le Pen combines this metaphor with a WATER metaphor (*dilution*) to talk about the deletion of the French national identity. With *hall de gare* she implies that anyone can enter the country, with no control.

As explained by Charteris-Black (2006: 569), immigration is often referred to in terms of CONTAINER: “There are two main areas of metaphor that occur in relation to

immigration: the first are metaphors of natural disaster – predominantly the behaviour of fluids – and the second are container metaphors – especially those relating to the buildup of pressure.” Thus, WATER and CONTAINER metaphors are largely interrelated since it is usually the “perforation” of a container that allows the “inflow” or “outflow” of liquid and therefore of immigrants (Charteris-Black, 2006: 569). Charteris-Black (2006: 569) points out the similarities between DISASTER and CONTAINER metaphors and writes that they both “discourage empathy with immigrants by treating them as objects, rather than as the subjects of life stories”; however, he notes a major difference between right-wing and centre-right politicians: “while the disaster scenarios are more typical of right-wing discourse – the greater the disaster the further to the right – container metaphors reflect a more general centre-right world”. This last point has not been confirmed by my corpus, except for Le Pen, who mostly resorts to natural disasters (with LIQUID metaphors, 35%). Nevertheless, Macron, who is considered a “centre-right” politician, also mainly uses LIQUID metaphors (32%), while Trump’s preferred source domain to refer to IMMIGRATION is that of the CONTAINER; hence the necessity to focus on semantic prosody as well.

Chilton (1994: 587) distinguishes three different elements that characterize discourses that contain restrictive immigration measures, as can be seen in Figure 57:

Interior	Limit	Exterior
Inside	Difference	Outside
Internal	Distinction	External
The Self, us	Definition	Them, the other
Friend	Separation	Enemy
Inclusion	Include / Exclude	Exclusion
	Stand alongside	
	Contain	
Covered		Open
Hidden		Discovered
Closed		Exposed
Security		Insecurity

Figure 57. CLOSED SPACE¹¹⁴ (CONTAINER) by Paul Chilton (1994: 587)

According to Chilton, the inherent features of this form of thinking rely on absolute belonging or non-belonging systems, which are imposed by a limiting contour. Thus, he points out the existence of a rigorous binary system in CONTAINER metaphors, as well as a distinction between background and periphery or depth and superficiality. He writes that these are spatial conceptualizations that can be transferred to social behaviours and thus turn into racist attitudes. Therefore, the CONTAINER source domain is inherently hyperpolarized, with an axiologically positive side and a negative one. Those who originally belong to the container are considered *friends* and convey a sense of security, whereas immigrants belong to the *outside*, they are considered *enemies*¹¹⁵ and associated with the notion of *insecurity*, which is axiologically negative (see Figure 57). Besides, if a metaphor has an axiological stance, it is because it offers a specific *framing* of immigration. For instance, CONTAINER metaphors tend depart from *illegal* immigration

¹¹⁴My translation. In French in the original article.

¹¹⁵ For that reason, CONTAINER metaphors are often related to WAR metaphors. This element will be further developed in the next chapter.

(emphasizing the notion of intrusion in a closed CONTAINER) and then generalise that frame to immigration as a whole.

CONTAINER metaphors usually enable the speaker to compare the host country to a house, and the borders are represented by the gates of the house. For instance, in the corpus, Emmanuel Macron claims that he refuses to use that metaphor and to compare French borders, and more particularly Calais, to hidden doors that would lead to England:

(93) Calais n'est pas une **porte** d'entrée dérobée vers l'Angleterre.
[FR_Macron_2018_01_16]

In example (93), Emmanuel Macron uses the metaphor of the door but with a negation. On the contrary, Marine Le Pen resorts to extended metaphors related to the idea that borders are doors. According to her, French citizens should have the “key” to those doors; during the final presidential debate of the 2017 campaign, she said:

(94) Vous ne voulez pas que les Français aient la **clé** de ces frontières. [FR_Le Pen_2017_05_03]

With the image of the *key* in excerpt (94), Marine Le Pen emphasises her belief in the idea that French people should have the possibility to accept or refuse immigrants just as they should have the possibility to lock or unlock the entrances of their own households. This example thus prototypically illustrates her nationalist promises. Furthermore, Charteris-Black (2006: 577) writes that CONTAINER metaphors about immigration not only refer to a movement coming from the outside to the inside but also typically denote pressure from the inside. That statement can be illustrated by Emmanuel Macron's speeches, in which he openly mentions “migratory pressures”, but also by Marine Le Pen who goes even further and talks about explosions, which has also been studied by Charteris-Black (2006: 578): “While right-wing discourse generally exploits the emotional potential of a metaphor schema in which there is a buildup of pressure within a container, it is only

more extreme right-wing or racist discourse that refers to the concepts of reaching a critical point and indeed bursting [...].” For example, on the one hand, Emmanuel Macron very often points out the large number of immigrants staying in Calais in terms of pressure and says:

(95) Calais connaît depuis vingt ans des phases de **pressions** migratoires.
[FR_Macron_2018_01_16]

In this excerpt, the metaphor FRANCE IS A CONTAINER enables Macron to specify that immigrants supposedly put pressure – or exert a physical force – on French borders. Moreover, Marine Le Pen openly extends the metaphor; however, according to her, the “migratory pressure” is so tough that it results in an explosion, i.e., the borders of France (the container in this case) are totally destroyed. Let us illustrate this phenomenon with the following example from the French corpus:

(96) Il y a ensuite l’immigration clandestine, qui **explose** littéralement et dont nous voyons ces derniers temps les conséquences les plus tragiques. [FR_Le Pen_2015_05_01]

In excerpt (96), the verb “exploser”, and more specifically the Latin prefix *ex-*, designates a transfer from the interior to the exterior. According to the far-right politician, as a result from “migratory pressure”, France is bursting: Le Pen plays with the notions of outside or inside, which completely disappear. This strategy is prototypical of extreme-right politicians, and more particularly the FN/RN. Chilton (1994: 616) writes that it is because important concepts, such as state, history or national identity, have spontaneously been described with references to interiority or exteriority and spatial displacement that it became easy for far-right political parties (such as the FN) to be accepted in the political landscape. The CONTAINER metaphor thus significantly contributes to *the highlighting-hiding* principle and to de-demonizing far-right speeches: it highlights the movement of

immigration and the territorial capacity of the host country while it hides the notion of rejection.

This phenomenon was also described by Radden & Dirven (2007: 16) who write that orientational metaphors in general are very efficient and really frequent in speeches as they are cognitively related to fundamental dimensional elements, which are themselves associated with the material sphere. They write (2007: 16) that orientational metaphors “make particularly good source domains because they have developed from our earliest bodily and spatial experiences and hence are immediately meaningful to us”. If one goes further, this phenomenon explains why the audience usually comprehend CONTAINER metaphors effortlessly; the main reason is that the CONTAINER domain relies on the fundamental notions of the inside and the outside of every being. This idea particularly applies to the corpus, and predominantly to speeches on immigration that depict the host nation as a HOUSE and the boundaries of that nation as the DOORS of this house. With that metaphor, future voters are able to conceptualize IMMIGRATION more clearly. Let us illustrate that pattern with example (97) from the American corpus:

- (97) Turning away orphans, applying a religious test, discriminating against Muslims, slamming the **door** on every Syrian refugee, that is just not who we are. We are better than that.
[US_Clinton_2015_11_19]

In excerpt (97), America is framed as a CONTAINER, a HOUSE, and the limits of this CONTAINER, the borders, are the ENTRANCES to this house. Thus, two singular metaphors combine: namely, THE U.S. IS A HOUSE and U.S. BORDERS ARE DOORS. There can be two opposed interpretations concerning the axiology of these metaphors. On the one hand, the axiology could be considered quite positive; following Chilton’s representations (see Figure 57), the first hypothesis could be that the image of the HOUSE conveys the sense of security and comfort. This first, rather positive, evaluation suggests that the American people is the

landlord of the house and that U.S. citizens have the right to choose who is allowed to come in¹¹⁶. However, on the other hand, the metaphor also shows a negative axiology, which is well-hidden and which conveys the idea of intrusion: immigrants belong to the outside, so if their journey is complete, they become intruders. Clinton does not say that they should let immigrants enter the house, she only says that the door should not be slammed; as a result, the closed door is mentioned and the idea of rejection as well.

The HOUSE metaphor is also related to that of the GUEST. Although *guest* is a rather positively connoted noun, it also suggests the notion of exclusion, as pointed out by Laarman (2013: 1244): “If the nation is perceived as a family, a guest is no part of it. Guests can stay with the family, but are supposed to leave after a while.” Being inside the CONTAINER is thus a temporary status with that type of metaphor. This pattern was particularly found in Le Pen’s discourse, especially in excerpts where she tries to demonize the party, as can be seen in (98)

- (98) Oui, car je le dis : maîtriser les frontières, ce n’est pas comme se complaisent à nous caricaturer les adversaires de la France, ériger des barbelés. C’est d’abord avoir des frontières et les maîtriser comme tous les pays raisonnables du monde. C’est aussi, discuter simplement et fermement, dialoguer sans complaisance et de manière juste avec les pays amis de la France pour amener le candidat à l’immigration à se projeter dans son pays de naissance et non pas dans notre pays quand il n’a aucune raison d’y venir et qu’on ne l’y a pas **invité**. [FR_Le Pen_2016_05_01]

Example (98) illustrates how Le Pen tries to soften her discourse on immigration so as not to be seen as a xenophobic candidate. She states that the FN/RN’s political opponents caricatured her party. The expression *on ne l’y a pas invité* works as a euphemism; however, it still implies that France makes the decision, while immigrants, who are not considered family anyway, have absolutely no say. Thus, immigrants who still come, even

¹¹⁶ Moreover, it is worth mentioning the importance of property in the United States, especially with the existence of castle doctrine laws, which justify the use of deadly force against an intruder in one’s habitation.

though they were *not invited*, are considered intruders who penetrate the container and violate the country's privacy. The axiology of the GUEST metaphor can be considered positive at first sight while what it hides is essentially negative.

The conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A HOUSE has been represented in Figure 58, following the Blending Theory described by Turner and Fauconnier (see section 1.1.2.) as well as Van Dijk's work (2008: 98). There are four elements in the GENERIC SPACE: Agent 1, Agent 2, the limits as well as the goal. Each of these elements corresponds to one aspect of the HOUSE and one aspect of the COUNTRY. INPUT SPACE 1 symbolizes the NATION: it consists in Americans, which correspond to Agent 1 and immigrants, who are Agent 2. The limits of the GENERIC SPACE are the borders of the nation and the goal corresponds to safety. INPUT SPACE 2 stands for the HOUSE, in which the owners are Americans, the guests are immigrants, the limits are the doors and the notion of safety is a physical shelter. Following, Chilton's (1994) idea that the container domain implies the existence of an "interior" and an "exterior", and Van Dijk's (2000) work, according to which the "them penetrates the us", the notion of intrusion emerges and the blend of the two input spaces leads to the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE INTRUDERS, which encodes a strong negative axiology and illustrates the evaluative dimension of metaphors that conceptualize IMMIGRATION.

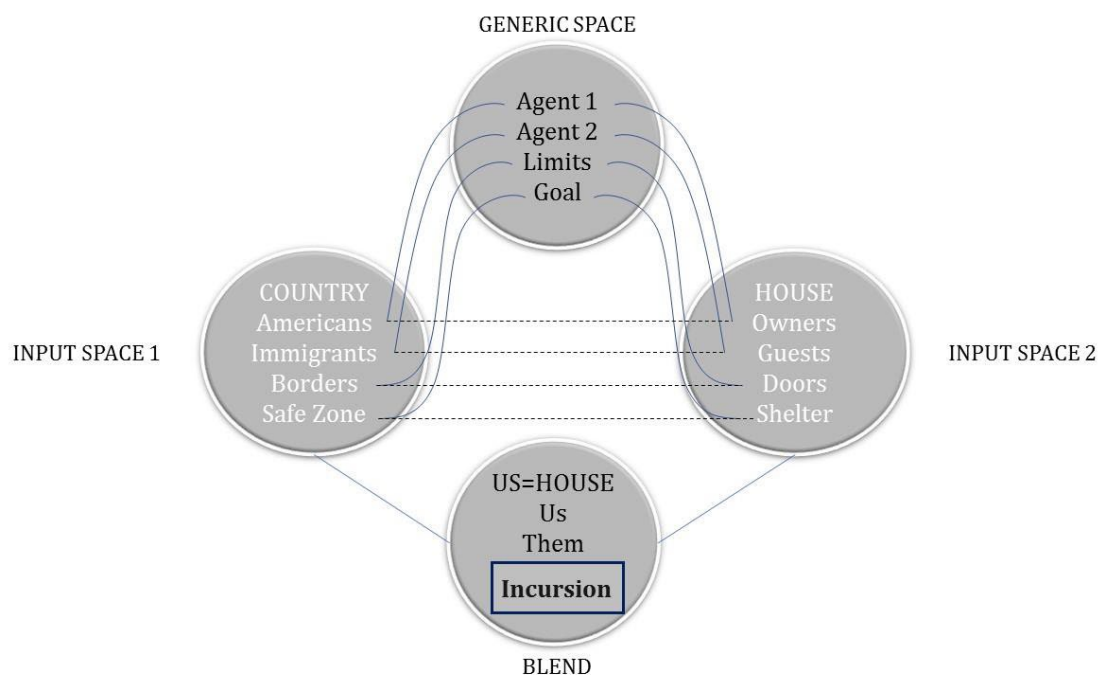


Figure 58. *AMERICA IS A HOUSE*, according to the Blending Theory (Van Dijk, 2008; Chilton, 1994; Lafiandra, 2018)

With CONTAINER metaphors, the nationalist speakers can insist on the supposed necessity to regulate immigration, focusing on the idea that the container is too tiny to welcome additional immigrants and that its limits, namely the borders, are on the verge of blowing up to pieces, which once again encodes a negative axiology. Charteris-Black (2006: 577) writes that such metaphors are associated with pressures on the boundaries of the container from the inside only. These pressures imply the existence of frontiers, as illustrated in excerpt (99):

- (99) Those who have left to seek entry under this new system will not be awarded surplus visas, but will have to enter under the immigration **caps** or limits that will be established.
[US_Trump_2016_08_31]

In example (99), the substantive *caps* denotes the lid of a closed space. The metaphor depicts the host nation as a CONTAINER and immigrants as the CONTENT that has to be limited: the notion of limitation is repeated three times, with the adjective *surplus*, and the nouns *limits* and *caps*. Trump's objective here is to justify his intention to restrict

immigration, arguing that the American CONTAINER is not extensible and cannot welcome immigrants anymore.

Moreover, according to Charteris-Black (2006: 577), it should be noted that the evaluation of CONTAINER metaphors depends on political perspectives and on the angle from which IMMIGRATION is observed. The CONTAINER source domain is “positive when referring to the agent of control but negative regarding that which is controlled”. Thus, it echoes Chilton’s (1994) representations: the axiology associated with American people with CONTAINER metaphors is positive, while the one related to immigrants is negative. In addition, Charteris-Black underlines (2006: 577) the sense of violation¹¹⁷ that is inherent to the concept of CONTAINER and which is described by Van Dijk (2000):

The existence of a container implies both an inside and an outside and therefore in relation to political discourse requires both the “us” and the “them” referred to by Van Dijk (2000); the penetration of the boundary of a container implies the “them” symbolically entering the “us”.

Thus, the spatial dimension of CONTAINER metaphors and their strong link with territoriality make other negative source domains – mainly related to the notion of *invasion* (and possibly *rape*) – emerge, which proves that the axiology of the CONTAINER domain is intrinsically negative.

¹¹⁷ This idea is also developed by Chilton (1994 : 591) and source domains such as that of dirt will be developed later in this chapter:

« C’est de cette manière qu’il est possible d’entamer une explication des résonances sémantiques des termes propre et net, et de la facilité conceptuelle avec laquelle ils s’appliquent au concept de l’immigration. Celui-là combine le tabou sur la violation de l’espace privé, imaginé comme contenant corporel, avec la peur de la contamination résultant de la transgression de la frontière du contenant, et avec l’immigration elle-même imaginée comme pénétration du corps national ».

(EN): “This is how it is possible to begin an explanation about the semantic resonance of the terms clean and neat, and about the conceptual easiness with which they apply to the concept of immigration. The latter associates the taboo about violence in the private sphere, imagined as a bodily container, with immigration, itself imagined as a penetration of the national body.”

Intermediary conclusion: CONTAINER is the most productive source domain in the corpus to talk about immigration. This is no surprise since CONTAINER metaphors are ontological metaphors that rely on our basic instinct of territoriality (as explained by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 29)). At first sight, the axiology of CONTAINER metaphors does not seem negative per se; however, because these metaphors largely rely on the notions of borders, which usually enable nationalist politicians to criticize the so-called “open-border” policies of their opponents, they insist on the idea that nations have limited spatial capacities and are thus damagingly used to justify their intention to restrict immigration. CONTAINER metaphors describe the host country as a safe place that would not be so safe if more immigrants came. Nationalist politicians use them to depict immigrants as invaders that are not welcome or even as rapists who violate their property, which encodes a genuinely negative axiology when the representation of IMMIGRATION is taken into account. In addition, the CONTAINER domain is also the most productive because it encompasses many others, especially domains that refer to contents, such as WATER, but also those that refer to ENEMY metaphors, and by extension to the domain of WAR.

4.2.2. LIQUID/WATER¹¹⁸

L'hydraulique et l'hydrologie offrent une réserve de métaphores dans laquelle les démographes et les hommes politiques ont puisé dès qu'ils se sont penchés sur les migrations.

(Le Bras, 1994: 35)

LIQUID is the second most productive domain in the corpus. A total of 179 LIQUID metaphorical occurrences used to frame IMMIGRATION have been found (1 for Clinton, 5 for

¹¹⁸ I did not make the distinction between WATER and LIQUID metaphors when I collected them. They were put in the same category.

Biden, 12 for Macron, 60 for Le Pen and 101 for Trump). They are discussed here together with WATER metaphors because they are narrowly related: LIQUID metaphors include WATER metaphors as they refer to the behaviors of all fluids in general. They are largely (90% of them) resorted to by the nationalist politicians of the corpus.

Many scholars (Charteris-Black, 2006; Bernardot, 2016 ; Le Bras, 1994; Cunningham-Parmeter, 2011; Santa Ana, 2002; Granet, 1980; Corbin, 2005; Van Der Valk, 2003; Razac, 2013; Taylor, 2022) have shown that WATER metaphors are omnipresent in discourses about immigration, in many different languages. These metaphors have a “long-standing history of use in relation to discussion of migration and migrants” and are particularly remarkable as they can be creative and conventionalized at the same time (Taylor, 2022). According to Charteris-Black (2006: 14), “[d]isaster metaphors have an important history in political communication on the topic of immigration”. Table 3 displays the different LIQUID linguistic occurrences, which are used by each politician to conceptualize IMMIGRATION or its participants in the corpus.

Politician	LIQUID linguistic occurrences
Clinton	<i>Flood</i> (1)
Biden	<i>Flood</i> (1), <i>flow</i> (1), <i>overwhelm</i> (1), <i>source</i> (1), <i>wave</i> (1)
Macron	<i>Débord</i> * ¹¹⁹ (2), <i>endiguer</i> (2), <i>*flux</i> (5), <i>gonfler</i> (1), <i>submergés</i> (1), <i>vagues</i> (1)

¹¹⁹ The lemmas correspond to:

Débordements / débordé

Flux / afflux / reflux

Déferlante / déferler / déferle

Flot / flots

Infiltrer / infiltration

Noyé / noie

Submersion / submergés / submergée.s / submerger

Flow / flows / flowing / inflow

Flood / floodgates / flooded / flooding / floods

Flux / influx

Overwhelm / overwhelmingly / overwhelmed / overwhelming

Pour / pouring / pours.

Le Pen	<i>Affluer</i> (3), <i>déferl*</i> (5), <i>dilution</i> (1), <i>dissolution</i> (1), <i>filtrer</i> (3), <i>flot*</i> (3), <i>*flux</i> (9), <i>infiltr*</i> (3), <i>noyer*</i> (2), <i>passoire.s</i> (2), <i>porosité</i> (1), <i>submer*</i> (18), <i>tarie</i> (1), <i>torrent</i> (2), <i>vague.s*</i> (5), <i>vannes</i> (1)
Trump	<i>Absorb</i> (1), <i>drain</i> (6), <i>*flow*</i> (17), <i>flood*</i> (16), <i>*flux</i> (3), <i>frozen</i> (1), <i>infiltrating</i> (1), <i>overwhelm*</i> (14), <i>porous</i> (1), <i>pour*</i> (37), <i>spilling</i> (1), <i>surge</i> (1), <i>waves</i> (2)

Table 3. List of all the different linguistic forms of LIQUID metaphors according to the politician

The different occurrences mainly frame immigration as WATER, as can be seen in the following excerpts:

(100) La procureure de Bobigny, dans un discours de l'audience solennelle de rentrée, s'est exprimée sur la situation en Seine-Saint-Denis. Elle a décrit une situation d'effondrement de la justice, un système pénal qui se dissout littéralement sous l'inflation des crimes et délits dans un département, oublie-t-elle de dire, **noyé sous l'immigration**. [FR_Le Pen_2018_02_04]

(101) Dans cette élection, le système veut que les Français acceptent simplement d'être dépossédés de leur pouvoir démocratique, de leurs richesses, de leur identité. Le système veut ainsi que la France continue de s'épuiser à accueillir une immigration jamais contrôlée, jamais **tarie**, jamais contrainte. [FR_Le Pen_2017_03_11]

Example (100) illustrates that the notion of submersion is reversed: according to Le Pen, it is not immigrants who are victims of drowning but a French department. In excerpt (101), immigration is also conceptualized as WATER. The metaphor, which bears on the verb *tarir* (*dry up*), enables Le Pen to defend her restrictive immigration propositions and criticize her opponents.

As Bernardot (2016: 28) points out, immigration metaphors that refer to liquids are more significant than others:

L'établissement d'un lien entre mouvements humains et mécaniques des fluides est initié par des théoriciens et des leaders d'opinion au cours du XIX^e siècle. Ce n'est pas le seul registre d'association mobilisé. Les analogies avec les épidémies et les espèces invasives ou les animalisations racistes et les images sexualisées et genrées sont fréquentes. Cependant la métaphore liquide s'est imposée progressivement comme une matrice discursive et conceptuelle dominante et elle aspire dorénavant les autres registres analogiques dans son système de signification.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ (EN): The creation of a link between human movements and fluid mechanics started with theorists and leaders in the 19th century. This is not the only network of associations that is used. The comparisons with epidemics and invasive species or racist animalization and sexualized and gendered images are frequent.

Metaphors that enable people to frame immigrants as WATER involve three distinct presumed characteristics of immigration: namely, movement, size, and power (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2011). Their axiology is thus inherently threatening and thus negative. Santa Ana (2002: 76) also indicates that WATER metaphors presuppose three elements: firstly, immigrants are reduced to an undifferentiated non-human aggregate. Then, this aggregate moves from one container to another and thus releases energy. Finally, the movement is powerful and thus dangerous, which is why the axiology of WATER metaphors is fundamentally negative. LIQUID metaphors refer to uncontrollable WATER with lexemes such as *flow*, *flood*, *flux*, *waves*, etc. (see Table 3). Cunningham-Parmeter (2011: 1580) writes that WATER metaphors are related to “great floods [that] have devastated societies throughout human history”. Therefore, WATER metaphors are cultural, and not necessarily universal, since they are based on shared knowledge and perhaps geography: France and America are both delimited by seas or oceans and, although the majority of immigrants come by plane, some refugees literally cross these waters to get to the shores of the two host countries¹²¹. Nevertheless, this source domain is not used in the Western world only; for example, Chinese journalists frequently refer to immigrants in terms of “great floods” (*dachao*) or “waves” (*langchao*) (Bernardot, 2016: 33), which, to a certain extent, demonstrates the universal dimension of this metaphor, although it should be noted that the paradoxical dimension of WATER – purifying and dangerous at the same time – can also be found in Chinese (Granet, 1980). Furthermore, WATER metaphors could also be considered metonymies since they not only rely on movements and strength but also on the means of transportation of immigrants. This

Nevertheless, the liquid metaphor progressively imposed itself as a dominating discursive and conceptual matrix and now attracts the other analogical networks in its signification system.

¹²¹ Even if this is, of course, more palpable for immigrants who came to France after the Syrian conflict.

may account for why LIQUID metaphors are specifically frequent in the French corpora: WATER corresponds to one of the routes refugees take. However, as already mentioned, a paradox remains: even though contemporary migrations are essentially made by plane or on the ground, liquid and maritime metaphors remain omnipresent (Bernardot, 2016). According to Charteris-Black (2006: 570), this omnipresence could be due to the fact that flooding “has become a more familiar experience, probably as a result of climate change”, which reinforces the idea of a universal metaphor. Moreover, LIQUID metaphors are not only linguistic but also very visual: they usually focus on universal images such as tempests, shipwrecks, drifts or bodies overboard (Corbin, 2005). To understand the significance of the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE WATER, let us represent some of the different linguistic forms it can take in Figure 59.

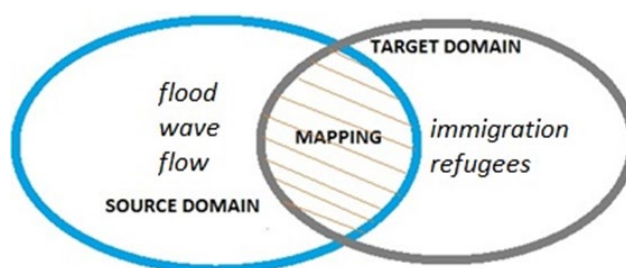


Figure 59. Illustration of the conceptual metaphor: IMMIGRATION IS WATER (Lafiandra, 2018: 90)

Whether it is the intention of politicians to describe immigrants negatively or not, resorting to the source domain of WATER to conceptualise IMMIGRATION will inevitably generate different mappings, whose axiology will be mainly negative as it will highlight the uncontainable dimension of both crowds and waters. The mapping presented in Figure 59 reveals the following sophistry: [A] IMMIGRATION IS WATER, [B] WATER IS DANGEROUS so [A] + [B] = IMMIGRATION IS DANGEROUS. Santa Ana (1997: 323-324) describes the mapping of the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRATION IS DANGEROUS WATERS as follows:

- a. Immigration corresponds to moving waters.
- b. The United States corresponds to a bounded land subject to change from floods.
- c. Greater immigration corresponds to an increased threat to the land.

d. The land's vulnerability to flooding corresponds to U.S. susceptibility to cultural change.

With these four points, Santa Ana (1997: 323-324) particularly shows that WATER metaphors are characteristically negative since they connote vulnerability (the citizens of the host country are the victims), threat (immigrants are depicted as powerful people) but also, and mostly, the notion of change, repeated twice. Thus, the source domain of WATER nurtures conservative ideas: immigration is seen as a threat to national identity, just like floods are considered a threat to the landscape. Furthermore, the metaphorization of immigrants with a liquid form is often considered dehumanizing (Bernardot, 2016). Van Der Valk (2003: 331), who studied French right-wing parliamentary discourse, draws the following conclusion: WATER metaphors symbolize “a loss of control over immigration. Too many immigrants enter the country. We lost control over the process.” In addition, Cunningham-Parmeter (2011: 1580) writes that immigration demographics “do not bear out” the implications of conceptual metaphors such as IMMIGRATION IS A FLOOD: a strong majority of immigrants do not “gush into the country as the flood metaphor suggests”, but enter the country legally instead. IMMIGRANTS ARE WATER metaphors thus apply to both illegal and legal immigrants without any distinction. As for refugees who enter the country illegally, they are far from the powerful and violent representations that are found in WATER metaphors, since these people flee very precarious conditions and take a perilous journey¹²². The notion of vulnerability, which is kept quiet, completely contradicts the irresistible violence that is evoked with WATER metaphors.

The use of the lexical field of WATER to describe IMMIGRATION is frequent in the corpus and especially in the speeches of Marine Le Pen (35%) with the nouns *flux*, *vague*

¹²² <https://www.unicef.org/eca/stories/perilous-journey-across-mediterranean>.

or *flots* but also with the noun *wave*, the verb *pour*, and the nouns *flow* or *flood* in the American corpus, as can be seen in excerpts (102) and (103):

(102) Certains pays, non soumis comme le nôtre à l'idéologie mortifère de l'ouverture totale des frontières et de la libre-circulation, ont réussi à endiguer les **flots d'immigrants** arrivant notamment par la mer. [FR_Le Pen_2015_05_01]

(103) We've all seen on television, all over the papers, the illegal migrants **pouring up through** Mexico, flooding the border—many from Central America, Honduras—all over the place, coming up by the thousands. We're stopping them at different fronts, but we don't have laws. We have laws that were written by people that truly could not love our country. [US_Trump_2018_05_04]

In their study about American newspapers, Strom & Alcock (2017: 15) showed that terms such as *flood*, *surge* or *wave* were axiologically negative, in the sense that they conceptualised Latin immigrant children “as a chaotic, overwhelming, and uncontrollable force that must be stopped” and thus enabled politicians to justify “their inhumane treatment”. Besides, not only are immigrants represented in terms of WATER but borders are now usually defined in terms of permeability (Razac, 2013) and the example of “porous borders” is often given (Santa Ana, 1997: 322). According to Nguyen and McCallum (2016: 167), the goal of “porous border” metaphors is to legitimize the necessity to toughen immigration policies. *Porosity* metaphors could be called “indirect” LIQUID metaphors as they do not directly describe immigrants as WATER but rather imply immigration has a liquid dimension, with the use of a metaphorical framing of the country's borders, as illustrated by the following examples:

(104) At home, **porous borders** and unenforced immigration laws had created a host of vulnerabilities. [US_Trump_2017_12_18]

(105) Il reste figé sur ses conceptions archaïques et dramatiques, ouvrir nos frontières à la **déferlante** migratoire et croire à l'utopie des frontières européennes qui nous offre chaque jour le spectacle de leur **porosité**, ânonnées sur le vivre ensemble, qui dans de trop nombreux quartiers est devenu le « vivre comme eux ». [FR_Le Pen_2015_11_28]

The notion of *porosity* is found in Le Pen's and Trump's speeches. Even though the noun *porosité* and the adjective *porous* are used to describe the borders of the United States and France, they also have an impact on the way immigrants are framed, as it dehumanizes them. Indeed, as *porous* and *porosity* enable the politician to describe the host country as a CONTAINER with holes, immigrants are indirectly conceptualized as a LIQUID since the adjective *porous* is synonymous with *absorbent* or *permeable*.

Porosity can be related to the notion of *absorbance*, which has been found once in the corpus, in example (106):

(106) Asylum is not a program for those living in poverty. There are billions of people in the world living at the poverty level. The United States cannot possibly **absorb** them all. [US_Trump_2018_11_01]

The verb *absorb* bears on the host country and thus does not directly depict immigrants as a liquid. Nevertheless, the direct object, namely the pronoun *them*, refers to immigrants with an *in-absentia* metaphor, in other words, the notion of immigration is not explicitly mentioned¹²³. Consequently, as the United States is framed as a spongy material with a limited capacity of absorbance of liquids, immigrants become this liquid. To a certain extent, the mental picture of the sponge conveys the conceptual metaphor of the CONTAINER so as to highlight the limited capacity of the country to welcome immigrants. Besides, sponges are used to clean a surface and remove dirty liquids, which is once again extensively negative.

¹²³ Hence the necessity to also analyze the corpus manually.

The framing of the border as a way to dehumanize immigrants even more was also developed by Cunningham-Parmeter (2011: 1581): “Just as levies attempt to hold back large bodies of water, the border is presented as a fragile dike that might burst at any moment, given the pressure coming from the alien flood.” Moreover, the use of the WATER source domain is very frequent since LIQUID images are not only used in discourse advocating safety policies but also, and surprisingly, in pro-immigration discourse (Bernardot, 2016). This is the case in the corpus; for instance, Biden also resorts to the *flow* metaphor:

(107) The United States has donated \$4.5 billion in humanitarian assistance to support Syrian refugees, and we’ll continue to do our part to care for the most vulnerable among us. But more has to be done. It’s clear there’s a need to improve cross-border cooperation, information sharing, and to deal with the **flow of refugees** while stepping up our ability to counter terrorist threats, as well. [US_Biden_2015_11_25]

Finally, Bernardot (2016: 36) insists on the idea that using expressions such as “flows of immigrants” can easily generate other quite derogatory source domains such as diseases or criminality, which once again highlights the inherent negative axiology of WATER metaphors, whether immigrants are conceptualized as contaminated water or natural disasters:

Les flots de migrants peuvent être scénarisés au choix comme une souillure de l’eau, une maladie qui se répand, un désastre naturel comme la rupture d’une digue et une infiltration criminelle potentiellement terroriste.¹²⁴

Moreover, Charteris-Black (2006: 572) suggests that “conceptually, metaphors referring to liquids are preferred because of the knowledge that, by their nature, liquids – tides, rivers, waves etc. – move around; they can therefore be related to a more primary conceptual metaphor: CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS”. He adds (2006: 573) that “from a right-

¹²⁴ (EN): The flood of immigrants can be scenarized as impure water, a spreading disease, a natural disaster, like the destruction of a dam or a criminal infiltration that is potentially terrorist.

wing perspective, the past is nearly always better than the present and therefore immigration is framed as a disaster because it causes change". Thus, WATER metaphors cultivate conservative ideas and the fear of change. Moreover, even if characterizing "the movement of people as moving water might seem quite natural, even appropriate", "it must be emphasized that such a construction of people's movement is *not* the only possible metaphor" (Santa Ana, 1997: 321), which is why other source domains have to be examined.

Intermediary conclusion: Le Pen and Trump use more diverse WATER metaphors, with more linguistic varieties than their political opponents (see Table 3). As explained by Mujagić and Berberović (2019: 41): "Combining metaphorical lexical units from the same source domain into metaphorical chains, as well as combining metaphorical lexical units from different source domains in a single text creates extended metaphors and may serve different rhetorical purposes." Thus, the paradoxical dimension of WATER enables Trump and Le Pen to create topoi and metaphorical scenarios that help them build their argumentative strategies. Furthermore, the politicians of the corpus do not always frame immigrants directly in terms of LIQUID but use metaphors that describe the borders or the host country implying IMMIGRANTS ARE WATER (for instance with the "porous border" metaphor). WATER is used to conceptualize immigrants in the American and French corpus: however, this source domain is more frequent in the French corpus. The hypothesis is that this phenomenon is due to the existence of a deadly migration route between the Mediterranean Sea and France. Finally, this second most frequent domain is axiologically very negative as it is dehumanizing towards immigrants and as it represents them as a threat.

4.2.3. FIGHT

FIGHT is the third most productive source domain used to talk about IMMIGRATION in the corpus. In this category, metaphors related to WAR, VIOLENCE, ENEMY, DANGER and INVASION are included. 119 FIGHT metaphors were noted in total, with 90 occurrences for Trump, 13 for Le Pen, 7 for Macron, 6 for Clinton, 3 for Biden.

As mentioned in section 4.2.2., WATER metaphors usually highlight the uncontrollable aspect of immigration and therefore account for the need to use CONTAINERS to control immigrants. Furthermore, “the concept of a loss of control can be equated to the perforation of a container and penetration of a bounded area, hence in rhetorical terms loss of control arouses the emotion of fear of external danger” (Charteris-Black, 2006: 576). The fear of external danger accounts for the existence of the notion of enemy, which was also included in CONTAINER metaphors, as well as the use of the source domain of WAR. Cunningham-Parmeter (2011: 1582) writes:

Human beings instinctively fear outside physical threats. Throughout recorded history, nations have built walls and raised armies in response to real and perceived enemies. [...] Drawing on this social, historical, and cultural knowledge, we often explain foreign concepts in terms of battle.

Therefore, the domains of WAR, SAFETY and FIGHT are recurrently found in the corpus because these concepts are based on history and shared experience; in that sense, they can be considered universal. In addition, with the use of such domains, the speaker is able to talk about safety, which conveys the idea that America and France are at war with soldiers embodied by refugees. Thus, WAR metaphors are strongly related to the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRATION IS A MILITARY INVASION and while immigrants are regarded as the “new colonisers”, the citizens of the host country are considered the

vulnerable “indigenous people” (Delouis, 2014: 7), victim of immigrants, who are seen as conquerors¹²⁵.

WAR metaphors in discourse on immigration have largely been studied and evidently show a negative axiology. Van Der Valk (2003: 331) writes that the “metaphor of aggression and war, implying impending danger and the risk of losing control over immigration” was prominent in French parliamentary discourse. Petersson and Kainz (2017: 57) demonstrate that “[m]etaphors alluding to wars, clashes and crises are in a way ontologically aligned to nature metaphors, given the suggested impossibility of developing something other than a swift and reactive strategy in the wake of crisis”. WAR as a source domain is very different from all the others as it is one of the rare domains that does not dehumanize immigrants (Taylor, 2021: 12). Nevertheless, even though immigrants are considered more human than with any other source domain, WAR metaphors are still axiologically negative since immigrants are considered a brutal threat. O’Brien (2003: 42) showed that in the U.S., “new immigrants were portrayed not only as an enemy force, but also as an adversary that was not even aware of the damage that it was likely to inflict on the nation”. Delouis (2014: 2) notes that “martial metaphors” go further than others since “metaphors such as ‘conquest’ or ‘invasion’ enable a semantic slide which transforms foreigners into ‘enemies’ and seemingly justifies radical ‘emergency’ measures against immigration”. This transformation, which is only possible through the metaphor, of immigrants into adversaries is thus axiologically negative in all the various linguistic forms of the FIGHT metaphor. The different items referring to FIGHT in the corpus are listed in Table 4:

¹²⁵ It is interesting to note that the name of Eric Zemmour’s party created in 2021 and joined by Marion Maréchal Le Pen (Marine Le Pen’s niece) is called “Reconquête”, as a reference to the Spanish “Reconquista” against Muslims in 722. This shows, once again, that nationalist parties consider immigration as “reversed colonization”. https://www.liberation.fr/politique/elections/la-reconquete-de-zemmour-lextreme-reference-espagnole-20211206_OTSNYC4MJZANBHBGTHC2ASBNBA/.

Politician	FIGHT linguistic occurrences
Biden	<i>Front-line</i> (3)
Clinton	<i>Kick</i> (2), <i>fan the flames</i> (1), <i>attack</i> (2), <i>hit</i> (1)
Macron	<i>Protéger</i> ¹²⁶ (5), <i>pénétrer</i> (1), <i>intrusion</i> (1),
Le Pen	<i>Mohamed Merah</i> (1), <i>assaillie</i> (1), <i>armes</i> (1), <i>menace</i> (1), <i>lutte</i> * (2), <i>champion</i> (1), <i>protéger</i> *(2), <i>explos</i> *(4),
Trump	<i>Knock</i> (1), <i>victims</i> (2), <i>screen</i> * (11), <i>threat</i> (3), <i>slaughter</i> (1), <i>Trojan Horse</i> (4), <i>wound</i> *(1), <i>hurt</i> (3), <i>protect</i> * (7), <i>bleed</i> (1), <i>defend</i> (12), <i>save lives</i> (5), <i>undermin</i> * (5), <i>shield</i> (3), <i>vital</i> (1), <i>stiffened</i> (1), <i>fronts</i> (1), <i>heroes</i> (15), <i>liberat</i> *(3), <i>onslaught</i> (2), <i>life stolen</i> (1), <i>punching</i> (1), <i>concentration camps</i> (3), <i>invasion</i> (1), <i>invader</i> (1), <i>under siege</i> (1)

Table 4. List of all the different linguistic forms of FIGHT metaphors according to the politician

For instance, immigrants are frequently framed as a threat, as illustrated by the following excerpt:

- (108) We have to feel safe and secure. In recent days, we have begun to take necessary action to achieve that goal. Our Nation has the most generous immigration system in the world. But these are those—and there are those that would exploit that generosity to **undermine** the values that we hold so dear. We need security. There are those who would seek to enter our country for the purpose of spreading violence or oppressing other people based upon their faith or their lifestyle.
[US_Trump_2017_02_02]

In example (108), the verb *undermine*, as well as the lexical field of security (*safe, secure vs. violence and oppression*) demonstrate that Trump conceptualizes immigrants as those who attack the American identity.

The many different examples of FIGHT metaphors in the corpus can be divided into three different categories; first, metaphors that refer to intrusions (pink), then those that

¹²⁶ The lemmas correspond to:
Lutte / lutter
Protègent / protection / protéger
Exploser / explode / explosion
Screen / screening
Protect / protects
Liberating / liberate.

focus on direct attacks (green) and finally metaphors that are based on the notion of protection (blue). All these forms show a negative axiology, but some more directly than others.

4.2.3.1. INTRUDERS

In Macron's speeches, the INTRUDER metaphor overlaps with the GUEST metaphor (see section 4.2.1.), as it refers to uninvited persons, more specifically with the verb *pénétrer* or the noun *intrusion*, as illustrated in example (109):

- (109) En tentant de **pénétrer** tous les jours de l'année dans les sites protégés d'Eurotunnel ou du port de Calais, afin de monter dans les camions qui partent de l'autre côté de la Manche, les migrants risquent leur vie et celle des autres. En 2017, vous avez déjoué 115.000 tentatives **d'intrusion** sur ces sites et dans les zones d'activité de Calais et de sa périphérie, comme la zone d'activité des Dunes, Marcel-Doret, ou du Virval, des noms bien connus pour les forces de sécurité et l'ensemble des acteurs ici présents. [FR_Macron_2018_01_16]

These two terms imply the notion of violation. Immigrants entered a place where they were not supposed to enter; they are considered INTRUDERS.

Le Pen and Trump keep the notion of violation and add that of terrorism. They both use metaphors to indicate that some refugees may be terrorists in disguise, as illustrated in excerpts (110) and (111):

- (110) Most incredibly, because to me this is unbelievable, we have no idea who these people are, where they come from. I always say **Trojan Horse**. Watch what's going to happen, folks. It's not going to be pretty. This includes her plan to bring in 620,000 new refugees from Syria and that region over a short period of time. [US_Trump_2016_08_31]
- (111) Rappelez-vous en 2012, tous ces bienpensants de l'UMP et du PS qui s'étaient indignés lorsque j'avais eu cette interrogation pleine de bon sens « Combien de **Mohamed Merah** dans les bateaux, les avions, qui chaque jour arrivent en France remplis d'immigrés ? ». Oui, combien ? ! [FR_Le Pen_2015_05_01]

In example (110), Trump plays on pathos and relies on the notion of the unfamiliar, so as to support his restrictive immigration policy. His objective is to prove that it is difficult to authenticate the identity of immigrants: it is difficult to determine “who they are”. The metaphor of the *Trojan horse* is based on the Greek tale¹²⁷ developed in Virgil’s *Aeneid*. This is a semi-lexicalized cultural metaphor which is based on shared knowledge: the listeners need to be familiar with the tale to comprehend the reference¹²⁸. Excerpt (110) underlines the supposedly threatening characteristic of immigration. The application of the *highlighting-hiding* principle therefore emphasizes that, on the one hand, Trump conceptualizes migrants as undercover terrorists, whereas, on the other hand, he conceals the fact that more than half of them are female migrants¹²⁹ and families. Furthermore, the notion of the *unfamiliar* is reinforced by the phrases “we have no idea who these people are” and “we have no idea who’s being sent in here”. Trump’s purpose is to criticize Clinton’s immigration policy. The axiology of the *Trojan Horse* metaphor is negative *per se*, but it is also dysphemistic, especially in this example with the adverb *incredibly*, the adjective *unbelievable* as well as the expression “it’s not going to be pretty”.

In excerpt (111), Le Pen’s objective is similar to Trump’s, although the metaphorical item is not the same. She resorts to an antonomasia to explain that some immigrants are possibly undercover terrorists, relating the proper noun of a terrorist, *Mohamed Merah*, to immigrants. She transforms that proper noun into a common noun so as to refer to what Merah is known for, namely terrorism. Her strategy is to call on recent

¹²⁷ This legend deals with a martial strategy. With Ulysse’s help and so as to discreetly reach Troy, Greek fighters went into hiding in a horse made of wood. Trojans were deceived by this ruse and killed.

¹²⁸ More recently, *Trojan horse* also refers to computer viruses.

¹²⁹ At mid-year 2020, female immigrants comprised slightly more than half of all international immigrants in Europe and Northern America. The share of females among all international immigrants reached 51.6 per cent in Europe and 51.8 per cent in Northern America. <https://www.migrationdataportal.org/themes/gender-and-migration>.

historical events (Mohamed Merah assassinated seven people in Montauban in three different terrorist attacks in 2012) to refer to all terrorists who might come with immigration¹³⁰. Her aim is to make her voters believe that if there were no immigrants, there would be no terrorists. Le Pen's diagnosis shows that a terrorist had foreign origins, then the evaluation implies that there are many terrorists among immigrants and her prescription is to limit immigration. Thus, another frame is created by her speech: immigrants are terrorists.

O'Brien (2003: 42), explains why such negative metaphors have always been productive:

The "IMMIGRANT AS INVADER" conceptual metaphor was supported not only by the large number of immigrants and their massing together, but in addition by the fact that the characteristics, traditions and values of many new immigrant groups were not the same as those of the older immigrant population. A substantial percentage of the new immigration, for example, was from Catholic (Italy and Ireland) and Jewish (Russia and Eastern Europe) countries. Many early restrictionists viewed this "invasion" by religious minorities as a direct and imminent threat to the religious traditions and moral underpinnings of the nation. A more insidious threat related to the fear that the new immigrants would overwhelm the racial integrity of the nation. New immigrants were portrayed not only as an enemy force, but also as an adversary that was not even aware of the damage that it was likely to inflict on the nation.

Regarding the previous examples, O'Brien's quotation is relevant since Marine Le Pen's conflation of terrorists and immigrants in excerpt (111) clearly underlines her will not to change French religious and cultural traditions. Moreover, the source domain of WAR is related to the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRATION IS COLONIZATION, which "appears to be a truly historical metaphor" (Delouis, 2014: 8). She writes that COLONIZATION metaphors are undoubtedly based on historical facts that happened a long time ago. She gives the example of the Muslim expansion of the 7th century and adds that these events "transfer the distinctive features of these periods to present-day". Consequently, the negative apprehension of change as well as the terror to be occupied by other nations is rooted in

¹³⁰ It should be noted that the terrorist Mohamed Merah was French, he was born in Toulouse.

the voters' cognitive systems. This is why nationalist politicians resort to these metaphors, so as to battle against new foreign entries, as if there was an actual war.

4.2.3.2. Protection

Some FIGHT metaphors of the corpus are not direct as they only refer to the need for protection. They consist in FIGHT metaphors if the perspective of immigrants is taken into account. Although the status of PROTECTION as a metaphor has to be discussed, the need for protection politicians put forward implies that immigration is a threat. In the corpus, this type of metaphor is used by Macron, Le Pen and Trump. It can be seen with items such as *protect*, *shield*, *screen*, *defend* or *liberate*, as illustrated in the following examples:

(112) Si l'on veut réduire les divergences et développer nos biens communs - tout ce que je viens d'évoquer, la sécurité, la **protection** face aux migrations, la transition numérique, la transition écologique, une vraie politique de développement et de partenariat - ces biens communs avec le premier d'entre eux la monnaie, nous nous devons de les financer.
[FR_Macron_2017_09_26]

(113) But as your president, I will always fight to **protect** American families. Always. I will always fight for an immigration system that **defends our** borders and takes care of our sovereignty as a nation.
[US_Trump_2018_06_20]

(114) This legislation presents a simple choice: either vote to **save** and **protect** American lives or vote to **shield** and comfort criminal aliens who **threaten** innocent lives. And they've been **shielded** too long.
[US_Trump_2017_06_30]

In excerpts (112) and (113), Macron and Trump use the notion of protection, respectively with the noun *protection* and the verb *protect*. According to the *OED*, *protect* means: "To defend or guard from danger or injury; to support or assist against hostile or inimical action; to preserve from attack, persecution, harassment, etc.; to keep safe, take care of;

to extend patronage to; to shield from attack or damage.” The definition is axiologically negative and implies danger, injury, hostility, etc. Protection cannot be defined without mentioning the threat. Thus, immigration is indirectly framed as a danger, which is reinforced by the use of the verb *fight* twice in example (113). The verb *defend* is also resorted to, it belongs to the WAR lexical field and inherently suggests there has been an attack, which conveys, once again, a negative axiology.

In excerpt (114), Trump directly portrays immigrants as a threat, with the verb *threaten*, and then goes further, saying that American lives have to be protected. He speaks as if immigrants were assailing the U.S. Therefore, a dichotomy is built, with inoffensive Americans, on the one hand, and ferocious immigrants, on the other hand. Additionally, Trump once again reverses the roles saying that criminal immigrants have been protected for too long, with the lexicalized metaphor of the *shield*. His objective is to denounce the previous Democratic immigration policies. Not only does he reproach his opponents for being lenient towards immigrants, but he accuses them of protecting refugees more than American citizens. Once again, the axiology of the *shield* metaphor is not negative at first sight; however, it implies that immigration is a threat to the host nation.

4.2.3.3. Direct attacks

The most productive category of FIGHT metaphors corresponds to explicit metaphors referring to attacks from immigrants. These metaphors overtly present immigrants as enemies or invaders and belong to the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE SOLDIERS. In the corpus, they are only used by Trump and Le Pen, while Clinton and

Biden resort to them to denounce Trump or praise immigrants. Let us first consider example (115), in which the politician explicitly resorts to the metaphor of WAR:

(115) This mission includes overseeing more than 13,000 Foreign Service Officers, who act as our representatives to the world; 12,000 Consular Officers; and an administrator of just an incredible immigration system—a system that we’re going to be changing and fixing and making better; a system that’s **under siege** right now. [US_Trump_2018_05_02]

The martial metaphor of the *siege* in example (115) is distinctly negative as it highlights the fact that nationalist politicians consider immigrants WAR enemies, so as to justify the emergency of an action against them. The military expression *under siege* encodes two different dimensions: first, a quantitative one – the immigration system is being surrounded by immigrants – but also a qualitative one, the system is being attacked by immigrants.

Moreover, as Trump considers that immigrants attack the host country, whose citizens are framed as the victims, those who fight against them are logically, and regularly, considered heroes (15 occurrences) in his speeches, as can be seen in example (116):

(116) Republicans believe our country should be a sanctuary for law-abiding Americans, not for criminal aliens. And the Republican Party will always stand proudly with the **heroes**. That’s what they are . . . **heroes** of ICE, Border Patrol, and law enforcement. [US_Trump_2018_10_30]

A hero is someone who is brave and courageous. By describing ICE patrol agents as heroes, Trump intends to emphasize their bravery and therefore indirectly suggests that being faced with immigrants every day is dangerous, highlighting the hyperpolarization between Republicans, who protect the border patrol, and Democrats, who defend criminal immigrants. The positive axiology associated with the border patrols reinforces the negative axiology that is generally found in the representation of immigration.

Source domains such as WAR or INVASION make other conceptual domains arise. This idea was developed by Chilton (1994 : 606), who writes:

Le sens conventionnel du terme invasion implique soit un contexte militaire soit un contexte médical, dont l'un et l'autre se prête à des métaphorisations politiques, fréquemment exploitées d'ailleurs par les textes de la droite.¹³¹

Therefore, the conceptual domain of INVASION can be understood both in a military and a medical context, which accounts for the fact that immigrants are also very often depicted negatively, as ferocious soldiers but also as carriers of diseases in the corpus, which will be developed in section 4.2.9.

Intermediary conclusion: FIGHT metaphors are mostly used by Trump, Le Pen and Macron to suggest immigrants are powerful while France and the U.S. are vulnerable. They use these metaphors to persuade the voters that they are being assaulted by immigrants, on the one hand, and not protected by the government on the other, which reinforces the existing dichotomies in both countries. Although FIGHT metaphors do not dehumanize immigrants, they are still highly dysphemistic, axiologically negative and frame them as brutal beings, completely obliterating the fact that many of them are vulnerable people. This domain is strongly linked to CONTAINER metaphors: immigrants are not even GUESTS, they are ENEMIES, ARMED INTRUDERS.

4.2.4. BURDEN, WEIGHT and PRESSURE

79 occurrences of BURDEN metaphors were found in the corpus (0 for Clinton, 2 for Biden, 5 for Macron, 34 for Le Pen and 38 for Trump). BURDEN metaphors are related to the structural metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE COMMODITIES (Petersson and Kainz, 2017: 52) and

¹³¹ (EN): The conventional meaning of the term invasion either implies a military context or a medical context. They both rely on political metaphorizations, which are frequently used by right-wing texts.

to THE HOST COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER, with pressure that is coming from outside the container and that is about to squash it¹³². As shown by Catalano and Fielder (2018: 12), the topos of BURDEN usually “negatively construes immigration as a drain rather than a resource”, which was confirmed by Taylor’s (2021) results proving BURDEN metaphors “occurred with a negative evaluation in which migrants were framed in mainly economic terms”. The nationalist politicians’ justification for reducing immigration is that immigrants are better treated by the government, with more economic advantages, than the citizens of the host country. In the corpus, although BURDEN is mostly used for economic justifications, this source domain involves other elements. Table 5 shows the list of the different metaphorical lexical units that encode the BURDEN domain in the corpus.

Politician	BURDEN linguistic occurrences
Clinton	0 occurrence
Biden	<i>Straining</i> (1), <i>mass</i> (1)
Macron	<i>Mass</i> * ¹³³ (2), <i>fardeau</i> (1), <i>écrase</i> (1)
Le Pen	<i>Mass</i> * (28), <i>poids</i> (2), <i>pèse</i> (2), <i>lourd</i> *(2)
Trump	<i>Mass</i> * (26), <i>pressure</i> (2), <i>strain</i> * (5), <i>burden</i> *(4), <i>crashing</i> (1)

Table 5. List of all the different linguistic forms of BURDEN metaphors according to the politician

The following example illustrates two of these occurrences, with the noun *mass* and the past participle *overburdened*:

- (117) **Mass** illegal migration is unfair, unsafe, and unsustainable for everyone involved: the sending countries and the depleted countries. And they become depleted very fast, but their youth is not taken care of and human capital goes

¹³² Or coming from the inside and making it explode, which is developed in the section about CONTAINERS.

¹³³ The lemmas correspond to:

Massif / massifs / massive / massives / masse / massivement

Lourd.e / lourdement

Mass / massive

Strain / strains / straining

Burden / burdens / overburdened.

to waste. The receiving countries are **overburdened** with more migrants than they can responsibly accept. [US_Trump_2019_09_24]

Three sub-categories were created: WEIGHT / MASS, BURDEN and PRESSURE (from the outside).

Let us start with the analysis of metaphors that conceptualize immigration as a MASS or a WEIGHT.

4.2.4.1. MASS* and WEIGHT (poids, peser*, lourd*)

In Chapter 3, the textometric analysis carried out on Le Pen's speeches revealed that the adjective *massive* was the most frequent collocate of the noun *immigration*, with the collocation *immigration massive*. The lemma *mass** belongs to the category of BURDEN metaphors, in English (*mass*, *massive*) and in French (*massive*, *massif*, *masse*, *massivement*): it is a conventionalized metaphor. This metaphorical lexical unit is used by all the politicians in the corpus except Clinton. Le Pen and Trump use it a lot, and with different forms and Le Pen does use *mass** in excerpts related to the economic system very frequently. The main consequence of BURDEN metaphors is therefore to show voters that welcoming immigrants is expensive and can be detrimental to their own purchasing power. For instance, this is the case when Marine Le Pen says: « Oui, **l'immigration de masse** nous coûte une fortune, elle vous coûte une fortune. » [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_13]

The conventionalized metaphors of WEIGHT (*poids*, *peser*) and HEAVINESS (*lourd**) have only been found in Le Pen's speeches, with a variety of forms, as can be seen in excerpts (118) and (119):

(118) L'hôpital qui voit **peser** de surcroît sur lui le **poids** d'une immigration de plus en plus **lourde** à assumer. [FR_Le Pen_2016_12_09]

(119) Mais nous mettrons fin aussi à l'immigration clandestine, qui **pèse lourdement** sur nos finances publiques. L'immigration clandestine accroît l'insécurité, elle mobilise nos forces de l'ordre, elle augmente nos dépenses de sécurité : on l'a encore vu, aujourd'hui, à Grande Synthe. Elle **pèse** aussi sur notre système social ! [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_13]

In example (118), Le Pen uses the BURDEN metaphor with three different linguistic forms (*peser, poids, lourde*) to blame immigration for the problems the French health system encounters. In example (200), she once again links the BURDEN metaphor (*pèse lourdement*) to the monetary argument but also to the safety argument. This is one of her specificities concerning BURDEN: she resorts to many different linguistic forms so as to blame immigrants for various problems in France.

In addition, *weight* (and therefore *poids* in French) is a misnomer as it is usually used to describe a mass. In any case, weight and mass are proportionally linked by the laws of physics: the weight is the force resulting from the action of gravity on a mass ($f=mg$). It is conventionally represented in textbooks as an arrow towards the Earth. Weight is thus a downward force that inherently includes the conceptual DOWN IS BAD, which enables nationalist politicians to frame immigration negatively as immigrants are pushing the host country down with this metaphor. The axiology of this domain is therefore negative and the frame according to which immigration is detrimental to the economy is nurtured.

4.2.4.2. BURDEN

The noun *burden* does exist in its linguistic form in English and with its translation, *fardeau*, in French, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (120) Every week, our border agents encounter thousands of unscreened, unvetted, and unauthorized entries from dozens of countries. And we've had this problem for decades. For decades. You know the story. But now it's—with the national emergencies and all of the other things that we've declared, we can actually do something about it. We're taking a very strong hold of that. And we have before, but this is now at a level that nobody has ever approached. In normal times, these massive flows place a vast **burden** on our health care system, but during a global pandemic, they threaten to create a perfect storm that would spread the infection to our border agents, migrants, and to the public at large. [US_Trump_2020_03_20]

- (121) Et je pense que c'est cet équilibre d'ensemble qui doit être respecté parce qu'en aucun cas les conclusions d'aujourd'hui ne reviennent à faire porter le **fardeau** sur le Niger et le Tchad de ces migrations qu'eux-mêmes subissent. [FR_Macron_2017_08_28]

In excerpt (120), Trump uses the BURDEN metaphor in the context of covid management: Trump blames immigration for the problems related to the health care system in America. *Burden* is dehumanizing as, according to the *OED*, it corresponds to a load. Furthermore, it echoes Kipling's poem *The White Man's Burden* (1899) whose objective was to explain that white colonizers were tasked with imposing Western culture to the colonized countries. It can thus be indirectly linked to the ANIMAL metaphor of the *jungle* and the idea that the *burden* would be a civilizing mission. Once again, Charteris-Black's (2006: 578) results on CONTAINER metaphors are confirmed here, as nationalist politicians do not only use dehumanizing BURDEN metaphors to justify their intention to limit immigration, they go further and conceptualize them as ANIMALS. To a lesser extent, the axiology of excerpt (121) is also negative as the metaphor of the *fardeau* is combined with the verb *subir*, which comes from Latin *subire* meaning "going under"¹³⁴. Thus, immigration creates a downward movement: the host country is under immigration, which encodes and reinforces the negative conceptual metaphor DOWN IS BAD inherently present in BURDEN.

4.2.4.3. Strain and PRESSURE

Strain is also a conventionalized form of the BURDEN metaphor and is used by Biden and Trump in the corpus, as can be seen in examples (122) and (123):

- (122) We also spoke about the refugee crisis that is **straining** the resources of countries across the region. I understand from President Tusk that he has called a meeting of EU leaders in Turkey this Sunday on the issue. But we already know there are immediate needs of food, shelter, warm clothing,

¹³⁴ <https://www.cnrtl.fr/etymologie/subir#:~:text=au%20lat.,%2C%20subir%20%C2%BB%2C%20en%20partic.>

as winter approaches. And these needs are only going to increase. This is another challenge that requires all of us, including the United States, to pitch in. We all have to do more. [US_Biden_2015_11_25]

- (123) The crisis of illegal immigration impacts all Americans, threatening public safety, overwhelming public resources, **straining** our local schools and hospitals, undermining U.S. workers, and claiming countless innocent lives. [US_Trump_2019_01_14]

In excerpt (122) the metaphor can firstly be seen as derogatory since Biden resorts to the verb *strain* to describe the pressure that the migratory crisis puts on the European countries. However, he does not talk about immigrants themselves but about the *crisis* and then states that the United States has to help immigrants and host countries with food, clothes, etc. The negatively connoted word *crisis* then becomes a *challenge*, whose axiology is much more positive. On the contrary, in excerpt (123) Trump uses *strain* to indicate that immigration is not only an economic problem but that it affects all aspects of society: education, health, safety, etc., which is once again a characteristic feature of nationalist discourse; this is confirmed by the use of the determiner *all* in the expression “it impacts all Americans”, in the first sentence of the excerpt. He finds an easy scapegoat in immigration, and reinforces the negative framing he plans to convey with terms such as *threatening*, *overwhelming* or *undermining*.

Furthermore, two types of *pressure* metaphors were distinguished: a) pressure from the inside, on the borders and b) pressure from the outside, on the system. On the one hand, there are a) *pressure* metaphors that rely on the conceptual metaphor THE HOST COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER and that deal with the idea that the container is not big enough to welcome everyone, as already mentioned in section 4.2.1. about CONTAINER. On the other hand, there are b) *pressure* metaphors that suggest immigration is *straining* some aspects of society, which I included in BURDEN metaphors. According to the OED, *pressure* consists in “the exertion of continuous force upon or against an object”. As a force, it can be compared to the notion of weight and is also negatively connoted. With these metaphors,

politicians convey the idea that immigration necessarily has a negative impact on the host country.

Intermediary conclusion: In the corpus, BURDEN metaphors are mostly conventionalized and lexicalized through terms such as mass, poids, burden, strain, etc. Thus, they cannot be directly perceived as metaphors by the audience although they enable politicians to clearly frame immigration in a negative manner for different reasons. Firstly, BURDEN metaphors combine with IMMIGRANTS ARE COMMODITIES and therefore contribute to dehumanizing them. This pattern was noticed for all politicians except Clinton. Then, even though BURDEN metaphors are often found in contexts about the financial cost of immigration, some differences were found between the groups [Trump/Le Pen] and [Macron/Biden]. Nationalist politicians used many different forms of the metaphor in many various negatively connoted contexts so as to blame immigrants for everything and anything wrong that is happening in the country¹³⁵ (problems related to education, unemployment, safety, health, etc.) and BURDEN metaphors imply a downward movement most of the time and thus inherently combine with DOWN IS BAD. The following metaphorical chain can be observed: IMMIGRATION IS A WEIGHT, WEIGHT IS A DOWNWARD FORCE, DOWN IS BAD, thus IMMIGRATION IS BAD. As Catalano and Fielder (2018: 24) conclude their paper: "it is crucial to reveal these hidden ideologies of discourse before they become so naturalized that they are invisible and unconsciously consumed and reproduced". Hence the dangerousness of metaphors that conceptualize immigrants in terms of BURDEN.*

¹³⁵ This result will be developed in Chapter 5.

4.2.5. ANIMALS

65 ANIMAL metaphors have been drawn from the corpus (2 for Biden, 1 for Macron, 6 for Le Pen, 14 for Clinton and 42 for Trump). ANIMAL metaphors inherently dehumanize immigrants: they highlight the supposed aggressiveness of animals so as to make immigrants appear as dangerous beings. Besides, there is a strong link between ANIMAL metaphors and other source domains such as WAR or WATER, which most of the time imply the notion of invasion, which encodes a negative axiology. According to Mujagić and Berberović (2019) ANIMAL metaphors are two-fold. On the one hand, they rely on the fact that animals' behaviours are not well-known to human beings:

[...] the nature of animals is much less certain. So HUMAN IS ANIMAL compares two phenomena, neither of which is fully known. This opens the way for conflicting ideologies about human and animal nature to exert an influence on 'scientific' theorising around this metaphor. (Goatly, 2007: 126)

Animals are "perceived as potentially dangerous, aggressive and characterized by a lack of reason", while, on the other hand "the basic aspects of the ANIMAL concept that are well-known to humans are exploited in the metaphorical conceptualization of a certain version of reality" (Mujagić and Berberović, 2019: 38), which meets the highlighting-hiding principle. In addition, Goatly (2007: 126) writes that humans are regarded as "a superior kind of animal"; thus, with such metaphors, citizens of the host country are considered superior to immigrants. As Marshall and Shapiro (2018: 780) showed in their experiment, immigrants are not framed in terms of any type of animals but in terms of pests: "the combination of common metaphors used for immigrants are enough to activate thoughts of vermin". Mujagić and Berberović (2019: 32) demonstrate that ANIMAL metaphors are part of THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING (Lakoff et al., 1989), which takes the planet's hierarchical system into account. In this system, HUMAN BEINGS are also considered superior to ANIMALS. ANIMAL metaphors are thus usually used to conceptualize immigrants as inferior to people who live in the host country, which manifestly encodes a negative axiology. Let us see

whether the corpus confirms this statement. Table 6 shows the different metaphorical lexical units that the ANIMAL source domain takes in the different sub-corpora.

Politician	ANIMAL linguistic occurrences
Biden	<i>Vet*</i> ¹³⁶ (1), <i>scapegoat</i> (1)
Macron	<i>Jungle</i> (1)
Le Pen	<i>Jungle</i> (3), <i>*sauvage*</i> (2), <i>nuées</i> (1)
Clinton	<i>Vet*</i> (1), <i>round* up*</i> (11), <i>mammoth</i> (1), <i>rampant</i> (1)
Trump	<i>Rampant</i> (3), <i>vet*</i> (10), <i>breeding</i> (1), <i>animals*</i> (4), <i>snake</i> (1), <i>prey</i> (4), <i>savage</i> (1), <i>predators</i> (8), <i>sneak</i> (1), <i>snuck</i> (1), <i>coyotes</i> (4), <i>nest.s</i> (2), <i>overrun</i> (1), <i>poison</i> (1)

Table 6. List of all the different linguistic forms of ANIMAL metaphors according to the politician

Yellow corresponds to real animals, green to groups of animals, purple to inhuman behaviors and red to the notion of control. Let us consider the following excerpt:

- (124) In other words, we have somebody in from a foreign country illegally. The person kills somebody, hurts somebody, robs a store, robs a bank, does all sorts—sells drugs all over the place, **poisons** our youth.
[US_Trump_2016_10_12]

In example (124), the metaphor of the *poison* can be related to venomous animals like *snakes*, which enables Trump to frame immigrants as dangerous animals.

Once again, Trump uses more metaphors and more linguistic forms than his political opponents or than French politicians. Clinton also uses many ANIMAL metaphors, which can be surprising; however, she always resorts to them so as to criticize Trump's restrictive immigration policies, as this subpart will show. Four different categories of ANIMAL metaphors emerged from the corpus: metaphors referring to real animals, to

¹³⁶ The lemmas include:
Vet / vetting / vetted
Sauvage / ensauvagement.

groups of animals, to the movement/behaviors of animals and to how the host country controls them.

4.2.5.1. Real animals

In the corpus, 6 ANIMAL metaphors take the linguistic form of a real, or a type of, animal: *snake*, *predator*, *coyote*, *prey*, but also the hypernym *animal*, and the figurative case of *scapegoat*. These metaphors are direct metaphors, in the sense that “the words are related to concepts which are directly connected to the intended referents in the text world” (Steen, 2007: 11): there is no intermediary mapping and immigrants are directly framed as animals. These metaphors are mainly used by Trump and Le Pen to support their intention to restrict immigration. For instance, in 2018, Trump said: “These are **animals**” [US_Trump_2018_10_06]¹³⁷, which is the quotation that was chosen for the title of this PhD thesis.

The term *predator* is even used eight times in his speeches, once again in relationship to the notion of criminality and to criticize his political opponents, as illustrated by example (125):

(125) Every day, sanctuary cities are unleashing vicious **predators** and bloodthirsty killers, like MS-13, into our communities.
[US_Trump_2018_10_02]

The definition of *predator* by the *OED* shows that this category of animals belongs to the highest level of THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING system (Lakoff and Turner, 1989) as a predator is “an animal that preys on other animals; an animal that kills and eats prey; a carnivore”. Trump’s objective here is clearly to generate fear, which is confirmed by the negative axiology of the adjectives *vicious* and *bloodthirsty*. The notion of dangerousness becomes

¹³⁷ This example will be developed in Chapter 5.

even more powerful when he chooses the metaphor of the *snake* as it is both a predator and a symbol of evil and deception in the Bible. In 2018, Trump read and completely reinterpreted the lyrics of a song written by civil rights activist Oscar Brown Jr. and entitled “The Snake”, as can be seen in excerpt (126):

(126) “Take me in, oh, tender woman,” sighed the vicious **snake**. “I saved you,” cried the woman. “And you’ve bitten me, heavens why? You know your bite is poisonous, and now I’m going to die.” “Oh, shut up, silly woman,” said the **reptile** with a grin. “You knew damn well I was a **snake** before you took me in.” And *that’s* what we’re doing with our country, folks. We’re letting people in, and it’s going to be a lot of trouble.
[US_Trump_2018_02_23]

In the fable, a woman tries to help a wounded snake but gets bitten in the end. Its meaning was completely reversed as the fable’s original aim was to praise Black people and denounce racism. Trump nurtures a nationalist ideology by associating the snake to foreign people who enter the United States. It confirms one of Pilyarchuk and Onysko’s (2018: 100) conclusions: when Trump resorts to ANIMAL metaphors it is “to evoke fear and distrust towards all immigrants, presenting them as dangerous, wild, and uncontrolled”. Consequently, the axiology of this domain is highly negative. The last *direct* ANIMAL metaphor, found in Trump’s speeches, but indirectly related to immigrants concerns human smugglers, with the borrowing from Mexican Spanish *coyote*, as shown in example (127):

(127) Now is the time for Congress to show the world that America is committed to ending illegal immigration and putting the ruthless **coyotes**, cartels, drug dealers, and human traffickers out of business.
[US_Trump_2019_02_05]

A *coyote* is once again a predator, which is defined by the OED as a “barking-wolf of the Pacific slope of North America”. Around 1923, another meaning was added in American slang: “A person hired to assist people in illegally crossing the border from Mexico into the United States.” Although Trump intends to denounce human smugglers, with the

metaphor of the *coyote*, but also with the adjective *ruthless* as well as the noun *traffickers*, his objective remains the same: he plans to stop illegal immigration. However, the fact that Trump conceptualizes both human traffickers and immigrants as ANIMALS shows his ambiguous rhetoric. He suggests that preventing the traffickers from acting would be better for the well-being of illegal immigrants; which is paradoxical considering how he describes them elsewhere in his discourse.

4.2.5.2. Groups

While Trump is the only politician of the corpus to directly refer to IMMIGRANTS as ANIMALS, the others tend to refer to them as groups of ANIMALS with metaphorical lexical units such as *jungle*, *nuée* (flock), *nest* or with the phrasal verb *round up*. Mujagić and Berberović (2019: 41) define them as “conventional, deeply entrenched ways of talking, and thinking, about immigrants.” Let us determine the characteristics of these metaphors with the following examples:

- (128) Vous savez que la mondialisation avec l'ouverture des frontières irraisonnée a livré nos rues, nos quartiers, nos villages à une immigration délirante qui transforme certains endroits en zones de non France, des zones où l'on se sent étranger dans son propre pays, des zones où les lois de la République ne sont plus appliquées, des zones où trouvent à s'imposer d'autres lois que celles de la République, celles des caïds ou des islamistes. Il est temps de faire cesser ce scandale et de rappeler à tous qu'ici on est en France et qu'en France, on applique la loi française. Parallèlement à cette véritable submersion, s'est développée une insécurité qui pourrit la vie des gens : pour ne citer qu'un chiffre mais qui témoigne de **l'ensauvagement** de certains quartiers, en 2018 les agressions contre les pompiers dans le département ont crû de plus de 50%, tout comme les scènes de guérilla urbaine qui se multiplient à la moindre occasion. [FR_Le Pen_2019_01_19]

In example (128), Le Pen uses the noun *ensauvagement*¹³⁸ (brutalization) to refer to the violence that occurs in the French suburbs. She opposes French rules to other rules, portraying immigrants as uncivilized beings and emphasizing the dichotomy between civilization (French people) and primitiveness (immigrants). Furthermore, the lack of civilization is reinforced by negatively connoted terms, such as *pourrir*, *agression*, *submersion*, *insécurité*, *caïd*, *guerrilla*, etc., which strengthens the brutal characteristics she intends to highlight to generate fear. The axiology of *ensauvagement* is thus extremely negative.

The individuality of immigrants is completely hidden, as in the following example:

(129) But when these people come into our country and come in illegally, and then they're dispersed throughout the country, and all of a sudden, you see **nests** of MS-13—you know, it's like you're liberating towns. We send ICE in. [US_Trump_2018_07_03]

The *nest* metaphor is not axiologically negative at first sight as it does not refer to the notion of quantity in the present but rather in the future, with the connoted notion of proliferation. A *nest* is defined by the *OED* as a place in which an animal “lays and incubates its eggs and (frequently) rears its young.” The metaphor of the *nest* is thus also related to IMMIGRATION IS A CHAIN, which is not surprising considering *chain migration* is a very frequent collocation in Trump's discourse, as shown in Chapter 3 with the textometric analysis.

The notion of proliferation can also be noted with the metaphorical adjective *breeding*, which is used by Trump to imply that terrorists come from immigration, and to generate fear towards immigrants, as in excerpt (130):

¹³⁸ The very term *ensauvagement* is often used by nationalist politicians to describe foreign cultures they consider inferior. In 2018, the RN even organized a debate entitled « De la délinquance à l'ensauvagement » (“from delinquency to brutalization”) at the Assemblée Nationale. https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2020/09/03/l-ensauvagement-un-mot-a-l-histoire-sinueuse-surtout-utilise-par-l-extreme-droite_6050851_4355770.html.

- (130) Recently a prominent Pakistani social media star was strangled to death by her brother on the charge of dishonoring the family. In his confession, the brother took pride in the murder and said, “Girls are born to stay home and follow traditions.” Shockingly, this is a tradition that has reached our own shores. One such case, and many, many cases have happened--where one involves an Iraqi immigrant who was sentenced to 34 years in jail for running over his own daughter, claiming she had been “too Westernized.” To defeat Islamic terrorism, we must also speak our forcefully against a hateful ideology that provides the **breeding** ground for violence and terrorism to grow. It’s a **breeding** ground. It’s a terrible, terrible **breeding** ground. [US_Trump_2016_08_15]

Furthermore, in ANIMAL metaphors that refer to groups of people, the transformation of the environment is at stake and thus, the fear of change. Those metaphors convey the idea that because of primary instincts, groups of ANIMALS settle somewhere in the host country and transform the environment so that it becomes convenient for them, to the detriment of the inhabitants. Thus, these derogatory examples justify their restrictive immigration policies for two reasons. First, they denounce the supposed transformation of the environment by immigrants, namely the supposed cultural change they could bring. Then, they highlight the dichotomy *nature / culture* that conceptualizes immigrants as primitive beings, underlying a preconceived hierarchy between beings.

Clinton also refers to groups of ANIMALS to denounce the way Trump considers immigrants. ANIMAL is the most productive domain (34%) in her speeches (see section 4.1.); however, it is never used to frame immigrants directly but to describe and criticize how Trump dehumanizes them, hence the absolute necessity to look at the occurrences in context. Clinton frequently resorts to the phrasal verb *round up* or the noun *roundups* (respectively 10 and 1 occurrence(s)), as can be seen in excerpt (131):

- (131) But look at his policies. The ones that Trump has proposed, they would put prejudice into practice. And don’t be distracted by his latest efforts to muddy the waters. He may have some new people putting new words in his mouth, but we know where he stands. He would form a deportation force **to round up millions of immigrants** and kick them out of the country. [US_Clinton_2016_08_25]

The conventionalized metaphor, with the verb *round up*, enables Clinton to show that her political opponent considers immigrants as cattle since the *OED* defines a *roundup* as “a driving together of cattle or other livestock to be counted, branded, taken to market”. Immigrants are once again framed as a dehumanized mass that can be moved like livestock, while their individualities are completely hidden. Thus, this metaphorical lexical unit does not only rely on the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS but also overlaps with IMMIGRANTS ARE OBJECTS / COMMODITIES, whose axiology is highly negative.

4.2.5.3. Inhuman movements / behaviors

Dehumanization, and more specifically what could be called “animalization” in this case, has also been noted with metaphors that describe the way immigrants move or behave. This is no surprise since the humanizing / dehumanizing dichotomy is the most frequent one in IMMIGRATION metaphors, as Montagut and Moragas-Fernández (2020) show in their study on the Spanish Press. In the corpus, I noted metaphorical occurrences such as the verbs *overrun* or *sneak / snuck* and the adjective *rampant*.

Although the metaphorical dimension of the verb *sneak / snuck* can be discussed, I categorized them as dead metaphors considering their etymology, as, according to the *OED*, *sneak / snuck* means “to move, go, walk, etc., in a stealthy or slinking manner; to creep or steal furtively, as if ashamed”, it probably comes “from some dialectal survival of Middle English *sniken* “to creep, crawl” (c. 1200), which is from Old English *snican* “to sneak along, creep, crawl,” from Proto-Germanic **sneikanan*, which is related to the root of *snail* and *snake* (n.)” (*Etymonline*). The relationship with the root of *snake* and *snail* makes the verb indirectly fall into the category of ANIMAL metaphors: the movement depicted is an unusual one and is similar to that of a snake as it is both stealthy and slinking. It echoes the fable of the snake that was read by Trump and enables him to

“combine metaphorical lexical units from the same source domain into metaphorical chains” that serve his rhetorical purpose (Mujagić and Berberović, 2019: 41), here to generate fear by dehumanizing immigrants, as in the following excerpts:

(132) You know they’re coming in—they’re people that came on merit, not based on a lottery or not people that **snuck** across the border. And they could be murderers and thieves and so much else. [US_Trump_2018_06_18]

(133) The Democrat immigration policies aren’t just wrong, they’re lethal. Republicans believe our country should be a sanctuary for law-abiding Americans, not for criminal aliens that **sneak** into our country. [US_Trump_2018_10_09]

Examples (132) and (133) show *snuck* and *sneak* both co-occur with negatively connoted terms (*murderers*, *thieves*, *wrong*, *lethal*, *criminal*) and are linked to the notion of infiltration.

Sometimes, the ANIMAL metaphor is associated with IMMIGRATION IS A DISEASE, especially when immigration is associated with the propagation and/or proliferation of micro-organisms, with the adjective *rampant*:

(134) They are using the Pope as a pawn and they should be ashamed of themselves for doing so, especially when so many lives are involved and when illegal immigration is so **rampant**. [US_Trump_2016_02_18]

According to the *OED*’s definition, the axiology of *rampant* is negative, as it is especially applied to “something unwelcome or unpleasant: flourishing or spreading unchecked; unrestrained, running wild”. Thus, it could also be analyzed as IMMIGRANTS ARE WEEDS and seen as the spread plants and not bacteria. In any case the objective is to conceptualize migration as a dysfunctional and yet wild event so as to show the phenomenon cannot be controlled and is thus dangerous.

Once again, Clinton uses the same metaphorical lexical unit but with a different target:

- (135) It will hit you right in the face. People denying science, concocting elaborate, hurtful conspiracy theories about child-abuse rings operating out of pizza parlors, drumming up **rampant** fear about undocumented immigrants, Muslims, minorities, the poor, turning neighbor against neighbor and sowing division at a time when we desperately need unity. [US_Clinton_2017_05_26]

In excerpt (135), Clinton criticizes conspiracy theorists and people who nurture fears about immigration. According to her, the fear itself is *rampant* and framed as bacteria that must be eradicated and controlled.

The idea of an uncontrollable immigration is mostly present in Trump's and Le Pen's speeches and is linked to the notions of proliferation and invasion, as with the verb *overrun*, which is included in the IMMIGRANTS ARE INSECTS category since it is synonymous with *infest*, as can be seen in excerpt (136):

- (136) As we speak, Democrats are openly encouraging millions of illegal aliens to break our laws, violate our borders, and **overrun** our country, and they want to sign them up for free welfare, free health care, free education, and most importantly, the right to vote. They want them to vote. [US_Trump_2018_11_05_INDIANA]

According to the OED, *overrun* is said “[o]f plants and animals: to spread over rapidly, cover; to populate densely or (esp.) uncontrollably; to run wild over. Of pests, weeds, etc.: to swarm over, infest” although a parallel could also be drawn with WATER metaphors. “Of a liquid: to flow across or over, to cover completely; to overflow (a bank, etc.)”. This metaphor (*overrun*) is, of course, a dead one; however, as Nguyen and McCallum (2016: 220) write, although “dying” metaphors have “lost their real imaginative power”, they still disturb the opinion concerning immigration and surely do not help the audience “build a positive picture of it”. *Overrun* thus combines the ANIMAL source domain with the axiologically negative metaphor of INVASION: Trump openly criticizes the Democrats for encouraging immigration while his aim is to limit and control it as if immigrants were insects.

4.2.5.4. Control

We saw that the supposedly uncontrollable dimension of immigration is very often emphasized with metaphors that describe ANIMALS. Furthermore, ANIMAL metaphors can also be found in the description of the way immigrants are checked at the border. The verb *vet** or the noun *vetting* are resorted to by the three American political figures of the corpus. Let us consider the three following excerpts:

(137) Tester voted against enhanced **vetting** for refugees. I said enhanced **vetting**, and people said, oh, what a terrible term. I don't think it's terrible. [US_Trump_2018_10_18]

(138) We have to have the toughest possible **vetting** that our defense department, our intelligence community, Homeland Security, the state department, everybody has to be as careful as we can. It does take up to two years. I want to remind you, the people who flew those planes the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were not refugees, they were here legally. [US_Clinton_2015_12_04]

(139) There is no possibility of being overwhelmed by a flood of refugees landing on our doorstep tomorrow. Right now, refugees wait 18 to 24 months while the screening process is completed. And unlike in Europe, refugees don't set foot in the United States until they are thoroughly **vetted**. [US_Biden_2015_11_21.]

According to the *OED*, the verb *vet** firstly means “to give (an animal) a veterinary examination; to subject to veterinary evaluation or treatment” even though it also means “to assess a person's suitability for something”, and in that case, refugees' suitability to enter the United States. In examples (137) and (138) Trump and Clinton explain that they intend to examine refugees carefully (respectively with the adjective *enhanced* and the superlative *toughest*) to make sure they are no terrorists; besides, Trump makes a meta-discursive comment on the term *vetting* to justify its use, while Biden is proud because the American vetting system is stricter than the European one. Even if *vet** is a dead ANIMAL metaphor, it is still very dehumanizing in any case, with the passive voice in

example (139) and the noun *vetting* in (137) and (138), where immigrants are never agents and regarded as objects. Consequently, although some ANIMAL metaphors are conventional metaphors, they still convey the notion of hierarchy, with the belief that human beings are superior to animals and thus that American or French people are superior to immigrants. They also nurture the frame according to which immigrants would be violent.

Intermediary conclusion: ANIMAL metaphors, which are mainly used by Trump in the corpus, enable the speaker to dehumanize immigrants. The objective of such metaphors can be different depending on the context: they can victimize immigrants, usually combining with the IMMIGRANTS ARE COMMODITIES conceptual metaphor or, on the contrary, depict them as very dangerous. They rely on the nature / culture dichotomy and usually emphasize the notions of quantity and disorder. Moreover, the analysis confirmed Mujagić and Berberović's conclusion (2019: 46), in which they indicate that "most of the linguistic metaphors from the ANIMAL domain are conventional". The audience does not directly picture the ANIMAL dimension of these metaphors as we need to go back to the etymology, when it comes to "dying" metaphors, or because the metaphorical occurrences do not openly refer to animals but rather to their environment (jungle), to groups (nests, nuées) or behavior (sneak, nest, overrun, etc.). Nevertheless, ANIMAL as a source domain is axiologically very negative: it enables the speakers to politically take a stance towards IMMIGRATION. Le Pen and Trump directly use it to describe immigrants and justify the emergency to implement restrictive immigration policies, while Biden and Clinton only resort to that domain to criticize how it is used by their opponents (except for vet). This observation accounts for the fact that Clinton predominantly uses the negatively connoted

ANIMAL domain, hence, once again, the necessity to always analyze each source domain in context.

4.2.6. ATTRACTION

32 occurrences of ATTRACTION metaphors were noted, with 23 for Trump and 9 for Le Pen. This domain is only used by the nationalist politicians of the corpus, with the items categorized in Table 7:

Politician	ATTRACTION linguistic occurrences
Clinton	0 occurrence
Biden	0 occurrence
Macron	0 occurrence
Le Pen	<i>Autoroute</i> (3), <i>pompes aspirantes</i> (4), <i>laisser-passer</i> (1), <i>appel d'air</i> (1)
Trump	<i>Magnet</i> (2), <i>gifts</i> (1), <i>vacuums</i> (1), <i>lure</i> (1), <i>loopholes</i> (18)

Table 7. List of all the different linguistic forms of ATTRACTION metaphors according to the politician

For instance, according to Le Pen, passes are given to immigrants, as illustrated by the following example, with the metaphor *laisser-passer*, which implies that it is very easy to come to France. She suggests that her political opponents attract immigrants with their permissive policies.

(140) Le **laisser-passer**, c'est la France hall de gare qui n'est plus qu'un terrain vague, une France que l'on a privée de la protection de ses frontières, une France qui est soumise en vertu du principe de libre circulation totale érigée en dogme à une immigration de masse. [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_27]

As explained by Taylor (2014: 390) for the term *honeypot*, ATTRACTION metaphors “negatively evaluate government policy which is presented as being responsible for attracting the migrants”. In addition, they highlight the “lack of volition in migrants” (Taylor, 2021: 14): it is an irresistible force that attracts them. With this type of

representation, immigrants are passive. It echoes the image-schema of attraction described by Johnson (1987: 47): “a magnet draws a piece of steel toward itself, a vacuum cleaner pulls dirt into itself, and the earth pulls us back down as we jump”. Firstly, let us consider the example of the vacuum, which has been found in the two languages, as illustrated in excerpts (141) and (142):

(141) Donc : retrouver des frontières, deuxièmement, Monsieur Mélenchon : mettre en place une politique dissuasive d’immigration. Oui, il y a aujourd’hui une immigration sanitaire. Il y a une immigration économique. Il y a un droit d’asile qui est totalement dévoyé. Mais encore une fois, le meilleur moyen de lancer le signal, qui est un signal honnête, nous ne pouvons plus vous accueillir, c’est celui qui consiste à couper toutes les **pompes aspirantes de l’immigration**, l’aide médicale d’État et l’accession au logement. [FR_Le Pen_2017_03_20]

(142) Just look at what her policies have left us with in Iraq, Syria and Libya. The problem is Hillary Clinton is trigger-happy. She really is. She’s trigger-happy, and yet she says no boots, which is sort of – probably will be boots, you know. Probably will turn out to be another disaster. Her tenure has brought us only war and destruction and death. She’s just too quick to intervene, invade, or to push for regime change with people we don’t even know who they are. And they take over, and they’re far worse. This creates the power **vacuums** that are filled by terrorists and groups like ISIS. [US_Trump_2016_09_09_WASHINGTON]

The vacuum metaphor is inherently negatively evaluative for at least two reasons: first, it contributes to the dehumanization of immigrants, then it associates them to DIRT. Examples (141) and (142) confirm that this metaphor enables Le Pen and Trump to criticize their opponents, respectively Mélenchon and Clinton in these cases. However, the two examples differ, as Le Pen insists on the social advantages France offers and that attract immigrants while Trump mentions terrorism and uses the lexical field of war. The example of the vacuum is similar to the metaphor of the *appel d’air*, as illustrated in excerpt (143):

(143) La réalité, peu médiatisée, c’est que les propos irresponsables du chef de l’État en matière d’immigration ont eu pour conséquence, en quelques jours, un afflux massif de migrants notamment dans le Calaisis : M. Macron a médiatisé ses négociations avec la Grande-Bretagne visant à

faciliter le passage en Angleterre des migrants alors que rien de tel n'était décidé ; ce fut là **un appel d'air** important. Il a promis l'ouverture du regroupement familial pour les migrants mineurs. Finalement, la seule mesure qu'il a pu afficher avec fermeté c'est la promesse de l'État de prendre en charge les repas des migrants. Vous parlez d'un effet dissuasif.
[FR_Le Pen_2018_02_04]

As in water metaphors, with *appel d'air*, Le Pen insists once again on the uncontrollable aspect of immigration and criticizes her political opponent, Macron. But in the case of air metaphors, the force is coming from the inside – immigrants are passive and inevitably attracted – while in WATER metaphors, the force is coming from the outside and immigrants are thus active. According to Le Pen, measures such as family reunification behave like “in-draft air transfers” (Lafiandra; 2018: 94); thus, the metaphor dehumanizes immigrants and frames them as another natural element: AIR. As Taylor (2021: 14) writes, the triggering factor of the exerting force on immigrants is often under-specified. Furthermore, when specified, it is never the same element. In Le Pen's speeches, it can be *work*, *welfare*, *jus soli*, etc. In any case, these ATTRACTION metaphors are always used to accuse the political opponent, as can be seen in example (144):

(144) If people around the world believe they can just come on a temporary visa and never, ever leave, the Obama-Clinton policy, that's what it is, then we have a completely open border, and we no longer have a country. We must send a message that visa expiration dates will be strongly enforced. Number nine, we will turn off the jobs and benefits **magnet**. We will ensure that E-Verify is used to the fullest extent possible under existing law, and we will work with Congress to strengthen and expand its use across the country. Immigration law doesn't exist for the purpose of keeping criminals out. It exists to protect all aspects of American life. The work site, the welfare office, the education system, and everything else.
[US_Trump_2016_08_31]

In this excerpt, Trump criticizes Obama and Clinton for their open-border policies. According to him, the laws in the United States attract immigrants like a *magnet*. This corresponds to Hart's (2011: 10) description of “push” and “pull” factors in immigration discourse. According to him: “Anti-immigration discourse more typically focuses on pull factors such as work or welfare which supposedly act as ‘magnetic’ forces on

immigrants/asylum seekers.” All these metaphors convey the idea that the host country is tempting and has something to offer¹³⁹, as in examples (145) and (146):

(145) Over 130 legislators in this Chamber have endorsed legislation that would bankrupt our Nation by providing free taxpayer-funded health care to millions of illegal aliens, forcing taxpayers to subsidize free care for anyone in the world who unlawfully crosses our borders. These proposals would raid the Medicare benefits of our seniors, and that our seniors depend on, while acting as a powerful **lure** for illegal immigration. [US_Trump_2020_02_04]

(146) We have to have great people come into our—I want people to come into our country. And I want people that are going to help us. And I don’t want people that are going to come in and be accepting all of the **gifts** of our country for the next 50 years and do—and contribute nothing. I don’t want that, and you don’t want that. [US_Trump_2018_02_23]

In excerpt (145), Trump regards free health care as a *lure* for illegal immigration. The argument is an economic one, based on the lexical field of money: *bankrupt, taxpayer, free*, etc. In example (146), the metaphor of the *gifts*, which is yet supposed to be positive, presents illegal immigrants as freeloaders who take advantage of America’s generosity, which is once again axiologically negative. Excerpt (146) shows that Trump intends to add a commercial dimension to immigration: if Americans give something, they have to get something in return. The altruistic definition of a *gift* is completely erased with the context since Trump requests a certain contribution.

The most productive ATTRACTION metaphor in the corpus is lexicalized, with *loophole*, as can be seen in excerpt (147):

(147) We have millions of people that, over the years, have been released into the community. They never show up for the trials. They never come back. They’re never seen again. And those people, they know who they are. And we know a lot of where they are and who they are. And those people will be deported, directly deported. The biggest **loophole** drawing illegal aliens to our borders is the use of fraudulent or meritless asylum claims to gain entry into our great country. [US_Trump_2018_11_01]

¹³⁹ Thus, that it would be “superior” to the country of origin.

Once again, the example focuses on a “pull factor”, which is reinforced by the verb *draw*. According to Trump, immigrants are taking advantage of omissions in asylum statutes so as to enter the U.S. Although *loophole* has become a legal term, in a majority of cases, ATTRACTION metaphors refer to empty spaces in the host country that are likely to be filled in by immigrants, representing them as passive participants and framing the host country as the too generous El Dorado.

Intermediary conclusion: ATTRACTION metaphors focus on the host country's perspective. They enable politicians who intend to drastically limit immigration to conceptualize it as a tempting and attractive place which is going to offer more opportunities for immigrants than for its own citizens¹⁴⁰. Although ATTRACTION metaphors do not directly bear on immigrants, their axiology is still negative towards them, in the sense that they completely hide their will, and are often dehumanizing: if the host country is a vacuum, immigrants become dirt; if it is a magnet, they become particles of steel, etc. With ATTRACTION metaphors, immigrants are considered profiteers, who only come to take advantage of what the host country has to offer. Moreover, it emphasizes the notion of hierarchy and the nationalist belief that the host country would be superior to the countries of origin. In the corpus, these highly negative metaphors are employed by Le Pen and Trump and are mainly used to criticize the immigration policies of the politicians in power. Their objective is therefore to regard Clinton, Macron and Biden as too lenient towards immigration.

¹⁴⁰ Trump even says that the roles are now the other way around, as in: “It is time to help the American citizens who have become refugees in their own country.” [US_Trump_2016_10_26]

4.2.7. DIRT

18 DIRT metaphors were found: 1 for Clinton, 1 for Biden, 0 for Macron, 4 for Le Pen and 12 for Trump. The axiology of the metaphors included in this domain is essentially negative. O'Brien (2003: 257) writes that with DIRT, a dichotomy is created between cleanliness, which corresponds to the U.S., and dirt, which is related to the foreign lands:

Immigrants were a threat, James Davis (1922) wrote, because the United States was a "new and clean country", whereas "life in foreign lands among filth and dirt brought upon the countries of the Old-World great plagues of typhus, cholera, leprosy, tuberculosis, and many other diseases". (O'Brien, 2003: 257)

Chilton (1994) writes that in French, other conceptual shifts are made easier thanks to polysemy. According to him, when talking about immigration, the double meaning of the adjective "propre" (clean) and its quasi-synonym "net" (clear) have to be taken into account when studying politicians who support restrictive immigration measures. Furthermore, these lexemes are also related to the source domain of the CONTAINER (Chilton, 1994: 591):

Les éléments bien connus et souvent commentés du stéréotype de l'immigré - la délinquance, la saleté, l'agressivité, entre autres - sont susceptibles d'être inférés à partir du réseau conceptuel. La délinquance, comme la malpropreté et comme l'agressivité, sont des notions qui peuvent être considérées comme des constructions sémantiques reposant sur les schémas de la pénétration, du mélange de domaines qui doivent être distincts, et de l'incursion dans l'espace privé. C'est de cette manière qu'il est possible d'entamer une explication des résonances sémantiques des termes propre et net, et de la facilité conceptuelle avec laquelle ils s'appliquent au concept de l'immigration. Celui-là combine le tabou sur la violation de l'espace privé, imaginé comme contenant corporel, avec la peur de la contamination résultant de la transgression de la frontière du contenant, et avec l'immigration elle-même imaginée comme pénétration du corps national. Celui-ci, avec ses sens multiples de propreté, d'absence de mélange, d'exclusion d'éléments étrangers, se situe - nettement - dans le domaine du même schéma du contenant : ce qui est 'net' est distingué par ses contours fortement marqués, et ne donne lieu à aucune ambiguïté.¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹(EN): The well-known and often commented stereotypes of immigrants (delinquency, dirt, aggressiveness, among others) are likely to be inferred from a conceptual network. Delinquency, like dirt and like aggressiveness, are notions that can be considered semantic constructions that rely schemas of penetration, of the blend of domains that have to be distinct, and of the intrusion on the private sphere, which is imagined as a bodily container, with the fear of contamination that results from the transgression of the container's border, and with immigration itself that is imagined as the penetration of the national

The use of the source domains of DIRT and WASTE in Supreme Court rulings was also pointed out by Cunningham-Parmeter (2011). In his study, he proved that “just as clean-up crews must do everything in their power to contain toxic waste and protect society, so too must the Supreme Court contain immigrants who would otherwise pollute the country” (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2011: 1567). The linguistic occurrences that correspond to DIRT are listed in Table 8:

Politician	DIRT linguistic occurrences
Clinton	<i>Disposable</i> (1)
Biden	<i>Stain</i> (1)
Macron	0 occurrence
Le Pen	<i>Poubelles</i> (1), <i>kärcher</i> (2), <i>filtre</i> (1)
Trump	<i>Quagmire</i> (1), <i>mess</i> (4), <i>clean</i> (1), <i>bin</i> (2), <i>throw</i> (2), <i>sweep</i> (1), <i>dispose</i> (1)

Table 8. List of all the different linguistic forms of DIRT metaphors according to the politician

On the scales of dehumanization and negative evaluation, DIRT metaphors are placed at the maximum level: they directly represent immigrants as filthy objects. In the corpus, three main categories were noted: DIRT metaphors that refer to bins, those that suggest cleaning and those that compare the immigration system to a dirty jumble. In both languages, the *bin* metaphor can be observed. In addition, Trump and Le Pen also imply that immigrants are DIRT, by suggesting the country needs to be cleaned off immigrants, as illustrated by the following excerpts:

- (148) And we’re making the immigration system work for Americans. But we’re **cleaning out** towns of those MS-13 gangsters. That’s why we’re calling on Congress to fund the border wall, which we’re getting very close to. We’re working on that. We’ll have a great wall. [US_Trump_2017_12_20]

body. The latter, with its multiple meanings of cleanliness, absence of blend, exclusion of foreign elements, is clearly positioned in the domain of the container: what is neat is distinguished by its contours that are strongly marked, and leaves no place to ambiguity.

- (149) On battait l'estrade pour promettre de mettre un terme à l'immigration, de passer **le kärcher**, de rendre leur pouvoir d'achat aux Français, d'assainir les finances publiques. L'immigration, l'insécurité, le fondamentalisme islamiste, la pauvreté et la dette ont explosé ! Le résultat ?! Des promesses jetées aux orties dès l'élection passée, et un quinquennat passé à se vautrer dans les délices du pouvoir ! [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_02]

In example (148), Trump mentions MS-13, a gang mainly composed of Salvadorians, considering them as DIRT since he intends to *clean* the towns. Excerpt (149) contains the same idea: Le Pen wishes Sarkozy had kept his promise to use the high-pressure washer (*kärcher* is a trademark) so as to “clean” the suburbs, where many French citizens with foreign origins live. The metaphor is vivid and axiologically negative: it once again represents human beings as DIRT. It was used for the first time by Sarkozy in 2005 (see section 1.1.1.) and was highly criticized considering it could refer to a crime under international law: the metaphor echoes the violent notion of “ethnic cleansing”. Le Pen associates this metaphor to axiologically negative terms, such as *insécurité*, *pauvreté*, *dette*, etc., which contributes to justifying the emergency to implement her restrictive immigration policies.

Trump also intends to convey the idea that the whole immigration system is chaotic and made of DIRT, as in the following examples:

- (150) The only immigration policy Democrats support is catch and release. How about that one? You catch a criminal thug, you take their name, and then you release them, say please show up in five years to court. Now, number one, it's ridiculous. Number two, they never show up. What a **mess**. We have the dumbest immigration laws in the world. [US_Trump_2018_10_13]
- (151) They never even mentioned her plan on immigration because she doesn't want to get into the **quagmire**. It's a tough one, she doesn't know what she's doing except open borders and let everybody come in and destroy our country by the way. [US_Trump_2016_08_31]

To criticize Democrats, Trump often conceptualizes the immigration system in terms of a *mess* or a *quagmire*. According to the *OED*, a *mess* is a “dirty or untidy state of

things or of a place; a collection of disordered things” and a *quagmire* is “an area of wet, boggy land that gives way under foot”. In both cases, the metaphor is derogatory: it refers to dirt or mud. In excerpt (150), the *mess* metaphor is associated with negative terms such as *criminal*, *ridiculous*, and the superlative *dumbest*. In example (151), *quagmire* is combined with the notion of destruction, thus conveying the idea that immigration is synonymous with disorder and chaos.

Once again, Le Pen and Trump resort to derogatory metaphors that inherently connote a negative axiology, while Clinton and Biden denounce this very use, reporting the speeches of their opponents, as can be seen in excerpts (152) and (153):

(152) Of the thousands of children that the Trump Administration forcibly separated from their parents as part of its cruel "zero-tolerance" policy, 545 children are still separated from their parents years later. This Administration ripped babies from their mother's arms, and then it seems, those parents were in many cases deported without their children and have not been found. It's an outrage, a moral failing, and a **stain** on our national character. [US_Biden_2020_10_21]

(153) So, let's put ourselves in the shoes of young black and Latino men and women who face the effects of systemic racism, and are made to feel like their lives are **disposable**. [US_Clinton_2016_07_28]

In example (152), Biden uses DIRT, with the noun *stain*, to criticize Trump's immigration policies towards children. Example (153) has the same objective, but in this case, Clinton uses exactly Trump's adjective (*disposable*) in order to precisely condemn his ideas. However, even if she condemns his ideas, she still uses the metaphor and contributes to frame immigrants as uncivilized people.

Intermediary conclusion: The axiology of metaphors that frame immigrants as DIRT is inherently very negative: one usually disposes of dirt. Besides, these metaphors emphasize the dichotomy between the host country and immigrants: the host country is considered

clean while immigrants are dirty. This domain is the most negative of all as it directly implies immigrants have to be rejected as systematically as waste.

4.2.8. PLANT

12 PLANT metaphors related to immigration have been found in the corpus: 1 for Clinton, 1 for Macron, 1 for Le Pen, 4 for Trump and 5 for Biden. It is one of the rare metaphors that is not mainly used by Trump or Le Pen. This source domain is as ambivalent as that of WATER since it can also be connoted either positively or negatively: a plant can either be a beautiful flower that takes time to grow or weed that spread everywhere. In the case of weed, it is the notion of quantity and proliferation that is emphasized. As Kövecses (2002: 98) writes: “the source concept of plant applies most naturally and most frequently to domains that we can readily regard as complex systems of some sort”. In other words, immigration is seen as a complex system, which is difficult to explain (politically, economically, socially etc.); therefore, this may be why the domain of PLANTS is used by politicians in their discourses. The different linguistic occurrences of this domain are listed in Table 9:

Politician	PLANT linguistic occurrences
Clinton	<i>Uprooted</i> (1)
Biden	<i>Fertile terrain</i> (1), <i>thrive</i> (1), <i>roots</i> (2), <i>stem</i> (1)
Macron	<i>Déracinées</i> (1)
Le Pen	<i>Déracinés</i> (1)
Trump	<i>Flourish</i> (3), <i>thrive</i> (1)

Table 9. List of all the different linguistic forms of PLANT metaphors according to the politician

For instance, Biden resorted to the verb *stem* in the following excerpt:

- (154) Last summer, as our countries worked together to **stem** the dangerous surge in migration, the leaders of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras asked for additional assistance to change the climate of endemic violence and poverty that has held them back. [US_Biden_2015_01_29]

In this example, the PLANT metaphor is negative, considering that Biden also uses the adjective *dangerous*.

The ambivalent axiology of this domain can be observed in the corpus. Macron, Le Pen and Clinton indicate that refugees have been pulled up from their home countries, as can be seen in excerpts (155) (156) (157) and (158):

- (155) And the United States must lead in assisting those who have been **uprooted** by conflict—especially the millions of Syrian refugees now beseeching the world to help them. [US_Clinton_2015_09_09]

- (156) Nous savons les dangers que courent les migrants en traversant le Sahara, au risque d'y mourir, en stationnant en Libye, où ils sont exploités comme des esclaves, et en se jetant en Méditerranée, où tant d'entre-deux se noient. Pensons à ceux qui réussiront à arriver en Europe ! Ils y seront des **déracinés**, beaucoup y connaîtront une pauvreté dramatique et alors naître évidemment dans leur cœur une vive amertume. [FR_Le Pen_2017_03_23]

- (157) Je voulais d'abord souhaiter la bienvenue et remercier ici de sa présence le HCR parce que nous avons eu, je crois, une discussion utile comme nous avons depuis plusieurs mois un partenariat utile, utile parce que les missions du HCR, c'est celles qui consistent à défendre nos valeurs et la préservation du droit d'asile et de la situation des réfugiés et parce que c'est aujourd'hui tout particulièrement une mission absolument indispensable à l'heure où plus de 65 millions de personnes sont **déracinées**: c'était presque la moitié il y a dix ans. [FR_Macron_2017_10_09]

- (158) This month is also a moment to reaffirm the strength we draw as a nation from our immigrant **roots**, and from our values as a nation of immigrants. [US_Biden_2020_09_15]

In examples (155), (156) and (157), the prefixes *up-* and *dé-* indicate that immigrants are PLANTS that do not grow where they were born. This metaphor dehumanizes them but still portrays them as living beings. However, the objectives of each example are different. In

excerpt (155), Clinton presents immigrants as victims of war and conflicts, who have no choice but to leave their country to be helped, while in example (156), Le Pen suggests there will be an assimilation problem since the PLANTS will not be able to grow on French soil; in other words, immigrants won't be able to adapt to France. Furthermore, the whole excerpt has a negative axiology, with items such as *amertume*, *pauvreté*, *mourir*, *exploiter*, *noyer*. This is very different from example (158), in which Biden is proud of his immigrant *roots*. According to him, they constitute the essence of the U.S. He uses axiologically positive terms, such as *values* or *strength* to reinforce the pride felt.

In nationalist discourse, PLANT is related to the notions of assimilation and integration. This domain presupposes that the host country and the countries of origin have different traditions and values: just as a PLANT cannot easily adapt to any soil, the metaphor suggests that immigrants would not be able to adapt to the host country's culture, as was seen in example (156). PLANT metaphors are also marked by the fear of change: this source domain shows that it is most of the time immigrants who have to make the effort to adapt, while the citizens of the host country should not have to change at all. Moreover, the axiology associated with the host country itself is generally positive. In excerpt (159), Trump defends this idea:

(159) It's our right, as a sovereign nation to choose immigrants that we think are the likeliest to **thrive** and **flourish** and love us.
[US_Trump_2016_08_31]

The verb *flourish* means that the U.S. is a fruitful soil where immigrants can grow like flowers, which is an axiologically positive image of the host country. Nevertheless, in excerpt (159), Trump defends preferred immigration; in other words, he is saying that only a minority of immigrants are able to adapt to American values, not all of them.

Furthermore, he plans to be able to choose people who enter the country. Thus, the positive axiology has to be qualified if we take the immigrants' perspective.

In the PLANT frame, the host country is considered a fecund ground where immigrants are allowed to prosper or not; but this image can also be used to denounce xenophobic politicians, as illustrated by example (160):

(160) **Mass migration.** War. Terrorism. Infectious disease. Climate Change. Economic unease and anxiety, and the inevitable human reaction of frustration and anger. All this provides **fertile terrain** for reactionary politicians and demagogues peddling xenophobia, nationalism and isolationism. We see it in Europe. We see it in other parts of the world. And we see it in my home country, where some politicians find it convenient to scapegoat immigrants. [US_Biden_2016_06_24]

In excerpt (160), Biden conceptualizes America's, and more generally the world's, predicaments as *a fertile terrain* for xenophobic politicians; the metaphor is reversed. Biden does not directly mention Trump but refers to all the nationalist politicians that became successful after 2015. On the contrary, one of the politicians he indirectly refers to, namely Marine Le Pen, uses the *fertile terrain* metaphor to assert that immigration is a fertile ground for terrorism, as illustrated by the following example¹⁴²:

(161) Je pense que l'immigration massive a été le **terreau** du communautarisme et que le communautarisme est le **terreau** du fondamentalisme islamiste. [Le Pen, France 24, October 18th, 2016]

In excerpt (161), Le Pen resorts to the noun *terreau* to make a conflation and claim that terrorism flourishes thanks to immigration. In other words, she states that without immigration there would be no terrorism; the PLANT metaphor overlaps with the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE SOLDIERS/ENEMIES and can be schematized as follows:

¹⁴² This example is not part of the corpus as it does not consist in an official speech as a monologue, but was an interview broadcast on the TV channel France 24.

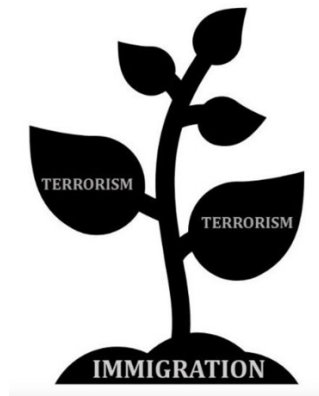


Figure 60. Representation of Le Pen's metaphor IMMIGRATION IS FRUITFUL TERRAIN FOR TERRORISM

Thus, the association of immigration with terrorism through PLANT metaphors contributes to underlining the negative axiology of that source domain.

Intermediary conclusion: The axiology of metaphors that conceptualize immigrants in terms of PLANTS is ambivalent. At first sight, it can be considered positive: a plant is a natural living being. However, this type of metaphor dehumanizes immigrants and is used by nationalist politicians to talk about assimilation problems immigrants may encounter. With PLANT metaphors, immigrants are indeed seen as exotic plants that are unable to adapt to their new soil, which is very negative, while the soil of the host country is considered very fertile and superior. Furthermore, Le Pen uses these metaphors to conflate immigrants and terrorists, conceptualizing immigration as the fertile ground for terrorism and thus calling on the source domain of WAR.

4.2.9. DISEASE

6 DISEASE metaphors were found in the corpus: 2 for Clinton, 1 for Macron and 3 for Le Pen. DISEASE metaphors rely on the same pattern as WAR metaphors: in both cases, the metaphors are directly linked to our “experiential understanding of the world” (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2011: 1568). According to Cunningham-Parmeter (2011: 1568), “when foreign substances enter our bodies, our immune systems immediately attempt to

combat them” and this is exactly the basis of conceptual metaphors such as IMMIGRATION IS A DISEASE. O’Brien (2003: 38) shows the origin of such a metaphor and highlights the fact that immigrants used to live in contaminated environments:

It was generally accepted that new immigrant groups came from unsanitary corners of the globe, travelled in disease-ridden ships, and, even in America, lived in cramped unhygienic tenements where disease was prevalent. One of the hallmarks of the organism metaphor is that its targets often find themselves living in conditions where they develop diseases at much higher rates than the “normal” population. Jewish ghettos, mental institutions, massive public housing projects, and other such “stigmatized” environments serve to make the metaphorical real, and thus solidify the use of disease metaphors as an apt means of portraying the group in question.

Moreover, according to him, DISEASE metaphors are very useful for nationalist politicians since they enable them to share the fears of immigrants publicly. In addition, he writes that immigrants “have always been rightly feared as carriers of disease, and thus the public was conditioned to think of them in such a way” (O’Brien, 2011: 36).

The different occurrences of the corpus are listed in Table 10:

Politician	DISEASE linguistic occurrences
Clinton	<i>Metastasized</i> (1), <i>infectious disease</i> (1)
Biden	0 occurrence
Macron	<i>Abcès</i> (1)
Le Pen	<i>Gangrène</i> (1), <i>vertigineuse</i> (1), <i>nuisible</i> (1)
Trump	0 occurrence

Table 10. List of all the different linguistic forms of DISEASE metaphors according to the politician

For instance, Clinton blamed Trump for having compared immigrants to *carriers of infectious disease*, as can be seen in the following example:

(162) Donald Trump is temperamentally unfit to be President of the United States. Let's just remember why that is so. In the first weeks of his

campaign, he said that immigrants from Mexico are drug dealers, rapists, murderers, **carriers of infectious disease**. [US_Clinton_2016_07_14]

There is no ambiguity concerning the axiology of DISEASE metaphors: they are highly negative. Le Pen resorts to DISEASE metaphors to harmfully describe immigrants. According to her, immigration is responsible for dizziness or gangrene, as illustrated by examples (163) and (164):

(163) Oui, l'immigration de masse est responsable de la montée du communautarisme, qui **gangrène** notre pays, mine l'égalité républicaine. [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_05]

(164) C'est même sous la droite, c'est sous Fillon, que l'immigration a atteint son plus haut historique, avec 200 000 entrées par an je le disais. C'est l'équivalent d'une ville de la taille de Rennes chaque année ! Car monsieur Fillon n'a jamais mis fin aux dispositifs qui facilitent l'immigration : le regroupement familial, le droit d'asile, qui n'a cessé lui d'être étendu et dévoyé. L'immigration clandestine aussi, qui a poursuivi sa hausse **vertigineuse**. [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_05]

Although example (163) focuses more on communitarianism that is supposedly created by immigration, in both cases, immigration is making France sick, but the metaphor in excerpt (163) is stronger than that in example (164). Indeed, according to the OED, *gangrene* is a "necrosis (death) of an area of tissue in the body, esp. as a result of impairment of its blood supply, often accompanied by bacterial infection and putrefaction". The axiology is extremely negative: the very definition of the noun *gangrene* refers to death and rotting. In excerpt (164), the adjective *vertigineuse* modifies the increase in immigration; thus, the symptoms are not as serious as those provoked by gangrene but France is still represented as suffering.

More generally, DISEASE metaphors combine with the metaphor THE HOST COUNTRY IS A BODY, as exemplified by the following excerpt:

(165) Ils ont détruit nos frontières intérieures, tout en laissant grandes ouvertes celles extérieures de l'Europe (oubliant qu'elles sont des filtres et non des murs). Comme la **peau humaine**, elles laissent passer ce qui

est bon et bloquent ce qui est **nuisible** ou **dangereux**. [FR_Le Pen_2019_05_01]

In example (165), Le Pen uses a simile to compare French borders to human skin, so as to defend her preferred immigration policy. According to her, some immigrants are not allowed to enter the country because they are not considered good enough for the health of the country, or are even dangerous. This metaphor echoes Cunningham-Parmeter's (2011: 1568) description of a fight against foreign substances and, to a certain extent, the source domain of WAR.

The notion of injured skin was also found in Macron's discourse, with the *cyst* metaphor, as illustrated in excerpt (166):

(166) Enfin, en matière de migration, je souhaite que l'on fasse évoluer notre coopération. Il faut absolument éviter la création de nouveaux **abcès** de fixation que sont les camps de migrants. C'est le pragmatisme qui régira nos relations. [FR_Macron_2017_06_22]

The noun *abcès*, which is used to refer to immigrants' camps, is derogatory and implies that the camps are cysts, which means France suffers from a DISEASE because of immigration.

Besides, Clinton also resorts to the same source domain, but to denounce xenophobic politicians as well as the way they talk about immigrants, as can be seen in excerpt (167):

(167) Once again, racist rhetoric has **metastasized** into racist violence. Now, it's tempting—it is tempting—to dismiss a tragedy like this as an isolated incident, to believe that in today's America bigotry is largely behind us, that institutionalized racism no longer exists. But despite our best efforts and our highest hopes, America's long struggle with race is far from finished. [US_Clinton_2015_06_20]

In example (167), Clinton resorts to a now common pattern as she uses the same source domain, in this case DISEASE (*metastasized*) but to describe racist discourse. It indicates that she considers racist discourse a cancer that is becoming more and more violent.

Therefore, Clinton reverses the metaphor and uses the DISEASE domain to describe and denounce nationalist discourses.

Intermediary conclusion: DISEASE metaphors are inherently negative. In the corpus, IMMIGRATION is not directly¹⁴³ framed as a disease; nevertheless, politicians use these metaphors to refer to the symptoms the host country suffers because of immigration, which is once again axiologically negative. Moreover, DISEASE metaphors also overlap with WAR metaphors in the sense that our immune system fights against foreign bodies. The DISEASE source domain was also observed in Clinton's discourse, but as a "reversed" metaphor, to denounce Trump's immigration policies and not to describe immigrants.

4.2.10. Miscellaneous

4.2.10.1. OBJECTS

OBJECT metaphors are part of a dehumanization process. As shown by Arcimaviciene and Baglama (2018), these metaphors create a new social reality in which immigration is not based on the immigrants' lives and experience but rather on the exchanges between governments. According to them (2018: 5): "This leads to the suppression of any kind of emotions or feelings toward migrants that become a legitimate Other [...]". O'Brien (2003) writes that the objectification of the immigrant can also be nurtured by trade rhetoric that compares immigrants to other forms of commerce. The objectification of immigrants is made with "the use of race, class, and ethnic stereotypes and demographic statistics to describe immigration-related problems and trends" and

¹⁴³ Marine Le Pen does use highly derogatory DISEASE metaphors to directly compare immigrants to bacteria, but these were not found in the corpus, contrary to what she wrote to *La Voix du Nord* in 2015, although it was then considered a "slip of the tongue": "Dénoncer et éradiquer toute **immigration bactérienne** : Les centres hospitaliers font face à la présence alarmante de maladies contagieuses non européennes, liées à l'afflux migratoire. Nous refusons cette mise en danger de la santé de nos compatriotes". <https://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/hauts-de-france/marine-le-pen-veut-eradiquer-l-immigration-bacterienne-un-lapsus-selon-le-fn-849583.html>.

these metaphors depict immigrants impersonally and as “interchangeable objects” (O’Brien, 2003: 38)

8 COMMODITY metaphors were found in the corpus, only for Trump and Macron. 7 occurrences for Trump, with *import** (1), *drop** (1) and *throw**(5), and 1 for Macron, with *marchandises*. Let us consider the following examples:

(168) Une économie souterraine du passage clandestin vers la Grande-Bretagne s’est développée, organisée par des filières de passeurs structurées, souvent violentes et qui n’hésitent pas à exploiter les migrants, en en faisant des **marchandises**. [FR_Macron_2018_01_16]

(169) The H-1B program is neither high-skilled nor immigration: these are temporary foreign workers, **imported** from abroad, for the explicit purpose of substituting for American workers at lower pay. [US_Trump_2016_03_03]

Excerpts (168) and (169) follow the pattern described by Petersson and Kainz (2017: 52) in the sense that these metaphors (*imported* and *marchandises*) “degrade humans to objects being imported, processed and redistributed”. In example (168) Macron uses it so as to denounce human traffickers who take advantage of immigrants, while Trump does consider immigrants commodities, since they can be *imported* like goods.

The three American politicians tend to conceptualize the whole immigration system as an OBJECT that is broken and that needs to be fixed (1 occurrence for Biden, 4 for Clinton and 7 for Trump), as illustrated in the following examples:

(170) We will protect your jobs from illegal immigration and **broken visa programs**. [US_Trump_2016_08_24]

(171) Our immigration system **is broken**, and we need to keep families together. [US_Clinton_2015_12_14]

(172) I’ll work to **fix our broken immigration system**, provide a roadmap to citizenship for undocumented Koreans, and recognize the tens of thousands of Korean adoptees as the Americans they are. [US_Biden_2020_10_30_KOREA]

Trump goes further and uses the tool *metaphor* to claim immigration could bring terrorism¹⁴⁴:

(173) We will not allow our generous system of immigration to be turned against us as a **tool for terrorism** and truly bad people.
[US_Trump_2017_02_10_WASHINGTON]

Thus, the immigration system is framed as a machine that needs to be fixed or which can be a tool for terrorists. These examples are particularly telling. The various politicians use exactly the same metaphor but for opposite objectives: Clinton and Biden intend to fix the system because it is cruel towards immigrants while Trump plans to fix it because he thinks it is too permissive. Thus, the axiology of these metaphors cannot be studied without analyzing the surrounding context.

Intermediary conclusion: Metaphors that frame immigrants as OBJECTS are inherently negative because they are dehumanizing. They enable nationalist politicians to consider immigrants goods, which highlights that they show complete disregard towards immigrants' lives. Moreover, these metaphors enable all the politicians of the corpus to blame their respective political opponents by comparing the immigration system to an object that needs to be fixed. OBJECT metaphors are negative per se because they completely erase any feeling one could have towards immigrants (Arcimaviciene and Baglama, 2018: 5).

4.2.10.2. FOOD

There are 7 occurrences of the source domain of FOOD in the corpus and only the French politicians of the corpus resort to these FOOD metaphors to talk about immigration.

¹⁴⁴ This example is similar to excerpt (161), in which Marine Le Pen considered immigration as a fertile terrain for terrorism.

4 occurrences were found for Le Pen (*nourrir, concocter, mamelles, plat avarié*) and 3 for Macron (*nourrir, alimenter, recettes*).

O'Brien (2003) points out that immigration can be depicted with the source domain of INDIGESTIBLE FOOD, with terms such as “digestion” or “absorption”. The INDIGESTIBLE FOOD metaphor was found only once, in the following example:

(174) Derrière le sourire marketing de l'un ou le masque défail de l'autre, **c'est le plat unique et avarié** du mondialisme, de l'union-européisme, et de l'immigrationnisme que l'on nous ressert. [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_02]

In excerpt (174), Le Pen goes even further than conceptualizing immigration as INDIGESTIBLE FOOD since, according to her, the food is even rotten (*avarié*): the axiology of the metaphor is negative.

The other FOOD metaphors of the corpus bear on the whole immigration system and are used to criticize the political opponent, as illustrated by the following examples:

(175) Mais au-delà de Calais, ce qui est en jeu aujourd'hui, c'est l'ensemble de notre politique d'asile et d'immigration, et sur ce sujet les **recettes** trop faciles, les déclarations à **l'emporte-pièce**, n'apportent souvent pas grande solution. [FR_Macron_2018_01_16]

(176) Il n'y a pas d'alternative nous répètent-ils ! Mondialisation, immigration sont les deux **mamelles** de la France nouvelle nous serinent-ils ! [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_02]

In example (175), Macron uses a FOOD metaphor with the noun *recette*, and then extends it with the noun *emporte-pièce*. His objective is to highlight the complexity of immigration; according to him, dealing with that subject is not as easy as dealing with a recipe. Immigration cannot be dealt with by using stock phrases.

In excerpt (176), Le Pen uses the noun *mamelle* (*udder*) to describe immigration. In this case, it is to criticize her opponents who are pro-immigration: she regrets that the only food they are giving to French people is immigration and globalization. Thus, this metaphor does not conceptualize immigrants as INDIGESTIBLE FOOD, but as a liquid (milk).

She resorts to the noun *mamelle* to make her audience believe that the government infantilizes French people.

Intermediary conclusion: Like PLANT, or WATER, the source domain of FOOD is ambivalent. On the one hand, FOOD is vital but on the other hand, it can be indigestible or even rotten. In that sense, it can overlap with DISEASE metaphors: rotten food can lead to food poisoning. This domain is not axiologically negative per se; it is only the context that can help linguists determine whether its evaluation is positive or negative.

4.2.10.3. DREAMers

DREAMer is a borderline case as it can either be seen as a metaphor or as the acronym for *Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors*. 11 occurrences have been found in the corpus (4 for Clinton, 5 for Biden, 2 for Trump). DREAMer is only used by American politicians as it is based on cultural knowledge, an American legislative proposal introduced in the Senate in 2001 to protect immigrant children. Clinton and Biden use the noun DREAMers on purpose, namely to show that they are willing to protect them, as illustrated in examples (177) and (178):

(177) There are even more undocumented people with deep ties and a history of service in their communities, that deserve the chance to stay like the parents of **DREAMers** and I will fight for them too. [US_Clinton_2015_12_14]

(178) As president, I'll take immediate action to restore DACA and protect **DREAMers** and their families. [US_Biden_2020_11_01]

In both examples, the axiologically of the excerpt is positive with terms such as *chance*, *deserve*, *protect*, etc. The noun “dream” is used for its acronym but also because immigrant children look for a better life in the U.S., which is what Clinton and Biden seem to desire for them, while Trump resorts to metalinguistic comments to show he is against this term:

- (179) Nearly 7 in 10 Americans support an immigration reform package that includes a permanent solution on DACA. I mean, I've been hearing about DACA for so many years. Some people call it **DREAMers**. It's not **DREAMers**. Don't fall into that trap. It's just much different from **DREAMers**. And I said the other night, you know, we have dreamers too. We have **dreamers** in this country too. You can't forget our **dreamers**. I have a lot of dreamers here. [US_Trump_2018_02_01]

Once again, Trump creates a dichotomy between immigrants and American citizens. The repetition of the adverb *too* in *we have dreamers too* as well as the possessive determiner *our* and the adverb *here* show he wishes to give priority to American citizens. Thus, the positive axiology of the metaphor has to be qualified since it is rejected by Trump, who refuses to apply the term to immigrants and reserves it to Americans born in the U.S., hence the necessity to study the context.

4.3. Conclusion

The objective of this chapter was to discuss the axiology of the source domains used in the IMMIGRATION metaphors that were found throughout the five corpora constituted of political speeches.

The differences between political figures are the most salient ones: nationalist politicians, namely Le Pen and Trump, resort to many more metaphors related to IMMIGRATION than their political opponents in the respective second rounds of each presidential election. The majority of the metaphors (more than 80%) are found in Trump and Le Pen's speeches. Furthermore, nationalist politicians resort to more varied source domains, with a plurality of linguistic forms, than their opponents, so as to emphasize the uncontrollable aspect of IMMIGRATION. According to them, immigrants, and especially illegal immigrants according to Trump, are everywhere and are responsible for all the predicaments of the country.

No significant difference was noted concerning language, except that American politicians tend to mainly use CONTAINER metaphors, while French speakers, and especially

Le Pen, focus more on WATER. The main hypothesis is that WATER metaphors are more productive in French because Trump's and Le Pen's targets are not the same: Trump focuses on Mexicans, who can come on foot, while Le Pen focuses on immigrants who cross the Mediterranean Sea.

However, the ontological CONTAINER metaphor is the most prolific metaphor in the whole corpus to talk about immigration. The axiology of CONTAINER metaphors is negative as it relies on the notions of boundaries: these metaphors highlight the idea that the host countries have restricted capacities. CONTAINER metaphors depict the U.S. and France as a protected space that would not be so secure if more immigrants were invited. Le Pen and Trump resort to these metaphors so that voters should frame immigrants as intruders. Nationalist politicians resort to more varied WATER metaphors than Clinton, Biden or Macron. WATER metaphors are inherently dehumanizing and represent immigrants as a violent natural catastrophe. In addition, even if the source domain of FIGHT does not dehumanize immigrants, its axiology is also negative since immigrants are represented as ferocious people. As for BURDEN metaphors, they inherently involve a negative descending movement; ANIMAL, OBJECT, DIRT, DISEASE and ATTRACTION metaphors are particularly dehumanizing and insist on the supposed superiority of the citizens of the host country, most of the time emphasizing the dichotomy *Us vs. Them*.

Moreover, even with the metaphors used by the politicians who do not explicitly defend restrictive immigration policies, and even with metaphors that do not seem derogatory at first sight, the axiology is negative since the metaphor always conceals some elements. Once again, although it will never be possible to be absolutely certain whether the speaker did intend to use a metaphor or not, it is fundamental to disclose the elements that the metaphor inherently hides, so that the dichotomies and prejudices it creates should not be, even involuntarily, repeated (Catalano and Fielder, 2018: 24).

Thus, the majority of the domains used to describe IMMIGRATION are axiologically negative and are systematically combined with negatively connoted terms in the cotext of the metaphors in the speeches, as it will be developed in Chapter 5. The domains often overlap and mostly dehumanize immigrants (except for FIGHT and DREAMERS). Immigrants are conceptualized as continuous entities (almost never discrete): their individuality is generally hidden so as to highlight quantity, and, by extension, the notion of threat; a threat to the economy, society, health, justice, security, employment, etc. Clinton, Biden and Macron also resort to these derogatory domains, but far less often. Clinton and Biden particularly use the same source domains to highlight the hyperpolarization that exists between Democrats and Republicans and condemn how Trump specifically talks about IMMIGRATION.

The main source domains used to frame IMMIGRATION in the corpus were put on the continuum of negative axiology as follows:



Figure 61. Source domains on the axis of negative axiology

Although the order can be discussed, since the boundaries between domains are not clear-cut, this section combined with the already existing literature has shown that DIRT metaphors were highly negative *per se*, while the axiology of others, such as FOOD or PLANT, was more ambivalent and could not be considered without the context, which led to the analysis of patterns of interaction between the metaphors and its contextual environment in the final chapter.

Chapter 5: Axiology of IMMIGRATION Metaphors in Context: Patterns of Interaction

5.0. Introduction

5.1. Semantic prosody and surrounding context

5.1.1. Intensification of the negative axiology

5.1.2. Weakening of the negative axiology of the metaphor or denunciation

5.2. Repetition of the same source domain: a metaphorical network

5.2.1. Repetition of the same source domain with a variety of linguistic occurrences

5.2.2. Repetition of the same source domain with a gradation process

5.3. Combination of several source domains

5.4. Combination of modes

5.4. Conclusion

5.0. Introduction

Chapter 5 deals with the interaction between IMMIGRATION metaphors, semantic prosody and the surrounding context, its purpose is to answer SQ6: how does the axiology of the context interact with IMMIGRATION metaphors? Are there different patterns of interaction depending on language and the political figure? Thus, based on the observations made in Chapter 4, this chapter aims to develop the study of the axiological dimension of IMMIGRATION metaphors, but this time with a specific focus on context. It relies on pragmatics. This chapter is not limited to the analysis of IMMIGRATION metaphors *per se*, as it was the purpose of the previous chapter and as the study more generally relies on CDA and DMT (see section 1.2.5.), to determine how the specific source domain selected *and* the context necessarily intertwine and acquire a particular evaluative dimension. The analysis will go beyond purely quantitative considerations and rather focus on qualitative dimensions to look at the axiology of the preferred source domains within their contextual uses.

Considering the source domains used to conceptualize IMMIGRATION are almost all negatively evaluative *per se* (see section Chapter 4), the purpose of this part is to show to what extent the context of said metaphors affects the inherent negative axiology. Does the context intensify it? Does the context alleviate it? What are the patterns at stake? How do they differ depending on each politician? This part relies on CMT, DMT (see Chapter 1) and on the variability of metaphors described by Musolff (2016). It is based on the assumption that the complete positive or negative axiology of a metaphor has to be determined within context only.

Four main patterns have been observed and will be exemplified in this chapter. First, the surrounding context of IMMIGRATION metaphors will be studied: the analysis aims to show how politicians who explicitly support restrictive immigration policies make IMMIGRATION metaphors co-occur with lexemes that have a negative evaluation, while other politicians tend to lessen the inherent negative axiology of said metaphors. Then, the creation of a metaphorical network through different types of repetitions will be described. The gradation phenomenon, which is often used by nationalist politicians, as well as the use of a variety of linguistic occurrences for the same source domain will be particularly examined. Finally, I will analyze how the combination between several source domains as well as between several modes affects the axiology of said metaphors.

The seven different patterns of interactions found in the corpus are listed in Table 11. Their presence in each corpus is marked by the symbol ✓ and their absence by the symbol ✗. The order of the patterns corresponds to their complexity and their levels of interactions. The use of negative source domains corresponds to the first level, with no interaction with other patterns, while multimodality is the most complex pattern, with different types of interactions of modes:

Patterns Corpus	Negative source domain	Negative source domain + Negative surrounding context	Negative source domain + Positive surrounding context	Same source domain BUT Variety of forms	Different source domains in the same occurrence	Gradation	Different modes (multimodality)
Le Pen	✓	✓	∅	✓	✓	✓	✓
Trump	✓	✓	∅	✓	✓	✓	✓
Macron	✓	✓	✓	∅	✓	∅	∅
Biden	✓	✓	✓	∅	∅	∅	∅
Clinton	✓	∅	✓	∅	∅	∅	∅

Table 11. Patterns of interactions for IMMIGRATION metaphors in each corpus

Before I delve into more detail, Table 11 confirms that Le Pen and Trump use the same patterns of interaction and that they never resort to positive semantic prosody in combination with IMMIGRATION metaphors. However, even if Chapter 4 has already revealed that all the politicians of the corpus use negative source domains to frame IMMIGRATION, Clinton is the only one who never uses a negative context. Indeed, Macron and Biden sometimes resort to an IMMIGRATION metaphor in an already negative environment and Macron sometimes even uses different source domains in the same occurrence, as Le Pen and Trump do. Nevertheless, these different categories necessarily overlap, which is why they need to be studied in detail.

5.1. Semantic prosody and surrounding context

Two patterns have been observed. In the corpus, semantic prosody and the surrounding context are either used to intensify the negative axiology of said metaphors or as a way to denounce the negative dimension.

5.1.2. Intensification of the negative axiology

As already mentioned in Chapter 1 and as explained by Auboussier (2019: 46), the axiology which is associated with the designated element is generally reinforced by the repetition of certain occurrences: “C’est [...] dans la désignation d’occurrences énonciativement situées que la désignation axiologique associée à la désignation ne cesse de se renforcer¹⁴⁵”. In the corpus, this strategy is mainly resorted to by Le Pen and Trump, who reinforce the negative axiology of the source domain with the use of other negatively connoted terms in the context. For instance, in Trump’s speeches, the negative axiology of the metaphor is strengthened by terms related to the notion of crime, as illustrated in excerpt (180).

(180) Tragically, there are many cities in America where radical politicians have chosen to provide sanctuary for these criminal illegal aliens. In sanctuary cities, local officials order police to release dangerous criminal aliens to **prey** upon the public, instead of **handing them over** to ICE to be safely removed. [US_Trump_2020_02_04]

The verb *prey* belongs to the ANIMAL source domain and its axiology is negative towards immigrants because the domain is inherently dehumanizing. ANIMAL metaphors often rely on a *predator-prey* model that reinforces hyperpolarization: immigrants are predators, American citizens are preys, ICE agents and Republicans protect the preys while Democrats protect the predators. According to the *OED*, the verb *prey* is used for animals and means “to seize, kill, or hunt habitually as prey.” With this verb, Trump conceptualizes American citizens as victims of illegal immigrants. The intrinsic negative axiology of *prey* is reinforced by the semantic prosody with terms referring to criminality (*criminal, illegal, aliens, dangerous, radical*), which is not surprising since the most frequent collocate of

¹⁴⁵ (EN): It is with the repetition of enunciatively situated that the axiological value which is associated with the designated element cannot stop being reinforced.

migr in the Trump corpus is the adjective *illegal*, as shown in Chapter 3. The repetition of adjectives such as *dangerous*, *illegal* or *criminal* highlight the brutal dimension which is already contained in the ANIMAL metaphor. The addition of this particular source domain to terms that refer to criminality implies that immigrants are uncivilized and a threat to society. Two different, rather paradoxical, conceptual metaphors emerge and overlap in this example, as the ANIMAL metaphor (*prey*) is then associated with IMMIGRANTS ARE OBJECTS (*hand over*). The combination of these two source domains seems contradictory at first sight since the ANIMAL metaphor gives power to immigrants while the OBJECT metaphor completely erases their agentic dimension. Nonetheless, the metaphors are associated for one purpose: to emphasize the dichotomy between the Democrats (local officials of sanctuary cities) and the Republicans. With the help of this paradoxical association, Trump is saying that Democrats encourage immigrants to become *predators* while, as a Republican, he would have treated them as OBJECTS and *handed them over to ICE*, which contributes to nurturing at least two frames. First, the frame according to which immigrants are criminals is developed and then Democrats are framed as irresponsible (and “radical”) politicians.

Sometimes, the metaphor is not explicitly resorted to, but the surrounding context makes it emerge, as can be seen in example (181).

(181) At this very moment, large, well-organized caravans of migrants are marching towards our southern border. Some people call it an “**invasion**.” It’s like an **invasion**. They have violently overrun the Mexican border. You saw that 2 days ago. These are tough people, in many cases. A lot of young men, strong men, and a lot of men that maybe we don’t want in our country. [US_Trump_2018_11_01]

In excerpt (181), Trump resorts to the INVADER domain. He reports the speech of someone else, hence the quotation marks, and then confirms he does mean INVASION, with the use of a simile. His goal is to highlight the supposed ferocity of immigrants with negatively

polarized terms, such as the verb *march*, the adverb *violently* as well as the adjectives *tough* and *strong*. Even though Trump resorts to reported speech and does not use the INVASION metaphor directly, the negative axiology in the surrounding context clearly focuses on the violent and military dimensions of an INVASION. Moreover, he does not mention the fact that there are women and children among immigrants and only focuses on young men. As already mentioned, according to O'Brien (2003: 42) INVADER metaphors enable the speaker to emphasize the quantity of immigrants as well as "the fact that the characteristics, traditions and values" of immigrants are not the same as those of American citizens and those of the older immigrant population. INVASION implies the host country is the victim and refers to a type of war where the whole population is impacted, not just soldiers, which is strengthened by the axiology of the surrounding context. The combination of these types of metaphor and negatively connoted terms reinforces fears.

In some cases, the metaphor is not highly evaluative *per se*, but the surrounding context makes it become more negative than it originally was, as illustrated by example (182):

(182) Last year alone, our brave ICE officers arrested more than 127,000 illegal aliens. And they had criminal records, including those charged or convicted of approximately 48,000 assaults, 12,000 six crimes, and 1,800 homicides. But despite that, the Democrats want to abolish ICE. They want to abolish ICE. They want America to be a **giant sanctuary city** for gang members and MS-13 killers. Republicans believe America should be a **sanctuary** for law-abiding Americans, not criminal aliens, right? [US_Trump_2018_11_05]

In excerpt (182), the CONTAINER source domain is used with the notion of *sanctuary*. Like any CONTAINER metaphor, *sanctuary* has a strong spatial dimension and highlights the notion of borders, which is factual at first sight. In this case, Trump emphasizes the dichotomy between the Democrats and the Republicans. He criticizes the Democrats who

have created sanctuary cities¹⁴⁶. The metaphor of the sanctuary city is lexicalized and described in the OED as “a city regarded as offering a degree of protection to undocumented immigrants, in particular by having policies in place to limit cooperation with federal immigration authorities”. As a place where people can worship God, a *sanctuary* becomes a sacred CONTAINER: everything that is outside is considered impure or sin-related. In example (182), Trump repeats the metaphor of the *sanctuary* but reverses it, saying American citizens should be protected, not immigrants. This use, as well as the evaluative lexical field of violence (*illegal, assaults, crimes, homicides, gang, criminal, killer*) contributes to the negative axiology of the whole context and triggers the notion of danger, which was only demurely present by default in *sanctuary*. In this example, it is only with the surrounding context and semantic prosody (*illegal*), and therefore with the axiology of the terms surrounding the metaphor, that the negative implications of the source domain are best exposed. According to Trump, if a sanctuary is needed to protect American citizens from immigrants, it is because immigrants are dangerous. The surrounding context of the CONTAINER metaphor makes the IMMIGRANTS ARE ENEMIES metaphor emerge.

In Le Pen’s speeches, the surrounding context of a metaphorical occurrence also confirms Auboussier’s statement (2019: 46) as it reinforces the negative axiology of IMMIGRATION metaphors. Like Trump, Le Pen associates immigrants with the notion of crime, as can be seen in example (183):

(183) Ce qu’ils m’ont raconté est saisissant : derrière les façades des immeubles haussmanniens du 10^{ème}, vous trouvez tous les trafics de drogue, des nuées de clandestins installés. Les cambriolages qui se généralisent et

¹⁴⁶ This type of policy is possible because the United States is a federation, with a federal government, on the one hand, and states governments on the other. When Trump became president of the U.S. and started to implement restrictive immigration policies, an increasing number of cities started to protect undocumented immigrants by offering free access to certain facilities or by prohibiting the police from asking about the immigration status of somebody if that person was not suspected of a crime.

qui sont le fait de jeunes migrants qui opèrent de jour comme de nuit.
[FR_Le Pen_2018_01_15]

In excerpt (183), the noun *nuées* (flocks) encodes the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE INSECTS. It also belongs to the inherently negative and dehumanizing ANIMAL source domain. With this lexical unit, immigrants are not framed as different entities but as an undifferentiated whole that takes the form of a cloud no one can grasp. *Nuées* is a deliberate metaphor which is included in a negatively connoted excerpt (with the nouns *drogue* and *cambriolages*) so as to generate fear and to make immigrants appear as dangerous people. The semantic prosody, with the repeated notion of criminality, reinforces the negative axiology of *nuées*. Besides, the metaphor certainly echoes the biblical plague of locusts inflicted on Egypt which is described in the Exodus, and all the damage associated with it, as well as the notion of quantity, which is reinforced by the use of the plural form of *nuées*. The pattern used in this excerpt (183) is therefore similar to that of example (180) of the *prey*: both nationalist politicians combine the negative features of the ANIMAL source domain with a crime-related context to generate fear and support their restrictive immigration policies.

This pattern has also been observed in Macron's speeches, although he resorts to fewer crime-related terms than his opponent, as illustrated in the following excerpt:

(184) Calais n'est pas une porte d'entrée dérobée vers l'Angleterre, et je veux être ici très clair, cela continuera à être le cas. En aucun cas, nous ne laisserons ici se constituer ou se développer des filières illégales, en aucun cas, nous ne laisserons ici se reconstituer une **jungle** ou une occupation illégale du territoire. [FR_Macron_2018_01_16]

According to the French dictionary *Le Robert*, the noun *jungle* has three different interrelated definitions. It is a) a form of bushy savannah (tall grass, trees) where wild animals live, b) a human place where natural selection rules, c) a slum built by migrants, especially in Calais. The different meanings all rely on Kipling's descriptions of this very

violent and opaque environment¹⁴⁷ and on the fact that “the British colonial government associated jangli landscapes with the absence of civilization” (Dove, 1992: 243). Howarth and Ibrahim (2015: 31) write that the metaphor of the *jungle* refers to “a barbaric space characterized by environmental degradation and lawlessness that encroached on ordered spaces of white civility”. They add that the metaphor acts as a justification to “the razing of the camp, the demolition of the shelters and the dispersing of its occupants by the French police”. According to Mujagić and Berberović (2019: 35) *jungle* is a conventional and indirect metaphor and is “used deliberately to imply the absence of order, i.e., the existence of some other rules”. It does not directly associate immigrants to animals but to a group of very different, exotic and hostile species. In example (184), Macron resorts both to the *jungle* metaphor and to the adjective *illegal*, twice. The uncontrollable aspect of a *jungle* is highlighted by the axiology of *illegal*, although the negative terms are not as abundant and as varied as in Trump’s or Le Pen’s speeches. In any case, *jungle* is clearly dehumanizing and refers to a place where “individual destinies merge and lose themselves in a mass” (Mujagić and Berberović, 2019: 35). The individuality of immigrants is thus completely hidden by the metaphor, and their supposed dangerousness is underlined by the semantic prosody of the surrounding context.

This pattern is often amplified by Trump and Le Pen, who go further than the notion of criminality and often develop that of terrorism instead, as can be seen in excerpts (185) and (186):

(185) Biden’s deadly migration policies will **overwhelm** taxpayers and open the **floodgates** to terrorists, jihadists, and violent extremists.
[US_Trump_2020_10_30]

¹⁴⁷ “The Law of the Jungle, which never orders anything without a reason, forbids every beast to eat Man except when he is killing to show his children how to kill, and then he must hunt outside the hunting-grounds” (Kipling, 1920: 7).

(186) En septembre, au parlement européen je prenais la parole pour dire : Nous sommes prévenus par la Syrie, nous sommes prévenus par l'France, que l'État islamique entend **infiltrer** au milieu des **flux** de migrants des terroristes qui viendront frapper notre sol. [FR_Le Pen_2015_11_28]

In both examples, the notion of dangerousness, which is inherent to the WATER source domain is reinforced by the negative axiology of terrorism-related terms. In excerpt (185), Trump combines two water metaphors (*overwhelm* and *floodgates*) to negatively connoted lexemes: the adjective *deadly*, the nouns *terrorists*, *jihadists* and *extremists*, which are used in the plural form, as well as the adjective *violent* that bears on *extremists*. According to the *OED*, the verb *overwhelm* means “to bury or drown beneath a mass of earth, water, etc.; to submerge completely; to destroy or obliterate by covering with something.” Thus, the definition is axiologically negative as it refers to destruction. The prefix *over-*¹⁴⁸ comes from Old English *ofer* and means *above; too much; higher* and *whelm* comes from Middle English *whelmen* “to turn upside down”. The definition of the verb *overwhelm* thus encodes a downward movement, which reinforces the negative axiology of the metaphor since it inherently contains the conceptual metaphor DOWN IS BAD described by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The violent characteristics of WATER are also emphasized by the *floodgates* metaphor which enables Trump to talk about the typically nationalist notion of *porous* borders, but on a larger scale. The main objective of such metaphors is to blame political opponents and to emphasize the so-called ease with which immigrants enter the country. Their association with terrorism-related terms emphasize the notion of absolute danger.

In French, in example (186), the pattern is the same. A WATER metaphor, the noun *flux*, is associated with the noun *terrorists*, the verb *frapper* as well as the reference to the

¹⁴⁸ https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=overwhelm&ref=searchbar_searchhint.

Islamic State. Thus, the surrounding context gives the WATER metaphor the possibility to expand all its negative axiology.

Merging both the negative axiology of a metaphor and the negative axiology of the terms that surround the metaphor is a specificity of the nationalist politicians of the corpus. This pattern is powerful as it relies on two different strategies. Arcimaviciene and Baglama (2018: 6) describe the mythical representation of metaphor usage with Figure 62. They distinguish two complementary ideological story lines: on the one hand, dehumanization and, on the other hand, moral authority. They write that the dehumanization process suppresses positive emotions towards immigrants while the notion of moral authority intensifies negative emotions towards them (2018: 5):

The first myth of dehumanization is recreated using two metaphorical scenarios—Migrants as Objects and Migrants as Commodities. This leads to the suppression of any kind of emotions or feelings toward migrants that become a legitimate Other, and migrants are further delegitimized through the scenarios of Crime and Terrorism, as a consequence of which the myth of moral authority based on the idea of knowing what is right for the Other and how the Other can be punished if necessary is evoked. The chain of these metaphors results in strong emotional charge achieved primarily through suppressing any kind of positive emotions such as empathy or compassion toward migrating people, by representing them as inanimate objects, and further intensified by heightening various kinds of negative emotions, fear for security and life, in particular through the use of natural phenomena, crime, and terrorism metaphors.

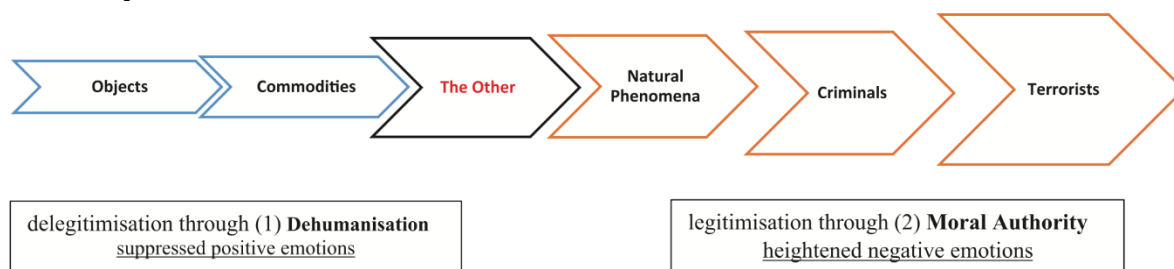


Figure 62. Mythical representation of metaphor usage by Arcimaviciene and Baglama (2018: 6)

In the corpus, Trump and Le Pen are the ones who take advantage of the two different ideological story lines at the same time, in the sense that immigrants are very often both dehumanized by the metaphor and considered criminals or terrorists in the context. With this strategy, not only are the positive emotions towards immigrants suppressed by

dehumanizing metaphors, the negative ones are enhanced by a terrorism-related semantic prosody. Thus, the axiological polarity of such excerpts is highly negative.

While Trump and Le Pen both add and focus on the notions of crime and terrorism, through semantic prosody, Le Pen also uses metaphors in co-occurrence with a variety of negatively-connoted terms, as illustrated in examples (187) and (188):

(187) La France vaut mieux que ces politiciens qui l'entraînent vers sa disparition au sein d'un magma mondialiste, européiste, sans frontière et sans âme. Mieux qu'une nation **assaillie par l'immigration**, le chômage, la précarité, l'insécurité et l'angoisse. [FR_Le Pen_2015_08_29]

(188) Soit nous basculerons vers un monde monopolistique, plongés dans les eaux glacées du calcul égoïste, globalisé pour le pire : la malbouffe, la pollution et **l'immigration sauvage**. Un monde où l'on contraindra les libertés de chacun, mais où l'on laissera les trafics prospérer, l'immonde fléau du terrorisme ravager nos vies, l'insécurité miner nos existences au quotidien. Soit nous choisirons un monde qui privilégie le bon sens, et la mesure, les circuits courts, l'échange et la solidarité. [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_11]

In excerpt (187), Le Pen uses a WAR metaphor with the adjective *assaillie*. According to her, France is assaulted by immigrants, which echoes Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) description of WAR metaphors, in which there are generally two antagonists: on the one hand the victim and, on the other hand, the perpetrator. In this case, France is considered the victim and Le Pen intends to denounce her political opponents for this. The axiology of the whole example is negative, with items such as *chômage*, *magma*, *précarité*, *insécurité*, *disparition* or *angoisse*. These lexemes reinforce the violent feature inherently present in the WAR metaphor, and place immigration on the same level as other predicaments that exist in the country. In excerpt (188), the metaphor relies on the ANIMAL source domain with the adjective *sauvage*. *Sauvage* refers both to animals (wild) and to cruelty (savage), hence the two possible translations. *Immigration sauvage* could be translated into *savage immigration* in this case, considering the highly negative axiology

of the terms of the context: *malbouffe, égoïsme, pollution, fléau, insécurité, ravager, miner*. These lexemes are all negatively connoted on the one hand, and really varied, on the other hand. Thus, the negative axiology of the metaphor is reinforced both by their evaluative dimension and by the variety of the lexemes: IMMIGRATION is associated with many unrelated problems (junk food, pollution, precariousness, insecurity) through the surrounding context, which is typical of Le Pen's speeches.

A similar pattern has been observed in Biden's discourse, as can be seen in excerpt (189):

(189) In the past 15 years, all has changed in the world. We've seen more changes and challenges and more opportunities than any time since World War II, and maybe before. In this age of instant hyper-connectivity, instant communication, violence and turmoil in any part of the world once unseen now appears on your cell phone instantaneously. **Mass migration.** War. Terrorism. Infectious disease. Climate Change. Economic unease and anxiety, and the inevitable human reaction of frustration and anger. All this provides fertile terrain for reactionary politicians and demagogues peddling xenophobia, nationalism and isolationism. [US_Biden_2016_06_24]

In example (189), the metaphor at stake is *mass migration*. According to the *OED*, the adjective *massive* is used to describe "a physical object: forming or consisting of a large mass; having great size and weight or solidity; impressively or unusually large". The definition shows that the metaphor relies on three aspects and therefore contributes to a) dehumanizing immigrants (they are considered objects), b) insisting on their quantity (notion of size), c) highlighting their strength (solidity). Immigrants thus become a powerful non-human, indistinct *mass* which is very easy to scapegoat since no one can identify with it. The axiology of example (189) is clearly negative as well and associated with varied terms such as *war, violence, turmoil, terrorism, anxiety, anger, frustration*, etc., as in example (188). However, the objective is different here, as shown by the last sentence of the paragraph: although immigration is listed in a very negative enumeration

that is not really different from Le Pen's, Biden intends to criticize xenophobic politicians and does not wish to directly scapegoat immigrants but still refers to *mass migration* in combination with negatively connoted terms, which leads us to analyze how IMMIGRATION metaphors interact with the surrounding context in speeches that are not considered speeches that explicitly support restrictive immigration policies.

5.1.2. Weakening of the negative axiology of the metaphor or denunciation

Although Biden, Macron and Clinton also use IMMIGRATION metaphors that inherently have a negative axiology, the surrounding context of the metaphor is much more positive in their speeches than the one observed with Le Pen and Trump. Let us consider the following examples:

(190) Whether it was my ancestors who boarded *coffin ships* in the Irish Sea in the famine in the 1840s, or families who fled oppressive regimes and natural disasters in Latin America and the Caribbean, or any of the **waves of immigrants** seeking freedom and opportunity and who have continuously renewed our national strength, and have given us the great capacity to speak – to speak with grit and determination, to simply say, “I can do it.” All of our ancestors, yours and mine, they came equipped with only one thing — the only thing they had in their pocket was hope. In so many ways, that's part of what makes us Americans.
[US_Biden_2020_09_15_FLORIDA]

(191) La difficulté qui est la nôtre aujourd'hui, c'est que nous sommes face à un phénomène qui est nouveau, qui est nouveau depuis l'élection. C'est que, en Europe, **les flux d'entrée** n'ont jamais été aussi bas depuis 5 ans et en France les demandes d'asile n'ont jamais été aussi hautes, sur cette période. Et ça nous devons le regarder en face. J'ai défendu et je continuerai toujours à défendre le droit d'asile, j'y crois très profondément, ça fait partie de nos valeurs et nous avons face à nous une formation politique qui veut le supprimer, le fragiliser, le découdre. Mais je constate que le droit d'asile aujourd'hui est détourné de sa finalité par des réseaux, des gens qui manipulent, et est le théâtre de distorsions.
[FR_Macron_2019_09_16]

While Biden and Macron use inherently dehumanizing metaphors, in the sense that immigrants are not presented as human beings anymore, in examples (190) and (191) with *waves* and *flux*, respectively, the analysis of the surrounding context shows that these

metaphorical terms are not necessarily negative. In excerpt (190), the LIQUID metaphor is associated with the positively connoted notions of *freedom* and *opportunity* as well as those of *strength*, *determination* and *hope*. In the cotext to the left of the metaphor, Biden depicts the difficulties immigrants endure and identifies with them, with the use of the possessive determiner *my* in *my ancestors* to then show that immigrants have brought many helpful foundations to the country. Thus, the whole excerpt has a rather positive axiology concerning IMMIGRATION: the power of WATER is rather regarded as strength, and not really as danger anymore. Therefore, the traditionally negative framing is reversed.

The same phenomenon can be noticed in example (191). In the cotext to the right, Macron repeats the lemma *defend** (*défendu*, *défendre*) and intends to prove that he is willing to protect asylum seekers. Thus, examples (190) and (191) illustrate how the use of a positive surrounding context weakens the negative axiology of the metaphor, which thus becomes, if not positive, at least not as negatively connoted as without its context: there is a reversal of the axiology. Furthermore, the noun *flux* is much more lexicalized than other water metaphors, which makes it less powerful. However, this is not always the case and there are some examples where the axiology associated with the cotext is rather negative, even for politicians who are not considered nationalists, as can be seen in excerpt (192):

- (192) Il faut créer une Europe qui protège en se dotant d'une vraie politique de défense et de sécurité commune. Il faut être plus efficace face aux grandes migrations en réformant profondément le système de protection de nos frontières, la politique migratoire et le droit d'asile. Le système actuel fait porter à quelques-uns toute la charge et ne pourra pas résister aux prochaines **vagues migratoires**. Je crois à une Europe qui se dote de moyens pour protéger ses frontières extérieures, assurer sa sécurité à travers la coopération policière et judiciaire dans sa lutte contre le terrorisme, déployer une organisation commune en matière de droit d'asile et d'immigration, une Europe qui protège contre les dérèglements de la mondialisation. [FR_Macron_2017_06_22]

In example (192), the metaphorical occurrence *vague migratoire*, which is inherently dehumanizing but rather conventionalized, is accompanied by terms that are linked to the semantic field of *protection* (*défense, sécurité, protection, protéger, protège*), which implies that immigration is dangerous. Furthermore, the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE WATER is combined with IMMIGRATION IS A BURDEN, with the use of the noun *charge*, which also encodes a negative axiology. This example is therefore similar to the strategy used by Le Pen and Trump in excerpts (182) and (183), where the surrounding context reinforces the negative axiology of the metaphor.

In some cases, the political opponent's behavior is denounced with a dehumanizing metaphor that is criticized via the surrounding context, as illustrated in example (193).

(193) All this provides fertile terrain for reactionary politicians and demagogues peddling xenophobia, nationalism and isolationism. We see it in Europe. We see it in other parts of the world. And we see it in my home country, where some politicians find it convenient to **scapegoat** immigrants instead of welcoming them; to play to our fears rather than, as Abraham Lincoln said, appeal to our better angels; divide us based on religion or ethnicity rather than unite us on our common humanity; build walls instead of bridges. [US_Biden_2016_06_24]

In excerpt (193), the metaphor at stake relies on the ANIMAL source domain, with the figurative term *scapegoat*, which is used as a verb through a conversion process. As a dehumanizing and negative metaphor, *scapegoat* enables Biden to condemn people who do not intend to welcome immigrants and who use them as a justification to all the problems the country faces. Biden clearly emphasizes the existing political hyperpolarization between the Republicans and the Democrats via the surrounding context, by opposing *fear* to *angels*, *division* to *unity* and *walls* to *bridges*. With the latter, he does not directly mention Trump, but the reference to *walls* is a clear allusion to Trump's promise to build a wall between the U.S. and Mexico. Biden claims that he belongs to the Democratic party by explicitly distinguishing his own rhetoric from Trump's. He

resorts to an ANIMAL metaphor only to highlight that Trump specifically considers immigrants ANIMALS: he uses the negative axiology of the metaphor to denounce the Republicans' presentation of immigrants. Thus, *scapegoat* has two functions here. On the one hand, it enables Biden to criticize the immoral action of his opponent; on the other hand, the second function is more pragmatic: the metaphor underlines the differences between the Democrats' and the Republicans' discourses, which emphasizes the hyperpolarization of the political landscape in the U.S. In this case, the surrounding context contradicts the metaphor.

Metaphors cannot be studied without analyzing their contexts, especially in Democrats' speeches as they frequently resort to IMMIGRATION metaphors to criticize their opponents. Indeed, Biden and Clinton use dehumanizing metaphors, but with reported speech, when they refer to how Trump describes immigrants, as illustrated by excerpt (194):

(194) Donald Trump is temperamentally unfit to be President of the United States. Let's just remember why that is so. In the first weeks of his campaign, he said that immigrants from Mexico are drug dealers, rapists, murderers, **carriers of infectious disease**. [US_Clinton_2016_07_14]

In example (194), Hillary Clinton makes a metalinguistic comment, with the verb *say*, to report and denounce what Trump said about immigrants. She resorts to the DISEASE domain, which compares immigrants to *carriers of infectious diseases*, to disapprove that very negative domain. This excerpt illustrates that an axiologically negative metaphor can be used even though the speaker does not aim to dehumanize immigrants, but to denounce the politicians who resort to it. The context therefore interacts with the source domain so as to precisely denounce its negative axiology.

Finally, the axiologically negative source domains that are used by Trump to refer to immigrants are used by Biden and Clinton to describe Trump in return¹⁴⁹, for instance, with domains such as DISEASE¹⁵⁰ or FIGHT. Let us consider the following examples:

(195) Donald Trump is not a normal presidential candidate. Somebody who **attacks** everybody has something missing. I don't know what it is. I'm not going to get into that. But yesterday he **attacked** a distinguished Marine general, John Allen. He **attacked** the distinguished father of a soldier who sacrificed himself for his unit, Captain Khan. He's **attacked immigrants** and women. He's **attacked** people with disabilities. It's a long list, my friends. [US_Clinton_2016_07_30]

(196) It's unconscionable that the Trump Administration has continued its **attacks** on DACA recipients, especially while our country is battling COVID-19 and many of these young people are **risking their lives** to keep us safe and healthy. Nearly a third of all current DACA recipients are essential workers helping our communities respond to the pandemic. Close to 30,000 of them are **front-line** health-care workers. [US_Biden_2020_07_28]

In excerpt (195), Clinton uses the verb *attack* five times to explain that Trump is the aggressor. Thus, she resorts exactly to the same source domain, namely FIGHT, but with a reversed schema: in this case immigrants are victims and Trump is the one who is assaulting them.

This pattern is also found in example (196) where Biden explains that Trump and his administration *attacked* juvenile immigrants, once again representing him as the oppressor. In addition, Biden also resorts to the WAR frame to talk about the COVID pandemic, which he considers a *battle*. In this context, he conceptualizes some immigrants as soldiers, with the *front-line* metaphor, so as to highlight their bravery faced with the

¹⁴⁹ This pattern has not been observed in the French corpus. Macron does not resort to the source domains Le Pen uses to talk about immigrants to refer to his political opponents.

¹⁵⁰ "Once again, racist rhetoric has **metastasized** into racist violence. Now, it's tempting—it is tempting—to dismiss a tragedy like this as an isolated incident, to believe that in today's America bigotry is largely behind us, that institutionalized racism no longer exists. But despite our best efforts and our highest hopes, America's long struggle with race is far from finished." [US_Clinton_2015_06_20].

virus and the fact that a majority of them are healthcare workers. Excerpt (196) shows how the same source domain can be paradoxically used for opposite purposes and it is only the surrounding context that can guide our interpretation of the metaphor. The noun *attacks* is axiologically negative in this context as it is combined with the adjective *unconscionable* and to the Trump Administration, while the compound *front-line*, in the second part of the example, is combined with the adjectives *safe* and *healthy*, as well as the verb *help*, so as to emphasize the courage of DACA recipients. Excerpt (196) also shows the varieties of linguistic occurrences one source domain can have and how complex metaphorical networks are created, which leads us to analyze how these networks work.

5.2. Repetition of the same source domain: a metaphorical network

5.2.1. Repetition of the same source domain with a variety of linguistic occurrences

Not only does the axiology of the surrounding context interact with one metaphorical occurrence, it is also usually combined with many linguistic forms for the same source domain to create large metaphorical networks that support the negative axiology in nationalist speeches, as illustrated in examples (197), (198), (199), (200) and (201):

(197) La **submersion** programmée de notre continent par les migrants est une atteinte à l'intégrité de nos pays, à leur stabilité, à leur sécurité. Ces gigantesques vagues de migrants que l'Union Européenne laisse **déferler** sur nos côtes, ces millions de migrants que l'UE installe chez nous, dans nos villes et même dans nos villages les plus reculés, cette politique irresponsable scelle la disparition de l'Europe si nous ne l'arrêtons pas. [FR_Le Pen_2018_01_15]

(198) The **flow** of illegal aliens is crashing our immigration system and **overwhelming** our country. [US_Trump_2019_04_09]

(199) L'hôpital qui voit **peser** de surcroît sur lui le **poids** d'une immigration de plus en plus **lourde** à assumer. [FR_Le Pen_2016_12_09]

(200) Mais nous mettrons fin aussi à l'immigration clandestine, qui **pèse lourdement** sur nos finances publiques. L'immigration clandestine accroît l'insécurité, elle mobilise nos forces de l'ordre, elle augmente nos dépenses de sécurité : on l'a encore vu, aujourd'hui, à Grande Synthe. Elle **pèse** aussi sur notre système social ! [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_13]

(201) **Mass illegal migration** is unfair, unsafe, and unsustainable for everyone involved: the sending countries and the depleted countries. And they become depleted very fast, but their youth is not taken care of and human capital goes to waste. The receiving countries are **overburdened with more migrants** than they can responsibly accept. [US_Trump_2019_09_24]

In excerpt (197), Le Pen uses the *submersion* metaphorical occurrence and then extends this WATER metaphor with the noun *vagues*, in the plural form, and then the verb *déferler*. In excerpt (198), Trump starts by using *flow* and then extends the metaphor with *overwhelm*. In both examples, the extended metaphors reinforce the negative axiology of the excerpt, which is emphasized by the negatively connoted terms that surround the different metaphorical occurrences, with terms such as *atteinte*, *irresponsable*, *disparition* in French and *crashing* in English. The axiologically negative WATER domain is thus used with several linguistic forms and the combination of each of these forms is itself reinforced by a negative surrounding context .

This pattern does not only apply to the WATER domain; BURDEN is also concerned, as can be seen in examples (199), (200) and (201). In example (199), Le Pen uses the BURDEN metaphor with three different linguistic occurrences (*peser*, *poids*, *lourde*) to blame immigrants for the difficulties French faces. The three metaphorical occurrences convey a negative axiology which is not reinforced by any term in the context: the three metaphors are enough to reinforce one another. In excerpt (200), the pattern is different as the surrounding context, particularly with the noun *insécurité*, is here to highlight the negative axiology of the two metaphorical occurrences. The metaphor *peser* is reinforced

by the metaphorical adverb *lourdement*, and their negative axiology is stressed by the surrounding context.

In example (201), Trump also resorts to several metaphorical occurrences that encode the axiologically negative BURDEN domain. With the verb *overburden*, Trump insists on how much pressure immigration puts on the countries, by adding the prefix-*over* and using the comparative *more* as well as the noun *waste*. Furthermore, Trump resorts to the *mass migration* metaphor and uses the privative prefix *un-* three times at the beginning of the example, with the negatively connoted adjectives *unfair*, *unsafe*, and *unsustainable*. The combination of the two different metaphorical occurrences (*mass* and *overburden*) with a term that has acquired a negative semantic prosody contributes to creating a metaphorical network that conveys a negative image of immigration.

The variety of metaphorical linguistic forms also depends on the politician (see Chapter 4). Le Pen and Trump tend to resort to many varied forms for the same source domain while Biden, Clinton and Macron generally use the same. The use of many different occurrences also contributes to building large metaphorical networks at the discourse scale. In addition, these varied linguistic forms are often combined with a gradation process which is itself often highlighted by intensifiers, as described in the next section (5.2.2.).

5.2.2. Repetition of the same source domain with a gradation process

One of the main distinctions between the nationalist politicians, namely Trump and Le Pen, and the other politicians of the corpus is the use of amplification processes. Two types can be distinguished: the basic use of intensifiers to enhance the metaphor (see examples (202) and (203)) on the one hand and the gradual use of more negative linguistic forms on the other (see examples (204), (205) and (206)). Although Le Pen and

Trump both use the two types, Trump particularly relies on the first one while Le Pen tends to prefer the second strategy. Let us consider the following occurrences to illustrate this observation:

(202) I am going to bring back millions of jobs. Protecting our workers also means reforming our system of legal immigration. The current, outdated system depresses wages for our poorest workers and puts great pressure on taxpayers. [US_Trump_2017_02_28]

(203) Years of uncontrolled immigration have placed enormous pressure on the jobs and wages of working families, and they've put great burdens on local schools and hospitals. [US_Trump_2017_08_22]

Examples (202) and (203) shows how Trump resorts to adjectives such as *great* or *enormous* to modify the metaphorical nouns *pressure* and *burden* by strengthening them, thus intensifying their negative axiology. These occurrences were expected as they corroborate the results of the keyness analysis (see Figure 49), which showed *great* is one of Trump's favorite keywords (8th positive keyword compared to AmE06). The use of such intensifiers adds to the already negative axiology of both excerpts and to all the other previously observed phenomena. One can note the repetition of the same source domain (BURDEN) with two distinct linguistic occurrences (the verb *burden* and the noun *pressure*) as well as plain negative surrounding context with terms such as *outdated*, *depresses*, *poorest* or *uncontrolled*.

However, the real specificity observed for the nationalist politicians is more complex than the basic use of modifiers. Le Pen and Trump not only strengthen the negative axiology of IMMIGRATION metaphors, they also use linguistic occurrences where the cursor of negativity and violence is pushed to its maximum, as illustrated in the following examples:

(204) The sheer volume of illegal immigration has overwhelmed Federal authorities and **stretched** our immigration system **beyond the breaking point**. [US_Trump_2019_01_25]

(205) Le torrent migratoire est en train de balayer nos systèmes sociaux, fait **exploser** tout le système pénal, et porte atteinte à l'unité de la nation. [FR_Le Pen_2019_10_07]

(206) Je souhaite que ce déplacement soit l'occasion d'évoquer les enjeux et les défis que nous devons relever ici dans un contexte qui certes a profondément changé et j'y reviendrai, mais qui depuis des années est celui d'une **pression migratoire forte**. [FR_Macron_2018_01_16]

Charteris-Black (2006: 578) showed that CONTAINER metaphors are related to PRESSURE, as already mentioned in Chapter 4. The corpus analysis confirmed his results: Macron, who is considered a center-right politician, tends to use PRESSURE metaphors, while nationalist politicians, such as Le Pen or Trump, go further and talk about reaching the critical point and the explosion of the CONTAINER, as illustrated by examples (204), (205) and (206). In excerpt (206), Macron uses the noun *pression* and modifies it with the adjective *forte* so as to convey the idea of quantity. According to him, too many immigrants are coming, which is why the pressure on the borders of the CONTAINER is strong. Nevertheless, the axiology of the excerpt is not totally negative as he considers the topic of immigration a challenge (*défis, enjeux*). In example (204), as we move towards the right of the global political spectrum, Trump also mentions PRESSURE, with the verb *stretch*, and goes further by mentioning the *breaking point* and even saying it has been exceeded, with the preposition *beyond*. The idea that is conveyed is the same, but stronger: immigrants cannot be welcomed anymore, which justifies the restrictive immigration policies he implemented as soon as he entered the White House. Finally, excerpt (205) shows the amplification of the phenomenon at its maximum since Le Pen does not even mention pressure but directly evokes the breaking point, with the verb *exploser*. In example (205), the notion of explosion is associated with a WATER metaphor (*torrent*) and implies that the French legal system cannot stand immigration any longer, which is then extended to the nation's unity.

While CONTAINER is the most productive source domain in the corpus to talk about immigration, the gradation phenomenon is particularly used with WATER metaphors, the second most productive domain. The terms *flux*, *flot*, *flow*, *wave*, *vague* are used by all the politicians of the corpus and their complete axiology also depends on the axiology of the context. In other words, it depends on whether the speaker intends to express a nationalist ideology or not. These terms are inherently dehumanizing: they emphasize the notions of direction, proportion, and strength (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2011), as mentioned in Chapter 4. They are described by an entity that is continuous rather than discrete. Nevertheless, these metaphorical occurrences depict rather ordinary (they do not refer to natural catastrophes) and horizontal (they can be represented on the x axis) movements of liquids, while the most salient difference between politicians concerning LIQUID metaphors is that Le Pen and Trump predominantly use occurrences that refer to violent (*déferl**, *surge*, etc.) and/or vertical (*overwhelm**, *submer**, *pour**) movements of WATER. As shown in Chapter 4, *submer** is the most frequent LIQUID metaphor for Le Pen, with 18 occurrences, as illustrated in (207) and (208):

(207) Communautarisme, droit du Travail éclaté, domination de l'économie par les grands groupes, inégalités dans l'accès aux services publics, soumission aux oligarchies, **submersion migratoire**, la disparition des communes privées de leurs ressources fiscales, le pays que veut Monsieur Macron n'est plus la France. Ce n'est d'ailleurs plus un pays, c'est un espace, un terrain vague, une salle de marchés où il n'y a plus que des consommateurs et des producteurs, ce n'est plus une nation mais une société multiculturelle éclatée. [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_27]

(208) Or ces cultures si flamboyantes sont attaquées par le haut avec l'uniformisation forcée, et par le bas par le multiculturalisme lié à **l'immigration-submersion**. [FR_Le Pen_2019_05_01]

*Pour** is the most frequent lemma for Trump, with 37 occurrences, as can be seen in examples (209) and (210):

(209) We're going to suspend immigration from terror-prone regions where vetting cannot safely occur. And if you look at Syria and the migration, we're taking in thousands and thousands of people into our country. We have no idea who they are, what their thought process is, where they come from and Hillary Clinton wants to increase the number of those thousands and thousands currently **pouring** by 550%. Radical, Islamic terror is right around the corner. We have to be so tough, so smart, so vigilant. [US_Trump_2016_10_22]

(210) A vote for House Democrats is truly a vote for open borders, people **pouring** into our country, **pouring** in. [US_Trump_2018_03_20]

In excerpt (207), Le Pen's point is to show France is not France anymore. She uses many negatively connoted terms, such as *domination*, *soumission* or *disparition*, which are associated with the metaphor *submersion migratoire* so as to justify her intention to limit immigration. In example (208), she goes further in the gradation process and creates the compound *immigration-submersion*. The use of this compound is telling since it shows the politician associates the two nouns with even more strength than with the structure [NOUN + ADJ], as it becomes one entity. The existence of such a neologism in her discourse shows a perfect linguistic transcription of the cognitive fusion she makes between IMMIGRATION and NATURAL CATASTROPHE. The source and the target domains are reunited in one linguistic entity: the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRATION IS WATER does not even work here since IMMIGRATION = WATER. Furthermore, the definition of submersion is axiologically negative and implies suffering that leads to death. According to the *OED*, it refers to "the action or an act of submerging something; the state or condition of being submerged; suffocation; drowning; immersion; inundation". Besides, the noun *submersion*¹⁵¹ is itself composed of a prefix¹⁵² and a root that both encode a downward movement. The prefix *sub-* means *under* and the Proto-Indo-European root **merg* means *plunge* or *sink*. With

¹⁵¹ Etymonline: https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=submerge&ref=searchbar_searchhint.

¹⁵² *Submersion* constitutes a specific case of prefixation, as *-mersion* is not an autonomous base.

submersion, the WATER metaphor, which is inherently negative and dehumanizing, is reinforced by another one: the conceptual metaphor DOWN IS BAD (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Moreover, the noun comes from Latin *submergere*, which metaphorically means *erase*. The use of the noun *submersion* echoes the Burgers, Steen and Konijn's (2016) findings about the term *tsunami*: "This frame builds on a conventional metaphor comparing immigration to waves. At the same time, the metaphoric wave is hyperbolically extended into the largest wave possible, a tsunami. Such frames make an abstract concept like immigration concrete through metaphor, while simultaneously exaggerating the impact through hyperbole." The notion of erasure is an idea that also appears through LIQUID metaphors in Le Pen's discourse and which is related to the conspiracy theory of the so-called "grand remplacement"¹⁵³ that emerged again in 2010, but that was born in the 19th century¹⁵⁴. This belief consists in saying that Europeans are going to be "replaced" by immigrants who mainly come from Africa. It is usually linked to nationalist and xenophobic ideologies and is frequently expressed by WATER metaphors with terms such as *dissolution* or *dilution* in Le Pen's discourse, as illustrated by the two following excerpts:

(211) Ce sont ces organisations de toute origine et de toute nature, qui font si bien le jeu des trafiquants en appelant à l'ouverture des frontières, à l'accueil des réfugiés, à la **dissolution des peuples** et des cultures dans un grand tout indifférencié ! [FR_Le Pen_2017_03_14]

(212) Ce traité qu'Emmanuel Macron s'apprête à signer comme celui de Marrakech qu'il a approuvé de manière clandestine et honteuse constituent l'illustration de son projet pour l'Europe : un projet qui fait disparaître le peuple français par **la dilution migratoire** qu'il organise,

¹⁵³ This belief was particularly developed by the far-right author Renaud Camus. Further studies would be needed to determine whether the metaphors nurture this belief or not.

¹⁵⁴ <https://www.slate.fr/story/225831/grand-remplacement-theorie-origine-ideologie-renaud-camus-documentaire-lebourg-zribi>.

un projet qui entérine la sortie de la France de l'histoire. [FR_Le Pen_2019_01_19]

If we look at the surrounding context (*honteuse, disparaître*, etc.) in the two examples, the WATER metaphors, combined with a negative axiology, enable Le Pen to refer to the notion of dilution, and thus of deletion, with the use of IMMIGRANTS AS WATER. According to her, the French population is diluted with immigrants, which means the French culture is threatened by immigrants. Once again, the fear of change is predominant. Furthermore, the process of dilution also implies the dangerous idea of “purity”: a product is logically less pure if water is added to it. This is suggested by the definition of dilution in the *OED*: “The action of diluting; a making thin, fluid, or weaker by the admixture of water or other reducing substance; watering down.” The axiology of the gradation is thus clearly negative as *dilution* echoes the disappearance of the French culture.

The gradation phenomenon has also been observed for the metaphors describing the borders of France or the United States. Le Pen and Trump often describe borders as *colanders* or *filters*:

(213) Elle est là la terrible réalité : une fois le gratin international parti, le peuple français sera de nouveau livré à lui-même, avec les mêmes **frontières passoirs** qui seront traversées par toujours plus d'immigrés clandestins où se cacheront toujours plus de terroristes. [FR_Le Pen_2015_11_28]

(214) Je le rappelle, la frontière n'est pas un mur, elle est un **filtre**, elle ne règle pas tout, mais son absence aggrave considérablement notre vulnérabilité. [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_27]

(215) We will continue to work with friends and allies to deny radical Islamic terrorists any funding, territory, or support, or any means of **infiltrating our borders**. [US_Trump_2018_09_25]

According to Auboussier (2017), *colander* metaphors enable two different strategies. Firstly, thanks to them, the speaker can stigmatize the political opponent for their permissiveness and political irresponsibility. These metaphors show what Razac (2013) calls a poor management of permeability¹⁵⁵. Secondly, they enable the speaker to use LIQUID as a source domain once again. The function of a colander is to drain food by removing excessive, and usually dirty, LIQUIDS from it. Moreover, examples (213) and (214) show that these inherently dysphemistic metaphors are usually surrounded by terms with a negative axiology (*terroristes, aggraver, vulnérabilité*, etc.). The notion of filter is often associated with terrorism: Le Pen and Trump play on fears and suggest that some terrorists pretend to be immigrants and *infiltrate* the country, which calls for the notion of intrusion (see section 4.1. about CONTAINER metaphors), as can be seen in excerpt (215). In Le Pen's speeches, the *porous* borders follow a gradation pattern since the colander becomes *floodgates*, the equivalent of *vannes* in French, while Trump directly uses *floodgates* without using the metaphor on a smaller scale:

(216) Biden's deadly migration policies will **overwhelm** taxpayers and open the **floodgates** to terrorists, jihadists, and violent extremists. [US_Trump_2020_10_30]

(217) C'est l'histoire d'un renoncement, d'un abandon. La France, le pays des droits de l'homme, le pays de la liberté, le pays de l'égalité, a renoncé à ce message exigeant mais universel qu'elle adressait au monde ! En ouvrant grand **les vannes de l'immigration**, en arrêtant de demander des efforts à ceux qui venaient sur notre sol en renonçant à l'assimilation, par nature individuelle, pour une intégration qu'on pensait collective et qui a nourri le terreau du communautarisme. [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_05]

The main objective of such metaphors is to blame political opponents and to emphasize the so-called facility with which immigrants enter the country. They are once again

¹⁵⁵ « Gestion de la perméabilité » in French.

accompanied by negatively connoted terms (*deadly, violent, terrorists, renoncement*, etc.) that reinforce the dysphemistic dimension of the discourse since the goal is to criticize the political opponents, as with the dysphemistic metaphor of the *highway* in (218):

(218) Ce même M. Macron qui est allé en Allemagne récemment pour dire toute l'admiration qu'il avait pour l'accueil de 1,5 million de migrants outre-Rhin, puis va en Algérie accuser la France du pire des crimes : d'un crime contre l'humanité, afin de justifier **l'autoroute** migratoire qu'il veut instaurer entre Alger et Paris. [FR_Le Pen_2017_02_26]

These metaphors correspond to an amplification which consists in pushing the negative axiology of the WATER metaphor to its extreme, with a gradation process (Jamet and Lafiandra, 2023). The gradation phenomenon can be related to Potts's *et al.* (2016: 93) notion of "superlativeness" since immigration is "discursively constructed as being of high intensity or large scope", which is the main characteristic of IMMIGRATION metaphors in the nationalist corpora: *flux* becomes *submersion*, *vague* becomes *déferlante*, *porous borders* become *floodgates*, *roads* become *highways*. As noted by Van Der Valk (2003: 332): "Metaphors often occur in a discursive context of formulations or combined with other rhetorical figures such as repetitions." Thus, the gradation phenomenon reinforces the negative axiology of the source domain, which is already emphasized by modifiers and the negative axiology of the surrounding context.

Moreover, many of these particularly dysphemistic metaphors that are involved in a gradation process rely on the orientational metaphor DOWN IS BAD described by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 14-21). In the American corpus, the most frequent WATER metaphorical occurrence is *pour** (37 occurrences), which is only used by Trump. *Pour** is similar to *submer** in the sense that it also encodes a movement that is both abnormal and downward, relying on the conceptual orientational metaphor DOWN IS BAD.

(219) And the Democrats want radical socialism, and they want open borders where everybody pours into our country. [US_Trump_2018_10_12]

In excerpt (219), *pour*, and its combination with the pronoun *everybody*, highlights the uncontainable aspect of immigration: it is feasible to prevent water from coming from the sea by erecting a dam, it is practically difficult to avoid WATER that comes straightforwardly from above. *Submer** and *pour** therefore work following the same negative axiology: they both encode too large a quantity of WATER (contrary to *wave* or *flow*) and refer to a downward movement. The use of the lemma *submer** in French can also be compared to that of *overwhelm** in English, which is frequently resorted to by Trump, as seen in example (185).

This strategy is similar to the one Trump uses with *flood**, which is often used as a verb to denounce the Democrats, in expressions such as *they'll flood our street with immigrants*. In this type of expression, the Democrats are the agents, as in the following prototypical example:

(220) **Democrats** want to open borders, which equals massive crime. **Republicans** want strong border, and we want no crime. We don't want crime. **Democrat** support sanctuary cities, cities of crime. **They'll flood our streets with criminal aliens** and violent gangs. **Republicans** believe that our country should be a sanctuary for law-abiding Americans, not criminal aliens. [US_Trump_2018_09_21]

Excerpt (220) illustrates the hyperpolarization that characterizes the American political system. Trump emphasizes the dichotomy between the Democrats and the Republicans, associating the Democrats to criminal aliens and accusing them of being the origin of a migratory *flood*. This phenomenon dehumanizes immigrants even more as they are not agents anymore and the already existing dichotomies are reinforced. Trump alternatively starts each sentence with *Democrats* or *Republicans* and then opposes each notion with its negative form (crime vs. no crime), thus emphasizing the dichotomy Us (Republicans) vs. Them (Democrats).

If the notion of “critical point” described by Charteris-Black (2006: 578) for CONTAINER metaphors is applied to WATER metaphors, the corpus shows that nationalist politicians (Le Pen and Trump) not only reach the critical point but exceed it, concerning both magnitude and directions. On the one hand, the WATER used by Trump and Le Pen to frame immigrants is multidirectional (it can also come from above) and often encodes an abnormal and violent flux, while, on the other hand, Biden, Clinton and Macron tend to mainly resort to unidirectional (only horizontal) WATER movements with terms that refer to rather usual flux (*flow, wave, etc.*) The combination of WATER IMMIGRATION metaphors to the orientational metaphor DOWN IS BAD contributes to the gradation phenomenon. However, this is also the case for BURDEN metaphors. The intensification is even stronger when politicians refer to a violent and sudden type of *pressure* with the verb *crash*, as already seen in example (198). The verb *crash* implies that a violent and downward force is applied to an object. As a result, the object is reduced to nothing, it is flattened. Thus, the metaphor DOWN IS BAD is once again associated with the IMMIGRATION metaphor. In excerpt (198) Trump blames illegal immigrants, because, according to him, immigrants are the reason why America is reduced to nothing.

Furthermore, Trump and Le Pen tend to extend the metaphors they use more often than their political opponents, as illustrated by the two aforementioned examples (197) and (198): the extension of these metaphors can be included in the gradation process.

Finally, CONTAINER metaphors are also subject to amplification procedures. This is the case of the metaphor of the *door*, which triggers three possibilities that can be coded. The *door* can be described with its basic function as it can either be open [examples (221) and (222)] or closed [examples (221) and (223)], or completely absent with no clear demarcation between the inside and the outside [examples (224) and (225)]. In excerpts (221) and (222) the door of the host country, which is thus a building, is open. In example

(222), Trump uses this metaphor to criticize Obama's immigration policy and highlight the dichotomy between the Democrats, who want to open the door, and the Republicans, who intend to close it. The notion of openness thus emphasizes the polarization between politicians¹⁵⁶ who explicitly intend to restrict immigration and others. In example (221), Le Pen deliberately resorts to the metaphor of the *HOUSE* and extends it by mentioning that French people should have the keys of the door. She quotes all the functional possibilities of the doors (*open, half-open or closed*) but the last part of the excerpt clarifies the option she would choose would be closing the door. The use of negations, the repetition of *aucune*, as well as the verb *expulser*, which inherently refers to the binarity of the *CONTAINER* metaphor with the Latin word-forming *ex-*, meaning "out of", all highlight the fact that Le Pen plans to close French borders.

(221) Nous sommes propriétaires de notre territoire, nous devons **avoir les clefs de la maison France pour ouvrir, entrouvrir, fermer la porte**, c'est là une question de bon sens. Je ferai respecter la loi. Cela veut dire tout d'abord qu'aucune, je dis bien aucune, installation sur le sol français ne sera possible sans respecter les règles d'entrée et de séjour dans notre pays. Cela signifie que tous les clandestins seront expulsés. [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_05]

(222) The same people pushing for these wars are often the ones demanding America **open its doors** to unlimited migration from war-torn regions, importing the terrorism and the threat of terrorism right to our own shores. But not anymore. My administration understands that immigration security is national security. [US_Trump_2019_10_23]

The metaphor of the *open or closed door* has two dimensions. It enables the politician a) to represent the host country as a safe home where the owner decides who is welcome or not and b) to simply present their opinion/position about immigration (closed or open =

¹⁵⁶ *Open* is the adjective associated with the Democrat's policy in Trump's discourse. Indeed, he keeps criticizing his Democrat political opponents, and more particularly Clinton, for their "open-door policy", as in the following examples:

Hillary supports totally **open** borders. [US_Trump_2016_11_07].

Hillary is for **open** borders. [US_Trump_2016_10_04; US_Trump_2016_10_05].

Hillary wants totally **open** borders and strongly supports sanctuary cities. [US_Trump_2016_11_02].

Hillary's plan includes an **open** border with the Middle East [US_Trump_2016_10_18].

House Democrats is truly a vote for **open** borders [US_Trump_2018_03_20].

restrictive or pro). Besides, according to Santa Ana (1997: 325), the NATION IS A HOME metaphor is a structuring metaphor as “we’re very protective of our homes. We fear anything that threatens the stability and general welfare of our home [...]”.

Although these metaphors are mostly used by politicians who fundamentally support restrictive immigration policies, they are also found in Macron’s speeches, as illustrated in excerpt (223):

(223) Il y a deux grands projets, aujourd’hui, dans notre pays. Il y a celui qui consiste à dire : « Tout fait peur on va se replier. Mon problème c’est l’autre, ma solution c’est le repli sur soi. Sortir de l’Europe, **fermer** les frontières, et nous replier y compris sur le plus local. » Et puis, il y a un autre projet qui est de dire, oui, tout ça fait peur, ce sont de grandes transformations comme on n’en a jamais vécues. Mais la solution c’est d’être fidèle à notre histoire en réussissant à bâtir justement une solution **ouverte**, pas naïve. [FR_Macron_2019_09_16]

In example (223), Macron resorts to the notion of closing the borders, with conventionalized forms, so as to criticize this point of view and say that openness is the key. Comparing examples (221) and (223) proves that Le Pen tends to use more vivid metaphors and to extend them more than her political opponent. Furthermore, the fundamentally nationalist politicians of the corpus, namely Trump and Le Pen, not only denounce open¹⁵⁷ border policies but go further and make people fear the total disappearance of borders (with occurrences such as *disparaître*, *disparition*, *effacées*, *effacement* in French and *erase* in English), as illustrated in the following examples:

(224) Sanctuary cities, like San Francisco, block their jails from turning over criminal aliens to Federal authorities for deportation. These cities are engaged in the dangerous and unlawful nullification of Federal law in an attempt to **erase** our borders. [US_Trump_2017_04_25]

¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, the same linguistic phenomenon of intensification occurs both in French and English, with the adjective *total* or adverb *totally* that are added by Le Pen and Trump to denounce open-border policies: L’Union européenne nous affaiblit en nous imposant l’**ouverture totale des frontières** [FR_Le Pen_2015_02_05].

Hillary has pledged **totally open borders**, meaning you don't have a country anymore. [US_Trump_2016_11_02_MIAMI].

- (225) À côté de l'immigration légale, il y a les naturalisations, il y a la folle politique d'asile, qui a commencé avec eux d'exploser, il y a l'absence totale de lutte contre l'immigration clandestine, et la volonté farouche de ne pas toucher au dogme européen sacré de **l'effacement** des frontières.
[FR_Le Pen_2017_03_09]

In excerpt (224), Trump criticizes the disappearance of borders with the verb *erase*. The whole example is reinforced by a negative axiology (*criminal, dangerous, unlawful*, etc.) to denounce Democrats who run sanctuary cities. According to him, no border is equivalent to more criminals in the United States. He thus highlights the importance to maintain the host country as a CONTAINER, with the inside only reserved to American citizens. Example (225) follows a similar pattern. Le Pen resorts to the metaphorical term *effacement* to criticize the European immigration policy, and regrets the absence of any fight against illegal immigration, and the absence of a proper COUNTRY AS A CONTAINER, with the use of a negatively connoted linguistic environment (*folle, exploser, lutte*). Two metaphors therefore combine in the same paragraph: IMMIGRANTS ARE SOLDIERS (*lutte, exploser*, which involves the notion of *pressure*), and THE HOST COUNTRY IS (not) A CONTAINER anymore¹⁵⁸.

In many cases, the negative axiology is reinforced by the combination of two different source domains. For instance, BURDEN and WATER are domains that often go together in the corpus, but other domains are often combined to highlight the inherently negative dimension of the metaphor, which is what will be studied in the next section.

5.3. Combination of several source domains

Firstly, CONTAINER metaphors are often associated with the WAR or the FIGHT domain. As developed in Chapter 4, Chilton (1994) explained that CONTAINER metaphors are simple

¹⁵⁸ The deletion of the country itself is what Trump denounces (see example in the previous footnote).

and deeply ingrained in people's minds as they rely on a binary system: there is an inside (the host country) and an outside. The notion of *border* is linked to geopolitics and is rather abstract when it does not physically correspond to a natural element such as a mountain or the sea. In that case, it is the metaphorical framing of the borders that materializes the separation between the inside and the outside. In textbooks, they are represented as a fine line; in the corpus they take the form of *barriers*, *doors*, *gates*, *shutters*, etc. Let us consider the following examples:

(226) And to address the specific terrorism concerns we are talking about now; we've instituted another layer of checks just for Syrian refugees. There is no possibility of being overwhelmed by a flood of refugees landing on our **doorstep** tomorrow. [US_Biden_2015_11_21]

(227) We spend billions and billions of dollars on security all over the world, but then we allow radical Islamic terrorists to enter right through our front **door**. That's not going to happen anymore. [US_Trump_2017_04_28]

In excerpts (226) and (227) from the American corpus, the two politicians use the noun *door* in a context related to terrorism. They conceptualize America as a safe building with doors, the doors being the borders of the country. The context of terrorism makes the metaphor of the INVADER emerge: immigrants are seen as a threat, which is why the door needs to be closed.

WAR metaphors are also frequently combined with the ANIMAL source domain, as can be seen in the following example:

(228) That's why we need more Republicans. But they come in and -- Long Island, we send ICE and they get in there and they get them out, and it's like we're *liberating* a town. In this day and age, it's like in a war, where, you know, you're a foreign invader -- a foreign invader, finally, is being taken out. They're liberating a country or liberating a city or town. These people are liberating these towns. And you know the story, and you've heard it, it's all over. They cut people up because they don't want to use bullets, it's too fast and it's not painful enough. And then when I said, "**Animals!**" Nancy Pelosi said, "How dare you speak that way about a human being. How dare you." Right? This woman just said it to me. She screamed out of the word animal, so how dare you call them. "They're

human beings and not” -- these are **animals**, folks. These are **animals**.
[US_Trump_2018_10_06]

In excerpt (228), Trump resorts to the hypernym *animal** four times to refer to Salvadoran members of Mara Salvatrucha, whose initial goal was to protect immigrants from Salvador. He makes meta-discursive comments (*said, speak, word, call*) to justify the use of the term *animal* and criticizes his Democrat opponent and speaker of the House of Representatives, Nancy Pelosi, for having complained about this very word. She said it was wrong to use it to describe human beings. Even though the analysis relies on a transcription of the speech, the exclamation and quotation marks as well as the meta-discourse and direct address to the audience (*folks*) clearly signal that the metaphor is deliberate. Trump intends to emphasize the aggressiveness of animals and transfer this characteristic feature to the members of the gang. It echoes the beginning of the excerpt with the lexical fields of WAR and INVASION: according to him border patrols (ICE agents) have to face soldiers (immigrants).

However, the two domains that are often found in combination in Le Pen’s, Trump’s but also Macron’s speeches are BURDEN and WATER, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (229) La réalité, peu médiatisée, c’est que les propos irresponsables du chef de l’État en matière d’immigration ont eu pour conséquence, en quelques jours, un **afflux massif** de migrants notamment dans le Calais. [FR_Le Pen_2018_02_04]
- (230) Le sujet de la réunion du jour était donc celui des migrations et des **flux migratoires illégaux et massifs** que nous connaissons depuis plusieurs années et qui affectent chacun de nos pays de façon très différente mais qui nous déstabilisent tous parce que nous ne sommes pas parvenus à les maîtriser et que nous continuons à les subir. [FR_Macron_2017_08_28]
- (231) Together, we are going to deliver real change that puts America First. We are going to renegotiate our terrible trade deals, end illegal immigration, stop **the massive inflow of refugees**, reduce surging crime, cut taxes and regulations, unleash job-producing American energy, rebuild our military and take care of our Vets, and repeal and replace the disaster known as Obamacare. [US_Trump_2016_10_21]

(232) Mexico's passive cooperation in allowing this **mass incursion** constitutes an **emergency** and **extraordinary threat** to the national security and economy of the United States. Mexico has very strong immigration laws and could easily **halt** the **illegal flow of migrants**, including by returning them to their home countries. Additionally, Mexico could quickly and easily **stop** illegal aliens from coming through its southern border with Guatemala. [US_Trump_2019_05_30]

In example (229), the metaphorical occurrence *afflux massif* enables Le Pen to combine two different conceptual metaphors: IMMIGRANTS ARE WATER (*afflux*) and IMMIGRATION IS A BURDEN (with the adjective *massif*)¹⁵⁹. Example (230) is similar, Macron also uses terms with a negative axiology (*affecte, déstabilise, subir*) and combines the BURDEN and WATER source domains by modifying the noun *flux* with the adjective *massive*, so as to describe migratory movements. This linguistic strategy that consists in using both BURDEN and WATER metaphors in the same excerpt is also resorted to by Trump. In occurrence (231), he modifies the noun *inflow* (WATER) with the adjective *massive* (BURDEN), so as to suggest the notion of invasion and to criticize Obama's term. The negative axiology of the WATER metaphor is thus reinforced by its combination with the BURDEN domain as well as with the negative context (*terrible, crime, disaster*). The negative axiology of example (232) is even stronger as the WATER metaphor of the *flow* is combined with negative terms, such as *threat* or *emergency*, as well as with the domain of WAR (*intrusion*) and the IMMIGRATION IS A BURDEN metaphor (*mass*). Moreover, the verbs *stop* and *halt* encode a terminative aspect that enables Trump to justify his restrictive immigration policies.

In some cases, the second domain is not metaphorically realized but lexically. In excerpt (233), the BURDEN domain (*de masse*) is combined with terms related to the financial aspect of immigration. The lexical field of money (*coûte, fortune, gratuit*,

¹⁵⁹ The compound "immigration-submersion", which has already been mentioned, is also a good illustration of the combination phenomenon. Here, the WATER metaphor is associated with IMMIGRATION IS A FIGHT / IMMIGRANTS ARE SOLDIERS with the verb *attaquer*. Or ces cultures si flamboyantes sont attaquées par le haut avec l'uniformisation forcée, et par le bas par le multiculturalisme lié à l'**immigration-submersion**. [FR_Le Pen_2019_05_01].

côtisations, dérembourse, économies, impôts, etc.) as well as the dichotomy Us vs. Them, which becomes You vs. Them with direct addresses to the audience (2nd person pronouns, *vous* and determiners, *vos*) and which is reinforced by the anaphora *oui, les étrangers*, contribute to blaming immigrants for being the only cause of French economic problems in Le Pen's speeches.

(233) Oui, **l'immigration de masse** nous coûte une fortune, elle vous coûte une fortune. Parce que les étrangers ont accès sans restriction à notre très généreux système de protection sociale, à tous les minima sociaux, à la CAF, au RSA, à l'école gratuite, aux aides au logement, au logement social et parfois même aux transports en commun gratuits ! Oui, les étrangers ont plus souvent recours aux minima sociaux que les Français. Oui, les étrangers sont aujourd'hui prioritaires dans l'accès aux HLM car ils représentent 6 % de la population mais 12 % des attributions annuelles de HLM. Quant à vous, aucun droit supplémentaire, si ce n'est celui de payer toujours plus. On augmente vos cotisations, on augmente vos impôts, on réduit vos aides, on dérembourse nos médicaments et on supprime vos services publics. Ce n'est pas juste. [...] Oui, je supprimerai l'AME, et toutes ces dépenses induites par **l'immigration de masse** : ce sont 9 milliards d'économies possibles selon l'OCDE ! Oui, nous ferons toutes ces économies pour que vous ne soyez plus obligés de vous serrer la ceinture. [FR_Le Pen_2017_04_13]

As shown in the analysis of collocations (see Chapter 3), Trump often uses the lemma *migr* in collocation with the nouns *chain* or *lottery*. 96 CHAIN metaphors and 31 LOTTERY metaphors were spotted, only in Trump's discourse. Both metaphors represent the immigration system as an object, and are often used together. They are both used to justify Trump's restrictive immigration policy but they rely on different characteristics. Let us consider the following example:

(234) We will fully secure the border. We will pass case law, crack down on sanctuary cities, **end** the **visa lottery** and **chain migration**, defend the ballot box for American citizens, and throw vicious MS-13 gangs the hell out of our country, like we're doing right now. [US_Trump_2018_10_12]

In excerpt (234), migration is a CHAIN that has to be broken, as if immigration was spreading like a virus. The CHAIN metaphor could also be considered a medical one and be compared to the CHAIN of an infection, which would probably lead to the conceptual

metaphor IMMIGRATION IS A DISEASE or IMMIGRATION IS AN INFECTION or even IMMIGRATION IS CONTAGIOUS since the spread of immigration is similarly represented as the spread of a virus, with different modes, as developed in the next section.

5.4. Combination of modes

The final and perhaps more complex pattern emphasizing the negative axiology of IMMIGRATION metaphors is the combination not only of different source domains but also of different modes. Once again, this pattern does not erase all the others but combines with them, emphasizing the negative aspects of the original metaphor even more. It has only been observed in Le Pen's and Trump's respective corpus.

Let us take the example of CHAIN metaphors, which are frequently used by Trump (96 occurrences in the corpus). The CHAIN metaphor echoes Khosravinik's (2010) notions of "aggregation, collectivisation and functionalisation processes". Khosravinik (2010: 13) writes that these processes refer to linguistic procedures with which immigrants "are systematically referred to and constructed as one unanimous group with all sharing similar characteristics, backgrounds, intentions, motivations and economic status or reducing these groups to their functions e.g., 'entrants'". That type of process could particularly be found on graphs and pictures posted on the White House's website during the Trump administration. The CHAIN metaphor was then multimodal since it was not only linguistic but also visual, as illustrated by the two following figures (Figure 63 and Figure 64):

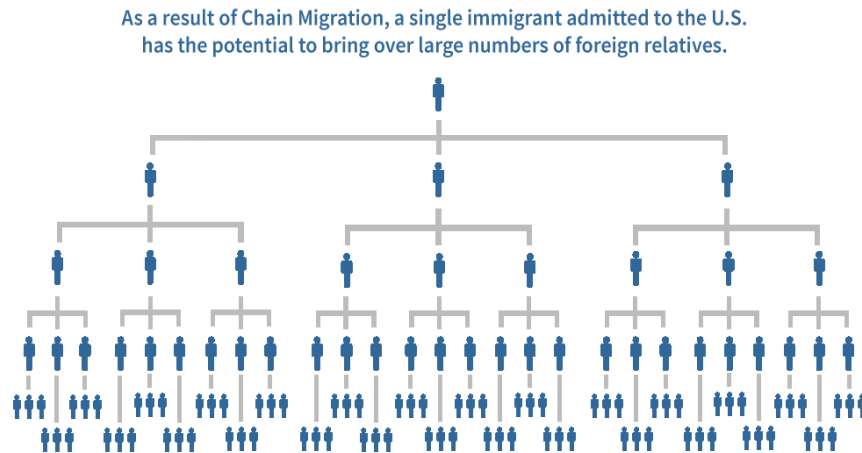


Figure 63. Chain migration family tree (<https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/articles/time-end-chain-migration/>)

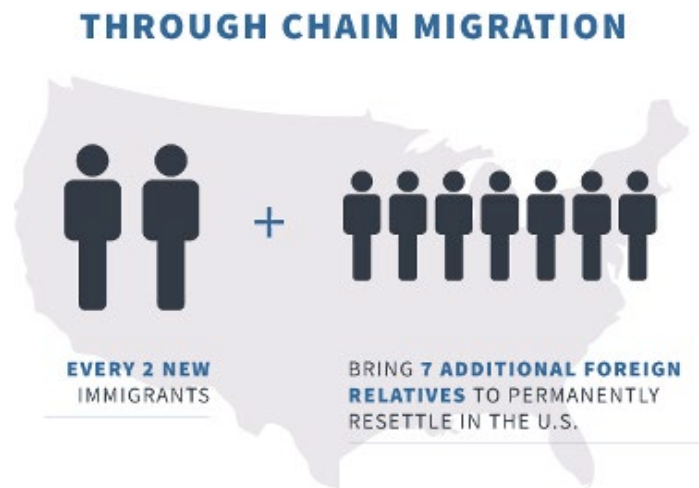


Figure 64. Chain migration map (<https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/articles/time-end-chain-migration/>)

In Figure 63, we can see the visual metaphor of the CHAIN: the connections between immigrants are symbolized as if it were a genealogy chart. The different lines drawn between the characters correspond to the links of the CHAIN. The great number of lines illustrates the title of the diagram and more particularly the *large number* of immigrants. The objective of this diagram is to emphasize quantity, similarly to Figure 64 where two immigrants are supposed to bring seven relatives to the U.S. However, this information contradicts Figure 63, where two immigrants bring six supplementary relations. Figure 63's representation echoes the CHAIN of an infection since immigrants are multiplied as if they carried a contagious disease. The representation is thus axiologically negative, which

is reinforced by a dehumanizing representation of immigrants with geometric silhouettes: a dot for the head and rectangles for the arms and legs. Moreover, they have no color, no gender and no faces” which is also dehumanizing.

The other key metaphor Trump uses in collocation with **migr** is: IMMIGRATION IS LOTTERY (31 occurrences). Although its status as a metaphor can be debatable since a random drawing¹⁶⁰ does exist for “foreign nationals of countries with low rates of immigration to the U.S.”, the LOTTERY metaphor frames immigrants as OBJECTS, and more particularly numbers written on chips. Thus, IMMIGRATION IS LOTTERY is encompassed in the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRATION IS A GAME and contributes to the process of dehumanization and collectivisation of immigrants described by Khosravini (2010). Let us consider the following example:

(235) And for all of the companies that are moving back into the United States, we will finally have a merit-based system of immigration. Not just lump—not a **lottery**, **pick them out of a hat**. Who the hell are they? Who is he? **Pick them out of a hat**. We’re letting people come in on merit, where they can help you, where they can help these companies grow. Right now, we have a system, **lottery**, a **lottery**. Think of it, **lottery**. Oh, pick ‘em, I wonder? What people do you think these countries are putting in? Do you think they’re putting in their finest? [US_Trump_2018_10_12]

In excerpt (235), Trump’s strategy is to highlight his belief that immigration is not under control, with the repetition of the noun *lottery* (4 times). According to Trump, it is wrong to select immigrants as arbitrarily as the chips of a tombola because you cannot know who is going to come. His solution is to choose immigrants on a “merit-based system”. The metaphor of the *lottery* is reinforced by that of the *hat*, which is also dehumanizing. The *hat* implies that immigrants are randomly selected tokens or even animals, especially rabbits¹⁶¹.

¹⁶⁰ <https://www.usa.gov/green-cards>.

¹⁶¹ It can refer to the well-known magic trick where the performer produces a rabbit out of a top hat.

To support the LOTTERY metaphor even more, Trump also uses gestures, as can be seen in the following screenshot:



Figure 65. "They come in by lottery" [US_Trump_2017_12_15], CNN (Lafiandra, 2020: 15)

In Figure 65, Trump mimics someone who holds the button of a lottery machine. In this case, his gesture is a non-verbal device that is associated with the linguistic metaphor in a multimodal tactic. As a consequence, his negative statement is made even stronger: the lottery system is ridiculous and has to be replaced by one based on merit.

When modes are combined, the dehumanization is stronger as immigrants are pictured as objects or waste, as can be seen in the following visual (Figure 66) and linguistic (236) examples:

- (236) We want border security. We don't want people in our country that don't go through a process. We want people in our country based on merit. Not based on a draw, where other countries put their absolute worst in a **bin**, and they start drawing people; where you think they're going to put their good ones? They don't put their good ones. They put their bad ones. And then, when they commit crimes, we're so surprised.
[US_Trump_2018_06_22]



Figure 66. “Do you think they are giving us their best people? No (laughter). They give us their worst people, they put them in a *bin*” [US_Trump_2017_12_15] (Lafiandra, 2020: 9)

In excerpt (236), which accompanies Figure 66, Trump wants his voters to believe that people who come to the U.S. are sent by the countries of origin because they are criminals. The *bin* metaphor is obviously derogatory here; it belongs to DIRT metaphors and is reinforced by the negative axiology of the excerpt, with the adjective *worst*, modified by the adverb *absolutely*, as well as the adjective *bad*. The whole excerpt is thus both derogatory and dysphemistic. Furthermore, this metaphor is multimodal in Figure 66 since Trump combines the linguistic metaphor of the *bin* with a gesture that imitates someone who is discarding rubbish into a basket and shutting the top with his fist. Furthermore, the movement is a downward movement that echoes the conceptual metaphor DOWN IS BAD. As a result, Trump’s gesture reinforces the dehumanization of immigrants by stressing the linguistic metaphor with another mode.

The combination of modes has also been found in the French corpus, essentially for the Rassemblement National. This pattern is used for different types of source domains such as PRESSURE, WATER, FIGHT or BURDEN. Let us see how the combination of modes reinforces the negative axiology of the metaphor with the following illustrations:



Figure 67. “*Explosion de l’immigration*”, posted on Marine Le Pen’s facebook page [FR_Le Pen_2015_04_24]

In Figure 67, the combination of modes bears on the PRESSURE and thus CONTAINER domains: France (the CONTAINER) is going to explode because of immigration. The explosion is multimodal as it is present linguistically in the title and visually in the image. Indeed, France is represented on a bomb that is on the verge of bursting because of a cigarette lighter. The lighter has a blue background and yellow stars: it symbolizes the European Union as well as the main French political parties at the time, the UMP (*Union pour un Mouvement Populaire*) and the PS (*Parti Socialiste*). It stands on a pile of residence permits and the background is packed with the expression *titre de séjour*. The explosion metaphor echoes the WAR domain and its negative axiology is reinforced by the adjective *urgent*. As this illustration was found in a membership form, its goal is to make voters believe Marine Le Pen while representing the UMP and the PS as parties that should be blamed. According to this picture, those other parties and the European Union are guilty because they threaten to destroy France by letting immigrants enter the country. Moreover, the image is overprinted with elements: the bomb, the lighter, the text, the flags, etc., so as to reinforce the negative axiology of the already negative metaphor *explosion de*

l'immigration. There is too much information, Figure 67 is overloaded, which creates a sense of suffocation.

Similarly, in Figure 68, the image is overcrowded with people to emphasize the WATER metaphor (*submersion*).

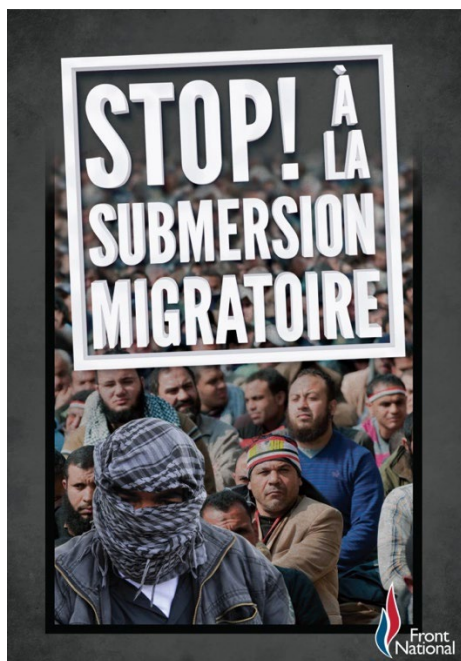


Figure 68. "Stop ! À la submersion migratoire", [FR_Le Pen_2015_09_17]¹⁶²

In the poster represented in Figure 68, the metaphor is multimodal but the linguistic mode does not match the visual mode: the visual representation does not refer to WATER, contrary to the title, which contains the noun *submersion*. Nonetheless, the notion of danger is highlighted by the dark colors, namely black and grey, and the fact that there are only men compacted in the background of the photograph. The picture is saturated and goes beyond the frame: the limits of the CONTAINER are on the verge of imploding. Furthermore, there is a man whose face is covered by a headscarf in the foreground. Immigrants are not dehumanized in this case; however, the outfit of the man in the foreground completely deletes his humanity and reinforces the negative axiology of the

¹⁶² <https://blog.francetvinfo.fr/derriere-le-front/2015/11/24/fn-comme-frontieres-nationales.html>.

whole picture and more particularly of the *submersion* linguistic metaphor and the terminative aspect encoded by the verb *stop* and the exclamation mark.

In visual representations, immigrants usually become a powerful non-human and indistinct mass which is very easy to scapegoat since no one can identify with it. This was also the case in the final illustration, which consists in a poster I spotted in my hometown in 2018:



Figure 69. Poster « immigration massive », Front National, Roanne 2018

In Figure 69, the metaphor is multimodal: it is both linguistic, with the adjective *massive*, and visual, with the drawing of the weight, which is crushing and breaking France. The BURDEN domain is therefore present visually and linguistically. All the expressions that are written on the weight (*faux réfugiés*, *clandestins*, *filières mafieuses*, *regroupement familial*) contribute to the negative axiology of the image, thus confirming the idea that, according to Marine Le Pen and her party, stopping immigration would resolve all problems. Besides, the representation is clearly dehumanizing: refugees are framed as a mass, which is impossible to identify with. Moreover, even if the weight is removed, the fractures will remain and will need to be fixed. The negative axiology of multimodal metaphors is thus

twice as powerful as in linguistic IMMIGRATION metaphors, as it bears on two different modes. However, this analysis on the interactions between modes only bears on a small corpus of images and would need further research to carry out a thorough multimodal analysis and generalize the results.

5.5. Conclusion

The results presented in this chapter confirmed that the inherent negative axiology of the source domain rarely works alone: it is very often nurtured by the axiology of its context. Most of the time, negativity prevails: when the source domain is itself derogatory, this aspect is highlighted and when the axiology is ambivalent, it is the negative connotation that is emphasized.

This chapter showed that all the patterns observed concerning how the metaphorical occurrence interacts with the context are cumulative: they never cancel each other but rather cultivate the negative axiology of the metaphor exponentially.

While Clinton, Macron and Biden will tend to use only one of them per speech, Le Pen and Trump will resort to several, if not all, patterns in one paragraph only: this is the most significant difference between the nationalist politicians of the corpus and the others. The hyperbolization enables them to hide their lack of sensible arguments.

The first pattern is the combination of a particular surrounding context with the metaphor. This combination between the two can either reinforce the negative axiology of the source domain, in the case of nationalist speeches, or be used to denounce politicians who intend to limit immigration. In Le Pen's and Trump's speeches, the connection between the surrounding context and dehumanizing metaphors mainly enables them to use two different strategies: they erase positive emotions towards immigrants through the metaphor and highlight the negative ones with crime or

terrorism-related lexemes in the context. This observation confirms the results from the textometric analysis (see Chapter 3), which showed that the notion of *crime* frequently co-occurs with immigration-related terms in nationalist speeches. One of Le Pen's characteristics is to use IMMIGRATION metaphors within a negatively connoted context which does not necessarily refer to immigration but to many other problems, so as to nurture pathos. While for Trump, the pattern could be summarized as [negative metaphor + crime-related surrounding context + \emptyset], Le Pen adds other axiologically negative terms to that structure. The pattern she follows could be summarized as: [negative metaphor + crime-related surrounding context + various negatively connoted terms].

Biden, Clinton and Macron also use IMMIGRATION metaphors whose axiology is negative; however, unlike Trump and Le Pen, they do not reinforce it with a negatively connoted surrounding context. On the contrary, the context of the metaphor is usually positive in their speeches but does not completely erase the negative feature of the metaphor: the positive surrounding context weakens the metaphor but does not remove its negative axiology. In some cases, the metaphor is only used by Clinton or Biden in reported speech to denounce how Trump refers to immigrants and, in a sense, criticize the negative axiology of the source domain: they break away from the negative axiology of the metaphor that they denounce through the use of a positive surrounding context. In addition, Biden and Clinton both use the domains that are resorted to by Trump, but to describe him and his administration, not immigrants. However, this pattern has not been observed in the French corpus: Macron does not describe Le Pen with the domains she uses to refer to immigrants.

The second pattern, which nurtures the first one, is repetition. Three types of repetitions were observed: the first one consists in the simple repetition of the same metaphorical occurrence, the second one consists in the repetition of the same source

domain but with different linguistic forms, while the third one corresponds to a gradation process. In other words, the same source domain is repeated but with a lexical form that is more axiologically negative than the first one. Nationalist politicians particularly repeat immigration metaphors, they use a variety of them and tend to emphasize their negative dimensions with intensifiers or with dysphemistic forms. These dysphemistic forms characterize Trump's and Le Pen's immigration metaphors and very often rely on the orientational metaphor DOWN IS BAD.

Nationalist politicians often combine different IMMIGRATION metaphors, as well as different source domains in the same excerpts, so as to emphasize the whole negative axiology of the discourse. Moreover, they do not hesitate to represent IMMIGRATION metaphors with different modes, which dehumanize immigrants visually as well.

General Conclusion

*Le déferlement de représentations sensationnelles des camps [de migrants] depuis plusieurs années dans le domaine public tend, sinon à neutraliser, en tout cas à faire écran, à l'information et l'analyse. Dans les médias, les camps existent sous le régime de l'hypervisibilité, généralement à travers des représentations apitoyantes ou « monstrueuses ».*¹⁶³
(Lequette and Le Vergos, 2016)

The main Research Question (RQ) of this study consisted in determining how IMMIGRATION is conceptualized in political discourse, based on a corpus of French and American speeches. The first chapter states that metaphors are very powerful devices that organize our cognitive structures. The literature review reminded us about the fact that metaphors have a strong axiological dimension, especially thanks to the fundamental *highlighting-hiding* principle. Moreover, the audience's opinions are somehow influenced by the speaker's discourse: hence the necessity to carefully analyze powerful tools such as metaphors.

After having developed the methodology and the description of the corpus in the second chapter, the textometric and semantic analyses of Chapter 3 enabled me to confirm that Trump and Le Pen more frequently talk about immigration than their political rivals (SQ1). It showed that Trump mainly associates immigration to the notion of criminality and that Le Pen tends to associate this concept to a variety of negative domains (economic, social, health crises, etc.); conversely, Macron, Biden and Clinton resort to positive or neutral semantic domains (SQ5). This chapter also demonstrated the

¹⁶³ (EN): For several years, the flood of sensational representations of camps in the public domain has tended to shield the information and analysis, if not neutralize them. In the medias, camps exist under the form of hypervisibility, generally through pity or "monstruous" representations.

necessity to look at the phenomenon of semantic prosody when studying the most frequent collocations. This chapter also demonstrated that all the politicians of the corpus – except Macron – blame their political opponents concerning immigration policies.

The aim of the fourth chapter was to answer SQ2, SQ3 and SQ4. It demonstrated that Trump and Le Pen use the majority of the IMMIGRATION metaphors found in the whole corpus (SQ2). No real difference was found between languages, except between Trump and Le Pen: Trump more frequently resorts to CONTAINER metaphors while Le Pen's preferred source domain to frame IMMIGRATION is WATER (SQ3). An additional hypothesis, which has to be confirmed by further research, is that French people wrongly imagine that the majority of immigrants come by the sea. Chapter 4 also showed that the majority of the source domains possess an inherently negative axiology. Besides, these negative source domains are also used by Macron, Biden and Clinton (SQ4): they fundamentally involve the dehumanization of immigrants or portray them as intruders. One of the objectives of linguists today is to expose these framings of IMMIGRATION so that they should not be repeated and lead to social discriminations (Catalano and Fielder, 2018: 24). In the analysis of the source domains, negative axiology reigns: when the source domain is derogatory, the negative connotations are emphasized and when the axiology is uncertain, negative inferences emerge.

Chapter 5 demonstrated that the inherent negative axiology of each source domain is almost always underlined by the interactions between the metaphorical occurrence and its environment (SQ6). Six main Patterns of Interactions were identified: (PI1) the use of a negative metaphorical occurrence with negative surrounding context; (PI2) the use of a negative metaphorical occurrence with positive surrounding context; (PI3) the use of various metaphorical occurrences but with the same source domain; (PI4) the combination of different source domains; (PI5) a gradation phenomenon; and, finally

(PI6) the combination of modes: the use of multimodal metaphors. The corpus analysis showed that all the politicians of the corpus – except Clinton – resort to PI1. Only nationalist politicians (namely, Trump and Le Pen) do not resort to PI2 but to PI3, PI5 and PI6 while Le Pen, Trump *and* Macron use PI4. As a result, Le Pen and Trump resort to all the patterns that enable them to enhance the negative axiology of the metaphor itself. Thus, the real disparity between nationalist politicians and their opponents does not reside in the choice of the source domain or the metaphorical occurrence, as they are – in any case – all derogatory towards immigrants: the main difference between overtly nationalist politicians and others consists in using as many interactional patterns as possible between the metaphor and its environment, so as to reach the saturation point of negative axiology.

There are certain limits to this PhD thesis. 1) the corpus under study is rather small, and further research would be needed to generalize the results and have a more quantitative analysis on a larger corpus. In addition, the nature of the corpus is not representative of the whole discourse of each politician since it does not include spontaneous contributions, such as interviews or conferences. The metaphors found in these types of comments could be different. Furthermore, the listeners, who constitute the essential part of communication, were not systematically taken into account in the analysis, and the position of the politicians – whether they were speaking as candidates or as presidents – was also set aside, whereas it could make a significant difference to consider it, since candidates need to persuade voters while presidents are already in power. Considering that the corpus under study here is only composed of nationalist/far-right and center-right/center-left politicians, the discrepancies are not that different; thus, it could be interesting to add speeches of left-wing or extreme left-wing politicians in the comparative study. 2) there are two main limits concerning the identification of

metaphors; firstly, even if the MIP is a very useful procedure, it is not perfect as it relies on the linguist's human interpretation, thus some metaphors may have been missed. Reciprocally, as a French native-speaker, I may have misinterpreted the connotations of some expressions that were not metaphors and mistakenly added them to the list of metaphorical occurrences for the three American corpora. For further research an inter-coder agreement could be used: at least two independent analysts would be needed to code the occurrences to determine whether they are metaphorical or not. Inter-coder reliability is particularly necessary when the same data is analyzed by multiple researches: according to O'Connor and Joffe (2020), it is "a numerical measure of the agreement between different coders regarding how the same data should be coded". Thus, this methodology could help linguists replicate the study. 3) a similar limitation concerns the identification of the different interactional patterns between the metaphor and the context: they are based on a qualitative analysis and would definitely deserve further research.

Clearly, then, the key answer to the RQ is that IMMIGRATION is generally negatively framed with metaphors in French and American speeches, even by politicians who are not nationalists. This result partly contradicts my intuitions: the source domains used by Clinton, Biden and Macron to refer to IMMIGRATION are not particularly positive. The significant discrepancies depend on frequency (nationalist politicians – quantitatively and qualitatively – use more IMMIGRATION metaphors than their opponents) and on the number of interactional patterns between the metaphor and the context and/or multimodality: Trump and Le Pen rely on many patterns at the same time to reinforce the inherent negative axiology of IMMIGRATION metaphors.

For further research, the pattern of multimodality would have to be studied with a larger span, and not only occasionally analyzed. The relationship between visual and

linguistic IMMIGRATION metaphors in political posters could indeed be developed, following a study already carried out on political cartoons (Héois & Lafiandra, 2023). This study could also be developed with other languages as well as with more speeches, since the time limit was 2015-2020. For instance, the rise of Jordan Bardella as new leader of the RN could be taken into account to compare his IMMIGRATION metaphors to Le Pen's. Besides, and as Catalano (2016) demonstrates, when immigrants talk about themselves, it is usually in positive terms. Therefore, following Paulin & Smadja (2020), for instance, linguists should perhaps give the floor to immigrants and focus more on IMMIGRATION metaphors used by immigrants rather than predominantly analyzing the discourse of the host country, where immigrants are frequently either depicted as victims or intruders.¹⁶⁴ If a platform is given to immigrants and if positive metaphorical expressions become increasingly frequent and more regularly studied, the framing of IMMIGRATION could eventually change.

Finally, since the main objective of politicians is to persuade voters in a very small amount of time, they inevitably use metaphors that have strong persuasive dimensions to present their *perception and evaluation* of the world, even if it means misleading the audience. IMMIGRATION metaphors constitute one of these persuasive and evaluative tools and have significant impacts, considering the success of nationalist parties in the world these last years. The role of linguists, and of teachers in general, is perhaps also to raise awareness and to help voters realize the challenges of metaphorical language and representations in political speeches. Instead of only studying metaphors as an ornamental figure of speech in the context of literature in high school, it could be stimulating to teach students how not to be deceived by figurative language. "Why did

¹⁶⁴ Although, as explained by Taylor (2020), we do find occurrences where immigrants are sometimes positively conceptualized as builders.

that politician say that there was a 'migratory submersion' instead of simply using literal language and numbers? How is my conceptualization of IMMIGRATION impacted by the metaphor?" These are the questions anyone should ask themselves to avoid common prejudice about human beings.

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Corpus available at: <https://owncloud.univ-lyon3.fr/s/WJrQcRiEq89HqjS>

BIDEN

US_Biden_2015_01_29.txt; US_Biden_2015_03_02.txt; US_Biden_2015_03_10.txt;
US_Biden_2015_10_21.txt; US_Biden_2015_11_21.txt; US_Biden_2015_11_25.txt;
US_Biden_2016_01_14.txt; US_Biden_2016_06_24.txt; US_Biden_2016_07_20.txt;
US_Biden_2017_01_18.txt; US_Biden_2020_07_28_DELAWARE.txt;
US_Biden_2020_07_28.txt; US_Biden_2020_07_30.txt; US_Biden_2020_08_12.txt;
US_Biden_2020_08_20.txt; US_Biden_2020_09_15_FLORIDA.txt;
US_Biden_2020_09_15.txt; US_Biden_2020_10_01.txt; US_Biden_2020_10_05.txt;
US_Biden_2020_10_13.txt; US_Biden_2020_10_21.txt; US_Biden_2020_10_23.txt;
US_Biden_2020_10_29.txt; US_Biden_2020_10_30_KOREA.txt; US_Biden_2020_10_30.txt;
US_Biden_2020_10_31.txt; US_Biden_2020_11_01.txt.

CLINTON

US_Clinton_2015_06_13; US_Clinton_2015_06_13_Campaign Launch;
US_Clinton_2015_06_20; US_Clinton_2015_06_26; US_Clinton_2015_08_01;
US_Clinton_2015_09_01; US_Clinton_2015_09_09; US_Clinton_2015_09_16;
US_Clinton_2015_09_19; US_Clinton_2015_12_04; US_Clinton_2015_12_14;
US_Clinton_2016_01_07; US_Clinton_2016_02_01; US_Clinton_2016_02_20;
US_Clinton_2016_03_01; US_Clinton_2016_03_15; US_Clinton_2016_03_21;
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US_Clinton_2017_05_26; US_Clinton_2018_05_20; US_Clinton_2019_05_29;
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LE PEN

FR_Le Pen_2015_02_05.txt; FR_Le Pen_2015_05_01.txt; FR_Le Pen_2015_06_30.txt;
FR_Le Pen_2015_08_29.txt; FR_Le Pen_2015_11_28.txt; FR_Le Pen_2015_11_30.txt;
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FR_Le Pen_2019_01_19.txt; FR_Le Pen_2019_01_21.txt; FR_Le Pen_2019_05_01.txt;
FR_Le Pen_2019_09_15.txt; FR_Le Pen_2019_10_07.txt.

MACRON

FR_Macron_2017_06_22.txt; FR_Macron_2017_07_03.txt; FR_Macron_2017_07_27.txt;
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TRUMP

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Résumé substantiel en français

Introduction

En 2015, l'Europe a connu ce que les médias et les dirigeants politiques ont nommé une « crise » migratoire. Plus d'un million de réfugiés ont tenté d'atteindre les côtes européennes afin d'échapper à la guerre dans leur pays d'origine : « pour beaucoup, c'était « une question de vie ou de mort » (Paulin & Smadja, 2020 : 6). Parallèlement, des personnalités politiques nationalistes telles que Giorgia Meloni, Jair Bolsonaro, Scott Morrison, ou encore Viktor Orbán, pour n'en citer que quelques-unes dans le monde, ont gagné en popularité lors de cette même période (2015-2020), faisant de la restriction de l'immigration une priorité dans leurs programmes de campagne respectifs.

En France, la candidate d'extrême-droite Marine Le Pen est arrivée à deux reprises au second tour de l'élection présidentielle face à Emmanuel Macron, en 2017 et 2022 et aux États-Unis, Donald Trump a annoncé sa campagne en 2015, avec pour projet de construire un mur à la frontière mexicaine. Lorsque Donald Trump est devenu président, en janvier 2017, il a immédiatement signé, sept jours après son investiture, un décret présidentiel interdisant aux ressortissants de six pays majoritairement musulmans l'entrée sur le territoire américain.

Toutefois, ce ne sont pas les lois qui nous intéressent dans ce travail de thèse, mais les métaphores que ces hommes et femmes politiques emploient pour conceptualiser l'IMMIGRATION. Par exemple, il n'est pas rare de retrouver des métaphores de L'EAU, telles que *submersion*, *déferlante*, etc. en français, ou *wave*, *tide*, etc. en anglais pour faire référence à celles et ceux qui prennent le risque de traverser la méditerranée ou la frontière mexicaine au péril de leur vie. Dans la mesure où la parole publique a un impact

considérable sur les résultats des élections selon Lakoff (2008 : 110), l'utilisation de ces métaphores a de réelles conséquences sur la façon dont les électeurs conceptualisent L'IMMIGRATION. Bien que les différentes victoires politiques de Marine Le Pen et Donald Trump soient multifactorielles, et qu'il est impossible de déterminer le facteur le plus significatif, les métaphores jouent un rôle en ce qu'elles ne sont pas simplement des figures de styles ornementales mais bien des outils cognitifs : elles permettent en effet aux êtres humains de conceptualiser l'intégralité de leur environnement (Lakoff et Johnson, 1980), souvent de manière persuasive et évaluative.

Dans cette thèse, nous nous proposons d'étudier plus particulièrement les métaphores de l'IMMIGRATION, à savoir toutes les métaphores utilisées pour décrire ce concept et ses participants (les immigrants, le pays d'accueil, le pays d'origine, etc.). Nous empruntons le principe clé de la linguistique cognitive selon lequel toute métaphore accentue certaines parties de la réalité tout en en dissimulant d'autres (voir le "highlighting-hiding principle" (Edelman, 1971: 68 ; Goatly, 2007: 213-214 ; Kövecses, 2002)). De nombreuses et nombreux linguistes ont montré que le domaine cible IMMIGRATION est très souvent conceptualisé de manière axiologiquement négative, par exemple avec des domaines sources tels que les CATASTROPHES NATURELLES, la GUERRE, les MALADIES, les OBJETS, la NOURRITURE INDIGESTE, etc. (Charteris-Black, 2006 ; Hart, 2011 ; Musolff, 2011 ; O'Brien, 2003 ; Semino, 2008 ; Taylor, 2022 ; Van Dijk, 2000 ; Silaški/Đurović 2019, 2021). Ces linguistes ont également montré que ces domaines sources soulignent l'ampleur de l'immigration tout en dissimulant la vulnérabilité et la détresse des personnes qui immigreront. Développant ici nos travaux de mémoire de Master (Lafiandra, 2018), nous proposons de prolonger cette étude en ajoutant de nouveaux discours au corpus (381 pour la thèse, contre 26 pour le mémoire) ainsi qu'une nouvelle

méthodologie (nous utilisons ici des outils de textométrie ainsi que la MIP, la procédure d'identification des métaphores décrite par le Pragglejaz Group (2007: 3)).

Cinq objectifs principaux constituent cette thèse. Le premier consiste à confirmer ou infirmer l'existence de domaines sources négatifs pour parler d'IMMIGRATION. Il s'agit ensuite de déterminer le rôle du contexte dans l'évaluation de l'axiologie des métaphores. Le troisième objectif est de vérifier si les domaines sources utilisés sont similaires selon les langues (ici, l'anglais et le français), les dirigeants politiques (Biden, Clinton, Le Pen, Macron et Trump), et leur position sur l'échiquier politique (à savoir, s'ils sont plutôt en faveur d'une restriction de l'immigration ou non). Ces différents objectifs, ainsi que notre intuition de départ, selon laquelle les personnalités nationalistes ont majoritairement recours à des métaphores négativement connotées, nous ont menée à la Question de Recherche suivante (QR) : **Comment les dirigeants politiques conceptualisent-ils métaphoriquement l'IMMIGRATION dans les discours politiques en France et aux États-Unis ?**

Cette QR peut être divisée en six sous-questions (SQs) :

SQ1 : À quelle fréquence les personnalités politiques font-elles référence à l'immigration dans leurs discours ?

SQ2 : Les personnalités nationalistes, à savoir Donald Trump et Marine Le Pen, utilisent-elles davantage de métaphores que leurs opposants ?

SQ3 : Quels sont les domaines sources les plus fréquemment utilisés pour conceptualiser l'IMMIGRATION ? Sont-ils différents selon la langue ou la personnalité politique ?

SQ4 : Quelle est l'axiologie des domaines sources les plus fréquents ? Est-elle différente selon la langue ou la personnalité politique ?

SQ5 : Quels sont les domaines sémantiques principalement utilisés en association avec des termes reliés à l'immigration ?

SQ6 : Comment l'axiologie du contexte interagit-elle avec les métaphores de l'IMMIGRATION ? Existe-t-il différents modèles d'interaction selon la langue ou la personnalité politique ?

Afin de répondre à ces questions, nous avons divisé cette thèse en cinq chapitres. L'objectif du premier chapitre est de fournir un état de l'art sur les différentes théories de la métaphore, du discours politique, de la linguistique de corpus et de la linguistique cognitive. Le chapitre montre l'importance de la fonction cognitive des métaphores ainsi que de deux de ses deux sous-fonctions : la fonction persuasive et la fonction évaluative.

Le second décrit la méthodologie et le corpus étudié. Deux corpus ont été créés ; l'un est composé de discours américains, l'autre de discours français. Le corpus américain est lui-même divisé en plusieurs sous-corpus, avec les corpus D. Trump, J. Biden et H. Clinton. Le corpus français est composé des discours de M. Le Pen d'un côté et de E. Macron de l'autre. Pour chaque pays, ce sont les candidats arrivés au second tour des élections présidentielles entre 2015 et 2020 qui ont été sélectionnés. 2015 correspond à la date à laquelle Trump a annoncé sa première campagne ainsi qu'à l'année où le Front National a remporté 28% des suffrages au premier tour des élections régionales en France. Il s'agit également de la date à laquelle de nombreux réfugiés, notamment de Syrie, ont tenté de rejoindre l'Union Européenne. Fin 2020 correspond à la date à laquelle Biden a été élu contre Trump. Nous avons procédé à l'échantillonnage de la manière suivante : les transcriptions des discours devaient contenir au moins l'un des lemmes liés à l'immigration (*migr*, refugee*, deport*, asylum*, etc. pour l'anglais par exemple) afin d'être retenues.

Dans le troisième chapitre, nous avons mené une analyse textométrique à l'aide de logiciels tels que AntConc®, WMatrix®, Tropes® ou encore #LancsBox®. L'objectif était de dégager les principales caractéristiques du corpus concernant l'immigration. Nous

avons notamment analysé la fréquence des termes liés à l'immigration ainsi que les collocations les plus fréquentes afin de répondre aux sous-questions SQ1 et SQ5 et de préparer l'analyse qualitative des métaphores de l'immigration en contexte (chapitre 5).

Dans le quatrième chapitre, nous nous sommes penchée sur l'axiologie des domaines sources utilisés pour conceptualiser l'IMMIGRATION afin de démontrer que chaque domaine source possède une axiologie intrinsèque et répondre aux sous-questions SQ2, SQ3 et SQ4.

Enfin, dans le chapitre cinq, nous avons tenté de montrer comment le contexte interagit avec les métaphores de l'IMMIGRATION en nous concentrant sur les différents modèles d'interaction entre l'occurrence métaphorique et son environnement linguistique et/ou visuel (SQ6).

Tous ces éléments ont finalement pour objectif de déterminer comment les discours politiques contemporains américains et français conceptualisent l'IMMIGRATION.

Chapitre 1 : La métaphore comme outil persuasif et évaluatif : revue de la littérature

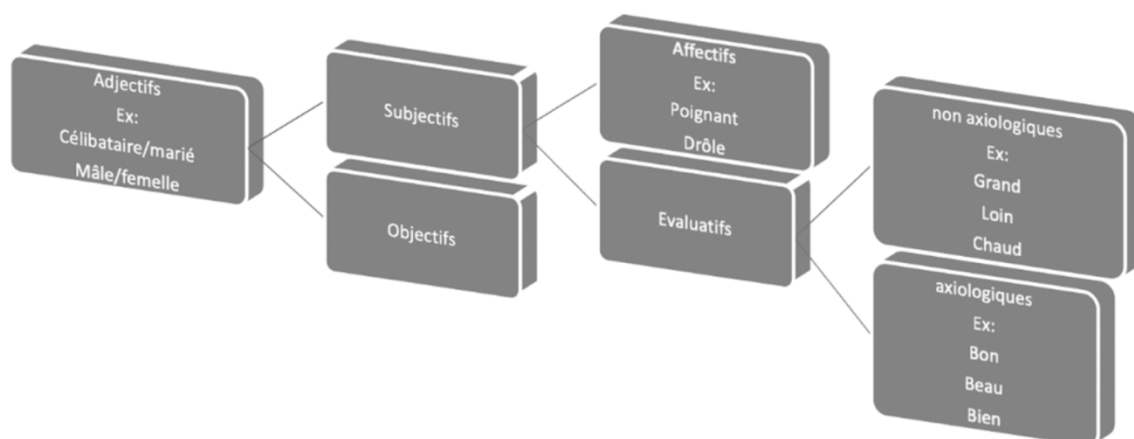
Le premier chapitre développe les différents cadres théoriques sur la métaphore, la linguistique cognitive, les discours politiques et la linguistique de corpus. Les notions de prosodie sémantique, d'axiologie et de « framing » sont notamment définies. Ce chapitre nous permet de rappeler que la métaphore n'est pas un outil purement ornemental et que sa fonction principale est sa fonction cognitive, qui comprend également la fonction persuasive et la fonction évaluative, notamment dans les discours politiques.

Ce travail de thèse s'inscrit dans le prolongement des travaux de Alduy et Wathier (2015), qui ont comparé les discours de Marine Le Pen à ceux de son père et ont montré que ceux de Marine Le Pen sont moins explicites que ceux de Jean-Marie Le Pen. De plus, nous empruntons à la théorie de la *Critical Discourse Analysis* sa méthode, qui s'appuie sur le fait que l'analyse du discours d'une personne nous permet de révéler comment cette dernière conceptualise le monde, ou bien, dans notre cas, l'IMMIGRATION. Nous avons également mis l'accent sur l'importance de la prosodie sémantique dans l'analyse de l'axiologie des métaphores. La notion de prosodie sémantique a été développée par Firth (1957). Selon lui, le sens d'un mot, et son axiologie, ne peuvent être compris sans prendre en considération son environnement linguistique. Selon McEnery & Hardie (2012 : 136), on dit que les mots ont une prosodie sémantique négative s'ils rentrent fréquemment en co-occurrence avec d'autres unités linguistiques négatives. Prenons l'exemple suivant :

Au rassemblement national nous avons un plan d'action construit et rédigé qui n'attend que d'être mis en action pour juguler **ce processus destructeur d'immigration massive** et le non moins **destructeur processus de communautarisme** qui **fragmente** notre pays et en est la conséquence. [Le Pen 2019_10_07]

Dans cet extrait, le lexème *immigration* est associé à des lexèmes connotés négativement, tels que l'adjectif *destructeur* ou encore le verbe *fragmenter*. Ainsi, selon la définition de Firth, le noyau *immigration* se fait, en quelque sorte, « contaminer » par l'axiologie négative de ses satellites et devient lui-même négatif en raison de ses collocations répétées. L'axiologie est essentielle dans l'analyse du discours, car, comme le dit Auboussier (2019 : 46) : « C'est [...] dans la répétition d'occurrences énonciativement situées que la valeur axiologique associée à la désignation ne cesse de se renforcer ». Ainsi, la dimension évaluative du concept de l'IMMIGRATION ne peut être étudiée sans prendre en compte l'axiologie de son contexte. L'axiologie est l'étude de la valeur que donne le

locuteur à un concept. Par exemple, selon Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2009 : 73), un adjectif va être axiologique s'il est subjectif (en opposition à objectif) et évaluatif (en opposition à affectif) : il ne décrit pas une émotion. Enfin, il n'évalue pas un concept avec une échelle précise (contrairement aux adjectifs *loin*, *chaud*, etc.). Ainsi, les adjectifs *bon*, *beau*, *bien*, possèdent une axiologie positive, comme nous pouvons le voir sur le schéma suivant :



Axiologie des adjectifs, Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2009 : 73) (Jamet et Lafiandra, 2023)

Analyser les termes axiologiques qui entourent le concept de l'IMMIGRATION nous permet ainsi de déterminer la valeur que chaque personnalité politique lui attribue.

Chapitre 2 : Méthodologie

Le chapitre 2 présente la méthodologie suivie pour la construction du corpus ainsi que pour l'identification des métaphores. Les discours étudiés dans cette thèse sont des transcriptions de discours oraux prononcés par des hommes et des femmes politiques en France et aux États-Unis. Ces discours traitent tous, au moins une fois, du thème de l'immigration.

Notre corpus se compose de deux sous-corpus, un corpus français et un corpus anglais, eux-mêmes divisés en des sous-sous-corpus selon la personnalité politique qui a prononcé les discours. Le corpus Le Pen se compose de 41 discours, soit 211 382 tokens. Le corpus Macron est composé de 14 discours, soit 79 742 tokens. Le corpus Trump contient 241 discours (846 473 tokens), celui de Biden 27 discours (46 517 tokens) et enfin, celui de Clinton 58 discours (181 390 tokens). Le corpus américain compte plus de mots que le corpus français. Il y a deux raisons principales à cela : la première est que les discours américains sont systématiquement transcrits et disponibles sur internet. Par ailleurs, lors de campagnes présidentielles, chaque candidat aux États-Unis prend la parole dans chaque état, voire plusieurs fois par jour dans le même état, d'où un nombre de discours produits au total beaucoup plus important quantitativement qu'en France. Les discours collectés ont tous été prononcés entre 2015 et 2020. Nous avons collecté les transcriptions des discours français sur différents sites institutionnels, notamment <http://mesure-du-discours.unice.fr/> (Université Côte d'Azur), www.vie-publique.fr, le site du Rassemblement National, celui de l'Assemblée Nationale ainsi que sur celui de l'Élysée. Les discours américains ont été collectés grâce au projet American Presidency de l'Université de Santa Barbara (<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>) pour Trump et Biden et le site des « Archives of Women's Political Communication » (<https://awpc.cattcenter.iastate.edu/>) nous a permis de collecter les discours d'Hillary Clinton sur cette période. Les scripts furent ensuite nettoyés des rires, applaudissements, huées, questions, etc. puis convertis en format *.txt*. Nous avons nommé chaque discours selon le modèle suivant : [Pays_Nom_Année_Mois_Jour].

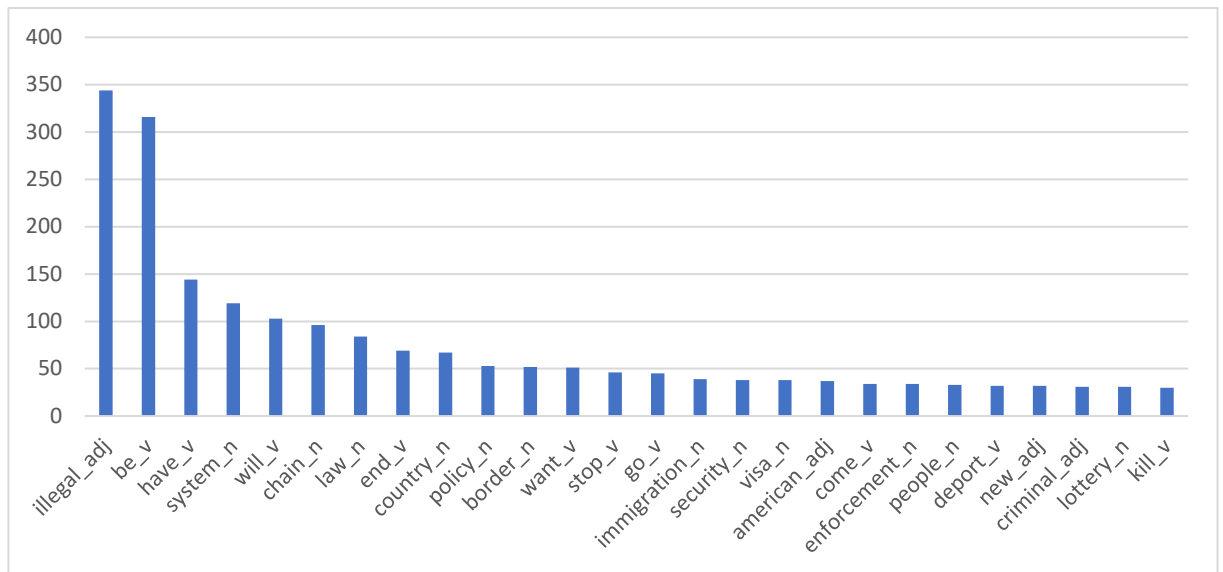
Concernant l'identification des métaphores, nous avons suivi la procédure décrite par le Pragglejaz Group (2007). Cette méthode comporte quatre étapes principales. Il s'agit de :

- 1) Lire le discours intégralement pour comprendre son sens
- 2) Déterminer les unités lexicales du discours
- 3) Déterminer le sens de chaque unité lexicale en examinant :
 - a. Son sens contextuel
 - b. Son sens basique
 - c. Si son sens basique contraste avec son sens contextuel
- 4) Si oui, l'unité lexicale est considérée comme métaphorique

Ce chapitre présente également les logiciels de linguistique de corpus (AntConc®, WMatrix®, Tropes®, #LancsBox® et SketchEngine®) que nous avons utilisés pour conduire nos analyses textométriques et sémantiques du corpus. Ces logiciels nous permettent, par exemple, d'étudier les termes les plus fréquents d'un discours ou bien les collocations les plus fréquentes, ce qui nous a menée au chapitre 3.

Chapitre 3 : Analyses textométriques et sémantiques du corpus

Le troisième chapitre nous a permis de confirmer que Trump et Le Pen parlent plus fréquemment d'immigration que leurs adversaires politiques (SQ1). Par exemple, à l'aide du logiciel AntConc®, nous avons montré que Trump associe principalement l'immigration à la notion de criminalité (c'est, par exemple, la collocation *illegal *migr** qui est la plus fréquente dans ses discours), comme illustré dans le graphique suivant :

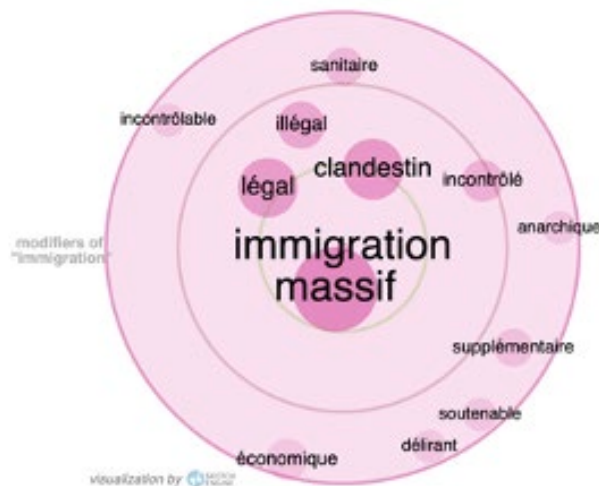


*Collocations avec *migr* dans le corpus Trump*

C'est le cas, par exemple, dans l'extrait suivant :

I am going to end illegal immigration, stop the massive inflow of refugees, keep jobs from pouring out of our country, renegotiate our disastrous trade deals, and massively reduce taxes and regulations on our workers and our small businesses. [US_Trump_2016_10_04]

Quant à Le Pen, elle a tendance à relier le concept d'immigration à n'importe quel autre concept, tant que celui-ci est négatif. Selon elle, les immigrants sont en effet responsables de tous les types de crise, qu'elles soient économiques, sanitaires, sociales, etc. Comme le montre le graphique suivant, généré à l'aide de SketchEngine®, la collocation la plus fréquente dans les discours de Marine Le Pen avec « immigration » est « immigration massive » :



Collocations avec immigration dans le corpus Le Pen

L'extrait suivant illustre cette collocation en contexte :

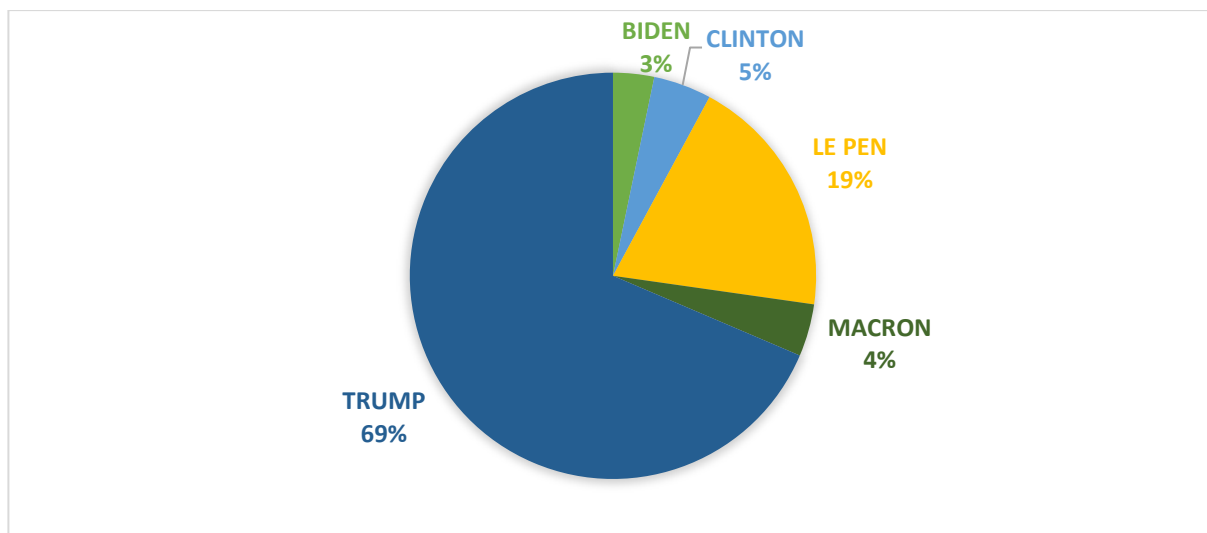
Cette élection est donc aussi une consultation des Français sur **l'immigration massive**. **Immigration massive, stop ou encore ? Stop ! Stop ! Stop**, mes chers amis, mais pas par manque de générosité, mais par simple **réalisme**.
[FR_Le Pen_2017_04_27]

Inversement, Macron, Biden et Clinton ont davantage recours à des domaines positifs ou neutres (SQ5). En revanche, l'analyse textométrique ne saurait remplacer une analyse non outillée. Ce troisième chapitre nous a montré la nécessité d'étudier la prosodie sémantique lorsqu'on analyse les collocations d'un texte, ce que les logiciels de textométrie ne sont pas encore capables de faire de façon automatique.

Chapitre 4 : Analyses des domaines sources pour conceptualiser l'IMMIGRATION : résultats et discussions

Dans le chapitre 4, nous avons tenté de répondre aux sous-questions SQ2, SQ3 et SQ4. Une analyse quantitative nous a, dans un premier temps, permis de montrer que Trump et Le Pen utilisent 80% des métaphores de l'IMMIGRATION repérées dans le corpus

(SQ2). 888 métaphores de l'IMMIGRATION ont été identifiées : 69% pour Trump, 19% pour Le Pen, 5% pour Clinton, 4% pour Macron et 3% pour Biden en fréquence absolue. Les pourcentages sont illustrés dans le graphique suivant :

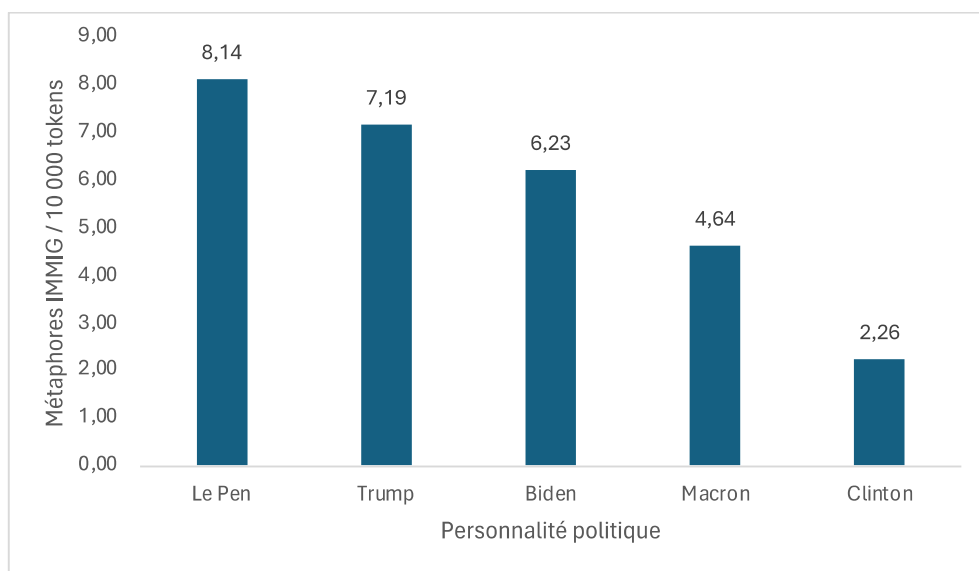


Pourcentages de métaphores de l'IMMIGRATION en fonction de la personnalité politique

Si nous considérons les différentes tailles des corpus et prenons la fréquence relative des métaphores de L'IMMIGRATION en compte, Trump et Le Pen restent en tête avec : 6 ‰ pour Biden, 2 ‰ pour Clinton, 8 ‰ pour Le Pen, 4 ‰ pour Macron et 7 ‰ pour Trump¹⁶⁵.

¹⁶⁵

JB : 29 IMMIGRATION metaphors / 46 517 tokens. (=0,0006).
 HC : 41 IMMIGRATION metaphors / 181 390 tokens. (=0,0002)
 MLP : 172 IMMIGRATION metaphors / 211 382 tokens. (=0,0008)
 EM : 37 IMMIGRATION metaphors / 79 742 tokens. (=0,0004)
 DT : 609 IMMIGRATION metaphors / 846 473 tokens. (=0,0007)



Nombre d'occurrences d'une métaphore de l'IMMIGRATION pour 10 000 tokens selon la personnalité politique

Bien que la distribution puisse être faite différemment, dans la mesure où certains domaines sources se chevauchent, 15 domaines sources principaux ont été identifiés dans le corpus. Selon leur ordre de fréquence, il s'agit des domaines suivants : CONTENANT, LIQUIDE, COMBAT, CHÂÎNE, FARDEAU, ANIMAL, ATTRACTION, LOTERIE, SALETÉ, MALADIE, PLANTE, OBJET, NOURRITURE, RÊVE, SYSTÈME. Le tableau suivant récapitule la répartition des métaphores par personnalité politique :

	Biden	Clinton	Le Pen	Macron	Trump	Total
CONTENANT	5	8	38	6	156	213
LIQUIDE	5	1	60	12	101	179
COMBAT	3	6	13	7	90	119
CHÂÎNE	0	0	0	0	96	96
FARDEAU	2	0	34	5	38	79
ANIMAL	2	14	6	1	42	65
ATTRACTION	0	0	9	0	23	32
LOTTERIE	0	0	0	0	31	31
SALETÉ	1	1	4	0	12	18
PLANTE	5	1	1	1	4	12
SYSTEME CASSÉ	1	4	0	0	7	12
RÊVE	5	4	0	0	2	11
OBJECTS	0	0	0	1	7	8
NOURRITURE	0	0	4	3	0	7
MALADIE	0	2	3	1	0	6
	29	41	172	37	609	888

Aucune différence significative n'a été remarquée entre les langues, si ce n'est entre Trump et Le Pen : Trump utilise plus fréquemment les métaphores du CONTENANT tandis que Le Pen va préférer le domaine source de l'EAU. Notre hypothèse principale, qui mériterait toutefois des recherches plus approfondies, est que dans l'imaginaire français, les immigrants viendraient principalement par la mer tandis que les Nord-Américains insisteraient davantage sur la notion de CONTENANT, la notion de propriété étant essentielle à leur nation. Nous avons également montré que l'axiologie des domaines sources du corpus est intrinsèquement négative. De plus, ces domaines sources négatifs sont non seulement utilisés par des personnalités politiques ouvertement nationalistes, mais également par Biden, Clinton et Macron (SQ4) : ces domaines sont déshumanisants dans la majorité des cas ou bien décrivent les immigrants comme des intrus ou des criminels lorsqu'ils ne les déshumanisent pas. C'est l'axiologie négative qui prédomine dans le corpus ; en effet, lorsque le domaine source est péjoratif, les connotations négatives sont accentuées et lorsque l'axiologie est plus positive ou neutre, des connotations négatives émergent tout de même. Par exemple, la métaphore du CONTENANT, qui n'est pas particulièrement négative à première vue, va conceptualiser les immigrants comme des ENVAHISSEURS (Chilton, 1994), celles de L'EAU comme des individus incontrôlables, etc. Toutefois, l'axiologie d'un domaine source donné ne peut prendre toute sa valeur sans son contexte, c'est pourquoi nous avons finalement étudié les différents modèles d'interaction entre le domaine source et son contexte dans le cinquième et dernier chapitre.

Chapitre 5 : Axiologie des métaphores de l'IMMIGRATION en contexte : modèles

d'interaction

Dans le chapitre 5, nous avons montré que l'axiologie négative, qui est inhérente à chaque domaine source, est majoritairement renforcée par l'interaction entre l'occurrence métaphorique et son environnement (SQ6). L'analyse du corpus nous a permis d'identifier six grands modèles d'interaction, en plus de l'utilisation de domaines sources axiologiquement négatifs. Ces motifs sont résumés dans le tableau suivant :

Motifs Corpus	Domaine source négatif	Domaine source négatif + Prosodie sémantique Négative (M1)	Domaine source négatif + Prosodie sémantique positive (M2)	Domaine source négatif MAIS variété de formes (M3)	Différents domaines sources combinés (M4)	Gradation (M5)	Différents modes (multimodalité) (M6)
Le Pen	✓	✓	∅	✓	✓	✓	✓
Trump	✓	✓	∅	✓	✓	✓	✓
Macron	✓	✓	✓	∅	✓	∅	∅
Biden	✓	✓	✓	∅	∅	∅	∅
Clinton	✓	∅	✓	∅	∅	∅	∅

Le premier motif (M1) consiste à utiliser une métaphore négative en combinaison avec une prosodie sémantique elle aussi négative. Le deuxième motif (M2) est son opposé, il s'agit d'utiliser une métaphore axiologiquement négative mais avec une prosodie sémantique positive. Le troisième modèle (M3) permet à l'orateur d'utiliser le même domaine source mais avec des occurrences métaphoriques très variées. Le motif numéro

quatre (M4) consiste à combiner plusieurs domaines sources. Le numéro cinq (M5) présente un phénomène de gradation : le même domaine source est utilisé plusieurs fois mais l'axiologie négative est bien plus forte dans la deuxième occurrence. Le dernier modèle (M6) combine plusieurs modes : il s'agit de l'utilisation de métaphores multimodales. Toutes les personnalités politiques du corpus utilisent (M1) : ils ont toutes et tous recours à des métaphores axiologiquement négatives *avec* une prosodie sémantique également négative, sauf Clinton, qui va avoir tendance à utiliser davantage (M2), donc une prosodie sémantique plus positive, malgré l'axiologie négative de la métaphore. D. Trump et M. Le Pen sont les seuls à ne pas employer (M2), à savoir à ne jamais utiliser une prosodie sémantique plus positive pour atténuer la négativité de la métaphore, ce qui n'est guère surprenant. En revanche, Le Pen, Trump *et* Macron ont régulièrement recours à des combinaisons de plusieurs domaines sources intrinsèquement négatifs. Toutefois, Trump et Le Pen sont les seuls à utiliser tous les motifs d'interactions qui leur permettent de renforcer l'axiologie négative de la métaphore. La véritable différence entre les personnalités nationalistes et leurs opposants ne réside donc pas dans le choix du domaine source (ils sont dans tous les cas axiologiquement négatifs) mais dans l'utilisation d'une variété de motifs d'interaction, chez les personnalités politiques ouvertement nationalistes, afin de saturer au maximum l'axiologie négative du domaine source.

Conclusion

La réponse à la question de recherche de cette thèse est la suivante : l'axiologie des métaphores de l'IMMIGRATION est toujours négative dans les discours de Trump, Biden, Le Pen, Macron et Clinton, même si certains d'entre eux ne se considèrent pas comme

nationalistes. Ce résultat contredit ainsi notre intuition de départ : en effet, les domaines sources utilisés par Clinton, Biden et Macron pour conceptualiser l'IMMIGRATION ne sont pas particulièrement positifs. Il y a deux différences majeures. La première réside dans la fréquence des métaphores (les personnalités nationalistes utilisent – quantitativement et qualitativement – davantage de métaphores de l'IMMIGRATION que leurs opposants politiques), tandis que la deuxième concerne les schémas d'interaction entre la métaphore et sa prosodie sémantique et/ou la multimodalité.

Ce travail comprend toutefois certaines limites. Le corpus est en effet relativement petit et ne permet pas de généraliser les résultats et de les appliquer à tous les discours nationalistes en France et aux États-Unis sans effectuer une recherche quantitative plus poussée. Par ailleurs, le corpus n'est pas représentatif de l'intégralité du discours de ces hommes et femmes politiques dans la mesure où il ne comprend pas les interviews, les conférences de presse et les contributions plus spontanées, mais uniquement des monologues préparés à l'avance. De plus, nous n'avons pas systématiquement pris en compte le public, qui constitue pourtant une partie intégrante de la communication. Nous avons traité de la même manière les discours prononcés devant des homologues ou devant des électeurs. La position de l'orateur n'a pas été étudiée non plus : par exemple, nous n'avons pas systématiquement fait la distinction entre un Trump candidat et un Trump président, or cette différence de position peut avoir des conséquences sur le discours. Un président qui parle en tant que président a en effet moins besoin de persuader son auditoire qu'en tant que candidat. Par ailleurs, les sous-corpus étudiés étant composés de discours conservateurs / d'extrême droite, d'une part, et de discours centre-droit, d'autre part, ils n'ont pas montré de très grandes différences dans la conceptualisation de l'IMMIGRATION (seulement le degré de négativité diffère). Il pourrait

donc être intéressant de comparer ces résultats à des discours de gauche ou d'extrême gauche.

L'identification des métaphores a montré certaines limites. Bien que la MIP soit extrêmement utile, elle n'est pas parfaite et repose sur l'interprétation du ou de la linguiste. C'est pourquoi certaines occurrences métaphoriques ont pu être oubliées. Réciproquement, en tant que francophone, nous avons pu identifier certaines expressions anglaises comme des expressions métaphoriques alors qu'elles n'en étaient pas. Lors de futures recherches, nous pourrions utiliser une concordance inter-juges et demander à un autre linguiste de coder les mêmes occurrences et de déterminer si elles sont métaphoriques ou non. La concordance inter-juges est une mesure statistique de l'accord entre plusieurs analystes concernant comment une même donnée doit être codée (O'Connor et Joffe, 2020). Enfin, l'identification des schémas interactionnels entre les occurrences métaphoriques et leur contexte comprend, elle aussi, des limites. Elle est fondée sur une analyse davantage qualitative que quantitative et mériterait d'être développée dans de futurs travaux.

Pour de futurs travaux, le motif de la multimodalité mériterait, lui aussi, d'être développé davantage. Le lien entre les métaphores visuelles et linguistiques dans les affiches de campagnes électorales pourrait être approfondi, dans le prolongement d'une étude que nous avons menée sur les dessins de presse (Héois & Lafiandra, 2023). Les résultats obtenus mériteraient également d'être comparés à ceux d'autres langues et d'autres périodes. Par exemple, le succès de Jordan Bardella en tant que nouveau dirigeant du RN pourrait être pris en compte afin de comparer les métaphores de l'IMMIGRATION qu'il utilise à celles de Marine Le Pen.

Par ailleurs, il a été démontré (Catalano, 2016) que lorsque les immigrants parlent d'eux-mêmes, ils le font en des termes axiologiquement positifs. Ainsi, dans le

prolongement des travaux de Paulin & Smadja (2020), par exemple, les linguistes devraient peut-être donner la parole aux immigrants et se concentrer davantage sur les métaphores utilisées par les premiers concernés, plutôt que de majoritairement analyser les discours des dirigeants des pays d'accueil, où les immigrants sont fréquemment décrits soit comme des victimes, soit comme des intrus (bien qu'ils soient parfois représentés positivement comme des bâtisseurs (Taylor, 2020)). Si l'on donne la parole aux immigrants et si des métaphores axiologiquement positives deviennent de plus en plus fréquentes dans les médias, et comme objet d'étude dans des travaux de recherche, alors la conceptualisation sociétale de l'IMMIGRATION pourrait, peut-être, se révéler moins déshumanisante.

Finalement, un des rôles des linguistes – et des enseignantes et enseignants de manière générale – est peut-être de sensibiliser les élèves, et donc les futurs électeurs et électrices, aux enjeux que pose le langage métaphorique dans les discours politiques. Ainsi, plutôt que d'étudier la métaphore sous un angle purement ornemental au lycée, dans le contexte de cours de littérature, il pourrait être intéressant d'enseigner aux élèves les techniques pour ne pas se faire influencer par le langage ou du moins pour repérer les éléments qui ont une fonction persuasive dans le discours. « Pourquoi cette personnalité politique a-t-elle dit qu'il y avait une *submersion migratoire* ? Pourquoi n'a-t-elle pas simplement utilisé des chiffres, un langage plus littéral voire une autre métaphore ? Comment ma conceptualisation de l'IMMIGRATION est-elle affectée par cette formulation ? ». Voici les questions que n'importe quel citoyen ou citoyenne devrait être en mesure de se poser pour éviter la propagation de conceptualisations déshumanisantes.

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Résumé

« These are animals » : conceptualisations métaphoriques de L'IMMIGRATION dans les discours politiques contemporains. Étude comparative de discours américains et français de 2015 à 2020

Ce travail propose d'étudier les conceptualisations métaphoriques de l'immigration dans les discours politiques contemporains, et plus spécifiquement utilisées par des personnalités politiques américaines et françaises entre 2015 et 2020. À l'aide de cinq corpus constitués au cours de la thèse, cette étude interroge l'axiologie des métaphores de l'IMMIGRATION ainsi que leur interaction avec le contexte. Chaque corpus comprend des discours qui traitent de l'immigration et qui ont été prononcés par les candidats arrivés au second tour des élections présidentielles lors de cette période, à savoir Joe Biden, Hillary Clinton, Marine Le Pen, Emmanuel Macron et Donald Trump, pour un total de 1 365 504 tokens. Dans un premier chapitre, nous définissons le cadre théorique et plus particulièrement la théorie de la métaphore conceptuelle. Puis, après avoir détaillé la méthodologie concernant la construction du corpus et l'identification des métaphores dans un second chapitre, nous présentons les analyses textométriques et sémantiques du corpus dans le chapitre trois. La fréquence des termes liés à l'immigration ainsi que leurs collocations sont étudiées grâce aux logiciels de linguistique de corpus AntConc®, WMatrix®, Tropes®, #LancsBox® et SketchEngine®. Le chapitre quatre présente les analyses de l'axiologie des domaines sources afin d'examiner comment les métaphores de l'IMMIGRATION interagissent avec leur contexte dans le chapitre cinq. Les résultats montrent que l'axiologie des métaphores de l'IMMIGRATION est majoritairement négative dans les discours de Trump, Biden, Le Pen, Macron et Clinton : ces métaphores déshumanisent les immigrants ou les conceptualisent comme des intrus. Toutefois, nous notons deux différences majeures entre les personnalités politiques nationalistes, à savoir Marine Le Pen et Donald Trump, et les autres. La première réside dans la fréquence des métaphores (les personnalités nationalistes utilisent – quantitativement et qualitativement – davantage de métaphores de l'IMMIGRATION que leurs opposants politiques), tandis que la deuxième concerne les schémas d'interaction entre la métaphore et sa prosodie sémantique et/ou la multimodalité : Donald Trump et Marine Le Pen ont davantage recours à une pluralité de schémas interactionnels. Par conséquent, l'axiologie négative de la métaphore devient maximale.

Mots-clés : métaphore ; théorie de la métaphore conceptuelle ; discours politique ; linguistique de corpus ; framing ; immigration ; axiologie ; textométrie ; prosodie sémantique ; rhétorique

Abstract

“These are animals”: metaphorical conceptualizations of IMMIGRATION in contemporary political discourse. A comparative study of American and French speeches from 2015 to 2020

This study focuses on the metaphorical conceptualizations of IMMIGRATION in present-day political discourse, and more particularly on the metaphors used by French and American politicians between 2015 and 2020. This work specifically questions the axiology of IMMIGRATION metaphors and their interaction with the context, using five corpora built for the needs of this study. Each corpus compiles immigration-related speeches delivered by the top-two presidential candidates during this period, namely Joe Biden, Hillary Clinton, Marine Le Pen, Emmanuel Macron and Donald Trump, for a total of 1,365,504 tokens. This thesis first lays the theoretical backgrounds and defines the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. In the second chapter, the methodology about the construction of the corpus and the identification of metaphors is presented. The third chapter of this study details the textometric and semantic analyses of the corpus: the frequency of immigration-related terms and their frequent collocations are examined thanks to corpus linguistics software tools such as AntConc®, WMatrix®, Tropes®, #LancsBox® and SketchEngine®. The fourth chapter then compiles the analyses of the axiology of each source domain, to finally explore how IMMIGRATION metaphors interact with their context in the last chapter. The results show that the axiology of IMMIGRATION metaphors is negative in Trump’s, Le Pen’s, Macron’s, Biden’s and Clinton’s speeches. They fundamentally involve the dehumanization of immigrants or portray them as intruders. However, the main differences between overtly nationalist politicians, namely Le Pen and Trump, and others consist in the use of – quantitatively and qualitatively – more metaphors than their opponents and as many interactional patterns as possible between the metaphor and its context. Thus, the axiology of the metaphor becomes fully negative in Trump’s and Le Pen’s speeches.

Keywords: metaphor; conceptual metaphor theory; political discourse; corpus linguistics; framing; immigration; axiology; textometry; semantic prosody; rhetoric